"AFTER GIAMBOLOGNA":
THE VALUE OF REPLICATION AND MATERIAL INNOVATION IN LATE MEDICEAN FLORENCE

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History of Art
Hilary Term 2018

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This dissertation focuses on a period in Florentine art, beginning in the last years of Giambologna's life and ending with the demise of the Medici Grand Duchy, that is often brushed aside due to its perceived imitative practices and supposed lack of artistic innovation. In the grand narrative of Florentine art, Giambologna is considered to be an innovator while his artistic descendants were seen as mere copyists. While he produced inventive designs, they, in his shadow, were simply remaking objects that are now identified in museum catalogues and auction houses as "after Giambologna." My project evolves from a simple question: why did replicative practices flourish under the late Medici Grand Dukes?

I answer it by investigating how central the Medici's control of the means of production–which included the artist himself–was to the processes of production as well as reproduction of works of art in the seventeenth century. By combining the stories of individual artists with an explication of the court structure, I expose how the court encouraged and rewarded forms of technical and material innovation that were made possible through replication.

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This dissertation focuses on a period in Florentine art, beginning in the last years of Giambologna's life and ending with the demise of the Medici Grand Duchy, that is often brushed aside due to its perceived imitative practices and supposed lack of artistic innovation. The story begins in the mid 1550s, when, after two years of studying the antiquities of Rome, the Flemish artist Jean Boulogne arrived in Florence with a collection of wax and clay sculptural models copying (*ritrarendo*) Roman antiquities. By his death in Florence in 1608, the Italianized Giambologna had developed a sophisticated sculptural workshop practice for the rapid production of bronze statuettes. His workshop's use of the indirect casting and piece-moulding processes allowed for his design models to be produced and reproduced at a variety of scales and in diverse media. While other sculptors in the sixteenth century had used theses techniques, Giambologna was the first to recognize their utility for making multiples, thus giving his works value not through their singularity, but instead through their replication.

Giambologna died in 1608, but "Giambologna" statuettes were still being made well into the eighteenth century. This was possible because his moulds and models–the lasting remnants of the indirect casting process–were reused by the four generations of Florentine sculptors that succeeded him. Thus in the grand narrative of Florentine art, Giambologna is considered to be a producer of innovative designs while his artistic descendants were seen as lacking invention.

The title of my dissertation prods at the temporal assumptions of the common art historical and curatorial phrase: "after." On the one hand, the use of the term "after" usually serves to indicate that an object has been made utilizing a better-known artist's design. Yet "after" also assumes a temporal meaning as the object identified as "after" must have been produced later in time in order for it to be able to copy an existing design. "After" also implies a hierarchy of value judgments in art historical discourse, as objects labeled "after" are often utilized to provide a path back to the original design. "After"'s success or failure therefore is not grounded in its own objecthood, but instead in how it re-renders the original. "After" is thus considered a window onto a point of origin, instead of being acknowledged as a point of view that is unique. But "after" and its maker also have a history and a perspective, as this dissertation explores.

While this project is not primarily about Giambologna, it begins by exploring his techniques and workshop organization in order to investigate how the sculptors who came temporally after him elaborated his designs and, in particular, his techniques to their own ends. The main focus then is to look at the objects made by seventeenth-century sculptors within the social and political contexts of their own periods. To do so, I ask a few key questions, starting with: why did replication flourish under the late Medici Grand Dukes? How were replicative practices useful to both the Medici and their artists? And more broadly, how can the evolving production and use of copies in the seventeenth century be used as evidence of broader political shifts both within as well as outside of Florence?

The dissertation is divided into four chapters that trace the historical arc of the seventeenth century. Each chapter uses specific case studies to explore the benefits of

replication to both artists and patrons, how moulds and models were used to facilitate this, and ultimately how replication and copying allowed for the artist to innovate materially. But I also emphasize that the Grand Dukes' strict control of the production of art governed the expressive potential of material. Recognizing this fact then opens up an investigation into the extent to which an artist in this period could be considered an autonomous, singular author.

Chapter 1, "(Re)producing Models: Giambologna and the Productivity of Indirect Casting," begins by exploring the role that Giambologna's clay models made in Rome in the 1550s played in narratives written about his early life in Florence and, ultimately, about the nature of his artistic genius. I explore the physical and conceptual function that his models played in materially creating statues and statuettes, and more broadly Giambologna's European-wide fame. In this chapter, I am interested in particular in how Giambologna's use of piece-moulding and indirect casting coincided with the bureaucratization of art making within the court workshop, the *Galleria dei Lavori*. I argue that it is essential to consider the material affordances of the process of indirect casting alongside the benefits offered by the systematic and bureaucratic mode of production made possible within the *Galleria dei Lavori* in order to comprehend how these two materialities together created meaning and value for copies and influenced the court sculptor's artistic potential. The bureaucratized use of indirect casting and piece-moulding allowed for Giambologna to be accessible to a wide range of external patrons by atomizing his "hand" into an elaborate workshop that produced "Giambologna" statuettes. What becomes clear, though, is that acquiring a Giambologna statuette, even one simply executed by his workshop, required the mediation of the Grand Duke.

Due to the important role that models played as a means of accessing the artist, they became particularly valued when Giambologna died in 1608. The sculptor initially willed his models to his heir as part of his patrimony, but in 1617, Grand Duke Cosimo II purchased the models and integrated them into the Medici family's private possessions. Cosimo did so, I argue, so as to be able to continue to control access to "Giambologna" via his sculptural designs as the court had done during the artist's life. Chapter 2, "Ownership and Originality in the Borgo Pinti Studio after Giambologna," explores this notion of what I call the "materiality of ownership" by tracing the passage of Giambologna's models and moulds from private ownership to Medici property. How the Medici were able to control the circulation of his designs as a result of this ownership was not specific to Giambologna's work but, as will be explored, was a Medici strategy of political control dating to the sixteenth century and continuing into the eighteenth, as is further explored in Chapter 4, "Soldani and Cipriani's Faithful Copies after the Tribuna's Antiquities."

Chapter 3, "Pietro Tacca's Form of Invention," instead considers how replication could be beneficial for sculptors themselves by investigating how Giambologna's successor, Pietro Tacca, expanded the potential of his master's designs and techniques in the early seventeenth century. I explore how Tacca subtly innovated throughout his career as a result of his deep knowledge of the piece-moulding and indirect casting processes. It was through this technical knowledge that he was able not only to expand upon his master's designs, but also to search out and recreate nature's most perfect forms. These artistic sensibilities and competencies enabled Tacca to design the monumental figures of Cosimo II and Ferdinando I for the *Cappella dei Principi* in the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, which brought him personal benefits similar to those Giambologna had received decades earlier. This conclusion, based on previously unpublished archival documents, allows Tacca's achievements as a court artist, which were a direct result of the materiality of his replication practices, to be reconsidered.

Chapter 4, "Soldani and Cipriani's Faithful Copies after the Tribuna's Antiquities," illustrates the Medicean control of models and moulds while also simultaneously exploring how this regulation was beneficial for the artists Massimiliano Soldani Benzi and Pietro Cipriani. In the early eighteenth century, the two sculptors produced what they called "exact" bronze copies of the Medici's most important antique marble statues. They suggested that the exactness of their copies resulted from the moulds they used to cast them, which had been taken directly off of the original marble. But the authorization to make and thus acquire these "faithful" copies of Medici-owned sculptures was carefully controlled. Permission to copy came from Grand Duke Cosimo III himself. Through a close scrutiny of previously published documents about these commissions, as well as newly discovered correspondence, I demonstrate that neither sculptor made new moulds off of the famous marbles himself, but instead reused old moulds. The mould was thus, for both artist and patron, the symbolic proof of the copy's close relationship to the original, and therefore of the copy's value.

These four chapters argue that in the seventeenth century, the Medici controlled the reproduction of statues, specifically those made through indirect casting and moulds made over a prized model, in order to create value for both the copy and the original as a result of their mutual scarcity. This was a means of utilizing copies of sculpture in order to manipulate and confirm political relationships. The practice of creating value for both the copy and the original through rarity depended on several assumptions about how copies, especially "exact" ones, functioned in the period. The first was that the copy was able to hold within it some power of the original, not simply as the (re)presentation of an image or form, but instead as a material manifestation of the original in its totality. This understanding of the relationship between original and copy, I argue, developed from how the Medici controlled the production of copies and how they and their artists emphasized that certain modes of making–and specifically moulding–had the ability to "exactly" copy a prized model by effectively removing the artist's *fantasìa* from the resulting work and instead producing a *ritratto,* or objective translation. This kind of reproduction was very tightly controlled in order to give meaning to the relationship between original and copy, which also served the social function of materializing the bond between the Medici and the recipient of the copy. This control was created conceptually through agreements of trust that mirrored bonds of political allegiance, but was also done practically by controlling the original by removing it from public view, by a licensing system to govern the production of copies, and by limiting how the artists who could make the copies could access the original. The social and political effectiveness of these methods, all of which limited the production of copies, was reinforced through an aesthetic language that described the rarity of the copies in visual and material terms.

"Originality" in the seventeenth century, I argue, therefore rested not in the "original" object itself but instead in the means of reproduction that were a threat to the rarity of copies and, by extension, regulated access to the original. In the Conclusion, I point to some ways in which this system that created value for copies in the long seventeenth century, and ultimately the conception of how copies function in that period, changed as a result of the demise of the Medici Grand Duchy and the concurrent rise of the Grand Tour, which created a new audience, as well as new markets, for copies. During this period, the function of copies changed from objects that held the power of the original–like a copy after a potent miraculous or talismanic image–to a tool for understanding the content and composition of the original. Exact reproductions, once seen as a form of the original itself, were increasingly unable to capture the aesthetic impact of seeing the original, a topic that was increasingly discussed in Grand

Tour guidebooks and published diaries. This new didactic function of copies combined with the texts that served as guides for how one should experience the original, encouraged viewers to want to see the original in the copy rather than believing that the copy was the original itself.

For Boris,
my *anima*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have come to be without the support and generosity of many.

Prof. Geraldine A. Johnson, an indefatigable advisor and mentor, constantly helped me hone these ideas and prepare myself for a career of the mind. Prof. Gervase Rosser was a kind, yet challenging examiner of my transfer of status and dissertation who shaped this work in many ways. Craig Clunas, the compassionate Professor of the History of Art, served as a steady guide through the stages of the degree. I am thankful for the camaraderie of fellow research students Sarah Griffin and Emily Knight.

My Clarendon Fund Scholarship granted me the luxury of focusing primarily on research during my time at Oxford as well as the chance to form close friendships and intellectual bonds with Julia Clare Francis Hamilton, Maggie Burr, and Lucy O'Sullivan.

In 2015, I was fortunate to receive a Samuel H. Kress Fellowship at the Medici Archive Project in Florence. My understanding of the complexities of the Medici archive and my subsequent discoveries are due to Dr. Alessio Assonitis and Dr. Sheila Barker's generous guidance. I fondly remember the conversations (and *aperitivi*) shared with Vikki Addona.

Additional research travel was supported by the Arnold, Bryce, and Read Fund Travel Grant, Isaiah Berlin Scholarship, and the Clara Florio Cooper Memorial Bursary. Multiple years of support from the American Friends of Christ Church allowed me to undertake research and conference travel that would not have otherwise been possible.

I am grateful for Prof. Rosser and Dr. Matthew Walker's invitations to present at their research seminars, which enabled me to refine my arguments through the input of the Oxford's scholarly community. I am also thankful to the organizers and attendees of the following conferences where I presented papers: *Recasting Reproduction (1500-1800)* at The Courtauld Institute of Art (2017), *Reuse Reconsidered* at Brown University (2017), *The Anne Schroeder New Scholars' Session* at the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Annual Conference (2016), *The Material of Mimesis* at the University of Cambridge (2015), *La guida turistica come luogo d'incontro tra lessico e immagini dei Beni Culturali* at the University of Florence (2015) as well as the organizers of the Wallace Collection's *History of Collecting Seminar* where I presented in 2016.

Research related to this dissertation was published during its writing as "Antique Sculpture, Copies, and the Language of Value in Grand Tour Guidebooks," in *Le guide touristique: lieu de rencontre entre lexique et images du patrimoine culturel Vol. II,* edited by R. Raus, G. Cappelli, and C. Flinz (University of Florence Press, 2017) and "Transcribing Material Values in Doccia's Medici Venus," in *Creating Nothing New: Perspectives on the Faithful Copy: 1300-1900*, edited by A. Putzger, M. Heisterberg, S. Müller-Bechtel (De Gruyter, 2018). Another essay will appear in *The Matter of Mimesis: Mimesis and Materials in Nature, Art, and Science,* edited by E. Spary and M. Bol. I am grateful to the editors and reviewers of these essays who provided venues for my ideas beyond the pages of this dissertation. My external examiner Dr. Maria Loh's insightful comments and questions will influence how I improve this research in the years to come.

Finally, I am forever grateful to my partner Boris Chesakov for his endless support. His embodied expertise as a sculptor and caster influenced many of these pages.

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"After Giovanni Bologna's death in 1608, his workshop and its contents together with his official position as court sculptor, were inherited by his best pupil, Pietro Tacca. Tacca and his colleague Antonio Susini continued to operate the workshop on mass-production lines, turning out bronzes from the master's models for the European market. [...] It cannot be pretended that their artistic inspiration was comparable with that of their master, and they prolonged the survival of his style, rather than developing it significantly [...] the persistence of the late Mannerist style at Florence proved in the long run to be retardative. It seems desirable, therefore, to draw the curtains across the stage immediately after the climax of a story and the death of its last protagonist."

Charles Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture* (1970)

REPETITION AND VALUE: THE MATERIAL LANGUAGE OF COPIES

> Unique, authentic authorship and copy are tautological.
>
> Thus, before there is a start there is a large and grand problem.
>
> Except it is repetition of the same and repetition of the same is double.
> And it is the "sameness" of this double that is the gritty problem
>
> Same is speed.
> Same is temporal.
> Same is appearance.
> Same is empty.
> Same is the determined elimination of intellect.
>
> Same is copy but it's not the same.
>
> -Elaine Sturtevant, *Interior Visibilities* (1996)[1]

Art historical texts are full of assumptions about copies. What they mean and, more frequently, what they don't mean. What they are and, more importantly, what they are not: original. Nowhere is this truer than in publications that discuss sculpture made in seventeenth-century Florence, in the decades following the death of the so-called last sculptor of the Renaissance, Giambologna. The objects that the "followers" or "copyists" of Giambologna produced are said to have lacked "artistic inspiration" comparable to that of their master because they simply reproduced his innovative designs, thus prolonging his style into the seventeenth century.[2] This assessment assumes that these makers were flawed, as were the objects they made. This dissertation instead looks at these sculptors' work in relation to the changing needs of the Medici court. By doing so, it starts from a simple question: why did replication flourish in late Grand Ducal Florence?

[1] E. Sturtevant, "Interior Visibilities" in *Magritte,* ed. D. Ottinger (Montreal, 1996), p. 124.
[2] See, for example, the quote by Charles Avery in the prologue. C. Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture* (London, 1970), p. 256.

Elaine Sturtevant, an artist who began working in 1960s New York, was what might be termed a "copyist." Her works visually reproduced the aesthetic qualities of the originals made by her male contemporaries, which served as her compositional prototypes. But the precision of her copies came not only from how she reproduced the original's image, it was also in the materials and techniques that she used to make them.

Sturtevant learned to mimic the processes of the artists she imitated. She searched out cans of paint in a Brooklyn basement to precisely replicate Frank Stella's work when she discovered that the lead paint he used was no longer available on the open market.[3] In the early 1990s, with the assistance of two sculptors, she tried to (re)make one of Anslem Kiefer's lead airplanes. Though she struggled to recreate the plane's nose through a process of simultaneously turning and pressing a piece of lead, according to Sturtevant, when Kiefer saw it he said, "You know, I would think that was really my plane—except for the nose."[4]

In these, as well as other instances, Sturtevant seemed to manipulate materials and processes as if she wanted to become the artist himself through the act of (re)making. Indeed, photographs she took of herself working in her studio were even composed to highlight such comparisons of embodiment through artistic practice. (Figures 0.1 and 0.2) Yet through "copying" Sturtevant retained her independent identity, going so far as to declare it explicitly by signing her copies with her own name. Responding to one of her Joseph Beuys (re)performances, one viewer

[3] E. Sturtevant, "Inherent Vice Or Vice Versa", *Inherent Vice: The Replica and its Implications in Modern Sculpture Workshop, Tate Papers,* [Online], Vol. 8 (2007).
[4] Christopher Bagley, "Sturtevant: Repeat Offender" *W Magazine*, [Online], 8 May 2014 <http://www.wmagazine.com/story/sturtevant-moma-retrospective>.

commented: "of course she did not 'copy' [...] this work was in her, was completely her own creation."[5]

Her repetitions were based on a profound material engagement with the artworks that served as her prototypes, which required close scrutiny of the original. Yet early in her career, this practice became problematic. In 1966, her *The Store of Claes Oldenburg* came too close (both conceptually and physically) to the original that had been displayed in 1961 only a few blocks away.[6] (Figures 0.3 and 0.4) Oldenburg was enraged by her (re)production of his original concept. Sturtevant later claimed his anger resulted precisely from her copy's physical proximity to his original installation.[7] Her threat to the original and to Oldenburg's conception–which confirmed his own status as an artist–was thus generated by her infringement on the space of the original.

Yet, interestingly, many accounts of Sturtevant's early career include a story about a different kind of relationship in the case of Warhol and his "original" imagery. Only one year after he had shown his *Flowers* silkscreens at the Leo Castelli Gallery, he apparently lent Sturtevant a silkscreen to produce her own *Flowers* for her first solo exhibition. (Figures 0.5 and 0.6) When Warhol was later asked how his works were made he replied, "I don't know, ask Elaine," thereby ironically suggesting that his "copyist" was more familiar with his process than he was.[8] While Sturtevant had infuriated Oldenburg by using his concept without his permission, in this case, Warhol had granted Sturtevant permission to make a copy by giving her access not only to his images, but also to the means of producing them: the silkscreen itself.

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[5] E. Schaar, "Spinoza in Vegas, Sturtevant Everywhere: A Case of Critical (Re-)Discoveries and Artistic Self-Reinventions", *Art History,* Vol. 33 (No. 5, 2010), p. 900, note 63.
[6] ibid., p. 891, Arning, "Sturtevant", p. 40.
[7] Schaar, "Spinoza in Vegas, Sturtevant Everywhere", p. 891.
[8] B. Arning, "Sturtevant", *Journal of Contemporary Art,* Vol. 2 (No. 2, 1989).

These examples drawn from Sturtevant's career illuminate how central access–both visual and physical–is to the production of copies. Copies do not magically come into being. The "original" must be seen or touched by the copyist in order to understand its visual and material qualities, and ultimately to enable them to translate those qualities into a new object. The story of Warhol lending his silkscreen to Sturtevant further emphasizes that the perceived legitimacy of a close, or what might be called a faithful or exact, copy depends not just on the accurate reproduction of an image, but also on how, materially, the copy was produced. Access to the materials and means of (re)production not only allow a copy to be made, but also define its relationship to the original. The chapters that follow explore how access to the original and to the means of (re)production were crucial to the social meanings and values of seventeenth-century sculptural copies, just as was the case for Sturtevant nearly four centuries later.

Sturtevant's unauthorized (re)making of *The Store* in 1966 generated hostile reactions to her and her work, which eventually led her to abandon the New York art scene altogether. She was only accepted back into this community with the rise of Appropriation artists like Sherrie Levine in the 1980s.[9] Later in her life, Sturtevant fought against her association with such Appropriation artists. She argued that her replicative practice was not like that of Levine because of its material dimension, which she saw as the source of her expression. While Levine mechanically reproduced through the camera, Sturtevant reproduced by hand and from memory.[10] Sturtevant learned, adapted, and embodied the material performance of the original

[9] For replication in Levine's work, see Maria H. Loh, "Afterward/Afterword/Afterwork", in Joanna Burton, Donna de Salvo, et al. (ed.), *Mayhem: Sherrie Levine* (New Haven, 2012), Richard Shiff, "Originality", in Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (ed.), *Critical Terms for Art History*, 2nd edn (Chicago, 2003), p. 152.
[10] Sturtevant, "Interior Visibilities", p. 124.

author and so her copying, she claimed, had a different kind of meaning. Her process, through its material dimension, did not argue for the death of originality, she said, but instead probed it.[11]

Sturtevant wrote that her work was meant to trigger the emotional and intellectual jolt that occurs when one encounters an unknown object that is denied its content.[12] In the moment of shock when beholders realize that the piece before them is not the original, she wanted her work to force them into thinking about what they valued in "a Warhol." Her goal was thus to expose what she called the "understructure –or the silent power of art," those structures that give art value, not only monetarily but also socially through "memory, references, [and] subjectivity."[13] Levine's photographs of Walker Evans' photographs provoke a similar reaction, even if Sturtevant differentiated her work from Levine's. (Figures 0.7 and 0.8) Both Sturtevant and Levine leave the beholder wondering: are they (the artist and the object) original? Where does the original end and the copy begin? Or, more precisely, where within the work can artistic agency be located?

Artistic agency is the tangled knot around which a number of strands of inquiry into the nature of copies and replicas are wound. Sturtevant's work calls attention to the fact that, quite often, agency is defined by the authorship of the work's concept, design, or image rather than its material dimension. Upending this focus allows the beholder to consider alternative social structures that also produce value.

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[11] For the this discussion, see the excerpt from Arning's interview quoted in Schaar, "Spinoza in Vegas, Sturtevant Everywhere", p. 891. For key early debates on authorship, see Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” *Aspen* (1967) 5+6, reproduced on UbuWeb Papers. <http://www.ubu.com/aspen/aspen5and6/threeEssays.html#barthes>, Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?", in James D. Faubion (ed.), *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* (II vols., New York, 1998).

[12] Sturtevant, "Interior Visibilities", p. 125; Schaar, "Spinoza in Vegas, Sturtevant Everywhere", p. 891.

[13] Sturtevant, "Interior Visibilities", p. 124; B. Hainley, "Erase and Rewind", *Frieze Magazine,* [Online], Vol. 53 (2000) Available from: <https://frieze.com/article/erase-and-rewind> .

Copies allow beholders to probe the meaning of originality because, as Sturtevant's quote at the start of this chapter suggests, a copy is most often defined by its (lack of) unique, authentic authorship. This means that to define a copy, one also has to tackle the ancillary issues of authenticity and authorship. Doing so then extends to a web of associated terms such as forgery, copy, appropriation, reproduction, replica, multiple, variant, imitation, and emulation. How one perceives and classifies artistic agency and motivation as embodied within the object allows for the work to be located within this network of related terms. For instance, the difference between an exact copy and a forgery–although aesthetically similar–is defined by the maker's perceived motivation in producing one versus the other. It is therefore important to emphasize that these terms, as well as notions of artistic agency, are not objective but subjective and inevitably defined by the beholder's reception, which in turn requires sensitive historical scrutiny in order to decipher the period valances of such terms.

Debates around imitation in the Early Modern period in particular often centre on two terms: *imitare* and *ritrarre*. Francesco Petrarch's formulation of literary imitation makes the distinctions between these two acts quite clear:

> He who imitates must have a care that what he writes be similar, not identical with his model, and that the similarity should not be of the kind that obtains between a portrait and a sitter, where the artist earns the more praise the greater the likeness, but rather of the kind that obtains between a son and his father. [...] that similarity reminds us of the father as soon as we see the son, even though if the matter were put to some measurement all parts would be found to be different; some hidden quality there has this power. So we should take care that when one thing is like, many should be unlike, and that what is like should be hidden so as to be grasped only by the mind's silent enquiry, intelligible rather than describable. We should therefore make use of another man's inner quality and tone, but avoid his words. For the one kind of similarity is hidden and the other protrudes; the one creates poets, the other apes.[14]

[14] "[...] curandum imitatori ut quod scribit simile non idem sit, eamque similitudinem talem esse oportere, non qualis est imaginis ad eum cuius imago est, que quo similior eo maior laus artificis, sed qualis filii ad patrem. In quibus cum magna sepe diversitas sit membrorum, umbra quedam et quem

In this passage, Petrarch articulates a distinction between these two modes of imitating, one that is hidden (*imitare*) and another that protrudes (*ritrarre*). The former required the artist to elevate his model by perfecting it, while the latter was viewed as direct, unmediated copy or tracing. More significant for the arguments that will follow in the subsequent chapters is that in turn these modes of copying lead to judgments being made about their makers. If one imitates, one is a poet, but if one produces an exact likeness, one is an ape. There are, therefore, positive forms of imitation, in Petrarch's case described through familial likeness, or in the Roman philosopher Seneca's formulation, a transformation of the material similar to that of a bee transforming nectar into honey.[15] Inventive practice in this classification, therefore, is defined by the artist's action of collecting models and transforming them into a finished product that is related to, but does not replicate, the models first copied. In this conception, as well as those often at work in art historical discourses, there is a latent assumption that objects that copy or replicate too closely are not only "bad" works of art (if one can consider them art at all), but that their maker lacked the intellect that would make him or her an "artist." Quite often this assumption is tied into assessments related to how the subject was transcribed, rather than how matter was manipulated.

Discussion of this terminology in present-day art historical scholarship has often been related to female artists' perceived inability to create rather than merely

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pictores nostri aerem vocant, qui in vultu inque oculis maxime cernitur, similitudinem illam facit, que statim viso filio, patris in memoriam nos reducat, cum tamen si res ad mensuram redeat, omnia sint diversa; sed est ibi nescio quid occultum quod hanc habeat vim. Sic et nobis providendum ut cum simile aliquid sit, multa sint dissimilia, et id ipsum simile lateat ne deprehendi possit nisi tacita mentis indagine, ut intelligi simile queat potiusquam dici. Utendum igitur ingenio alieno utendumque coloribus, abstinendum verbis; illa enim similitudo latet, hec eminet; illa poetas facit, hec simias." Transcribed in Francesco Petrarca, *Le Familiari*, vol. 4, U. Bosco ed. (Florence, 1968), p. 206. The English translation is from Ernst Gombrich, “The Style *all'Antica:* Imitation and Assimilation”, in Ernst Gombrich (ed.), *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London, 1966), p. 122.

[15] Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* (London, 1920), Letter LXXXIV, pp. 276-285.

copy due to their lack of intellect.[16] But as David Summers and Phillip Sohm have argued, these judgments are not bound by biological sex, but instead are a means of feminizing certain modes of making and, by extension, the artists who used them.[17] This "feminization" in turn has resulted in particular makers (whether biologically male or female) being defined as craftsmen, followers, and copyists, instead of artists.[18]

Returning to Sturtevant's work, it is clear that similar value structures were active in post-war America. While Warhol was seen to transform his material (the visual language of advertisements) into the idiom of art, when Sturtevant faithfully copied Warhol, her critics believed she was not doing the same thing.[19] Even if her (predominatly male) contemporaries might have been initially amused by her approach, her artistic agency was eventually denied when her work seemed to infringe too closely on the (male artist's) "original" work, thereby calling the latter's own market and social value into question. The idea of the copy is thus deeply embedded within a number of interlocking value structures that define not only the economic and social value of the object itself, but also its maker. My dissertation interrogates these issues through the lens of sculptural replication and reproduction in Early Modern Florence.

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[16] For a discussion of these terms in relation to artists' gender, see F.H. Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa: Women Artists and the Language of Art History and Criticism* (Cambridge, 1997) , pp. 27-51.
[17] D. Summers, “Form and Gender”, *New Literary History,* Vol. 24 (No. 2, 1993), P. Sohm, “Gendered Style in Italian Art Criticism from Michelangelo to Malvasia”, *Renaissance Quarterly,* Vol. 48 (No. 4, 1995).
[18] See, for example, Maria Loh's discussion of Padovannino in M.H. Loh, *Titian Remade: Repetition and the Transformation of Early Modern Italian Art* (Los Angeles, 2007), p. 3.
[19] Significantly, the photograph Warhol appropriated in the work illustrated here as Figure 0.1 was a photograph taken by Patricia Caulfield and published as a Kodak advertisement in the June 1964 issue of *Modern Photography*. P. Lee, *Sturtevant: Warhol Marilyn* (London, 2016), p. 17.

"AFTER GIAMBOLOGNA"

The chapters that follow focus on a period in Florentine art, beginning in the last years of Giambologna's life and ending with the demise of the Medici Grand Duchy, that is often brushed aside due to its perceived imitative practices and supposed lack of artistic innovation. The prelude begins with a Fleming who stopped in Florence in the 1550s after a sojourn studying Rome's antiquities, bringing with him a collection of sculptural models copying antique sculpture. By 1600, he was known throughout Europe as Giambologna, the Medici family's sculptor. Starting in the 1580s, he had crafted his fame and spread his name through the use of the indirect casting method. It was a technique he deployed in novel ways to speed the production of his works through the use of moulds and models that were cast by his workshop. While other sculptors in the sixteenth century had also utilized this technique, Giambologna recognized its utility for making multiples, thereby giving his works value not through their singularity, but instead through their replication.[20]

Giambologna died in 1608, but "Giambologna" statuettes were still being made well into the eighteenth century. This was possible because his moulds and models–the lasting remnants of the indirect casting process–were inherited and reused by the four generations of Florentine sculptors that succeeded him. Thus in the grand narrative of Florentine art, Giambologna is considered to be an innovator while his artistic descendants were seen as mere copyists. While he produced inventive designs,

[20] On Giambologna's life and career, see especially: E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne = Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo: Douai 1529-Florence 1608: Bijdrage tot de Studie van de Kunstbetrekkingen tussen het Graafschap Vlaanderen en Italië* (Brussels, 1956), Ex. cat. London 1978, *Giambologna, 1529-1608: Sculptor to the Medici* (London, 1978), C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture* (Oxford, 1987), Ex. cat. Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi. Genesi e fortuna di uno stile europeo nella scultura* (Florence 2006).

they, in his shadow, were assumed to be simply remaking objects that are now identified in museum catalogues and auction houses as "after Giambologna."

The title of my dissertation prods at the temporal assumptions of the common art historical and curatorial phrase: "after." On the one hand, the use of the term "after" usually serves to indicate that an object has been made utilizing a better-known artist's design. Yet "after" also assumes a temporal meaning as the object identified as "after" must have been produced later in time in order for it to be able to copy an existing design.[21] "After" also implies a hierarchy of value judgments in art historical discourse, as objects labeled "after" are often utilized to provide a path back to the original design. The quest therefore becomes an act of collecting "after"s in order to trace one "after" to another predecessor so that one can arrive at last at the first "original" source. Once the prized origin(al) has been found, "after" is simply measured in relation to it and not by its own qualities. "After"'s success or failure therefore is not grounded in its own objecthood, but instead in how it re-renders the original. "After" is thus considered a window onto a point of origin, instead of being acknowledged as a point of view that is unique. But "after" and its maker also have a history and a perspective. While this project is not primarily about Giambologna, it asks if Giambologna's contributions to Florentine sculpture change when we ask how the sculptors who came temporally after Giambologna elaborated his designs and techniques to their own ends. Doing so not only raises new interest in these artists in their own terms, but also allows us to reconsider Giambologna's own contributions to the history of Florentine sculpture not as the end of one story, as Avery argued[22], but instead as part of a much longer–and complicated–narrative.

[21] Loh, "Afterward/Afterword/Afterwork".
[22] As Avery wrote in the conclusion to his *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture,* "It seems desirable, therefore, to draw the curtains across the stage immediately after the climax of a story and the death of

Beyond the complicated tangle of authorship surrounding statuettes identified as "after Giambologna," there are other notable instances of replication in late Medicean Florence, such as Pietro Tacca's *Wild Boar* or Massimiliano Soldani Benzi's *Medici Venus.* (Figures 0.9-0.12) In both cases, their makers utilized ancient Roman marbles as their exemplars for creating new bronzes. Significantly, their ability to make these copies depended upon the processes of piece-moulding and indirect casting that had been crucially important to the replication of Giambologna's designs by his workshop earlier in the century, but these same techniques were now being used to accomplish distinct social and cultural goals.

Replication and Decline under the Medici Grand Dukes

Sculptural practice in seventeenth-century Florence has, in part, been defined by its tendency for repetition, a perceived flaw that was only believed to have been fully overcome during the last decades of the century with the final flowering of the Florentine Baroque under Cosimo III's artistic patronage.[23] In this historical trajectory, the repetitive practices of Giambologna's followers are regarded as a watering down of his, and more broadly Florentine, sculptural innovation that marked the end of a great tradition of bronze making in the city, subsequently transforming Florence into a cultural backwater that was far removed from the supposed advances of the Roman Baroque.[24]

The history of seventeenth-century Florentine sculpture is thus often trapped between two timelines. There is one that regards Giambologna's death as the end of a lineage that reaches back to the heights of Renaissance sculpture, as defined by

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its last protagonist." C. Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture*, p. 256. A longer version of this quote can be found in the present dissertation's Prologue.

[23] Klaus Lankheit and Jennifer Montagu, "Introduction, Sculpture", in Ex. cat. Detroit 1974, *The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670-1743* (Detroit, 1974).

[24] C. Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture* (London, 1970), p. 256, G. De Logu, *La scultura del Seicento e del Settecento. Parte seconda* (Florence, 1932), pp. 5-15.

figures like Donatello, Cellini, and Michelangelo, thereby denying Giambologna's followers membership in such a tradition.[25] The other defines the accomplishments of the Florentine Baroque–specifically, the work of Massimiliano Soldani Benzi and Giovanni Battista Foggini–in opposition to the supposedly artistically "barren" decades between Giambologna's death and the founding of the Tuscan Academy in Rome in 1673. In both cases, a divide emerges that aims to connect Giambologna and early eighteenth-century sculptors to an earlier Florentine tradition of design innovation in bronze while minimizing the contributions of artists working in nearly two-thirds of the century between Giambologna's death and the beginnings of the Baroque heralded by the founding of the Tuscan Academy.

This is due in part to the fact that Florentine sculpture under the Grand Dukes, or more precisely from Ferdinando I to Cosimo III, has been largely overlooked in art historical literature. Klaus Lankheit's monumental 1962 publication on Florentine Baroque sculpture, and the succeeding exhibition *The Twilight of the Medici* (1974), remain the only holistic studies of Florentine sculpture under the late Medici, although both focus almost exclusively on Cosimo III's reign (1670-1723).[26] Scholarly neglect of Florence under the seventeenth-century Grand Dukes affects not just sculptural and artistic production, but also the period as a whole, as the title of Eric Cochrane's 1974 publication *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries* implies.[27]

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[25] An example of this is found in Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture.* As Michael Cole has noted, scholars like John Pope-Hennessy were interested in defining Giambologna's work only in relation to Michelangelo and not his own contemporaries, something that Cole also does. Cole, *Form: Giambologna, Ammanati, and Danti in Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 2011), and especially the arguments on pp. 1-10.

[26] K. Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik: die Kunst am Hofe der letzten Medici, 1670-1743* (Munich, 1962), Ex. cat. Detroit 1974, *The Twilight of the Medici*. A conference proceedings published after the exhibition expands on some issues that could not be fully explored in the exhibition, see *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici,* ed. K. Lankheit (München, 1976), There is also the three volume Florentine exhibition catalogue a decade later, Ex. cat. Florence 1986, *Il seicento fiorentino: arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III* 3 vols. (Florence, 1986).

[27] E. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527-1800: A History of Florence and the Florentines in the Age of the Grand Dukes* (Chicago, London, 1974).

Edward Goldberg's two publications, and related dissertation, of the 1980s on the collecting practices of the Grand Dukes, which were based on extensive archival research in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, provided new insights into the political motivations of grand-ducal collecting during the seventeenth century; but much remains to be understood about what motivated their patronage of new works of art, especially of sculpture.[28]

Justification for disregarding this period arises from a long-standing assumption, reaching back to the eighteenth-century writings of Johann Joachim Winkelmann, about the perceived importance of a "liberal prosperity" that leads to, or in fact produces, artistic creativity. In summarizing the "unexpected" flourishing of the arts at the end of the Medici court, Lankheit pointed to the fallacy of such a bias:

> There is hardly another example in history which so strongly gives lie to the thesis that liberal prosperity inevitably leads to the flowering of the arts. This sudden and unexpected development of art in Florence relied on the activities of princes who were responsible for the breakdown of the State, the disappearance of the dynasty, and the complete bartering away of their patrimony to foreign countries [...] But just as the last moments of sunsets are often the brightest, so Florence shone again through its works of art.[29]

Lankheit's emphasis on how Cosimo III's despotic rule in fact encouraged artistic innovation runs counter to more romantic (and simplistic) narratives of the "genius" of Florentine Renaissance art. As his words suggest, the largess and excess of the Grand Dukes is often assumed to be the source of Florence's cultural and artistic decline, but instead he argued that they were the impetus for its flourishing.[30] This

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[28] E.L. Goldberg, *After Vasari: History, Art, and Patronage in Late Medici Florence* (Princeton, 1988), E.L. Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage* (Princeton, 1983), E.L. Goldberg, "Personality and Politics in Medici Collecting in the Time of Cardinal Leopoldo" (University of Oxford, Faculty of Modern History D.Phil., 1979).

[29] Lankheit and Montagu, "Introduction" in Ex. Cat. Detroit 1974, p. 23.

[30] These judgments about the supposed "corruption" of Florentine artistic culture began in the eighteenth century, in part fostered by English Grand Tourists; see R. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 65-98. But writings about the supposed flaws of Florentine society during the Medici's reign evolved alongside the political "rationalization" project that took place under the Lorraine court starting in 1737, which reformed taxation structures and court bureaucracy in order to make the territory more lucrative. For this, see T. Wahnbaeck,

burgeoning was in part due to the monetary and technical infrastructure that supported the complex systems of artistic production made possible by the *Galleria dei Lavori*, which will be further discussed in Chapter 1. Though this logic of decline evokes very nineteenth-century notions about the cyclical nature of history, such judgments nevertheless seem to have influenced scholars' understanding of seventeenth-century Florentine art production as a whole. One such verdict appears in the only scholarly publication on Tacca in English, Katherine Watson's dissertation, which was later published in 1983:

> Ferdinando [I de' Medici] saw the production of the grand-ducal sculptor and foundry in terms of propaganda. An art of propaganda invites no new concepts, and an artist's individual style becomes schematized in terms of recurring subject matter and designs to gratify the patron who is also the subject of the propaganda. This situation, combined with the ever-worsening physical state of Giovanni Bologna, created a decline in creativity and inventiveness.[31]

The assumption, therefore, has been that with the increasing bureaucratization of the Medici workshops in the early seventeenth century, "creativity," or the artist's individual style, disappeared because the artist was unable to create his own designs and instead was simply serving the vision of the Grand Duke. The Grand Duke and not the sculptor was thus ultimately the source of the design and/or of the subject matter, thereby denying the court artist the creative agency associated with being allowed to invent his own, new *concetto*. This is a conclusion my dissertation challenges by instead asking what forms of creativity were possible, and even rewarded, *within* the court structure itself.[32]

Luxury and Public Happiness: Political Economy in the Italian Enlightenment (Oxford, 2004). For a historiography of how these views have influenced views of artistic production in Florence during the seventeenth century, see E. Straussman-Pflanzer, “Court Culture in Seventeenth-Century Florence: The Art Patronage of Medici Grand Duchess Vittoria Della Rovere (1622-1694)” (New York University, Institute of Fine Arts Ph.D., 2010), pp. 25-63.

[31] K.J. Watson, *Pietro Tacca, Successor to Giovanni Bologna* (New York, 1983), pp. 310-311.

[32] Examining such questions draws on publications concerning the role of the court artist such as: *Artists at Court: Image-Making and Identity, 1300-1550,* ed. S.J. Campbell and E.S. Welch (Boston,

While there are few general studies of artistic production under the late Medici, much more attention has been focused on individual artists, such as Giambologna, Tacca, and Soldani, with the primary aim being to define their distinct styles.[33] It is notable that the most significant work on Florentine sculpture of this period has been conducted in museums and auction houses. Influenced by difficult questions of attribution generated by the culture of repetition in Florence, the resulting publications have primarily focused on the oeuvres of single artists, thereby clarifying many issues of authorship.[34] I draw heavily on the work of these scholars, as well as the documents that often provide crucial evidence for their attributions–such as archival records concerning the passage of the moulds and models between Florentine artists and collectors in period inventories. I also rely on the material evidence contained in the bronzes themselves, which has been well investigated and discussed by connoisseurs. However, focusing primarily on attribution–which the intellectual apparatus of both museums and the market require to mark clear distinctions between one artist and the other–ultimately minimizes the interconnectedness of these artists' work. Although exhibition catalogues and articles are replete with archival information and historical specificity as to dates of facture, which elucidate the

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Chicago, 2004), M. Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist* (Cambridge, 1993).

[33] General biographies can be found in G. Pratesi, *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del Seicento e Settecento* 3 Vol. (Turin, 1993). For Giambologna see E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, Ex. cat. Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi,* S. Lo Vullo-Bianchi, "Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca", *Rivista d'arte,* Vol. 13 (No. 1, January 1931), P. Torriti, *Pietro Tacca da Carrara* (Genova, 1975), M. Tommasi, *Pietro Tacca* (Pisa, 1995), Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, Ex. cat Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca: Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee* (Florence, 2007), A.M. Brook, "Sculptors in Florence during the Reign of Grand Duke Ferdinando II of Tuscany (1621-1670): Ferdinando Tacca and His Circle" (Cortauld Institute of Art, University of London Ph. D. History of Art, 1986). There are articles, but no monographs, on Soldani or his rival Foggini to illuminate the careers of these artists in who worked in the late seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. The most prolific scholars on Soldani are Charles Avery and Dimitrios Zikos. There are no recent publications of any significance on Foggini, although Cinzia Sicca and Francesco Freddolini are working on an edited volume of Foggini's correspondence. A more focused discussion on the arguments relevant to individual artists, especially those explored in shorter articles, are found in the chapters that follow.

[34] See, for example: Ex. cat. London 1978, *Giambologna,* Ex. cat Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi,* Ex. cat Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca*.

evolution of individual artists' oeuvres, they continue to keep Florentine artists in their perceived "cultural backwater," disconnected from the theoretical frameworks that have been used to explore the motivations of other artists in the period.

Three recent publications, two on Giambologna by Michael Cole and M.W. Gibbons, respectively, and one on Tacca by J. Mack-Andrick, have begun to insert these artists into more theoretically-engaged academic discourses, thereby connecting the artists to the broader cultural context in which they worked.[35] Even so, no monograph has been written about Florentine artists after Giambologna, and thus interested scholars, students, and curators are inevitably left to piece together disparate, and sometimes competing, conclusions about the artists' styles and accomplishments without a conceptual framework for understanding how these very styles and the works these artists produced more generally were influenced by the court workshop structure within which they worked.

Part of the challenge of taking the artists who came after Giambologna seriously comes from the complex and vast amounts of surviving archival documentation about the Medici court workshop, that has yet to be fully explicated. The Medici court was a highly regulated system, with various credit lines for expenditures that might now be identified as for "artistic" objects. Expenses were recorded and approved by heads of various departments depending on the end function of the object, its commissioner, or the materials it was crafted from, as well as whether the final object would be *mobile* (moveable) or *immobile* (static). In the Florentine Archivio di Stato, which now holds a majority of the Medici court papers, two caches of documents are particularly important for researching the expenses

[35] M.W. Cole, *Ambitious Form* (Princeton, N.J., 2011), M.W. Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator of the Catholic Reformation* (Berkeley, London, 1995), J. Mack-Andrick, *Pietro Tacca, Hofbildhauer der Medici (1577-1640): politische Funktion und Ikonographie des Frühabsolutistischen Herrscherdenkmals unter den Grossherzögen Ferdinando I., Cosimo II. und Ferdinando II* (Weimar, 2005).

related to the facture of objects, as well as their use. These caches are the *Guardaroba* and the *Fortezze e Fabbriche.* The *Guardaroba* is a valuable resource for art historians as its volumes chart the movement of many paintings and decorative arts objects, including small-scale sculpture, in and out of workshops, as well as across various Medicean properties. The *Guardaroba* documents also contain different accounting books for payments related to materials and to labour, enabling one to document the literal as well as conceptual involvement of an artist's "hands." Yet, expenses for the production of large-scale sculptures do not often appear in the *Guardaroba* documents, because of the material and technical resources required to make them. Documents in the archival collection known as the *Fortezze e Fabbriche* more often contain records concerning the facture and upkeep of large works of public sculpture, fountains, and fortresses. These documents are therefore helpful for reconstructing the extent to which a sculptor was involved with the execution of his large-scale sculptural designs.[36]

As other scholars have noted, one of the major challenges of studying replication, especially of small bronze statuettes, is that these objects are seldom mentioned in archival sources[37] nor are they clearly identified in the extensive Medici *Guardaroba* documents where they are often referred to as *figure* (figures) or *statuette* (statuettes). Part of the challenge of finding archival records related to the facture of cast sculpture is also due to the material of bronze itself and its function in the court. Many bronze objects were likely cast at furnaces that were also used for

[36] Understanding the complexity of these documents and their function was only possible in the case of the present dissertation thanks to the mentorship of Sheila Barker and Alessio Assonitis during my time as a fellow at the Medici Archive Project in Florence.
[37] For a discussion of these challenges, see Malcolm Baker, "Collecting, Classifying and Viewing Bronzes 1700-1850," in *Von allen Seiten schön*, Volker Krahn, ed. (Cologne, 1996), pp. 111-112, Avery, *Giambologna, The Complete Sculpture*, p. 134.

artillery.[38] Because bronze was a valuable material for both utilitarian objects and artistic ones, the *Guardaroba* did not govern its movement, as it did other artistic materials, but instead the *soprintendenze* of the *Fortezze* did.

Since there are not summative publications on the interaction between the *Guardaroba* (keepers of materials and objects), the *Galleria dei Lavori* (the court workshops, excluding cast sculpture), and the *Fortezze e Fabbriche* (fortresses, architectural projects, artillery, and cast sculpture), reconstructing an artist's social and professional world beyond his individual works requires extensive archival research.[39] It is for this reason that my project builds greatly upon the archival work of previous scholars, while also introducing new archival resources in order to open up new social-historical questions. In many cases, modified English translations of documents that have been long discussed in scholarship on Giambologna, such as a letter from the sculptor to Belisario Vinta regarding Antonio Susini casting Giambologna's models for the Prince of Val di Taro discussed in Chapter 2, have been included in the present dissertation in order to emphasize the important role that materials and making played in period discussions about these objects and their value.

Turning away from questions of attribution, but still drawing on documents that other scholars have used in the past, my primary focus is instead on the historically specific cultural factors that influenced replication and the reception of sculptural replicas during this period. My project evolved from a simple question: why did replication flourish in grand-ducal Florence? My approach to exploring this issue has been to find particularly evocative examples of replication across the

[38] The sites of these casting furnaces were at the *Fortezza di San Giovanni Battista*, also known as *Fortezza da Basso*, and *La Sapienza.*
[39] One useful model for thinking about the complicated social and political structures that governed the production of bronze objects in Venice is V. Avery, *Vulcan's Forge in Venus' City: The Story of Bronze in Venice, 1350-1650* (Oxford, 2011).

seventeenth century to use as case studies. This strategy, on the one hand, has allowed me to delve deeply into archival resources related to the making of the objects that serve as case studies and, on the other, has permitted me to investigate a range of replicative acts for both their uniqueness as well as commonalities. My intention, therefore, is not to present a history of cast sculpture in the seventeenth century, nor to recast the histories of particular artists, but instead to offer a new framework for thinking about the value of replicative practices both within and outside Florence during the period.

On its most basic level, my dissertation provides a new lens for exploring the work of late Medici sculptors through their use of models and moulds. It evaluates how workshop practices central to Giambologna's system of making were rethought and elaborated throughout the century in response to the changing needs of the court by looking at the objects produced by the sculptors who chronologically followed him within the specific historical contexts in which they worked. By combining the stories of individual artists with an explication of the court structure in seventeenth-century Florence, my goal is to expose the important political function, and thus social value, of copies and replicas in the period. Beyond the Florentine-specific examples of this practice, I also propose a more general theoretical framework for thinking about the relationship between ownership and originality in Early Modernity, what I call the materiality of ownership. The concept of the "materiality of ownership" emphasizes how central the Medici's control of the means of production–which included the artist himself–was to the processes of production as well as reproduction of works of art in the period.

My approach to materiality draws from art history, material culture studies, and archeology in order to consider how processes of making intersect with structures

of social, economic, and political power.[40] In my conception, "materiality" combines an evaluation of how artistic materials and practices of making influence how a final work of art looks while also paying attention to the institutional structures that controlled the modes of production that supported these objects' facture. Throughout the dissertation I emphasize that the materials and technology required to produce bronze sculpture during this period required substantial economic resources. These economic resources that enabled a sculptor's designs–often first transcribed from the mind into ephemeral materials such as wax and clay–to be materialized in permanent materials–like bronze or marble–were often so great that the sculptor himself could not access them.[41] The court, as the source of economic, material, and technological

[40] For a theoretical approach to materials, see Ann-Sophie Lehmann, "The Matter of Medium: Some Tools for an Art Theoretical Interpretation of Materials", in C. Anderson and P. Smith (ed.) *Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, Cultural Logics, c. 1250-1750* (Manchester, 2015). For materiality as it relates specifically to the making of sculpture, see J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven, 1989), N. Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture* (New Haven, 1993), J. Montagu, *Gold, Silver, Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque* (New Haven, 1996), Ex. cat. Leeds 2005, *Bronze: The Power of Life and Death* (Leeds, 2005), M. Trusted, *The Making of Sculpture: The Materials and Techniques of European Sculpture* (London, 2007), S. Clerbois and M. Droth (eds.) *Revival and Invention: Sculpture through its Material Histories,* (Oxford, 2010), Ex. cat. New York 2012, *Bernini: Sculpting in Clay* (New York, New Haven, London, 2012). For art historical approaches to materiality, which prioritize how material influences issues of facture and create meaning, see, for example, M. Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven, 1980), S. Butters, *The Triumph of Vulcan: Sculptors' Tools, Porphyry, and the Prince in Ducal Florence* (Florence, 1996), M. Baker, "Limewood, Chiromancy and Narratives of Making. Writing about the Materials and Process of Sculpture", *Art History,* Vol. 21 (No. 4, December 1998), Michael Yonan, "Towards a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies", *West 86th,* Vol. 18 (No. 2, Fall-Winter 2011), Michael Yonan, "The Suppression of Materiality in Anglo-American Art-Historical Writing", in G. Ulrich Grossmann and Petra Krutisch (ed.), *Die Herausforderung Des Objekts: 33rd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art, Nuremberg, 15th - 20th July 2012* (Nuremberg, 2014). For archeological approaches to materiality, see I. Hodder (ed.) *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression* (New York, 1991), Daniel Miller, "Introduction", in Daniel Miller (ed.), *Materiality* (Durham, N.C., 2005), I. Hodder, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Malden, MA, 2012), I. Hodder, "The Entanglements of Humans and Things: A Long-Term View", *New Literary History,* Vol. 45 (No. 1, 2014). For approaches to material culture, see Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Culture Theory and Method", *Winterthur Portfolio,* Vol. 17 (No. 1, Spring 1982), Jules David Prown, "The Truth of Material Culture: History Or Fiction", in Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (ed.), *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (Washington, 1993). For economic approaches to materiality and the "Material Renaissance," see Suzanne Butters, "Making Art Pay: The Meaning and Value of Art in Late-Sixteenth Century Rome and Florence", in M. Fantoni, L. Chevalier Matthew, et al. (ed.), *The Art Market in Italy: Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Modena, 2003), M. O'Malley and E.S. Welch (ed.) *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester, 2007).

[41] I want to emphasize here that I use the term "economic resources" instead of money or monetary resources in order to underline that economy of the period was not dependent upon cash money, but instead access to material goods and objects that created social collateral. For more on this, see the

resources, was therefore essential for the materialization of the artist's concepts. For the court artist, these finished sculptures became a means of achieving social status and fame, both within the city of Florence as well as across Europe. But as I argue, access to these court resources was not freely given, but depended upon the artist's service to the court. The court, in turn, benefitted from the accomplishments of its court artists and strategically utilized them to their own benefit. The social, political, and economic aspirations and achievements of artists like Giambologna or Pietro Tacca as well as those of the Medici dynasty therefore met in the material of bronze.

Technological and Social Change

In the scholarship on Giambologna, his use of small-scale sculptural models is always identified as a central and important aspect of his artistic persona. His use of models and their subsequent appreciation by collectors is then explicated by his innovative understanding of design.[42] Much less considered until the present dissertation is how the technologies he used–indirect casting and piece-moulding–were active agents in creating Giambologna's artistic biography as well as influencing the afterlives of his models.

The indirect casting and piece-moulding processes were ubiquitous in antiquity but did not re-emerge as useful workshop practices until the late fifteenth century. While other artists before Giambologna utilized these processes in the facture of singular objects, he used them fruitfully to replicate his designs in diverse media and in multiple.[43] His productive use of these processes therefore influenced the

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essays in M. O'Malley and E.S. Welch (ed.), *The Material Renaissance* and in M. Fantoni, L. Chevalier Matthew, et al. (ed.), *The Art Market in Italy: Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Modena, 2003).

[42] For a discussion of how period art theory addressed sculptural invention, see Frangenberg, T., "The Art of Talking about Sculpture: Vasari, Borghini and Bocchi", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 58 (1995).

[43] According to Richard Stone, Giambologna and his circle began the "regular production of small bronze replicas." Stone defines "replicas" as multiple casts from the same model. For this, see R.E.

meaning of the objects he "made," as well as the period understanding of what making itself meant.

In the late sixteenth century, design authorship increasingly became an important means of separating artistry from artisanal practice. It was in this critical environment that Giambologna was able to segregate himself, and his concepts, from the facture of "his" objects. I argue that this shift in practice had implications not just for Giambologna's own work, but also for that other sculptors in the seventeenth century who used the same processes in order to make copies and replicas that were understood to be in part their own works. These period notions about single and co-authorship thus resulted directly from the technology used in the objects' facture.

As the archaeologist Ian Hodder has argued, building off of actor-network theory, a change in technology adjusts the limits of possibility and as a result humans, in this case artists, react. Shifting material affordances, or the limits of that possibility, pushes the maker to respond in new ways to the material world.[44] Hodder calls this an entanglement, whereby humans do not just exert force on things, but things also exert an influence on humans. In a wider scope, humans affect other humans and things other things. In this framework, the artist himself is not an innovator, but the mutual push of the object on the human and the human on the object create historical and aesthetic change. Technological change thus influences how the artist conceives of his or her work, and by extension him/herself, because it influences what is possible.

Hodder goes further in his theory of entanglement to suggest that in moments of transformation and technological innovation, the larger system adapts and becomes

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Stone, "Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting in Italy at the End of the Quattrocento", *Metropolitan Museum Journal,* Vol. 16 (1981), 88-89.

[44] To articulate this theory, Hodder draws on actor-network theory. For an example of the implications of such a theory in an art historical context, see Ann-Sophie Lehmann, "The Matter of the Medium: Some Tools for an Art Theoretical Interpretation of Materials", in Christy Anderson and Pamela H. Smith (ed.), *Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, Cultural Logics, C.1250-1750* (Manchester, 2015)

more entangled, because each material change is bound in a network of influence thereby forcing further change. A change in a single material therefore doesn't just effect the objects that result from it, but also the broader system of production entangled with it, which includes all modes of production. Within this framework, we can more clearly understand how the use of indirect casting and piece-moulding, and the resulting objects produced, were entangled with the increasing bureaucratization of production within the Medici workshops, the *Galleria dei Lavori* that were established in the late sixteenth century.[45] This bureaucratic production was focused on making a product, a Giambologna statuette, which the process supported, and as a result the modes of production adapted and, in Hodder's formulation, were changed. What consumers desired out of that entanglement was also inevitably affected.

With the exception of a few focused studies, the bronze production that followed after Giambologna's death has been viewed as simply a prolongation of Giambologna's style and innovation.[46] Florentine seventeenth-century bronzes thus have long been considered by sculpture specialists as a low-point of artistic production in the city. This conclusion seems to be supported by Cosimo III's founding of the Tuscan Academy in Rome in 1673, which was said to have been brought about by a perceived decline in the historic arts of Florence.[47] But throughout

[45] These two processes are further explained in Chapter 1.
[46] The exceptions are the focused studies on Pietro Tacca: Torriti, *Pietro Tacca da Carrara*, Tommasi, *Pietro Tacca*, Mack-Andrick, *Pietro Tacca, Hofbildhauer der Medici (1577-1640)*, Ex. cat Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca*. Antonio Susini's work, while recognized as being of high quality, is always discussed in relation to Giambologna's. This is likely due to the lack of documents about his career after 1600, since he worked outside of the court structure after that date and presumably only on small-scale works, which are harder to track in archival sources. For the most recent arguments about the relationship between Susini and Giambologna, see Dimitrios Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini an Old Problem in the Light of New Research", in Peta Motture, Emma Jones, et al. (ed.), *Carvings, Casts & Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture* (London, 2013).
[47] Jennifer Montagu and Klaus Lankheit use F.S. Baldinucci, *Vita di G.B. Foggini*, to say that the perceived decline was in "sculpture and statuary." See J. Montagu and K. Lankheit, "Introduction, Sculpture" in Ex. cat. Detroit 1974, *Twilight of the Medici*, p. 26. Baldinucci's life of Foggini, is transcribed in full in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* doc. 48, pp. 233-238. Edward Goldberg cites an official document written by a minister that says Cosimo was intent on promoting "good design in the most noble professions of painting and sculpture, which once so flourished in this city

the chapters that follow, the practices of indirect casting and piece-moulding tie together and explicate the (seemingly) repetitive and uninventive production that lies between the high point marked by Giambologna and the final flourishing of bronze production under Cosimo III that was ushered in by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi. By considering the introduction of piece-moulds and indirect casting methods through a framework of material affordances, and especially in light of Hodder's notion of entanglement, my intention is to show that these changes in material processes account not only for the physical and aesthetic qualities of the sculptural pieces produced, but also align with broader cultural changes within the Medici workshop, and by extension the market for sculpture in Florence and beyond.[48] Focusing on replication and copying also highlights that while these sculptors may have returned to Giambologna's designs, they altered his material processes in response to the changing needs of the court thereby opening up new aesthetic possibilities for his designs while also pushing the boundaries of the meaning of replication.

LOCATING AUTHORSHIP

Sturtevant's reception history, which culminated in two major retrospectives in London and New York late in her life, illustrates how, in the last decades of the twentieth century, post-structuralist discourse created new frameworks for understanding copying and appropriation as legitimate forms of artistic practice.[49]

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where they have in these last years much declined." Goldberg also complicates the story of the Academy's founding by pointing to the role that Ciro Ferri had in conceptualizing it. For this, see Edward Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, pp. 134-172. The Tuscan Academy in Rome was separate from the *Accademia del Disegno* in Florence, which was founded by Cosimo I. For the *Accademia del Disegno* see K. Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State* (Cambridge, 2000).

[48] A similar cultural approach to explain aesthetic change can be found in the work of Michael Baxandall, notably: Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1988).

[49] Ex. cat. London 2013, *Finite Infinite* (London, 2013), Ex. cat. New York 2014, *Sturtevant: Double Trouble* (New York, 2014) .

This intellectual and philosophical shift not only granted artistic agency to the work of artists like Sturtevant, as well as the "copyists" of ancient Rome, but also sought to uproot the embedded hierarchies of terms that defined, and in some cases continue to define, artistic originality.[50] As I have discussed above, with their work locked within debates about attribution and design influence, Florentine seventeenth-century sculptors have not been integrated into these more recent theoretical debates.

To try and reclaim the value of copies, multiples, replicas, and even forgeries, scholars using post-structuralist frameworks have inserted new terms into the lexicon of originality. These scholars, following from Roland Barthes' "Death of the Author," of 1967, tend to most often understand these objects as cultural products or texts and as unfinished or multi-authored works.[51] The digital age has broadened the intellectual frameworks through which scholars can grapple with issues of remediation, or the movement of a design or idea across media, thereby bringing new objects–including forgeries, fakes, and the mass-produced–into the scope of scholarly investigation.[52] Web culture has further attuned scholars to the complicated ways in

[50] Key texts influencing the reconceptualization of copies, both ancient and modern, include: K. Preciado, *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Washington, Hanover, 1989), *Sculpture and its Reproductions,* ed. A. Hughes and E. Ranfft (London, 1997), T. Bartsch, M. Becker, et al., *Das Originale der Kopie: Kopien als Produkte und Medien der transformation von Antike* (New York, Berlin, 2010), Loh, *Titian Remade*, *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting, and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present,* ed. R. Frederiksen and E. Marchand (Berlin, 2010), *Inganno - the Art of Deception: Imitation, Reception, and Deceit in Early Modern Art,* ed. S. Gregory and S. Hickson (Farnham, 2012), W. Cupperi, *Multiples in Pre-Modern Art* (Zürich, 2014). For the "copyists" of ancient Rome see E.K. Gazda ed., *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 2002), E. Perry, *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 2005), J. Trimble and J. Elsner, "Introduction: If you need an actual statue...", *Art History,* Vol. 29 (No. 2, 2006), M. Marvin, *The Language of the Muses: The Dialogue between Roman and Greek Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 2008), as well as other essays and articles on the topic by many of these same authors. For replication of the antique in the ancient world and Early Modernity, see Ex. cat. Milan 2015, *Serial/Portable Classic: The Greek Canon and its Mutations* (Milan, 2015).

[51] Barthes, "The Death of the Author".

[52] Remediation is a term mostly used for new media, see, for example, J.D. Bolter and R. Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, 2000). A similar theory has been used in relation to cultural products, as in A. Erll and A. Rigney (ed.) *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (New York, 2009) . For work that considers forgeries in a positive light, see M. Jones (ed.), *Why Fakes Matter: Essays on Problems of Authenticity* (London, 1992), S. Gregory and S. Hickson (ed.) *Inganno - the Art of Deception.*

which the circulation of images in an endless chain of digital appropriation is not an emptying out of aura in the Benjaminian sense, but instead part of a range of subjective meaning-making strategies that do not decrease the value of the original image but instead layer new meanings onto it.[53] Each of these methods for exploring reproduction and copies thus facilitates an intermingling of what was formerly segregated into high and low, or mass, culture. Through these approaches, these two classes of objects have been brought together within a network of objects linked to one another by their common origin in a particular image. While this approach, which concentrates on the reception of the "visual text," broadens our understanding of how images work, by democratizing all forms of object making as "texts to be read," the subjectivity of the maker is often overlooked as are the unique material qualities of individual objects.[54]

Sturtevant's disappointment about being associated with Appropriation artists because of the material dimension of her work highlights a weakness of studies on copying that do not address such material concerns.[55] In her art and her writings, Sturtevant emphasized that not all forms of copying are equivalent precisely because

[53] These debates have been especially strong in museums where an anxiety about the continued relevance of museums has been intertwined with concerns about the circulation of images of works of art. A similar fear manifests itself in academic reflection on the specter of the slide projector and digital images which remove students from the "real thing." See for example: Michael Cole, “The Cult of Materials”, in Sébastien Clerbois and Martina Droth (ed.), *Revival and Invention: Sculpture through its Material Histories* (Oxford, 2010), p. 10, Yonan, "Towards a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies", p. 245. For the "classic" text on the aura of the "original" work of art, see Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", in W. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt (ed.) (London, 1973), pp. 211-244.

[54] C. Armstrong and et al., “Visual Culture Questionnaire”, *October,* Vol. 77 (Summer 1996). For a discussion of why art history has avoided questions of materiality and how incorporating material culture approaches could help, see the two related articles by Michael Yonan: Yonan, "Towards a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies", Yonan, "The Suppression of Materiality in Anglo-American Art-Historical Writing".

[55] An important exception is Carol Duncan, who in addition to academic reflections on the material dimensions of reproduction, also amusingly, created a fake painter-copyist named Hank Herron and wrote about him under the pseudonym Cheryl Bernstein. See Cheryl Bernstein, “The Fake is More”, in Gregory Battcock (ed.), *Idea Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York, 1973), Carol Duncan, “The Life and Works of Cheryl Bernstein”, in Carol Duncan (ed.), *The Aesthetics of Power: Essays in Critical Art History* (Cambridge, 1993).

of issues of materiality. Five hundred years ago, Leonardo da Vinci also proposed a similar material distinction between different forms of copying:

> This [painting] cannot be copied like letters, where the copy is as significant as the original (*l'orrigine*). This does not imprint itself (*s'inpronta*) like sculpture does, where the impression is like the original, relative to the *virtú* of the work. [Painting] does not make infinite children like printed books; it alone remains noble, [painting] alone honours its author, and remains precious and unique and does not ever give birth to children equal to itself.[56]

Here Leonardo, in arguing for the primacy of painting, emphasized that diverse media have the ability to produce copies differently and, by extension, reproduce the original in distinctive modes. Printing allows for "infinite children" equal to the original, while copies of sculpture are impressed, both physically and metaphorically, with the virtue of the original. But Leonardo also emphasized that there is something within a painting that cannot be copied, these unnamed elements thus allow a painting to always refer back and, implicitly, acknowledge and even honour its *autore*. While Megan Holmes have argued differently, Leonardo's passage on the relationship between copying and authorship exposes the fact that in the Early Modern period there was an understanding that the medium of a copy, as well as the medium of the original that the copy transcribed, allowed for different relationships between the two to emerge.[57]

I find Sturtevant's perspective, as both a maker and a thinker, a compelling starting point for this dissertation because I too am interested in probing the idea of originality through questions of materiality and the agency of makers, instead of arguing for the death of authorship, as Barthes and others have done. For me,

[56] "Questa [la pittura] non si copia come si fa le lettere, che tanto vale la copia quanto l'orrigine [sic]. Questa non s'inpronta come si fa la scultura, della quale tal è la impressa qual è la origine, in quanto alla virtù de l'opera. Questa non fa infiniti figlioli come fa li libri stampati; questa sola si resta nobile, questa sola onora il suo autore, e resta preziosa e unica, e non partisce mai figlioi quali a sé." This text is transcribed in P. Barrochi (ed.), *Scritti d'arte del cinquecento,* Vol. 1 (Milan, 1973), p. 74.
[57] Megan Holmes begins her article on copying practices in fifteenth-century Florence with Leonardo's quote before disputing it. Megan Holmes, "Copying Practices and Marketing Strategies in a Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painter's Workshop", in Stephen Campbell and Stephen Milner (ed.), *Italian Renaissance Cities: Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation* (Cambridge, New York, 2004).

Sturtevant's examination of originality through the creation of new artistic work is intellectually exciting and refreshing precisely because it exposes the conceptual strategies that exist within acts of making. Unlike almost all the copyists of the Early Modern period, Sturtevant chose to and was able to express her ideas in writing.[58]

During the sixteenth century an increasing number of craft manuals were published alongside treatises and biographies of artists. As Pamela Long has argued, these texts served as a "trading zone" between producers and consumers of art objects by making explicit what had once been unarticulated artisanal embodied practices.[59] This verbal transcription of making was beneficial on the one hand because it allowed consumers to appreciate the skill contained within objects, but it also abstracted the physical processes of making precisely by verbalizing them.[60] Through this process, making became intellectualized and artistic practices were given a more theoretical basis. Within these texts, a divide emerged between artistic and craft knowledge, whereby the intellectual pursuits of *disegno* were elevated above the dirty, hands-on practices associated with actually transforming matter into objects. This division seems primarily to have benefited painters who could, as Leonardo noted, be the sole *autore* of their works. Significantly, however, there are few period texts that clarify the conceptual implications of often more complicated, multi-authored sculptural practices.[61] Most of the key texts scholars today turn to in order to understand the transition from craftsmen to artists, as well as the perceived growing importance of

[58] Sturtevant's writings are greatly informed by philosophical writings of the 1960s and 1970s, but uniquely are primarily grounded in her perspective as a maker. For some examples of her writing, see Sturtevant, "Inherent Vice or Vice Versa", E. Sturtevant, “Interior Visibilities.”
[59] P. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2001).
[60] The clear differences between practice and how it is transcribed is discussed in relation to casting in, P. Smith and T. Beentjes, “Nature and Art, Making and Knowing: Reconstructing Sixteenth-Century Life-Casting Techniques”, *Renaissance Quarterly,* Vol. 63 (2010). For a general investigation of this, see Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship.*
[61] For how period art theorists wrote about sculpture, see Frangenberg, “The Art of Talking about Sculpture: Vasari, Borghini and Bocchi”.

invenzione, were written by painters, therefore leaving sculptors, with very few exceptions, without a period voice in Early Modern debates about sculptural invention and design.

Our contemporary understanding of Early Modern artistic replicative practices, not only sculptural ones, is also negatively impacted because much of the theory on it draws heavily from literary texts–both period writings on imitation as well as post-modern literary criticism–to describe visual and material practices.[62] This framing, like the prioritization of *disegno* over *arte*, also focuses on the form (or design) rather than on the matter of the invention. As Carol Armstrong has remarked, an approach that focuses too closely on form at the expense of matter "speaks to an indifference to difference—an indifference, even a hostility, to thinking that there might be any foundational difference between media, kinds of production, or modes of sign, or that those differences might matter either to the producer or consumer of a given object."[63]

Sturtevant's writings draw our attention to this nuance. Her writings confirm that there are different forms of replication can productively defined by their materiality. She does this by translating into words the embodied thinking and resulting knowledge that evolves through making. Her work is therefore especially relevant to my central questions because it explains that copying can creatively be performed through choices of material and modes of making.[64] Even more important for my understanding of the objects I discuss in the following chapters is that

[62] For the intrinsic replicative functions of sculpture, see Hughes and Ranfft, *Sculpture and Its Reproductions*, Cupperi, *Multiples in Pre-modern Art.*
[63] Armstrong and et al., *Visual Culture Questionnaire*, pp. 27-28.
[64] For more on making as a form of knowledge production, see *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge,* ed. P.H. Smith, A.R.W. Meyers, et al (Ann Arbor, 2014).

Sturtevant demonstrates the way in which thinking happens through and within the production of art objects.[65]

In what follows, I will argue that when read as material (and not just visual) texts, copies and replicas can be rich and nuanced subjects through which to investigate artistic agency in the Early Modern period. Though I do draw from and adapt post-structuralist readings about copies, I do not rely on such theories or the canonical art writers of the Early Modern period to explicate these copies. My method instead is to explore the period words deployed by artists and their patrons to describe the value of these works, while also using the material evidence of the objects themselves that inevitably contain traces of the maker and the values of their age.[66]

In order to fully appreciate how period artists, patrons, and viewers understood bronze copies and replicas, a few important keywords should be highlighted. As mentioned previously, Early Modern art theory marked out a clear distinction between two forms of imitation, which were described by the verbs *imitare* and *ritrarre*. The sixteenth-century art theorist Vincenzo Danti marked the difference as such, "by *ritrarre* I mean to make something exact as another thing is seen to be; and by the term *imitare* I similarly understand that this is to make a thing not only as another has seen the thing to be, but to make it as it would have to be in order to be of complete perfection."[67] While imitation (*imitare*) was a means of perfecting a model,

[65] Sturtevant, "Interior Visibilities", p. 124 and note 1: "Lest this be thought of as only a cerebral exercise, the thinking evolved and developed as I painted and struggled in my studio."
[66] My ideas about how to understand the "values" of a period through its material culture come primarily from Jules Prown, such as Prown, "Mind in Matter", Prown, "The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction". My explicit rejection of period art theory in favor of the language of archival documents is influenced by work on the challenge of transcribing acts of making into text by Pamela Smith, Pamela Long, as well as other writings on embodied knowledge. P. H. *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience During the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago, 2004), P. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship,* Marie Louis Stig Sørensen and Katharina Rebay-Salisbury ed., *Embodied Knowledge, Perspectives on Belief and Technology* (Oxford, 2013).
[67] [...] dico primieramente che ritrarre intendo io che sia fare una cosa appunto come si vede essere un'altra. E lo imitare medesimamente intendo, al proposito nostro, che sia fare una cosa non solo in quel modo che altri vede essere la cosa che imita, quando fosse imperfetta, ma farla come ella sarebbe

direct copying (*ritrarre*) was considered to be a straightforward transcription of a existing model. The noun *ritratto* described the type of image this mode of transcription produced. In art historical literature today, this term is often discussed in relation to portraiture, but it did not have this exclusive definition in the Early Modern period and instead was an aesthetic term used to describe how the *ritratto* related to its prototype.[68] As Megan Holmes has emphasized in her work on the reproduction of painting in the fifteenth century, the verb *retrahere*, closely related to *ritrarre*, meant to trace or redraw.[69] As I argue, especially in Chapter 2, moulds used for casting copies and replicas were seen to have this ability to passively trace the form of their models in the same way a cartoon was used to trace the composition of a painting.

The definition of *ritratto* in the *Lessicografia della Accademia della Crusca*, the definitive dictionary of the Tuscan language, draws together several verbs that describe the *ritratto*'s ability to produce close similarity to its prototype, "vale somigliarla, demonstrare, descrivere, cavando dal naturale."[70] Making a *ritratto* then was based on transcribing or describing something that already existed.

A similar relationship between a prototype and the object made after it was contained in the terms *originale* and *copia.* While both terms are similar to the English words original and copy, their meaning in the period was different. In the Early Modern period, the term *originale* did not mean "original," but *origin.* As

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da essere in tutta perfezzione."Vincenzo Danti *Il primo libro del tratto delle perfette proporzioni,* transcribed in P. Barocchi (ed.), *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma* vol. 1 (Florence, 1960), p. 241. The English translation is by F. Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa,* p. 45.

[68] For a discussion of the multiple uses of *ritratto*, see Joanna Woodall, "Introduction", in Joanna Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester, 1997), p. 3. For the gendered valances of the verb *ritrarre,* see F. Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa*, pp. 27-63.

[69] Megan Holmes, "Copying Practices and Marketing Strategies in a Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painter's Workshop", in S. Campbell and S. Milner (ed.) *Italian Renaissance Cities: Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation* (Cambridge, New York, 2004), pp. 48-49. For the use of this term in contracts, see Michelle O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, London, 2005), p. 151.

[70] "Ritratto" in *Lessicografia della Crusca in rete* < http://www.lessicografia.it/>.

Baldinucci described in his *Vocabulario Toscano dell'arte del disegno*, the *originale* was "the first to have been made, and from which the copies are drawn (*cavata*)."[71] Baldinucci defined *copia* as "that work that is not made of true (*propria*) *invenzione,* but one that is drawn (*cavata*) from another, whether it is bigger, smaller, or of the same dimension as the *originale*."[72] While a *copia* and a *ritratto* shared a relationship to a prototype, a *copia*, unlike a *ritratto*, could be made in convergent media or dimensions from the prototype.

While the phrase "cavando dal naturale," one the *Crusca*'s definitions of *ritratto*, referred to drawing, painting, modelling, or sculpting from an existing model, and not one of the artist's own invention, the phrase "cavare dal naturale" also occurs frequently in archival sources to describe the act of piece-moulding.[73] The verb *cavare* was often used in relation to taking moulds, using the word to illustrate how an image was "drawn out," "pulled out," or even "excavated" from an exemplar. While the term *cavare* had multiple uses, Baldinucci noted that the noun form, *cavo* and another noun, *forma* were interchangeable. *Forma* was defined as the object into which one cast in order to produce statues or other works in relief, in other words a mould.[74]

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[71] "[..] che è la prima a essere stata fatta, e dalla quale sono state cavate le copie." "Originale" in Baldinucci, *Vocabulario Toscano dell'arte del disegno* <http://baldinucci.sns.it/html/index.html>. Translation by author. This definition of the "original" is also discussed in Maria Loh "'Originals, Reproductions, and a 'Particular Taste' for Pastiche in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Painting," in N. de Marchi and H. van Miegroet (ed.) *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 238-243.

[72] "Fra' nostri Artefici, dicesi quella opera che non si fa di propria invenzione, ma si ricava per l'appunto da un'altra, o sia maggiore, o minore, o eguale dell'originale." "Copia" in F. Baldinucci, *Vocabulario*, <http://baldinucci.sns.it/html/_s_ric_lem.html>. Translation by author. For a discussion of *copia* as meaning many, see L. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven, 2004), pp. 113-118.

[73] "Dicesi del disegnare, dipignere, modellare, o scolpire, con aver davanti il naturale, quello imitantando; e la cosa così fatta dicesi fatta dal naturale." "Dal naturale" in F. Baldinucci, *Vocabulario*, <http://baldinucci.sns.it/html/_s_ric_lem.html>.

[74] "Forma, ovvero cavo: Dicono i nostri Artefici à quella cosa, o sia di gesso, o di terra, o di cera, o d'altra materia, nella quale si gettano, o metalli, o gesso, o cera, o altra cosa, per fare Statue o altro lavoro di rilievo." The definition of "cavo" is simply "forma." Both definitions come from F. Baldinucci *Vocabolario,* <http://baldinucci.sns.it/ >.

The term *forma* is also important in the discussion of cast sculpture in the period as it could be used to describe, as Baldinucci wrote, the "image, face, figure, semblance, aspect" that a work contained and also meant the mould.[75] It is worth noting that in terms of casting, the plural of *forma*, *forme*, is often used to describe piece-moulds that were used to make a negative matrix of a *modello*, or model, while the moulds that liquid bronze was cast into are referred to in the singular as *forma*.[76] The *forma,* mould, ultimately then created the *forma*, form.[77]

WHAT LIES AHEAD

While Sturtevant's writings, works, and experiences within the artistic community of the late twentieth century certainly resonate with the questions that lie at the heart of this dissertation–what is artistic agency and what is the inventive potential of making?–her story can't adequately explain the Early Modern phenomena of copying and replicating. Her writings account primarily for the struggles of an individual artist, and sole practitioner, exploring the meaning of her replicative practice in a market-based artistic economy. As Chapter 1 will point to and Chapter 2 will more clearly explicate, the Early Modern copy and its maker, especially in late Medicean Florence, was controlled by the owner of the original. The owner of the original, and not the maker of the copy, therefore manipulated the value of copies, both in economic and social terms. So while material may have been a source of independent expression and conceptual exploration for makers, we must not be

[75] "È la fazione esteriore di che che sia. E per ciò significa bene spesso, imagine, faccia, figura, sembianza, aspetto." "Forma" in Baldinucci, *Vocabolario*, <http://baldinucci.sns.it/ >.
[76] This distinction is most apparent in a series of documents related to casting the reliefs for the base of Giambologna's monument of Cosimo I, which include expenses both within Giambologna's workshop as well as at the foundry of Giovanni Alberghetti. These documents are transcribed in Mary Weitzel Gibbons and Gino Corti, "Documents concerning Giambologna's Equestrian Monument of Cosimo I, a Bronze Crucifix and the Marble Centaur," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 120, No. 905 (1978), pp. 508-510.
[77] For more on the multiple valances of the verb *formare*, see Chapter 3.

oblivious to the material and practical constraints placed upon their production by the Grand Dukes.

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Florence, copies were at the centre of a network of dependence that connected the interests and desires of the owner of the original, the recipient of the copy, and the court artist. Copies were not simply commissioned by a patron directly from the artist, but instead permission to do so had to be granted by the Medici Grand Dukes who were the owners of the original. The court artist was also reliant upon the Grand Duke to grant him physical access to the original that was to be copied. This proximity to the materiality of the original endowed the copy with a sense of legitimacy, much like Warhol's gift of the *Flowers* silkscreen to Sturtevant appeared to authorize her copies. As will be explored in Chapters 2 and 4, the moulds used by the sculptors discussed in this dissertation came to be understood as a form of the original itself. As a result, the means of reproduction became as tightly controlled as the original.

It was not just the original that the Medici Grand Dukes controlled, but in fact all of the elements of production–including the materials, tools, and technologies of facture– that allowed the copy to materialize.[78] Court artists, who were key instruments in the creation of a copy, were also controlled by the Grand Dukes through the financial and social constraints of *servitù particolare,* whereby as salaried members of the court they worked only for the Medici or with the family's consent for others.[79] A "copyist" in Medicean Florence was therefore not free to copy as he pleased because the modes of production, the original compositions he replicated, the

[78] This is best documented in the archival records that record tools that were loaned to artists by the Medici Guardaroba, held in The Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF) *Guardaroba*, *Guardaroba del Taglio*, *Quaderni*. There were also strict controls of access to metals and their import into the Grand Duchy. Further, certain skills and crafts were governed by the privilege system. These documents are held in ASF, *Practica Segreta*.
[79] F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New York, 1971), p. 6.

means of reproduction, as well as his own talents were owned and regulated by the Medici court. Understanding the production of copies and replicas in grand-ducal Florence thus requires understanding the multiple materialites of these objects.

To lay the groundwork for the arguments that unfold in the following chapters, Chapter 1, "(Re)producing Models: Giambologna and the Productivity of Indirect Casting," begins by exploring the role that Giambologna's clay models made in Rome in the 1550s played in narratives written about his early life in Florence and, ultimately, about the nature of his artistic genius. Giambologna's earliest patron, Bernardo Vecchietti, saw the artist's clay and wax models, which were described as close copies of statues from Rome, as clear evidence of the artist's potential waiting to emerge.[80] While the models Giambologna brought to Florence from Rome were material proof of his own individual potential, by the end of his career, models played an integral role in the production of his statuettes by his large and elaborate workshop. To understand the significance of his models, I draw on actor-network theory to argue that Giambologna's models should be understood not simply as relics of Giambologna's extraordinary design abilities, but instead as active agents that enabled particular kinds of workshop practices, and ultimately the material qualities of his final works.

While the so-called "material turn" in art history has produced a wide and varied range of scholarship on "materiality," I propose a slightly different conception that combines an art historical definition of materiality, rooted the understanding of how matter was technically transformed into art, with ideas drawn from material

[80] For the period text describing Vecchietti's interaction with Giambologna, see R. Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1583), p. 585. For analysis of Vecchietti's patronage of the artist, see M. Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti, Patron of Giambologna", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance,* Vol. 1 (1985), C. Avery, *Giambologna's Julius Caesar and His Patron, the 'Magnifico' Bernardo Vecchietti* (London, 2017).

culture studies and the history of technology. My interest then is to explore how artistic processes and materials intersect with structures of power and systems of cultural and economic value.

Understanding late Medicean Florentine sculpture through these interlocking approaches to materiality therefore requires outlining the organization and goals of the grand-ducal workshop, the *Galleria dei Lavori*, which changed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as discussed in Chapter 1. I am interested in particular in how Giambologna's use of piece-moulding and indirect casting coincided with the bureaucratization of art making within the workshop. I argue that it is essential to consider the material affordances of the process of indirect casting alongside those offered by the systematic and bureaucratic mode of production made possible within the *Galleria dei Lavori* in order to comprehend how these two materialities together created meaning and value for copies and influenced the court sculptor's artistic potential. While indirect casting and piece-moulding certainly allowed Giambologna and his successors to conceive of their models in new ways, it is also important to understand the implications of the production system that lay beyond the remit of the artist, ultimately controlling what and how he could sculpt. I argue therefore that the system of production explains as much about why these objects look the way they do as do the artists themselves.

By considering the process and the structure of production together, it is clear that the indirect casting and piece-moulding served the diverse needs of the court by enabling the replication of giftable, and highly prized, statuettes as well as facilitating the movement of design models across different materials and in different scales. While both of these production changes have always been considered beneficial for the development of Giambologna's oeuvre and fame, my goal is to rethink their

implications beyond the confines of his own work and career. I argue that the bureaucratized use of indirect casting and piece-moulding was a technological shift in production that had implications for the aesthetic qualities and social values of the period's bronzes in general, and not just for Giambologna's own work.[81] I suggest that if we then move beyond thinking of sculptural models as a point of origin and begin instead to contemplate how they productively functioned within this system of making, replication can be more subtly investigated for its usefulness thereby revealing the social and political relationships that materialized as a result of these processes of making.

The subsequent chapters use specific case studies to explore the benefits of replication to both artists and patrons, how moulds and models were used to facilitate this, and ultimately how replication and copying allowed for the artist to innovate materially. I argue that for artists, replication was a catalyst for material innovation through which they could elaborate upon the (design as well as material) inventions of their artistic forebearers. But I also continue to emphasize that the Grand Dukes' strict control of the production of art governed the expressive potential of material. Replication therefore was also useful to the Medici in sustaining their political image. Copies and replicas were thus not an emptying out of the meaning of their design exemplars, but instead were the site of the active production of new meanings in multiple social spheres.

As already noted above, in grand-ducal Florence, access to the modes of production–including the raw materials, the tools needed to work them, as well as the originals that were copied by artists–were controlled by the Medici. Chapter 2,

[81] For the indirect casting technique, see C. Avery, "Giambologna's sketch-models and his sculptural technique", *The Connoisseur,* Vol. 199 (No. 799, 1978), Volker Krahn, "I bozzetti del Giambologna", in Florence 2006 (a)*, Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi,* pp. 44-61, Stone, "Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting".

"Ownership and Originality in the Borgo Pinti Studio after Giambologna," explores this notion of what I call the "materiality of ownership" by tracing the passage of Giambologna's models and moulds from private ownership to Medici property. How the Medici were able to control the circulation of his designs as a result of this ownership was not specific to Giambologna's work, but as will be explored, was a Medici strategy of political control dating to the sixteenth century and continuing into the eighteenth, as is further explored in Chapter 4, "Soldani and Cipriani's Faithful Copies after the Tribuna's Antiquities."

Chapter 3, "Pietro Tacca's Form of Invention," instead considers how replication could be beneficial for sculptors themselves. It explores the work of Giambologna's successor, Pietro Tacca, who in previous scholarship has been regarded as a technical innovator but not necessarily a creative designer. Tacca inherited the Giambologna workshop in 1608 in the midst of the production of a number of large-scale works designed by his master. Tacca is traditionally understood not to have developed his own artistic language until the last work of his life, a monumental equestrian statue of Phillip IV of Spain. Yet in this chapter, I explore how Tacca subtly innovated throughout his career as a result of his deep knowledge of the piece-moulding and indirect casting processes. It was through this technical knowledge that he was able not only to expand upon his master's designs, but also to search out and recreate nature's most perfect forms. Combining these two skills– casting on a monumental scale and using moulds to sensitively render life-like forms– enabled Tacca to design the monumental figures of Cosimo II and Ferdinando I for the *Cappella dei Principi* in the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, which brought him personal benefits similar to those Giambologna had received decades earlier. This conclusion, based on previously unpublished archival documents, allows us to

reconsider Tacca's achievements as a court artist, which were a direct result of the materiality of his replication practices.

Replication, like that seen in late Medicean Florence, was a practice and, ultimately, a style that emerged from within the constraints of the court system of artistic production. But this does not mean that the objects that developed from replicative practices were made without innovation. In the context of the multiple layers of court control of artistic production, as described above, this means that the space in which a Medici court artist had to innovate was relatively small and thus it requires looking for nuanced difference amongst similar objects as well as attentive historically-grounded consideration to understand the form that innovation took. It is in the small formal deviations and material mutations that the individuality of makers can be seen. It is for this reason that ignoring the unique qualities of individual copies is detrimental to our understanding of both the artists and the art of the period.

Chapter 4, "Soldani and Cipriani's Faithful Copies after the Tribuna's Antiquities," illustrates the Medicean control of models and moulds while also simultaneously exploring how this regulation was beneficial for the artists Massimiliano Soldani Benzi and Pietro Cipriani. In the early eighteenth century, the two sculptors produced what they called "exact" bronze copies of the Medici's most important antique marble statues. They suggested that the exactness of their copies resulted from the moulds they used to cast them, which had been taken directly off of the original marble. But the authorization to make and thus acquire these "faithful" copies of Medici-owned sculptures was carefully controlled. Permission to copy came from Grand Duke Cosimo III himself. The mould thus became the material proof of the copy's close relationship to the original, and therefore of the copy's value. It was

also, importantly, the meeting point between the interests of the artist, the commissioner, and the owner of the original.

The Conclusion considers the final passage of moulds and models from Soldani's and Giovanni Battista Foggini's heirs to the Florentine patrician Carlo Ginori, who established a porcelain factory that continued to reproduce seventeenth-century Florentine sculpture after the Medici family's demise in 1743. It also considers the newfound freedom Soldani discovered in the Florentine artistic market in the late years of the Grand Duchy, when he began to sell copies of sculptures that had previously been tightly governed by the Grand Dukes. Together these episodes expose a weakening of court control over artistic production in the last decades of Medicean rule. The Conclusion ultimately emphasizes the important transition that took place in regard to the meaning of copies that resulted from the commercialization of them, which coincided with the rise of the Grand Tour and the extinction of the Medici family after the death of Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici in 1743. During this period, the function of copies changed from objects that held the power of the original–like a copy after a potent miraculous or talismanic image–to a tool for understanding the content and composition of the original. Exact reproductions, once seen as a form of the original itself, were increasingly unable to capture the aesthetic impact of seeing the original, a topic that was increasingly discussed in Grand Tour guidebooks and published diaries. This new didactic function of copies combined with the texts that served as guides for how one should experience the original, encouraged viewers to want to see the original in the copy rather than believing that the copy was the original itself.

It is thus not just the replication of Giambologna's designs that tied together the four generations of sculptors who succeeded him, but also their elaboration of his processes of making. Within the historical frame of the long seventeenth century, the manufacture of cast copies is therefore a practice that connects these bronze sculptors–both those viewed in current scholarship as innovators and those considered imitators. By changing the frame of investigation to a consideration of how their objects' facture was influenced by Giambologna's introduction of the piece-molding and indirect casting process into the grand-ducal workshop, my intention is to explore an alternative timeline of Florentine sculptural innovation that spans the seventeenth century, rather than being broken by it.

This dissertation is therefore an attempt not only to reinsert these artists into a broader discussion about seventeenth-century sculpture, but also to investigate a notion of "innovation" (*invenzione*) that was grounded in materiality. Further, it looks specifically at how the structure of the court's workshops as well as its control of means of production, including the artist himself, prioritized and encouraged particular forms of technical and material innovation. My dissertation thus not only explores works understood to be "after" Giambologna's designs, but more broadly the culture of replication in Florence that he initiated to uncover its range of meanings and value to the Medici court as well as its artists.

CHAPTER 1

(RE)PRODUCING MODELS: GIAMBOLOGNA AND THE PRODUCTIVITY OF PIECE-MOULDING AND INDIRECT CASTING

> Once made the models in wax or clay, which he could do quickly with his own hands, he would hand them over immediately to have the moulds made, the gesso intermodel cast, and then the finishing done by goldsmiths.[1]
>
> Simone Fortuna describing Giambologna's workshop process to the Duke of Urbino, 1581

In the mid 1550s, after two years of studying the antiquities of Rome, the Flemish artist Jean Boulogne, who is now better known by his Italianized name of Giambologna, arrived in Florence.[2] The pilgrimage to Italy, both artistic and religious, was common for northern artists of the period, such as Giambologna's near contemporary Martin van Heemskerk, whose drawings of Rome are well known. Giambologna's sojourn in Rome provided ample opportunity for copying newly unearthed antiquities. The practice of copying from the antique was a common one that formed the foundation of an Early Modern artist's development. Such direct studies of the form, composition, and ornament of ancient statues, sarcophagi, and architecture would serve as models for the mature artist's later *all'antica* creations.[3] Unlike his fellow northerner Heemskerk, who recorded the city through drawing, or sculptors, like Michelangelo or Benvenuto Cellini who also drew from antique sculpture, it seems that

[1] "[...] perchè fatti i modelli di cera o di terra, che si fan presto di sua mano, darà nel medesimo tempo a far le forme, il gesso, et a ripulire poi a gli orefici." 27 October 1581 from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino. This letter was first published by G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'aristi dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Vol. III, (Florence 1840), pp. 440-444. Italian transcriptions can also be found in A. Desjardins *La vie et l'œvre de Jean Bologne, d'apres les manuscrits inédits receuillis par Foucques de Vagnonville* (Paris, 1883), pp. 167-168, Eugène Piot, "Jean Bologne: Lettre de Simon Fortuna au duc d'Urbin sur ses statuettes de bronze," *Cabinet de l'amatuer et de l'antiquaire,* IV (1845-1847), pp. 521-529, and Dhanes, *Jean Boulogne,* pp. 345-346. An English translation of several parts of this letter can be found in Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, pp. 251-252. The translation here is by the author in order to better clarify the steps of the workshop process.

[2] For an early biography of Giambologna, see R. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, pp. 585-589.

[3] Gombrich describes this progression of the immature copyist to the mature artist in Ernst Gombrich, "The Style *all'Antica"*.

Giambologna's primary method of studying ancient art was through the creation of small models in clay and wax.[4]

The *vita* of Giambologna–and his transition from Jean Boulogne, the student of the Flemish sculptor and architect Jacques du Broeucq, into the autonomous artist and celebrated Medici sculptor– was tied from the start to the models he brought with him from Rome to Florence. As the earliest narrative of his career in Raffaello Borghini's *Il Riposo* of 1584 records, in Rome, Giambologna "undertook great study, copying (*ritraendo*) in clay and wax all of the city's esteemed statues."[5] While the exact date of his arrival in Florence remains a point of debate, the reason why he did not continue on to his homeland also forms a key aspect of his origin story.[6] As Borghini recounted, in Florence, Giambologna showed his models of Roman antiquities to Bernardo Vecchietti, an art collector, gem merchant, and courtier of the Medici.[7] Seeing Giambologna's studies in clay and wax, Vecchietti recognized "that there was a great man in [Giambologna] waiting to flourish."[8] Cognizant of Giambologna's potential, Vecchietti convinced the sculptor to stay in Florence so that he could devote himself to studying the art of the Florentine masters, especially Michelangelo. Vecchietti offered Giambologna the opportunity to live in his house, as Borghini recounted, for two or three years "without any expense," or more precisely with Vecchietti as his patron. It was a "loving offer to keep and nurture Giambologna."[9]

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[4] The only drawings attributed to Giambologna are for fountains and the elevation of the altar of the Salviati Chapel. They were therefore likely used as guides for the installation of sculptural elements or were intended to be shown to patrons. C. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, cat. 167-170, pp. 273-274.
[5] "[...] e quivi fece grandissimo studio, ritraendo di terra, e di cera tutte le figure lodate, che vi sono." Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 585.
[6] For a summary of the various theories see M. Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti", pp. 23-24. See also: M. Callahan, "Giambologna's Rented House in Florence", *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 155 (2013).
[7] For more on Vecchietti see Avery, *Giambologna's Julius Caesar and His Patron*, Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti", pp. 15-17.
[8] "[...] e conoscendo che egli era per riuscire valenthuomo" Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 585.
[9] "[...] e l'amorevole offerta di tenerlo, e nutrirlo in casa." ibid., p. 585.

The mythic origins of Giambologna's Florentine career thus takes form in simple models figured in the inexpensive and ephemeral materials of clay (*terra*) and wax. His ability to copy (*ritrarre*) the esteemed antiquities of Rome in these materials, likely at a scale not much bigger than his hands, were visual and material proof to his future patron, Vecchietti, of his ultimate artistic potential. It was later through Vecchietti's introduction that Giambologna would be taken into the care of another patron who would change the course of his career, Francesco de' Medici, who at the time was a prince but would become Grand Duke in 1574. The ability of the patron to perceive the innate genius and talent of an as yet undiscovered artist is a common trope of sixteenth-century *vite*. Yet even in art historical scholarship of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Giambologna's models are central to the narrative of his artistic success and European-wide fame.

Jean Boulogne arrived in Florence with a satchel of models directly copying Roman antiquities; but by his death in the same city in 1608, Giambologna had developed a sophisticated sculptural workshop practice that was dependent upon his models for the rapid production of bronze statuettes. His workshop's use of the indirect casting and piece-moulding processes allowed his design models to be produced and reproduced in a variety of scales and in marble, bronze, silver, and even sugar.[10] His models thus became the starting point for the elaboration of "Giambologna" designs that were materialized by the men in his workshop. In some cases statuettes, though executed by members of his workshop, were even considered to be "from his hands."

By the time Borghini's book was published in 1584, Giambologna's workshop was well established, producing small statuettes that would be sent across Europe as

[10] For sugar sculpture related to Giambologna's designs for statuettes, see K.J. Watson, "Sugar Sculpture for Grand Ducal Weddings from the Giambologna Workshop", *The Connoisseur,* Vol. 199 (No. 799, 1978), Ex. cat. Florence 2015, *Dolci trionfi e finissime piegature: sculture in zucchero e tovaglioli per le nozze fiorentine di Maria de' Medici* (Livorno, 2015).

diplomatic gifts. These objects, which are incredibly vexing in terms of authorship, are especially potent documentation of how the "hands" of the men in Giambologna's workshop in effect *became his own,* a point to which the second chapter turns. Period critics even suggested that "Giambologna only knew how to make in clay and wax," thereby implying his inability to execute finished works in bronze or marble and thereby underlining his dependence on a sophisticated workshop.[11] Unraveling the complicated tangle of authorship to identify Giambologna's autograph works (those he both designed and executed) is a difficult task. It is therefore not my concern to argue the extent to which Giambologna was active in the process of executing his designs, but instead to demonstrate how entangled these objects' creation was with the expertise of the other members of his workshop. To do so requires first deconstructing the mythic role "models" play in narrative about Giambologna's contribution to Florentine sculpture.

In story of the artist's origins, part of Giambologna's dedication to the model emerges from an encounter with Michelangelo. The young sculptor is said to have presented the master with a wax model, finished "with his breath." The legend continues that Michelangelo destroyed Giambologna's model by re-forming it into his own creation. When he finished, he told the young Fleming "now go on and learn the art of modeling before you learn the art of finishing."[12] This story, like the other stories about Giambologna's early career, reinforces the idea that the sculptor came to prioritize the concept materialized in the model over its execution. But the encounter with Michelangelo also emphasizes the fragility of these models, especially those made in wax.

While models fixed the intangible the workings of mind, they were also

[11] "[...] se bene dicevano che egli solamente nel far di terra, e di cera molto valeva." Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 586.
[12] "[...] or va prima ad imparare a bozzare e poi a finire." Baldinucci, *Notizie,* VII, p. 89. For a discussion of Giambologna's finishing techniques, see Cole, *Ambitious Form*, pp. 71-78.

ephemeral. For practical, as well as economic reasons, concepts were often worked out in cheap and impermanent materials such as clay or wax. Yet this materialized concept, translated into an impermanent material could easily be destroyed or even, as Filippo Baldinucci described in a nerve-wracking passage about a wax portrait Giambologna made as a model for a sculpture of Vittoria della Rovere, melted by the heat of the sun.[13] Models then could be as fleeting as an idea depending on how they were preserved, and thus ultimately valued.

More models by Giambologna exist today than by any other sculptor of the period. Their existence seems to confirm period narratives about his working method, at least for sculpture, as being primarily articulated through small-scale models.[14] Yet the models' function in simply fixing a design concept alone does not account for the great number of them that circulated in Florence in the century and a half after his death. Why then did they survive?

While Michelangelo is said to have advised Giambologna to concentrate on his models rather than their execution, Michelangelo also is known to have destroyed many of his own models and drawings in order to hide the labour he put into developing his designs, thereby obscuring their role in the development of his sculpture.[15] Giambologna, instead, kept many of his models and gifted others to the man who first recognized their value, Vecchietti.[16] While Giambologna may have, like Michelangelo and other sculptors of the period, concentrated on working up his designs in sketch models, he–and later the Medici–ultimately perceived a different value in his models than other Early Modern sculptors as attested to by the number of models that remain

[13] Baldinucci, *Notizie,* XII, p 160.
[14] Extant drawings indicate that Giambologna used drawing as part of his architectural practice, although he also had wooden models constructed for this purpose.
[15] For more on Michelangelo's models, see J.A. O'Grody, '"Un Semplice Modello": Michelangelo and His Three-Dimensional Preparatory Works" (Ph.D., Art History, Case Western University 1999).
[16] For more on the inheritance of Giambologna's models after his death, see Chapter 2.

today as well as the period archival documents that trace their ownership.[17]

As this chapter will argue, Giambologna's models were not just personally valuable for the development of his own designs, but took on a social function both within and outside of his workshop as a result of the material practices that enabled their replication. Within the workshop, Giambologna's models could be reused and worked on by multiple hands due to the workshop's dependence on the indirect casting and piece-moulding processes. Since his models also served a practical function of guiding his large workshop, he was thus able to dedicate himself to creating designs while leaving the execution in the hands of his able associates. Yet the practical usefulness of these two processes (piece-moulding and indirect casting) was further accentuated by changes to the Florentine art market that resulted from the centralization of art production by the court into a workshop system known as the *Galleria dei Lavori.* The indirect casting and piece-moulding processes were advantageous within this bureaucratic system, which prioritized and rewarded the development of craft specialization and assembly-line style production. Within this context, Giambologna was therefore not an individual and autonomous artist, but instead part of a complex system of court production. While the use of models in a sculptural workshop was not unique to Giambologna, a number of changing social practices and ideas about the production of art coalesced during his lifetime, thus changing his models' social and political value from being primarily practical workshop tools to being understood as objects worthy of being themselves collected. In Chapter 2, I argue that this was not simply due to the fact that they were made by Giambologna, but because they were materially useful to the continued reproduction of his designs after his death.

[17] For more on how Giambologna conceived of the value of his models, see Cole, *Ambitious Form*, p. 64.

In addition to providing a brief introduction to the life and work of Giambologna, the main goal of this chapter is to prod at the idea that the primary value of the sculptural model is that it is the artist's concept made present and tangible through his rapid actions. In much of the writing about sculptural models, they are often considered the starting point or origin of a lineage of invention that must be traced to and from the finished object in order to understand the artist's primary (and thus most authentic) conception of the work. The model as "the concept" thus is often believed to encapsulate something essential about the artist and his own intellect. Instead, I suggest that models should be reconsidered as active agents that enable workshop practices and, ultimately, generate different kinds of works of art than could have been made by an artist without a workshop. A model is therefore not a static starting point, but an active element of productive processes of thinking and rethinking as the artist's concept takes form in new media and through the diverse hands of the workshop.[18] In those translations of both medium and scale, the model's status as a singular origin becomes blurred as does the understanding of designer as sole "author". In order to further investigate the role of the model, this chapter focuses on the workshop practices and material processes of making within the Florentine sculpture workshop during Giambologna's career. In doing so, my larger claim is that the replicative practices that became central to the production of Giambologna's fame across Europe –piece-molding and indirect casting– resulted from the social and political needs of the period, in which access to the highly controlled court artist was made possible through the labour of others.

[18] For more on the multiple lives and uses of models, see M. Baker, "Limewood, Chiromancy and Narratives of Making".

GIAMBOLOGNA'S MODELS AND "GIAMBOLOGNA"

Giambologna's early years in Florence were spent under the protection of the patrician Bernardo Vecchietti. As previously mentioned, Vecchietti had perceived Giambologna's talent in his models that copied the important antiquities of Rome. That Borghini's life of Giambologna described these models as *ritraendo* the statues of Rome indicates that they were close copies with little of Giambologna's interpretation in them. It was thus Giambologna's ability to copy that provided the first proof of his artistic potential. Vecchietti's patronage, then, would enable Giambologna to develop artistically, moving from being a mere copyist into an independent artist who elaborated his own designs. As Borghini recounted, in Florence and under Vecchietti's patronage, Giambologna further devoted himself to developing his skills in modelling. That this part of the narrative is likely to be true is suggested by the fact that Vecchietti's collection of Giambologna's models was primarily comprised of pieces made before 1570, which he must have made while he was living in Vecchietti's home.[19] In fact, Giambologna's only documented work during this early period in a material other than wax or clay is a marble described in period texts as a *Venus,* but known as *Bathsheba* in current scholarship.[20]

Giambologna's concentration on modelling during this period likely was a result of his patron's capacity to support him. As Michael Bury has suggested in his article about the relationship between Vecchietti and Giambologna, providing patronage for the execution of small models in wax and clay would have been very affordable and within Vecchietti's means.[21] The execution of these models in marble and bronze, especially at large and monumental scales, required a more elaborate and expensive

[19] Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti", pp. 25-26.
[20] C. Avery, "Giambologna's *Bathsheba*: An Early Marble Statue Rediscovered", *The Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 125 (No. 963, 1983).
[21] Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti", p. 26.

infrastructure, which Vecchietti could not have provided in his suburban villa. For Giambologna's designs to take form in such elevated media, he would have needed the support of a patron with much greater resources.

Though he was likely to have been introduced to then Prince Francesco de' Medici some years earlier, by 1561, Giambologna was drawing a salary from the Medici court, at the time ruled by Cosimo I.[22] This appointment came the year after Giambologna was given permission, via Francesco, to submit a model for the *Neptune Fountain* for the Piazza Signoria in Florence. Though he lost the commission to his rival Bartolomeo Ammannati who created the figure of Neptune in marble, Giambologna was approached in 1563 to create a fountain of the same subject but in bronze in Bologna. The Bologna commission was an opportunity for Giambologna to demonstrate his talent in creating designs, but also casting bronze as Michael Cole has argued.[23] The lost Florentine commission also served as the impetus for another from Francesco for a large-scale marble of *Samson Slaying a Philistine,* which deliberately harkened back to an unfinished project by Michelangelo. This marble ignited Giambologna's widespread recognition outside of Florence. His renown continued to increase with other important commissions, like the marble statue of *Florence Triumphant over Pisa* created for the wedding of Francesco and Joanna of Austria in 1565.

By the 1580s, courts across Europe vied for the opportunity to commission Giambologna. But like the artists working for the *Galleria dei Lavori* who were inscribed on the court *ruoli*, he was tied by *servitù particolare* to the court and the

[22] For the introduction to Francesco via Vecchietti, see Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti", pp. 26-27. Giambologna's first documented commission in Florence outside of Vecchietti's protection was the coat of arms for the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa in 1558/9, though he may have also been commissioned by Lattanio Cortesi in the mid-1550s to produce a bronze *Bacchus* as is mentioned in Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 586. For a discussion of this commission, see Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti" p. 23, 26.
[23] For Giambologna's role in casting, see Cole, *Ambitious Form*, pp. 58-62.

ruling Grand Duke.[24] As a salaried member of the court, the Grand Duke decided for whom he could work. Though the terms of *servitù particolare* undoubtedly varied by patron, the basic relationship meant that the artist received regular employment, which was compensated through a monthly stipend and lodgings, in some cases within the palace of the patron. The artist was cared for as part of the extended *famiglia* of the court, and given benefits, such as trips to other cities to improve his art.[25] While under Vecchietti's protection Giambologna was provided with food, lodgings, materials, and a workspace, the patronage of the Medici court afforded much larger opportunities for the elaboration of Giambologna's designs through the infrastructure of the court workshops.

In the late 1580s, Francesco had established the *Galleria dei Lavori*, a bureaucratic structure that oversaw the production of art objects for court consumption and export. During the late sixteenth century, his successor, Ferdinando I, further developed his brother Francesco I's vision of a unified structure of artistic production within the *Galleria dei Lavori*.[26] The hierarchy of the structure rationalized production, thereby saving on expenses for tools and materials, and ultimately benefitting the political, diplomatic, and economic needs of the court. The *Galleria dei Lavori* was overseen by the *Sopritendente dei Lavori,* also known as the *Architetto Primario della Casa Serenissima*, and individual *botteghe* were directed by *capomaestri* or *maestri* who reported to the *Sopritendente*. Within this structure jewellers, gold and silversmiths, painters and miniaturists, sculptors and medalists, carvers in precious stones and porcelain workers were brought together in workshops situated on the first

[24] For a discussion of the evolution of the court's "payroll" see, Elena Fumagalli, "On the Medici Payroll: at Court from Cosimo I to Ferdinando II (1540-1670)", in E. Fumagalli and R. Morselli, *The Court Artist in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Rome, 2014). The essential study on the court's relationship to artists is W. Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici with the Reconstruction of the Artistic Establishment* (Florence 1993).
[25] Haskell suggests that this agreement also allowed for the artist to be compensated for his works at market values, although this was not always the case in Florence, as will be discussed. For a basic summary of *servitù particolare* with references to the work of painters in seventeenth-century Rome, see F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, p. 6.
[26] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, pp. 14-15.

floor of the west wing of the Uffizi. The movement of objects, raw materials, and tools were systematically recorded and inventoried by the *Guardaroba,* a term which in period documents refers to both the bureaucratic office and the man who held the role overseeing it. Thus both in its administrative structures and physical workspaces, the *Galleria* worked as an integrated and regulated body of artistic production. The establishment of the *Galleria* transformed the artistic economy of Florence by effectively converting the most highly regarded artists into servants of the court.

Interestingly, Giambologna and the two successive heads of the Borgo Pinti workshop, Pietro and Ferdinando Tacca, were both physically and structurally removed from the *Galleria dei Lavori* and the direct oversight of the *Architetto Primario*, testifying to the unique status of sculptural production with in the court.[27] While Giambologna's Borgo Pinti studio, which is further discussed in Chapter 2, as well as the artist himself were administratively removed from the *Galleria dei Lavori,* Giambologna's workshop's production was used to the same ends by producing sculpture that would support the court's image within and outside of Florence.

A series of letters exchanged between then Prince Francesco de' Medici and ministers of his cousin Catherine, Queen of France, in the 1560s illustrates how *servitù particolare* governed Giambologna's artistic autonomy and ability to take on commissions from other courts.[28] In January 1567, Cardinal Giovanni Ricci da Montepulciano wrote to Francesco on behalf of the Queen requesting permission for Giambologna to come to Rome for one year to make a rider for an equestrian monument

[27] During Giambologna's time the jeweller Giacomo Bilivert and the *arquebusier* Anton Maria Bianchi were the only two other artisans who didn't work under the *Architetto Primario*. In 1695, Foggini was given the additional title of *Architetto Primario*, thereby bridging the divide between the *Galleria dei Lavori* and the Borgo Pinti studio. Part of this divide also came from the types of objects the Borgo Pinti studio produced, *immobile*, using valuable metals from the *Fortezze*. For a discussion of the difference between the production of *mobile* and *immobile* within the court structure, see the Introduction.
[28] M. Campbell and G. Corti, "A Comment on Prince Francesco de' Medici's Refusal to Loan Giovanni Bologna to the Queen of France", *The Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 115 (No. 845, 1973), pp. 507-512.

of Henri II, which had been designed by Michelangelo and executed by Daniele da Volterra after Henri had been mortally wounded in a joust in July 1559.[29] At the time, Giambologna was working in Bologna on the *Neptune Fountain.* But Francesco wanted him to return to Florence quickly so that he could finish works in Florence that were in progress, *Florence Triumphant over Pisa* and *Samson Slaying a Philistine*, as well as others that had been commissioned but not yet commenced. The urgency of these commissions therefore provided ample reason for why Giambologna should not leave for Rome, but instead return to Florence and his patron.[30]

Francesco crudely wrote to the Cardinal rejecting Catherine de' Medici's request that Giambologna be sent to her court,

> as one says in Tuscany, you must take a wife to enjoy Carnival [time] (*il carnovale*). I raised master Giovanni Bologna and I made him a man to serve me in my desires truly: and if I provide for his livelihood (*gli do da vivere*) and others enjoy him, I would have lost the work and the expense.[31]

His use of the term *il carnovale*, which referred to the days of Carnival before the constraints of the Lenten period when one could both eat meat and savour sexual pleasures freely, equated the court artist to a woman who was to be "enjoyed." This passage further makes clear that Ferdinando saw the care of *his* artist as a form of husbandly, or more generally, patriarchal care.

As Giambologna's patron, Ferdinando provided funds not only to support his artistic development, but also his living expenses. From early on in his court service, starting in 1562, Giambologna was provided with a monthly allowance of ten *scudi* to

[29] ibid., p. 508.
[30] ibid., pp. 508-509.
[31] "E' si suol dire in Toscana che si piglia donna per goderla il carnovale. Io ho allevato maestro Giovan Bolgna et l'ho fatto huomo per servirmene in verità ne' miei bisogni: et gli do da vivere, et altrui se lo godesse haverei perduto l'opera et la spesa." Ferdinando de' Medici to Cardinal Giovanni Ricci da Montepulciano, 20 January 1566/7 in response to the request to send Giambologna to work for Catherine de' Medici, see ibid., Document B. Translation by author adapted from Campbell and Corti.

cover the cost of his rent in addition to his set salary of thirteen *scudi*.[32] Beyond this monetary support for his subsistence, he was also provided with a workshop as well as materials for his work.[33] It was through Ferdinando's patriarchal care that Giambologna would be "given [his] livelihood" and the physical and artistic space in which his artistic works could germinate. Yet as Ferdinando's letter makes clear, Giambologna's development, which was fostered by grand-ducal funds, was not intended to transform Giambologna into an independent agent, but instead to fulfil Ferdinando's desires. By allowing others to patronize this artist, who Ferdinando had moulded into the type of artist he desired, he would have "lost [his] work and [his] expense."[34] Like the objects made in the *Galleria* for foreign courts, "loaning" expertise was form of a diplomatic gift because it, like the objects produced by the artist, was made possible through the expense the patron had invested in his development.[35] The court artist was therefore an embodiment of his design and material invention, an object controlled by the Medici through the agreement of *servitù particolare*. This is further emphasized by the fact that in a later letter Francesco even referred to Giambologna as “my acknowledged creature.”[36]

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[32] D. Zikos, "Giambologna's Land, House, and Workshops in Florence", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz,* Vol. 46 Bd, (No. H 2/3, 2002), p. 363.
[33] ibid.
[34] Ferdinando de’ Medici to Cardinal Giovanni Ricci da Montepulciano, 20 January 1566/7 in response to the request to send Giambologna to work for Catherine de’ Medici, transcribed in: Campbell and Corti, "A Comment on Prince Francesco de' Medici's Refusal to Loan Giovanni Bologna to the Queen of France", Document B. For the text, see above, note 31.
[35] The "gifting" or exchange of women in the form of brides was a similarly gendered practice engaged in by courts like that of the Medici in this period. For more on women as gifts, see Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Rayna Reiter (ed.), *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York, 1975).
[36] "[...] trattarlo come mio creato accetto." Prince Francesco to Deputati sopra la Fonte e Fabbrica di Bologna, 18 April 1566 (Bologna Archivio di Stato, Lettere dei Principi, Cardinali e Prelati, 1533-1566, Fol. 283. This letter was first published by Gualandi, *Nuova raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura, scritte da' più celebri personaggi dei secoli XV a XIX*, Vol. III (Bologna, 1844), pp. 45-46, and later by W. Gramberg, *Giovanni Bologna. Eine Untersucheng über die Werke seiner Wanderjahre, bis 1567* (Freiberg, 1936), p. 107, Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, p. 335, and Corti and Campbell, "A Comment", p. 510. Corti and Campbell note Francesco's change in tone in this letter of 1565, which revealed less of a willingness to attend to the Queen's desires, was due to the fact that he was increasingly frustrated that Giambologna would not finish the *Neptune Fountain* in time to return in order to work on the *Florence Victorious Over Pisa* for his wedding to Giovanna of Austria.

The artist was thus, like the works he produced, a commodity that could be exchanged but only when it was beneficial to the court. It is important to emphasize that Giambologna's value to the Medici court came not only from the works he produced, but also because of how the court could both allow him to create admirable sculptures while simultaneously controlling his artistic output. Through this control of his production, the court was also able to limit other courts' access to his talents, thus creating a structure of dependency not only between the artist and the Medici, but between other courts and the Medici as well.[37]

While Giambologna was unable to take on large-scale commissions for Catherine as well as other courts and patrons, in his later career his statuettes became the means through which the Medici could accommodate other courts' desires for Giambologna's works without unduly engaging the artist and thus taking him away from Medicean projects. While the Medici had perceived value in Giambologna's statuettes from as early as 1565, as documented by the gift of a statuette of *Venus Drying Herself* sent to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II, the serial reproduction of Giambologna's designs began in earnest only in the 1580s.[38]

Today, about 100 individual designs are attributed to Giambologna and his workshop.[39] Yet only eleven statuettes are considered by scholars to be "autograph," that is designed and executed by Giambologna himself.[40] Of the 100 individual designs, some were replicated more often than others, such as *Mars,* the *Sleeping Nymph*, *Hercules Slaying the Centaur, Nessus and Deainira,* genre figures like the *Seated Bagpipe Player*, animals like the *Bull,* as well as several designs for crucifixes. There

[37] For the control of designs as a political tool, see Chapter 2.
[38] The earliest presentation statuette of *Venus Drying Herself* was given to Maximilian II in 1565. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 136.
[39] For the difficultly of clearly defining Giambologna's designs from that of his workshop see ibid., pp. 134-136.
[40] ibid., p. 133.

are, for example, over thirty versions of the *Mars* known.[41] (Figure 1.1) The ubiquity of these designs contrasts with the small number of statuettes that are reduced versions of Giambologna's most well-known large-scale Florentine works such as *Samson and the Philistine, Florence Triumphant Over Pisa*, the *Rape of the Sabines*, as well as his equestrian monuments of Cosimo I and Ferdinando I.[42] The Giambologna scholar Charles Avery has pointed to this difference and questioned if the Medici had more exclusive control over the reproduction and distribution of the designs of large-scale monuments in statuette form. In contrast, he has also suggested that both Giambologna and his *allievo* Antonio Susini had greater freedom to reproduce the more common designs, two points further discussed in Chapter 2.[43]

Giambologna's models, cast and finished by others, therefore made him accessible to a wide range of patrons who were Medici allies or potential allies, in a way he could not be otherwise have been, because little of his own personal labour needed to be put into the production of such statuettes. Importantly, this mode of accessing the artist through the work of others was only possible, first, because of the workshop's use of the indirect casting process and, secondly, because of the bureaucratic structure of the workshop supported by the *Galleria* that provided for the speedy production of these statuettes.[44] Understanding how the social practices of controlling the artist coincided with the material practices within the workshop, requires looking at the processes central to the reproduction of Giambologna's models and the labour within the workshop that performed them.

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[41] For the list of the 30 known replicas of the *Mars*, see W. Wixom, *Renaissance Bronzes from Ohio Collections* (Cleveland, 1975), cat. 145 (unpaginated).
[42] Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 235.
[43] ibid.
[44] For how models and moulds were reused for larger-scale monuments starting in the 1580s, see Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, pp. 22-26.

The Productivity of Piece-Moulding and Indirect Casting

As has been mentioned, scholars often discuss that more of Giambologna models are extant than of any other Early Modern sculptor. The single English term "models" to describe the variety of materials and former uses of this body of material is deceptive. The Giambologna models that remain today can be divided into roughly three functions: to develop design concepts or compositions, to facilitate the facture of sculptures, and to demonstrate designs to patrons. Amongst Giambologna's models there are also a few very finished presentation models for patrons, such as gilded wax of a *Seated Woman* at the Louvre,[45] or a painted and partly gilded terracotta model of the pedestal for the equestrian statue of Cosimo I.[46] Giambologna also produced architectural models in wood in which he worked out more complex compositions of architectonic sculptural installations. Investigating the diverse materialities of these models provides insight into the workshop practices that supported the facture of Giambologna's designs. [47]

In the development of Giambolgona's sculpture, a sketch model was the first very loose exploration of the composition and form. These models lack exacting detail such as facial features or clearly articulated hair, and are instead rendered through the rough manipulation of the material by the artist's fingers. Several Giambologna sketch models exist in wax at a scale not much larger than a hand, but there are models in clay at a slightly larger scale, for example the Victoria and Albert Museum's *River God,* a model designed for the Medici Villa at Pratolino.[48] (Figure 1.2) Due to their lack of

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[45] Giambologna, *Seated Woman* (model), gilded wax, Musée du Louvre, Campana Collection, no. 90, ibid., cat. 176, p. 274.
[46] Giambologna, pedestal for equestrian statue, painted and partially gilded terracotta, Berlin-Dahlem Stattliche Museen (876). Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, ca. 199, p. 277.
[47] For Giambologna's method, see Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, pp. 63-72, C. Avery, "Giambologna's sketch-models and his sculptural technique", *The Connoisseur,* Vol. 199 (No. 799, 1978).
[48] Many of the sketch models are in wax. For example, see Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 70. A surprising number of these waxes still survive, the largest collection is held in the

detail and unfinished quality, it is likely that these sketch models would have been made and used exclusively by Giambologna, likely in his private *studio* within the Borgo Pinti complex.

In Vasari's passage on cast sculpture in *On Technique,* he stressed the importance of modelling this sketch-like form before starting on what would become the finished work. Doing so would allow the artist to develop his design before working with the material of the final object. This clearly aligns with Vasari's more deeply rooted ideas about the importance of *disegno,* but also shows significant debt to Pliny's description of the sculptural process and the importance of working with models.[49] In *The Natural History*, Pliny wrote about the Greek sculptor Zenodous in his studio working on a cast of a colossus of the Emperor Nero. Pliny's description included an explanation of the process by which the statue had been made, working up from small models to large-scale statuary, a method Giambologna would also use.[50] Pliny further suggested that the purest form of the artist's conception of the work appeared in the sketch model, noting that Pasiteles believed that modelling was "the mother of chasing and of bronze" and thus he "never made anything before he had made a clay model."[51] Pliny also noted that the clay models of Lucius Lucullus would sell for more than finished works by others.[52] Such an understanding of the role of the sketch model as the origin and purest form of an artist's inventions seems to have also influenced Early Modern collecting practices as seen by the fact that many of Giambologna's extant models were first collected by Vecchietti and others.[53] While these sketch models are

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Victoria and Albert Museum. For the history of the use of wax models in Early Modern sculpture see C. Avery, *"La cera sempre aspetta*: wax sketch models for sculpture", *Apollo,* Vol. CXIX (1984).
[49] S.B. McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the Natural History* (New Haven, 2013), p. 277.
[50] ibid., p. 38.
[51] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* (Cambridge; London, 1938), Book 35, p. 158.
[52] ibid., Book 25, p. 375.
[53] Most of the provenance history for extant models the objects can be traced back to the eighteenth century when Florentine families were selling these works which they claimed had been collected earlier.

the most visually poetic ways of accessing the artist today, sketch models comprise only a fraction of the known Giambologna models. A number of them were workshop models that performed a crucial function in a multi-step process of translation required to make a bronze statue. They were, therefore, just not purely expressive, but a means to an end.

Since the sketch models were simply rough renderings of the major compositional elements of the work, they would have needed to be reformulated into more detailed models to be of use to the workshop. From the existing evidence provided by Giambologna's extant models, it seems that the more developed model was made at about twice the size of the first sketches. [54] If the models were to be used for bronze statuettes, they would be cast at a similar scale.[55] In the case of a carved finished sculpture, the second, larger wax or clay models could then be scaled up even further to produce full-scale models in terracotta or gesso for carved marble sculpture.[56]

Further research into family archives would have to be done to reveal the truth of such claims. It is also worth noting that these narratives about Early Modern collectors recognizing the genius in these works – like the prioritization of the originating model in connoisseurship or *Kopienkritik*– understand the model to be part of a linear process and therefore denies the important role played by copies. It therefore seems more likely to have been a nineteenth-century formulation of the value of these copies instead of evidence of actual period interest. Some questions have been raised about the authenticity of some of the models held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, though the curators at that institution have defended their authenticity. For provenance history of some of Giambologna's extant models see Avery, *Giambologna's Julius Caesar and his Patron,* pp. 28-29. For the collection of Giambologna models at the Victoria and Albert Museum, see John Pope Hennessy, "The Gherardini Collection of Italian Sculpture", *V&A Yearbook,* Vol. 2 (1970).

[54] Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 65.

[55] There is disagreement between Charles Avery and Walter Krahn about whether or not the models were used directly for the making of *bronzetti*. See Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, pp. 163-171, Volker Krahn, "I bozzetti del Giambologna", pp. 44-61. Cole argues that Giambologna created his own persona tied to the model and not to the making. See Cole, *Ambitious Form,* pp. 42, 62-73.

[56] A whitewashed clay *Florence Triumphant over Pisa* was installed in the *Sala dei Cinquecento* from 1565 to 1589 while the marble version was being completed, and is now displayed in Palazzo della Signoria (Florence). Another whitewashed clay group was inventoried in the Borgo Pinti studio in Florence in 1687 and is now in the Galleria della Accademia (Florence). Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, cat. 192, p. 276 and cat. 198, p. 277 respectively. There is a large terracotta model in the British Museum attributed to Giambologna that was used for taking piece moulds off of. Giambologna, model of a centaur, terracotta, c. 1570 (BM 1859.7-19, 3). For a discussion of this object, see Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, cat. 195, p. 276. Other sculptors of the period, like Gian Lorenzo Bernini or Antonio Canova, would then transfer the design of their *bozzetti* to the block through the use of a pointing system. For their techniques, see, respectively: Ex. cat. New York 2012, *Bernini: Sculpting in Clay* (New York, New Haven, London, 2012), F.M.A. Gaudioso, G.D. Filippi, et al., *Sculture calchi e modelli di Antonio Canova nella gipsoteca di Possagno* (Veneto, 1992).

A period letter from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino makes it clear that these *modelli* could be made in wax (*cera*) or clay (*terra*), but from the inventory of Borgo Pinti taken at Giambologna's, we know that there were *modelli di stucco* (stucco models) in Giambologna's *studio.*[57]

While there these two different types of models, sketches and workshop models, do represent a different stages of the refinement of the design, it was not just artist's conception of the design that evolved through this workshop process, but by moving from wax to clay and then finally to bronze or marble, the materials themselves would have dictated and forced changes to the composition in response to the material's constraints or affordances.[58] Hence while the sketch wax might have been the first materialization of the *concetto*, there were multiple moments within the process of preparing that model in which the design could have been adapted. In some cases Giambologna even produced multiple waxes or different clay versions to develop his design. It is therefore incorrect to chart these moments of the model's refinement in a linear timeline, they should instead be considered as a network of moving ideas and influences.[59]

As mentioned previously, Giambologna's workshop relied on the indirect casting method for the replication of his designs. The indirect casting method relies on a series of translations between positive and negative, thereby creating multiple elements that could be actively reused. (Figure 1.3) To translate the *modello* into a bronze statuette, while also saving that *modello* for future use, Giambologna's workshop would then

[57] For the letter from Fortuna to the Duke, see above note 1. An inventory of the models in his *studio* record "seidici mensole d'albero tinte, suvi sua modelli di stucco." This text is discussed in Chapter 2 based on the text transcribed in Gino Corti, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Inventories Involving Giambologna", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 118, No. 882 (1976), appendix I.
[58] For more on theories of materials and affordances, see Ann-Sophie Lehmann, "The Matter of the Medium".
[59] For a discussion of the multiple uses of models, see Baker, "Limewood, Chiromancy and Narratives of Making". Looking at the range of *modelli* known in the so-called "second stage", we can notice that some are more finished than others, thereby raising questions as to the extent Giambologna was involved in the finishing of his own models.

create a piece-mould of his model. First the finished model was greased with a release agent. Then separate pieces of the mould were made by brushing on plaster one section at a time. For more complex areas, like the head, more pieces were used to capture the contours.

In Vasari's description of the process in *On Technique* he describes that once the *modello* had been completed

> to that level of perfection that is required of the art and of the sculptor's study, he begins then with *gesso da fare presa*[60] to make a mould, piece by piece, over this model (*modello*)[...] and like this piece by piece the *figura* forms itself (*si forma*), the head, the arms, the torso the legs, until the last piece, in this way the *cavo* of that statue, which is to say the negative of the statue's form (*forma incavata*), becomes imprinted (*improntata*) in the *cavo* with all of its parts and every minute detail of the model.[61]

The perceived magical agency of the mould to replicate the figure is captured in Vasari's phrase *la figura si forma*, the figure forms *itself*. Vasari's wording removes the hand of the maker from this process, thus describing the act of moulding as an interaction between the *figura* and *cavo*. The last line of Vasari's description, that all of the minute details of the model becomes *improntata,* impressed, in the *cavo* is also significant for how it describes the passivity of the mould as simply taking the form of the model. Baldinucci too defined the verb *formare* (to mould) as using gesso to "make an imprint" (*far presa*) of a model.[62] The precision with which a (well-applied) mould could capture the details of the model is especially apparent in a bronze cast of model

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[60] "Gesso da fare presa" was a kind of plaster, made from a particular white stone coming from Volterra. "Gesso da fare presa" in Baldinucci, *Vocabulario,* <http://baldinucci.sns.it/html/index.html>.

[61] "[...] a quella perfezzione ch'è concessa dall'arte e dallo studio loro [...] cominciano poi con gesso da fare presa a formare sopra questo modello parte per parte [...] e così di pezzo in pezzo la figura si forma, e la testa, le braccia, il torso e le gambe per fin all'ultima cosa, di maniera che il cavo di quella statua, cioè la forma incavata, viene improntata nel cavo con tutte le parti et ogni minima cosa che è nel modello" G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori. Nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, vol. 1, (Florence, 1966), p. 97.

[62] "Far forme; ed è proprio de' nostri Artefici: e fassi pigliando gesso da far presa, e ponendolo sopra alcuna cosa d'intero, o non intero rilievo, acciochè rimanga impressa la cosa formata nel medesimo gesto: e questo poi chiamano forma, o cavo; perchè le parti rilevate della cosa formata, vengono nel gesso incavate; onde ponendo in esso cavo altro gesso, o cera liquefatta (dopo avere con mistura d'olio, e sapone il detto cavo per tutto bene untato) fannosi poi altre cose simili, a quelle che si son formate." "Formare" in Baldinucci, *Vocabulario,* <http://baldinucci.sns.it/html/index.html>.

for a colossal statue of Francesco I in the Museo degli Argenti, Florence, which illustrates the appearance of an unfinished wax model translated into bronze. (Figure 1.4) While the body is particularly smooth, the loose articulation of the hair and feet reveals the unfinished state of the model used to cast it.[63] (Figures 1.5 and 1.6)

Once dried, the mould pieces (*forme*) were removed and reassembled into a larger and simpler matrix, the *cavo* or *forma* into which wax was cast (*gettato* or *buttato*). The new wax sections were then assembled and the surface of the wax was reworked to remove the flashing, or places where wax had seeped out of divisions of the piece-mould. Doing so would reduce the amount of cleaning and finishing required on the cast bronze. But it is at this point where adjustments to the figure could be made or additional features added.[64] These changes would not influence the first model or the moulds taken off of it, which remained for future use. Only the wax that was to be invested would be altered. After the wax had been reworked, a gate (*gitto*) and vents (*sfiatori*) were added to allow for the flow of bronze during casting. Then, the wax was invested. The investment material was heated to melted out the wax, thereby leaving a void for the bronze to be cast into. This now empty receptacle for bronze is referred to in documents as the *forma.* Often the *forma* was heated, or literally "recooked" (*ricuocere*), a second time to remove any dampness before the liquid metal was cast into it. After casting, the investment material was removed, as were the sprues, vents, and risers. After this work had been completed the bronze was then finished, in a phase called cold work.

The indirect casting process was particularly useful in the workshop setting not only because of how labour could be divided between many specialists, but also due to

[63] A cast of an unfinished model is referred to as a "relic cast" and was used to save a fragile model. It was unlikely to have been cast into bronze during Giambologna's life.
[64] For an overview of the techniques of indirect casting, see M. Trusted, *The Making of Sculpture,* pp. 51-55.

the way in which the model was retained and multiple wax inter-models could be cast from moulds. The "productivity" of this process was very different from the direct casting method. In direct casting, the model was made in wax, invested, and then heated to melt out the wax, creating space for the molten metal. The bronze was cast directly into the void where the wax model made by the artist once had been. The model was thus lost through casting and could not be reproduced. Where we might call direct casting productive, in that it produces a single product, indirect casting is a reproductive process that relies on translations between negative and positive. The indirect casting process produces not one, but multiple lasting products: a bronze, a model (*modello*), a set of piece-moulds (*forme* or *cavi*), as well as more complete moulds (*forma* or *cavo*) for casting. These pieces were not relics of a linear process but could be, and were, actively reused in the production of other works.[65] This had implications for Giambologna's practice, as well as that of his successors, because they were able to rethink and reuse moulds and models in new ways.

Reuse and Replication with Indirect Casting

As the descriptions of piece-moulding and indirect casting from Pliny, Vasari, and other Early Modern sources demonstrate, these two processes were utilized in sculptural workshops other than Giambologna's. Understanding how he and his workshop used these processes in particularly novel ways, and ultimately how this related to the social and political needs of his period, requires juxtaposing their use of the process with other sculptors.

[65] This is also part of Cole's argument but he doesn't use materiality or the process of making to describe it. Cole, *Ambitious Form*, pp. 42, 62-73. For different approach towards the multiple functions of sculptural models and how they relate to materiality, see Baker, "Limewood, Chiromancy and Narratives of Making".

Piece-moulding and indirect casting had been used in the ancient world for the production of statuettes and plaster copies of statuary. The processes were revived in the *quattrocento* by the goldsmith and antiquities restorer, Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi), working at the Gonzaga court.[66] Antico used piece-moulding and indirect casting primarily for the execution of bronze statuettes that would be studied and handled in a *studiolo.* While some of his statuettes appear very similar in design, they are not exact replicas. This is because after making his model, primarily in wax over an iron armature, he would then piece-mould his models to subsequently create moulds from which elements of the inter-model could be cast in wax, thereby also saving the original model.[67] These piece-moulds were not assembled completely, but instead in sections–head, limbs, and torso–so as to enable Antico to create differences between the inter-models that would later be invested for casting.[68] This ultimately meant that while he reused the same moulds, the resulting bronzes were not identical. The reason for this variation was likely due to the Gonzaga's, his patrons, control of his designs.[69] Andrea Riccio, another northern Italian bronze sculptor, also at times used the indirect casting method to make multiples of his designs, but like Antico he also personalized these

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[66] Ex. cat. Mantua 2008, *Bonacolsi, l'Antico: uno scultore nella Mantova di Andrea Mantegna e di Isabella d'Este* (Milano, 2008), Ex. cat. Washington 2012, *Antico: The Golden Age of Renaissance Bronzes* (Washington D.C., 2011).

[67] Antico returned to some of these models nearly nine years after he had first cast them. For evidence of this, see the April 1519 letter from Antico to Isabella d'Este reproduced in: Stone,"Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting", p. 96.

[68] Dylan Smith and Shelley Sturman, "The Art and Innovation of Antico's Bronzes", in Ex. cat. Washington 2012, *Antico: The Golden Age of Renaissance Bronzes* (Washington D.C., 2011), pp. 163-164, "Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting", pp. 96-97.

[69] C. Kryza-Gersch, "The production of multiple small bronzes in the Italian Renaissance: When, Where, Why (I)", *Ricche minere,* Vol. 1 (No. 1, 2014), pp. 31-33. According to Denise Allen, because the Gonzaga had exclusive control of Antico's models they were able to use them as potent political gifts. D. Allen, "Gold, Silver, and the Colors of Bronze in Antico's Language of Materials in Statuettes and Reliefs", in Ex. cat. Washington 2012, *Antico: The Golden Age of Renaissance Bronzes* (Washington D.C., 2011), p. 145. For documents indicating the Gonzaga's fear of the unauthorized reproduction of Antico's models, see Ferrari, "L'Antico nelle fonte d'archivio", in Ex. cat. Mantua 2008. *Bonacolsi, l'Antico: Uno scultore nella Mantova di Andrea Mantegna* (Milan, 2008), docs. 13-14.

objects for different patrons. Severo da Ravenna likewise relied on moulds to allow for his designs to be produced by his assistants.[70]

The conservator and expert in Early Modern bronze casting techniques, Richard Stone, has suggested that it was unlikely that there was a process of producing bronze replicas, or multiple bronzes cast from the same model, in Florence before Giambologna's time due to the fact that many sculptors in the city relied on the direct casting method.[71] Although in his *Treatise on Sculpture* Benvenuto Cellini, for example, described using the indirect casting method, it was not to create replicas, but instead to preserve his model in order for his workshop to better assist him with the finishing of the cast sculpture. [72] As these examples indicate, sculptural models even within the same process of making could be used to different ends. It is therefore important to understand the social uses for which the process was utilized in order to have a more nuanced understanding of the value and usefulness of replication. Considering the range of relationships produced by Giambologna's use of these processes further illuminates the diversity of meanings crafted through replication.

As previously noted, sculptural models could move across materials. At a very simple level, the same model and moulds could be used to cast different metals. Giambologna's *Labors of Hercules,* for example, were first cast in silver and subsequently in bronze.[73] Similarly, his relief of the *Allegory of Prince Francesco de' Medici* was first carved in alabaster as a gift from Francesco to Philip III of Spain in

[70] Trusted, *The Making of Sculpture,* p. 54, Kryza-Gersch, "The production of multiple small bronzes in the Italian Renaissance: When, Where, Why (I)", p. 34.
[71] Stone, "Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting", p. 94, and for the definition of replica p. 89.
[72] B. Cellini, *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture* (London, 1898), p. 114. F.G. Bewer, "A Study of the Technology of Renaissance Bronze Statuettes" (PhD Conservation and Material Science, University of London, 1996), p. 36.
[73] Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 139, A. Radcliffe, "Giambologna's Twelve Labours of Hercules", *Connoisseur,* Vol. 199 (No. 799, 1978).

1562/3 and was later moulded and cast in bronze for the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian II in 1565.[74]

While Giambologna's wax models are commonly understood to be the origin of his designs, there is evidence of reuse and replication within the models themselves. Wax models for two separate compositions of Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabines* are held in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[75] An x-radiograph of one of these wax models revealed that the wax female figure was cast while the lower male figure was worked by hand over a metal armature. [76] (Figures 1.7 and 1.8) This means that a previous model of the female figure had been piece-moulded and then cast in wax. This wax was then added to and integrated with the male figure, which was worked up by hand, thereby creating a new compositional model.

Such reuse can also be identified in the finished bronzes themselves. Both Giambologna and his successor, Pietro Tacca made larger-than-life-size equestrian monuments and related statuettes of European rulers.[77] The first was Giambologna's equestrian monument of Cosimo I, begun in 1587 and installed in 1594, which was followed by another of Ferdinando I, which was completed by Tacca in 1608 after Giambologna's death. [78] (Figures 1.9 and 1.10) Tacca went on to make three other large-scale equestrians, one of Henri IV of France (1604-1611), another of Phillip III of Spain

[74] The alabaster relief in the Museo del Prado (296E); the bronze in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello (128) was said to be cast in bronze from moulds taken from alabaster before it was sent to Spain. A second bronze cast is held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Pl. 5814). For catalogue entries for all three objects see Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 270, cat. 145, 146, 147. They are also discussed in Cole, *Ambitious Form*, p. 76. This process of replication is also related to the fifteenth-century practice of making "squeezes," or moulds from low-reliefs, to be reproduced in gesso or paper mâché.
[75] Giambologna, model for *The Rape of the Sabines,* wax, ca. 1579-1580, (VAM 4125-1854), Giambologna, model for *The Rape of the Sabines,* wax, ca. 1579-1580, (VAM 1092-1854).
[76] Giambologna, model for *The Rape of the Sabines,* wax, ca. 1579-1580, (VAM 1092-1854).
[77] For summaries of their commissions, see Davide Gasparotto, "Cavalli e cavalieri. Il monumento equestre da Giambologna a Foggini', in Ex. cat. Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi. Genesi e fortuna di uno stile europeo nella scultura* (Florence, 2006), pp. 93-99, Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, pp. 156-165.
[78] Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, cat. 38, p. 257, cat. 47, p. 258.

(1606-1614), and shortly before his death another of Philip IV of Spain (1634-1640).[79] (Figures 1.11-1.13) The piece moulds used to cast the horse of Ferdinando I were reused both for the horse of Henri IV and later Philip III. Understandably, this would have expedited the production of these large bronzes, but similar reuse can also be seen even in the smaller statuettes. Models of the horses were cast and completed with new bodies and heads to individualize the static horse composition with diverse protagonists.[80]

The reuse of elements of the casting process was not just practical, but also served for the exploration and elaboration of designs, not only by Giambologna as is illustrated by the cast wax for the *Rape of the Sabines*, but also by his followers. As Maria Loh has argued in relation to Titian's *ricordi* sketches, revisiting a past composition could be a way for the artist to work through ideas and solve them in new ways, what she calls the "pleasure of possession for the artist."[81] The turning back, or repeating the "repossession" of a composition allowed the artist to discover new solutions, not only to the composition but also in relation to the material of the sculpture itself. Tacca's continuing exploration and elaboration of (what is identified in specialist literature as) Giambologna's design model of the equestrian monument not only introduced compositional individualization, such as in the portrait of the rider or the mane of the horse, but most importantly allowed Tacca to innovate materially thereby "possessing" his master's first design and making it his own.[82] As Chapter 3 further explores, it is through his prolonged engagement with the same composition that Tacca was able to adjust Giambologna's design of the monuments so that by the final design

[79] ibid., cat. 48, 49. p. 258.
[80] Tacca's work on the equestrian statues is further explored in Chapter 3.
[81] Maria H. Loh, "Déjà Vu and the Pleasure of Possession", in Salvatore Settis, Anna Anguissola, et al. (ed.), *Serial/Portable Classic: The Greek Canon and its Mutations* (Milan, 2015).
[82] For copying as a route to innovation, see Holmes, "Copying Practices and Marketing Strategies in a Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painter's Workshop", Loh, "Déjà Vu and the Pleasure of Possession"; Loh, *Titian Remade.*

for his Philip IV monument, the weight of the horse rested on its hind legs, with its front hooves elevated above the pedestal, thereby giving the "original" greater dynamism.

Models and moulds were often inherited within the workshop, as Chapter 2 will further explore, which allowed for multiple artists and patrons to have the "pleasure of possessing" Giambologna's designs, thus enabling them to make these models their own. Antonio Susini was a goldsmith with highly developed finishing skills who worked with Giambologna from 1581 until around 1600 creating models, refining waxes, making moulds, and finishing statuettes.[83] Susini is understood in art historical scholarship as one of Giambologna's artistic heirs, though intriguingly, Giambologna gave Susini some models to cast in his own studio while the master was still living. Ever since Baldinucci first wrote Susini's *vita* in the seventeenth century, Susini's technical casting and finishing skills have been understood as having influenced the design of Giambologna's statuettes. While the extent of Susini's agency within this relationship is debated, it is worth noting that the replication of Giambologna's small statuettes in bronze is said to have only begun when Susini arrived in his workshop.[84] This is likely because the production of Giambologna's statuettes relied on the indirect casting and piece-moulding processes, which were utilized more fully by goldsmiths than sculptors in the period.

Yet comparing statuettes made by Giambologna and Susini of the same composition demonstrates how they used the indirect casting process to achieve diverse goals. One of the compositions Susini was given by his master was *Nessus and Deianira.* Giambologna first produced the composition for Jacopo Salviati in 1576.[85]

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[83] Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini".
[84] Anthony Radcliffe, "Replication of Sculpture in Bronze", in Anthony Radcliffe (ed.), *Renaissance and Later Sculpture: With Works of Art in Bronze The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection* (London, 1992). For debates on Susini's entry into the workshop, see Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini".
[85] This version of the composition is discussed in specialist literature as Type A. For more on the distinctions, see Ex. cat. London 1978, *Giambologna, 1529-1608: Sculptor to the Medici* (London, 1978),

(Figure 1.14) It was later executed again by Susini with slightly modified visual effects. Giambologna's initial design for Salviati was made to be cast in a single pour. But an x-ray of the cast attributed to Susini reveals that two separately cast bronze pieces were soldered together at the join between the centaur's human and horse bodies.[86] (Figure 1.15) Casting the two pieces separately allowed Susini to finish each of them more precisely, something that he was known for.[87] (Figure 1.16) One must wonder, then, if patrons of Susini's casts, and especially period connoisseurs of bronze, appreciated this difference, which would have been particularly emphasized by the composition being the same.

The indirect casting process could therefore simultaneously allow for variations on a particular composition through the individualization introduced by different casters and finishers while also allowing for overall compositional consistency and unity when the variation introduced was minimal. One of the major problems scholars face when trying to attribute statuettes to individual hands within the Giambologna workshop is that "Giambologna" became a conceptual understanding of a type of object rather than being indicative of an individual person. This understanding of what "a Giambologna statuette" was continued even after the sculptor's death. This change in conception and practice, as noted above, was a result of the model's ability to circulate via the indirect casting process. But ultimately one must assume that the introduction of subtle variation gave period beholders a heightened awareness of the visual and material differences produced by diverse executers.

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pp. 110-114. Examples are in the Louvre (OA 11896) signed IOA BOLONGIE and Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden signed I.B. (H.23/95).

[86] This variation on the composition is discussed in the specialist literature as Type B. For the differences between Types A and B, see Ex. cat. London 1978, *Giambologna, 1529-1608, Sculptor to the Medici*, pp. 109-110. Type B ascribed to Susini in Liechtenstein Collection (SK 914) and in the Robert H. Smith Collection, A. Radcliffe, *Bronzes 1500-1650: The Robert H. Smith Collection* (London, 1994), pp. 46-52. Giovanni Francesco Susini also used this casting technique. Dylan Smith, "Technical Characteristics of Bronze Statuettes from the Workshop of Antonio and Giovanni Francesco Susini", in David Saunders, Marika Spring, et al. (ed.), *The Renaissance Workshop* (London, 2013), pp. 36-38.

[87] Smith, "Technical Characteristics", p. 38-39.

Moulds, like models, were also adaptable. The same mould could be used with a range of materials that could be both cast and pressed into them. A surprising example of this reuse within the workshop are the sugar sculptures derived from Giambologna compositions, including the *Lion Attacking a Bull* and the *Grand Duke on Horseback,* that were produced for the Medici weddings of 1600 and 1608.[88] (Figure 1.17) The sugar statues were two *braccia* high, the average height for statuettes in bronze. It is thus likely that the same models that were used for the bronzes were also used to make new moulds for molten sugar or a pressed sugar paste.

The mechanics of making a piece-mould, however, do not discriminate between different types of models and even a finished object could have a piece-mould taken from it without destroying the original. In 1611, Cosimo II was trying to negotiate the marriage of his sister to Henry, Prince of Wales. To ease the process, the Prince was invited to request works of art from Florence as gifts. Henry asked for some statuettes from sculptors of "quality" like Giambologna, but Giambologna had already been dead for four years by this date.[89] At the time, as Chapter 2 more clearly explicates, Giambologna's models were the property of his heir and thus could not be reproduced by the workshop. To fulfil the Prince's request, Pietro Tacca instead borrowed seven bronze statuettes from the Salviati family to make moulds from them. The Salviati family's 1609 inventory listed the bronzes as "coming from Giambologna (*vengono da Gio. Bologna*)," but as being "of the hand of Susini (*del mano di Susini*)."[90] The landing bill in London that recorded the shipment of finished bronzes to Prince Henry in 1611

[88] For more on the sugar sculptures by Tacca, see Ex. cat. Florence 2015, *Dolci trionfi e finissime piegature,* Watson, *Sugar Sculpture for Grand Ducal Weddings from the Giambologna Workshop*.
[89] "[...] di valentissimi huomini, come di Gio Bologna" Vincenzo Salviati to Belisario Vinta 19 April 1610, A.S.F. *MdP*, 4189, not paginated.
[90] ibid., pp. 501-502 and appendix I.

listed these bronzes as by Giambologna.[91] The indirect casting process therefore allowed for the reproduction of Giambologna's statuettes long after his death, but also allowed other hands to be present and appreciated in them.

The technique of making piece-moulds of off a finished work was also used throughout the seventeenth century to make full-scale copies of antique sculpture. In a letter to the Prince of Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein in the 1690s, Soldani suggested that cast copies deriving from piece-moulds made over the original were more perfect and exact than copies carved in marble because "they captured the grace and the tenderness of the contours as they were in the original [marble]."[92] Soldani and his student, Pietro Cipriani, who both produced bronze copies of the ancient marbles displayed in the Uffizi's Tribuna, repeatedly stressed to their patrons the important role of the moulds made over the original marble as the source of the fidelity of their copies. As Chapter 4 more clearly reveals, ironically they both reused earlier moulds, made by Giovanni Battista Foggini to produce gesso casts that were then used to make their bronze copies. This was due to the fact that the Grand Duke Cosimo III had forbidden further moulds from being taken off of the marbles in his gallery.

These examples of the reuse of models and moulds to produce objects across media and at different scales demonstrate that the question the "model" is a nebulous one when it comes to cast sculpture.[93] The model, on the one hand, is an element within the processes of casting, a form from which the moulds can be made. But there are multiple points within the indirect casting process at which the "original" model can be

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[91] Today only the *Prancing Horse* remains in the Royal Collection (RCIN 35467), it is catalogued as by Tacca after Giambologna. Catalogue entry for Pietro Tacca, *Prancing Horse,* <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/35467/trottingnbsphorse> [accessed 9 April 2018].
[92] Soldani to Prince von Liechtenstein, Florence, 5 July 1695, transcribed in: Lankheit, *Florentine Barockplastik*, doc. 644, pp. 328-329. Translation by author.
[93] Rita Balleri discusses this problem in relation to the reuse of models at the Doccia porcelain factory in the eighteenth century, but a similar argument is true for all cast sculpture. R. Balleri, *Modelli della Manifattura Ginori di Doccia: Settecento e gusto antiquario* (Roma, 2014), p. xi.

altered subtly or drastically. There are also cases in which a compositional prototype, such as an ancient marble or a finished bronze, was used as a sculptural model after being piece-moulded, thereby becoming a design inspiration as well as a part of the process of making. In addition, there were also instances where an ancient compositional prototype was simultaneously a sculptural prototype (design model), a sculptural model (used for the production of a new cast object), and an inspirational model (an exemplar) for an object type.

Understanding how compositional models moved across media and were reinterpreted throughout the process of making therefore exposes the difficult task of identifying a single "originating" compositional prototype and complicates how the line between origin and "after", between original and copy, can be defined. More simply: how is it possible to identify the originating object?

ORIGINAL AND COPY

As the biographies of Giambologna at the start of this chapter reveal, Giambologna's artistic genius and unique artistic style are said to have been first recognizable in the wax and clay models copying (*ritraendo*) ancient sculpture that he produced as a young artist in Rome. As time went on, he was then able to further develop these models into his own independent designs that were inspired by, but not close copies of, his ancient prototypes. This act of collecting and then transforming his prototypes into new, independent models is proof of Giambologna's membership in a traditional lineage of Florentine Renaissance sculpture. His models then became prototypes themselves, objects that were reproduced by his followers through the indirect casting process. The process allowed his "followers" to replicate or, better, create objective transcriptions of their master's original concepts without their own

interpretation. The traditional assumption in art historical scholarship has been that because these followers did not transform Giambologna's subjects drastically through their reliance on this process, they simply prolonged his style. But what was the difference between these two forms of copying?

In its most basic form, making is an act of transcription and interpretation, through which the qualities of the subject are captured, translated, and described in material form. The resulting object is comprised of multiple parts–such as content, composition, size, dimensionality, and medium–which each hold within them a maker's response to both the subject and the potentiality of the maker's (or patron's) chosen material. The artist's decisions and responses to both subject and material allow the subject to be transcribed in particular ways in the resulting object. In the case of a copy, the artist's subject is the original. In fact, in the Early Modern period the term *originale* did not mean "original," but the *origin.* As Baldinucci described, the *originale* was "the first to have been made, and from which the copies are drawn (*cavata*)."[94] In a copy, each of the aesthetic components of the original–content, composition, size, dimensionality, and medium–can be either transcribed or disregarded, but enough of the original must remain for the copy to point back to it. The copy thus must have some aesthetic component of the original within it to have a relationship to it.

How closely the copy transcribes the original allows for a viewers to place a range of labels onto the resulting object: forgery, copy, appropriation, reproduction, replica, variant, and emulation. But each of these terms embodies within it a fraction of derivation, and thus, in a post-Romantic understanding of artistic originality, it lacks the inventiveness required of artistic creativity. But it also points to the complex

[94] "[..] che è la prima a essere stata fatta, e dalla quale sono state cavate le copie." Originale in Baldinucci, *Vocabulario Toscano dell'arte del disegno* <http://baldinucci.sns.it/html/index.html>. This definition of the "original" is also discussed in Maria Loh "'Originals, Reproductions, and a 'Particular Taste' for Pastiche in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Painting," in N. de Marchi and H. van Miegroet (ed.) *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450-1750* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 238-243.

relationship between original and copy. An object is only understood as derivative if it is not like something original, but an object is only original if it is set apart from the derivative. The original cannot exist without the copy, and the copy is not a "copy" without the original.[95] As Sturtevant wrote, the terms "copy" and "original" are tautological.[96] The original and the copy, therefore, are not polar opposites, but rest in a networked spectrum where all types of copies (forgery, reproduction, replica, variant, and emulation) and the original simultaneously influence the meaning and the reception of the others.

It is in this networked space between original and copy that interesting questions emerge about the value of an object since depending on where in the spectrum it lies, beholders have different assumptions about its value. Thus, the terms such as forgery or copy themselves hold within them a hierarchy that defines what is and is not art. But those definitions are not necessary material, nor inscribed by the artist's use of media or processes of making, but instead are socially defined by the historic and cultural conceptions of what art is.[97] Objects, therefore, can move in and out of "copyhood" based on the values and hierarchies of the canon. Thus, in that networked spectrum of original and copies the movement of one node, for example, from forgery to imitation, influences how all of the other terms are understood and applied. But what is important to stress is that there is one term to describe the originality of art, but a wide range of terms to describe what is not art, even though the action of making in both cases remains the same. "Copy" and "original" both involve transposing a subject into a material object. In the struggle to define the copy and the original, it is the source of the

[95] The dependence of the original on the copy is discussed in Rosalind Krauss, "The Originality of the Avant Garde and other Modernist Myths," in R. Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant Garde and other Modernist Myths* (London, 1985).
[96] Sturtevant, "Interior Visibilities", p. 124 and discussed in the Introduction.
[97] For a discussion of this idea, see Anthony Hughes, "Authority, Authenticity and Aura: Walter Benjamin and the Case of Michelangelo", in A. Hughes and E. Ranfft (ed.), *Sculpture and its Reproductions* (London, 1997), p. 29.

subject that is at stake. Baldinucci makes this clear in his definition of a copy. A *copia* is "drawn (*ricavata*) exactly from another, whether it is bigger, smaller, or of the same dimension as the original."[98] To copy, according to the *Crusca,* meant to "make something resembling something already made."[99] In both definitions, it is the source of subject that defines the copy. That subject was not in the artist's mind, but instead existed in the material world.[100] While both definitions make the copy's dependence on the *origine* clear, no hierarchy between these terms articulated in the definition. It is also worth emphasizing that the *origine* of the *copia* thus must have a material form, which ultimately could be controlled.

By looking at the range of different types of copies that can be made through the lens of materiality, it becomes clear that diverse media and processes of making further emphasize different aesthetic characteristics of the original–for example, size, color, material, and dimensionality–thereby valorizing diverse qualities of the original. Understanding how period beholders and makers understood these copies' relationship to the original therefore allows a way of understanding period definitions of "original" and "originality."

Fidelity and Indexicality

It is important to stress that not all copies create an indexical reference or relate to the original in the same way. This is due to the fact that all copies do not transcribe the original in the same way because the materials from which they are crafted and the technical means through which they are constructed determine which aspects of the original can be emphasized. Each material describes the original differently, and thus

[98] "Fra' nostri Artefici, dicesi quella opera che non si fa di propria invenzione, ma si ricava per l'appunto da un'altra, o sia maggiore, o minore, o eguale dell'originale." "Copia" in F. Baldinucci, *Vocabulario*, <http://baldinucci.sns.it/html/_s_ric_lem.html>.
[99] "Far copia, ricavare dall'originale, far cosa simigliante a cosa fatta." "Copia" in *Lessografica della Crusca in rete* <http://www.lessicografia.it/>
[100] For the difference between the *designo interno*, of the mind, and *designo externo*, see F. Zuccaro, *Scritti d'arte di Federico Zuccaro*, ed. Detlef Heikamp (Florence, 1961).

how the idea of the original is captured in the copy is dictated to a significant extent by the potential of the material, or its affordances.[101] The materiality of a copy determines which values of the original can be emphasized–for example content, composition, colour, luster, or size. The material thus influences, and in part governs, the indexical references that can be made between original and copy or replica. In her work on painted copies, Megan Holmes discusses what she calls a "compositional armature," or visual cues, that allow a copy to be recognizable and legible for beholders. It is this armature that allows the beholder to see the original in the copy. Yet, the visual armature is not static, but evolves in relation to period responses to the original.[102]

As suggested above, for a copy to be understood *as* a copy, some part of the original must be recognizable within it. These aesthetic components, both visual and material, create the copy's relationship to the original/prototype/model depending on how the copy references its model. Most often, copies are understood to indexically point back to a single original. Yet, a visual armature functions through multiple points of reference and not solely through that of design. In his work on pre-modern multiples, Walter Cupperi argues that replicas should instead be discussed through their "multiple indexical reference points."[103] Both Holmes and Cupperi offer more subtle ways of reading copies not just as unproblematic references to the original, but instead offer ways of understanding how copies worked on multiple levels and through multiple references simultaneously.

To understand the aesthetics of the copy, and how it was related to the original, therefore requires an understanding of how the original was beheld and valued during

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[101] For material affordances, see Lehmann, "The Matter of the Medium".
[102] Megan Holmes, "Reproducing 'Sacred Likeness' in Renaissance Italy," paper presented at *Creating Nothing New: Perspectives on the Faithful Copy 1300-1900* (Hannover, 26 July 2014). Holmes supports her claims about the visual armature by examining several different copies of *La Nunziata* of Santissima Annunziata, Florence, to argue that the visual language of so-called exact copies changed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *La Nunziata* is further discussed in Chapter 2.
[103] Walter Cupperi, "Introduction", in Walter Cupperi (ed.), *Multiples in Pre-Modern Art* (Zürich, 2014).

the period in which the copy was made. Doing so allows us to unpack the multiple references and how they materialized a wide range of social, cultural, and economic values for the patrons of the copies, the owners of the originals, other viewers, and makers themselves, rather than simply assessing a copy's value only in relation to how it transcribed the original. In the period under discussion, indirect casting was used to create indexical references in a number of different ways, each with its own social values.

For example, recording the wedding of Cosimo II and Maria Maddalena of Austria in 1608, Camillo Rinunccini described the forty *fantasie di zucchero* two *braccia* high as "the most beautiful sculptures that are in this State," including among them one of the *Grand Duke on Horseback*, which likely would have been a reduced version of the Ferdinando I equestrian monument that was installed in anticipation of the wedding celebration in Piazza Santissima Annunziata.[104] (Figures 1.17 and Figure 1.10) As noted above, the sugar sculptures displayed, as mentioned above, were made from Giambologna models by his workshop. While no exact reconstruction can be offered about their appearance, archival documents indicate that these sugar sculptures were painted and gilded and thus were not bronze-coloured.[105] Even so, Rinuccini recognized the original in these copies, and created a relationship between the sugar sculptures and the large-scale sculptures on display in *piazze* around the city, by calling the former "the most beautiful sculptures that are in this State."[106] The perceived relationship between the copies and the originals relied not on material similarities, or in

[104] C. Rinuncini, Descrizione delle feste fatte nelle reali nozze de' Serenissimi Principi di Toscana d. Cosimo de'Medici, e Maria Maddalena Arciduchessa d'Austria (Florence, 1608), p. 27. For a description of the figures, see ibid., pp. 95-98.
[105] Payments for colouring and adding gold to the sugar sculptures for the Medici wedding of 1600 can be found in ASF, *Guardaroba* 246, c. 237, "Quaderno di Lista e Conti," 1 March 1600-28 February 1602. This document as well as the question of the colour of these sugar sculptures is discussed in Watson, "Sugar Sculpture", pp. 23-24. Watson suggests that the sculptures would have had a brown colour since sugar was not refined at this time. Pietro Tacca worked on the sugar sculptures for both celebrations.
[106] See above, note 104.

the case of the *Grand Duke on Horseback*, on scale, but rather on the design's content, and perhaps even on Rinuccini's awareness that the models from within the workshop had been reused.[107]

In this case, the indirect casting process was used for practical reasons to translate the design into the new material of sugar, thereby decreasing the amount of time needed to produce the figures. The equestrian statue of Ferdinando I, as a larger-than-life size civic monument, a bronze statuette, and then a sugar table decoration, all referred to the compositional prototype of the ancient bronze *Marcus Aurelius.* (Figure 1.18) Thus the sugar statue itself, in the context of an important wedding, was able to lay similar claims to power and authority through the multiple chains of references that connected it, through its content and composition, to the *Marcus Aurelius*. It was not just the ancient prototype that made the sugar sculpture legible and gave it meaning, but also its relationship to the other forms of this particular iteration of the composition of the *Grand Duke on Horseback*. Copies or replicas, then, did not always point back to one origin, but functioned through multiple references.

In his biography of Antonio Susini, Baldinucci recounted that Susini travelled to Rome with Giambologna, where he copied the city's "most wondrous statues."[108] One was the *Farnese Bull,* which Susini translated into statuette form and which his nephew, Giovanni Francesco, also cast decades later.[109] (Figures 1.19-1.21) Antonio's signed copy of the *Farnese Bull* thus embodied a relationship to the compositional prototype of the ancient marble due to the fact that he was said to have copied it directly from the

[107] Charles Avery has even suggested that the sugar sculpture of Henri IV on horseback made for Maria de' Medici's wedding in 1600 was the inspiration for the bronze larger-than-life equestrian she later commissioned. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, cat. 48, 29, p. 258.
[108] Baldinucci, *Notizie*, v. XII, p. 193.
[109] F. Carnici, H. Keutner, et al. *Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma: sculture* (Varese, 1990), pp. 294-296.

original he studied.[110] But Giovanni Francesco's copy had two reference points, both the marble compositional prototype, which he likely had not seen, and his uncle's bronze miniaturization of it. It is possible that he may have even used the model that he certainly inherited from Antonio in the production of his own copy.[111] It is significant that Antonio Suisni signed his three casts of the *Farnese Bull* as his OPUS thereby proclaiming it as one of his own "inventions," although he copied the design from an antique form. Notably, Giovanni Francesco's bronze versions are not signed.

The indirect casting process, one inherently prone to replication, was thus useful for reproducing in multiple ways. As the range of examples I have discussed in this chapter demonstrate, even a single reproductive process can be used to make different kinds of replicas which ultimately serve diverse social goals. The replicative process of indirect casting was not always used simply to reproduce a single author's design, but instead to create a range of relationships amongst objects, their makers, and their owners. "Copy," like "model" therefore describes multiple relationships to a subject. While certainly indirect casting allowed for multiple types of copies to be made, my interest is to focus on how this process was especially useful for replication because of how, through the use of moulds it made those replicas.

My reason for zeroing in on this very precise mode of replication–exact copies made through the use of moulds–is to challenge the assumption that all copies are "merely" copies. Instead, I want to argue that specific modes of making result in unique kinds of copies, both aesthetically and socially. In the chapters that follow I investigate how indirect casting became especially important when there was one prized model that needed to be multiplied. In this context, the mould took on significance precisely

[110] Davide Gasparotto, "The Pleasure of Littleness: The Lure of Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance", in Ex. cat. Milan 2015, *Serial/Portable Classic: The Greek Canon and its Mutations* (Milan, 2015), pp. 88-89.
[111] Katharine J. Watson, "Giambologna's and His Workshop: The Later Years", in Ex. cat. London 1978, *Giambologna, 1529-1608: Sculptor to the Medici* (London, 1978), p. 37.

because of its ability to create a specific kind of relationship between the model and its reproduction. Ironically, then, at a moment in which the "originality" of design was being increasingly prioritized, precise and exacting copies made possible through the use of moulds were increasingly valued because of how the model was transferred into the copy.

Multiple Hands and Singular Authorship

In the scholarship on Giambologna, the important role of his models in the production of his finished works is always identified, explicated by and then attributed to the innovative forms of his designs. Less considered is his status as co-producer or even product of the technological affordances of indirect casting and piece-moulding, which are my particular interests. As the archaeologist Ian Hodder has argued, a change in technology adjusts the limits of possibility and as a result humans, in this case artists, react. Shifting material affordances, or the limits of that possibility, pushes the maker to respond in new ways to his material world. In this framework, the artist himself is not an innovator, but the mutual push of the object on the human and human on object create historical and aesthetic changes.[112] Technological change thus influences how the artist conceives of his or her work, and by extension him/herself, because it influences what is possible.

Hodder goes further in his theory of entanglement to suggest that in moments of transformation and technological innovation, the larger system adapts and becomes more entangled, because each material change is bound in a network of influence thereby forcing further change. A change in a single material therefore doesn't just affect the objects that result from it, but also the broader system of production entangled

[112] In Hodder's formulation there is not a genius who innovates, but internal and external come together and produce change.

with it, which includes all modes of production. Within this framework, one can more clearly understand how the use of indirect casting and piece-moulding, and the resulting objects produced, were entangled with the increased bureaucratization of production within the *Galleria dei Lavori.* This bureaucratic production was focused on making a product, a Giambologna statuette, which the process supported, and as a result the modes of production adapted and, in Hodder's formulation, were changed. What consumers expected and desired out of that entanglement was also affected. Drawing this theory into a consideration of the seventeenth century then, allows us to look anew at how the bronze statuette designed by Giambologna and executed by his studio was considered a "Giambologna statuette" even in an age of increasing interest in the artist's individual and unique authorship. With the exception of a few focused studies, the bronze production that followed after Giambologna's death has been viewed as simply a prolongation of Giambologna's style and sculptural innovations.[113] By framing the introduction of piece-moulds and indirect casting through Hodder's notion of entanglement, one can understand that these changes in material processes account not only for the physical and aesthetic qualities of the sculptural designs Giambologna produced, but also for broader cultural changes within the Medici workshop, and by extension the Florentine market for sculpture.[114]

Giambologna's use of piece-moulding and indirect casting made it materially possible for his models to circulate within his workshop. Due to the fact that his models remained, it, on the one hand, allowed Giambologna to have a new conception of the

[113] The exceptions are the focused studies on Pietro Tacca: P. Torriti, *Pietro Tacca da Carrara*, M. Tommasi, *Pietro Tacca*, J. Mack-Andrick, *Pietro Tacca, Hofbildhauer der Medici (1577-1640)*, Ex. cat. Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca: Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee.* Antonio Susini's work, while recognized as being of high quality, is always discussed in relation to Giambologna's. This is likely due to the lack of documents related to his life since he worked outside of the court structure after 1600 and presumably only on small-scale works, which are harder to track in archival sources. Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini".

[114] A similar cultural approach to explain aesthetic change can be found in the work of Michael Baxandall, notably: Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*.

model as a design that could move across media and between scales. But on the other hand, it also meant that Giambologna's models could be produced and reproduced within his workshop by the many "assistants" who worked under him. This distinction between the one who creates the design and the other members of the workshop who produced moulds, cast the bronze, and finished the pieces was not unique to Giambologna's workshop.[115] Yet the fact that this technological change coincided with a new structure of the court workshop in Florence is significant. The division of labour involved in the practice of making allowed for a larger and faster production, thereby increasing the spread of "Giambologna" statuettes, objects that became associated with the Medici and Florence, across Europe. Yet the change in production does not mean that period patrons were unaware of the unique contributions of multiple hands.

An oft-referenced letter of 1581 firmly documents Giambologna's process of creating designs and then passing them on to his workshop for execution as well as contemporary patrons' awareness of it. At the time, the Duke of Urbino was interested in commissioning marble statuettes from Giambologna. The Duke's agent, Simona Fortuna, reported back to the Duke by letter that Giambologna was not able to make marble statuettes because they would take too long to produce, but instead proposed that he could provide statuettes in bronze by making the models in wax or clay quickly "with his own hands" (*di suo mano*) and would then "at the same time give them [to someone else] to make the moulds (*far le forme*), cast the plaster intermodel (*il gesso*), and then give [the cast bronzes] to be finished by goldsmiths."[116]

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[115] For just some examples of a complex sculptural workshop, see J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 54-60.

[116] "la conclusione è questa, doppo molto parole et discorsi, che in marmo egli non può fare in modo alcuno le due statuette che desidera V.E., perchè in lavori si piccoli non potrebbe ricevere aiuto alcuno, cioè bisognerebbe che tutto facesse per se stesso, ingannar non vuole nessuno, et ha le mani in mille cose [...] Ma se V.E. [the Duke of Urbino] le volesse di bronzo (come vuloe il gran Duca [of Florence] tutte le le cose piccole) in tal caso promettere di servir ottiamente, et darle finite, disse prima in un anno, ma per mio amore s'ingenerà di darle in sei et al più in otto mesi, perchè fatti i modelli di cera o di terra, che si fan presto di sua mano, darà nel medesimo tempo a far le forme, il gesso, et a ripulire poi a gli orefici." 27

This letter is primarily used in art historical scholarship to emphasize that the models were made by Giambologna's "own hand" and then passed onto his workshop, thereby emphasizing Giambologna's inventive role as a modeller and designer. Yet the letter also reveals period consumers' understanding of the role of multiple individual hands within the workshop that contributed to the overall finished work, which is less often discussed.[117] Giambologna, as was mentioned above, first made his models in wax or clay, passing them on to others in his studio. Then plaster moulds were made directly off of his models, which would have then been used to produce the waxes that would have been invested, cast and then finally, as the letter reveals, finished by goldsmiths. Fortuna even emphasized that the greatest expenditure related to these statuettes' facture was in the polishing and finishing of the bronze.[118]

Later in the letter Fortuna suggested that a similar practice was in place within the workshop for the execution of marbles. As he reported,

> [Giambologna] has three or four young assistants, one of whom is already highly expert. One can acquire objects made by him with the design (*disegno*) of Giambologna and consider himself lucky and well pleased. In fact most of the statues which notable people (*particolari*) of this city [Florence] own are actually by his hand (*di tal mano*).[119]

October 1581 from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino. This letter was first published by G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'aristi dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Vol. III, (Florence 1840), pp. 440-444. Italian transcriptions can also be found in A. Desjardins *La vie et l'œvre de Jean Bologne, d'apres les manuscrits inédits receuillis par Foucques de Vagnonville* (Paris, 1883), pp. 167-168, Eugène Piot, "Jean Bologne: Lettre de Simon Fortuna au duc d'Urbin sur ses statuettes de bronze," *Cabinet de l'amatuer et de l'antiquaire,* IV (1845-1847), pp. 521-529, and Dhanes, *Jean Boulogne,* pp. 345-346. An English translation of several parts of this letter can be found in Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, pp. 251-252.

[117] One discussion of these multiple hands is found in Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini", p. 198.

[118] "[...] et sappi che la maggiore spese è nella pulitura, nella quale va tempo et grandissima diligenza." See above, note 116, for where full transcriptions of this letter can be found.

[119] "Egli ha tre o 4 gioveni, uno fra gli altre che di già è in grado di molta eccellenza, et che puo havere delle cose di costui, fatte però col disegno di Gio. Bologna, si tien contento et aventurato, et di tal mano sono la maggiore parte delle statue c'hanno i particulari della città." See above, note 116, for where full transcriptions of this letter can be found. Translation adapted from that by Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, pp. 251-252.

While Fortuna does not identify the "highly expert" assistant, he was likely referring to Pietro Francavilla.[120] It is revealing that although the designs were Giambologna's, Francavilla had none-the-less produced recognizable and collectable works for Florentine patrons. As the letter suggests, a collector would be lucky to have a marble statue executed by Francavilla after Giambologna's design. Fortuna's phrasing thus implied that there was not only value in acquiring a design by Giambologna, which the Duke of Urbino had originally wanted, but also in Francavilla's execution of it. Yet even more intriguing is that Fortuna suggests that most Florentine "Giambologna" statues in private hands had actually been executed by Francavilla, thereby attesting to period recognition of Francavilla's individuality as a maker.

Another important piece of this document that is often overlooked is where Fortuna suggests that if the Duke of Urbino were to commission the statuettes made in this manner–that is designed by Giambologna and executed by the goldsmith– it required the mediation of the Grand Duke. Chapter 2 returns to both of these key issues: that there was value seen in the way a Giambologna design was executed and that the Grand Duke mediated the commissions of objects made not only by Giambologna, but also his studio.

[120] Ronen, Avery, and Krahn suggest Francavilla. A. Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze "Ornamento" in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz,* Vol. 14 (No. 4, 1970), Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, Appendix IV, Krahn, "I bozzetti del Giambologna", p. 58.

CHAPTER 2

ORIGINALITY AND OWNERSHIP IN THE BORGO PINTI STUDIO AFTER GIAMBOLOGNA

Non lasciare anche cavare copia da nessuno.

Grand Duke Cosimo II de'Medici to Duke Francesco IV of Mantua, 1609[1]

In November 1687, Grand Duke Cosimo III wanted to give "some sign" of the "great satisfaction" he had in his court sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini's dedication to studying and improving himself in art and architecture and for training young artists. Foggini was named *Primo Scultore della Casa Serenissima* and given lifetime use of the *Casa di Pinti*, a bronze-casting workshop first built for Giambologna in the 1590s and most recently run by Ferdinando Tacca, now deceased. Through this material sign of grand-ducal satisfaction, Foggini was also granted access to statues, models, and gessoes inside of the studio, including a clay model of the *Rape of the Sabines* by Giambologna and gessoes of the four slaves from the monument to Ferdinando I in Livorno (*I Quattro Mori*) by Pietro Tacca.[2] In addition to the large-scale models identified by subject in the inventory, Foggini was also given a range of small-scale models. But as the inventory attached to the pronouncement clearly states, the models in the Borgo Pinti studio would not become Foggini's property; they were part of the *Scrittoio delle Possessioni di S.A.S.*, Cosimo III, that would be returned to the grand-ducal house at the end of Foggini's life.[3]

[1] Cosimo II de' Medici to Franceso IV of Mantua, 27 July 1609 transcribed in: A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627-28: Documenti degli Archivi di Mantova e Londra* (Milan, 1913), p. 267.
[2] See Chapter 3.
[3] Archivio di Stato, Florence (ASF), *Possessioni* 1329, N. 173, Florence 21/25.XI.1687 there is also a copy in ASF, *Misc. Med.* 365, v. 1 f. 265. I want to thank Sheila Barker for drawing my attention to this second copy of the document. A transcription of this document appears in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 258, p. 269, with some errors as discussed at the end of this chapter.

The inventory recorded with detail the condition of the large-scale terracotta models by Giambologna that were later executed in marble as well as large-scale gesso models for bronze sculpture by Pietro Tacca; yet the small-scale models were unidentified and listed as a group. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, shortly after the Grand Duke Cosimo II had purchased the Borgo Pinti studio from Giambologna's heir (a topic discussed at length in the pages that follow), Cosimo bought as well a collection of wax models that Giambologna had also left to his heir. As the Foggini document illustrates, these two early seventeenth-century purchases –of the house and studio as well as the models inside– would have enduring influence on Florentine sculpture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What were once objects of private ownership –an artist's residence and his models stored inside– were transformed into grand-ducal possessions. It is not just how these possessions became integrated into Medicean patrimony that is of significance, but further how through their subsequent circulation and sequestration they became valuable both within and outside of Florence.

Scholars have long recognized and discussed the sixteenth century's increasing interest in the primacy of design as a means of accessing the artist's innate genius. The period's newly developed attentiveness to collecting drawings and sculptor's models attest to this change in interest. As Chapter 1 has explored, the particularly large corpus of Giambologna models extant today suggests that there was an appreciation of them, at least by some in Florence, during his own lifetime and in the generations that followed. While often such a shift towards an interest in the artist's original conceptions that were materialized in drawings and models has been used as evidence to account for a growing period interest in artistic originality, it is important to emphasize the converse: that the construction of the idea of artistic originality took

place in and through these practices. Originality as a concept therefore emerged through the social practices that codified the artist's own touch and rapid manipulation of material recorded in models and sketches as a means of accessing his genius. Access to the artist, living or deceased, then could be manifest in the objects of his making. Interestingly, it is within this period marked by a heightened interest in the artist's original designs that the Medici purchased and subsequently controlled Giambologna and later his successors' sculptural models.

That Foggini was able to inherit Giambologna's models in 1687, nearly 80 years after his death, speaks to the unique situation of inheritance facilitated by the Borgo Pinti studio. As will be explored, during Giambologna's lifetime his models were regarded as his personal property that could be willed to his heir. Yet in 1617, the Grand Duke purchased the models as well as the Borgo Pinti studio, thus converting both into the Medici family's own possessions that could then be loaned to their artists. How Cosimo II acquired the models and how he and his successors subsequently used them indicate that his motivation for collecting Giambologna's models was not simply due to his appreciation of Giambologna's original designs. The purchase instead implies that Cosimo had an awareness of the strategic value of replicating Giambologna's designs, a tactic the Medici had used to political ends with other particularly potent objects by simultaneously encouraging and limiting the production of copies.

In this chapter, I am interested in considering models not simply as a form of artistic originality, but instead as a material form of the "original," as a tangible and possesable thing. The original in this context should therefore be understood both as a design model as well as a type of venerated relic that held within it the means of accessing Giambologna –both his designs and the aura of the artist– even after his

death. My goal is to change the frame through which the function of the model is usually considered: from a document of the "artistic original" –a mode of thinking which prioritizes the design– to instead a means of accessing and possessing the artist that therefore relies on physical access to the model as a material object. In this framework, it is not the artist as an individual that will be the source of inquiry, but instead the *idea* of the artist that was created through access to his designs. Ultimately this chapter's main goal is to emphasize that access to material forms of the original was not freely given. It was the practice of limiting access to his models helped to create the aura of the artist after his death.

As I argued in Chapter 1, Giambologna's fame across Europe was materially produced through the use of the indirect casting and piece-moulding process, through which his designs, executed by other hands, were able to spread into distant courts and collections. This chapter returns to this key issue in Giambologna scholarship by examining how the "idea" of Giambologna, or perhaps even what one might call the Giambologna "brand," fit within a broader structure of Medicean cultural diplomacy.

Giambologna's late career coincided with a rethinking and reorganization of artistic production under the Medici into an organized and bureaucratic structure known as the *Galleria dei Lavori*. Although Giambologna worked outside of this structure, both physically and administratively, his mode of producing statuettes aligned with a broader system of Medicean artistic production.[4] To understand how the Giambologna "brand" was manufactured within this system of production requires first looking at the division of artistic and craft labour within the workshop. Although this terminology usually connotes a hierarchy between artistic and craft practice, I use

[4] See Chapter 1.

these terms instead to delineate a division of tasks which could be also termed "design" and "execution."

The system of production was one of incredible specialization and hierarchy, which rewarded not only design, but also material innovations that contributed to the court.[5] As Foggini's proclamation of accession makes clear, the role of Grand Ducal Sculptor was not just a form of employment, but instead a privilege that came as a reward for service to the Grand Duke. In Foggini's case, he had been one of the few sculptors of his generation sent to the Tuscan Academy in Rome to study under Ercole Ferrata and Ciro Ferri in the 1670s. Cosimo III had established the Academy in the Medici Villa in Rome in order to, as a period document makes clear, revive the historic arts of sculpture and statuary that he believed were in decline.[6] Upon his return from the Academy, Foggini then, as the document I began this chapter with states, took up the training of young sculptors after his return to Florence from the Academy in Rome, thereby contributing to the Grand Duke's goal of reviving the sculptural arts. When his predecessor Ferdinando Tacca died in 1686, Foggini had demonstrated his utility to the court thereby justifying his being given this position.

Ferdinando Tacca too had supplicated to be rewarded with the title of Grand Ducal Sculptor in 1640. Tacca's father and predecessor in the role of Grand Ducal Sculptor, Pietro Tacca, had died while the younger Tacca was in Spain, where he had been sent to install his father's monumental equestrian statue of Philip IV. In 1608, upon Giambologna's death, Pietro Tacca became the court's second Grand Ducal

[5] The collection of documents called the *Practica Segreta* in the ASF provide ample evidence of this. Within these highly decorated, leather and bronze bound volumes are petitions to receive *priveligi,* or exclusive rights, to produce particular types of objects or execute processes. If the court viewed these inventions as being worth of a *priveligio*, a declaration would be drawn up on parchment with a preamble that it was being protected for the benefit of the Tuscan state.

[6] For a discussion of the creation of the Academy in Rome as well as Cosimo III's ideas about sculpture see, Jennifer Montagu and Klaus Lankheit,"Introduction, Sculpture" in Lankheit and Chiarini (ed.) *The Twilight of the Medici*, p. 26; Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage,* pp. 134-172.

Sculptor. In a document confirming this title, two of the Grand Duke's agents, Cresci and Antella, concluded there was "in this youth great love for his work and we can attest with certainty that he has invented many techniques which result in great savings and brevity."[7] These achievements made Tacca a suitable successor to his master, Giambologna. The innovations that these three sculptors brought to the grand-ducal workshop were thus rewarded by a title, a set salary, living space, and, as Foggini's document makes clear, access to the sculptural models of their predecessors.

These four generations of sculptors, beginning with Giambologna and ending with Foggini, shared a common lineage that took root in the Borgo Pinti studio. As will be discussed further in this chapter, the *palazzo* and grounds that would later be enlarged to include a studio and furnace were initially purchased by Giambologna in 1587. Shortly after Giambologna purchased the property, Ferdinando I paid for the construction of a studio and large casting furnace within it to facilitate casting the equestrian monument of Cosimo I. After Giambologna had completed the monument of Cosimo, Grand Duke Francesco I rewarded him by giving him ownership of the studio and casting furnace constructed with grand-ducal funds. As I discuss in this chapter, as well as in Chapter 3, gifts of property such as this were extremely potent demonstrations of grand-ducal favour, and thus are evidence of the kinds of accomplishments most admired at the Medici court in this period.

Throughout this chapter I argue that access, ownership, and property were powerful forms of social collateral that confirmed the artist's status within the grand-ducal court as well as in Florentine society more broadly. As my examples demonstrate, these benefits were not acquired independently, but given as favours.

[7] "[...] essere in questo Giovane grande ai lavori e possiamo atestare per scienza propria che da lui sono stati inventati piu chose di gran rispiarmo e, brevita di che conviene lodarlo tanto piu bisognio di aiuto che commodo di inventari per troppa eta." *Fabbriche Medicee* 123, 100V transcribed in K.J. Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, Appendix I, c, p. 322. Translation by author.

Understanding this system of privilege on the macro level allows us to reconsider the gift of access to the models Foggini was granted in 1687 as a form of favoured access to not only the to designs of his predecessors but also to the practical and technical knowledge needed reproduce them.

For this reason the second half of this chapter turns again to the question of the original, and specifically to the essential role that the artist's access to it plays in the confirmation of a replica's authenticity in relation to that original. I argue that access allows for the artist to acquire both visual and physical knowledge of the prototype, which enables the facture of particular kinds of "exacting" copies. The production of a close, or what might be called faithful, copy was valuable not only because it reproduced an image, but also because of how *materially* the copy was produced. As will be explored, the Medici used this type of copy, especially of religious images, to political ends beginning in the sixteenth century. I therefore emphasize the important role that access to the means of production, or reproduction, played in first allowing the copy to be made, and then giving it social value in relation to the original.

By investigating Medicean ownership and the loaning of Giambologna, as well as other sculptor's, models alongside examples of court favour granted through property, this chapter raises a broader question which runs throughout the dissertation about artists working in a court environment: to what extent did court artists have access to their own originality?

GIAMBOLOGNA'S MODELS IN SUSINI'S HANDS

As discussed in Chapter 1, a key letter of 1581 from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino reveals that period patrons understood that Giambologna's statuettes to be designed by his own hands but executed by his workshop. In the letter, Fortuna refers to three or four young assistants who were responsible for executing the

master's designs. Amongst them was one particularly admired assistant who had executed most of the statues in Florentine collections. Fortuna told the Duke that "anybody who can get something by his hand to Giambologna's designs considers himself well pleased."[8] Although this letter referred to assistants working in marble, a similar workshop structure was in place for the production of bronze statuettes. The anonymity of this assistant detracts from an important message that the document contains: that the maker who executed these statues was admired alongside the artist who designed them. Further evidence of this appreciation of the craftsman's technical expertise in executing Giambologna's designs is documented through period responses to the work of Antonio Susini. Although the details of Susini's career remain rather unclear, in art historical scholarship he is known for his refined casting and finishing techniques, especially of Giambologna's designs.[9] The first archival record of Susini's association with Giambologna dates to 1581 when he was working as a *formatore* (mould maker) for the Salviati Chapel.[10] In the 1580s and 1590s, Susini's role in the workshop continued to be related to the facture of moulds and waxes, although during this early phase of his career he was also known for his finishing.[11]

Ever since the earliest biography of Susini, written by Baldinucci, scholars have argued that Susini's technique of finishing bronzes, primarily through the use of the chisel to refine the surface of the cooled bronze, added a sharpness to Giambologna's designs that was contrary to his master's own style, a point now

[8] For the text of this letter, see Chapter 1.
[9] There is no monographic work on Susini. An understanding of his style is defined primarily through comparison with Giambologna works. Susini's perceived influence is seen to be a new sharpness and crispness in finishing, which perhaps is a result of his training as a goldsmith. Dimitrios Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini", pp. 194-209.
[10] ibid., p. 196.
[11] ibid. Zikos, using the Portigiani account books held in ASF *CRSGF 103*, 43, makes this argument about Susini's work, thus discounting the biography of Baldinucci that emphasizes his chiseling. The Portigiani account books contain extensive information about the division of labor between Giambologna's workshop and the foundry, which remains to be discussed.

challenged by Dimitrios Zikos.[12] While it is not my interest to debate the aesthetic impact of Susini's execution might have had on Giambologna's designs, it is worth emphasizing that such a conclusion illustrates a reciprocal exchange between designer and executer that by extension demonstrates a more fluid relationship between master and workman, or between designer and executer, than is usually assumed. Considering how this exchange played out through "reproduction" is worth focusing on.

The 1609 inventory of Jacopo Salviati's goods presents evidence of a nuanced period recognition of different artistic styles of executing the same design, especially in relation to the recognizable difference between the material style of Giambologna and Susini. In the inventory, ten statuettes are listed as "coming from Giambologna" (*vengono da Gio. Bologna*), but of the "hand of Susini" (*del mano di Susini*), while a *Nessus and Deianeira* is indicated as being "by the hand of Gio. Bologna" (*di mano di Gio. Bologna*).[13] *Vengono da Gio. Bologna* in this case indicated Giambologna's authorship of the design, while *di mano* refers to the one who executed the work. While these terms define differences between designer and executor, the way in which the *mano* of Susini influenced the design *da Giambologna* is in fact more complicated.

The inventory includes two different entries for statuettes that would now be identified under the title *Nessus and Deianeira.* The first is described as "a bronze centaur with a woman on its back, *di mano di Gio. Bologna.*"[14] This version is known in Giambologna scholarship as the *Nessus and Deianeira* Type A, of which there are three casts signed by Giambologna, suggesting that he both developed the design and

[12] ibid. For Baldinucci's biography, see Baldinucci, *Notizie,* XII, pp. 192-207.
[13] Watson and Avery, "Medici and Stuart", document I.
[14] "Un centauro di bronzo con una femmina addosso, di mano di Gio. Bologna" ibid., document I.

partook in their facture.[15] (Figure 1.13) In the inventory another statuette is described as "a bronze centaur with a woman in his arm, *di mano del Susini.*"[16] In Giambologna scholarship this model is known as Type B, for its clearly different approach to the story. (Figure 1.15) In this version, the figure of Deianeira does not rest on Nessus' back, but instead struggles against his grasp by wrapping her body around him. Nessus' head in Type B is turned to look at her, while in Type A he looks ahead. The composition of the Type B is therefore a more dramatic and dynamic interpretation of the earlier, Type A, composition. While the original conception of the design was Giambologna's, as attested by the signed Type A models, it is generally believed that Susini adapted and executed the Type B design. These differences indicate that although Susini was following his master's concept, he brought new interpretations to it through his execution, which in fact also altered the composition.

Susini's role in producing admired statuettes after Giambologna's designs continued into the seventeenth century as his master aged. Around 1600 he left the Giambologna workshop, when his perceived competitor for grand-ducal favour, Pietro Tacca, increasingly became its leader. But even removed from the institutional structure of the workshop, Susini continued to execute Giambologna's design models.

Another often-quoted letter of 1605 reveals the continued relationship between Susini and Giambologna even after Susini had left his master's workshop. In response to a request by the Prince of Val di Taro for statuettes, Giambologna suggested that Susini instead could execute the commission in his place. As he wrote, "my student,

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[15] For the Giambologna Type A, see Ex. cat. London 1978, *Giambologna, 1529-1608: Sculptor to the Medici,* pp. 110-114. Examples in the Louvre (OA 11896) signed IOA BOLONGIE; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden (H.23/95) signed: I.B.

[16] "Un centauro di bronzo con una femmina in braccio di mano del Susini" Watson and Avery, *Medici and Stuart,* document I. For the differences between Types A and B see Ex. cat. London 1978, *Giambologna, 1529-1608, Sculptor to the Medici*, pp. 109-110. Examples of the Type B ascribed to Susini are in the Liechtenstein Collection (SK 914) and in the Robert H. Smith Collection, A. Radcliffe, *Bronzes 1500-1650: The Robert H. Smith Collection* (London, 1994), pp. 46-52.

Antonio Susini, has cast in my moulds many statuettes (*ha gitato nelle mie forme di molte statuette*) to send to Germany; they are the most beautiful things that one can have from my hands (*dalle mie mani*)."[17] Giambologna goes further in the same letter to say that he had even loaned these moulds to Susini for free.[18] This letter makes clear that Giambologna believed that by 1605, his designs were best executed by Susini. Yet Giambologna's phrasing of this sentence, which concludes by suggesting that Susini's works were the most beautiful things that one could have "dalle mie mani" complicates the more straightforward delineations of authorship seen in the Salviati inventory. In this case, it is as if the hands of both the designer, Giambologna, and the executer, Susini, came together as a unified set of hands in the production of the piece.

This passage has been used to argue that Susini was casting Giambologna's models to send to Germany, but in fact the passage suggests something more complex in terms of access and originality.[19] The phrase clearly indicates that Giambologna had allowed Susini to cast *into* (*gitato nelle*) his moulds (*forme*) and not cast copies *of* the forms or designs. This passage thus implies that Giambologna had given Susini access to his moulds from which he could cast waxes that could then be invested for casting in bronze. Doing so would have allowed Susini to replicate closely the details of the design while also adapting it through his reworking of the wax inter-model. This would have enabled him to alter the overall composition, as we have seen in the *Nessus and Deianeira* types, while keeping a level of fidelity to the earlier articulation of the design which was impressed into the wax through the mould. Giambologna's

[17] "[...] un mio allievo, chiamato Antonio Susini, ha gitato *nelle mie forme* di molte statuette per mandare in Allamagna; sono delle più belle cose che si possino avere dalle mie mani." Giambologna to Belisario Vinta, 6 August 1605 transcribed in A. Desjardins, *La vie et L'oeuvre de Jean Bologne*, Appendix L. This letter is also transcribed in full in Dhanes, *Jean Bologne*, pp. 371-372. Translation by author.
[18] "[...] presto le forme gratis a questo mio allievo." Ibid.
[19] Krahn, "I bozzetti del Giambologna", p. 58.

great appreciation of Susini's elaboration of his original conception is suggested in Baldinucci's life of Susini, when he recounts that the master sent Pietro Tacca to purchase a *Nessus and Deianeira* from Susini for 200 *scudi*.[20] This was a very high price, considering that Giambologna's half *braccio* centaurs were valued at between 50 and 60 *scudi.*[21]

In October 1608, after Giambologna's death, Susini established his own workshop and foundry and continued to cast compositions based on Giambologna's designs.[22] Susini's nephew, Giovanni Francesco, continued the production of these works after his uncle's death in 1624. While the basic designs and iconographic models stayed the same, both Antonio and Giovanni Francesco utilized new casting methods and variations in the metal alloy composition, thereby adapting the models to emphasize their statuettes' refined casting and finishing, for which they were both known.[23] While Giambologna's statuettes were designed to be cast in a single pour, first Antonio and later Giovanni Francesco instead used a deconstructive approach to their waxes, breaking the design into smaller cast elements that were later soldered together.

As the conservator Dylan Smith has argued in his article on the techniques and alloys of the two Susini, these technical choices illustrate a shift in the aesthetics of bronze (at what he calls, the "end of the Renaissance") towards a heightened surface finish and a focus on developing more practical casting solutions.[24] While both Susini

[20] Baldinucci, *Notizie,* XII, p. 194.
[21] This is documented in the 27 October 1581 letter from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino transcribed in E. Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, p. 345. Interestingly in this letter Fortuna recounts to the Duke how he has struggled to find out how much a Giambologna statuette actually would cost because Giambologna "faceva professione di non voler nulla," receiving drapes and necklaces instead of cash money for the value of his work. For the publication history of this letter, see Chapter 1, note 116.
[22] Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini", p. 204 citing ASF, *Decima Granducale* 2745, f. 328.
[23] Dylan Smith, "Technical Characteristics of Bronze Statuettes from the Workshop of Antonio and Giovanni Francesco Susini", in David Saunders, Marika Spring, et al. (ed.), *The Renaissance Workshop* (London, 2013).
[24] Smith, "Technical Characteristics", p. 40.

worked primarily in statuette form, Pietro Tacca working on a monumental scale similarly broke from Giambologna's process of casting in a single pour to achieve a more refined finish and to produce more theatrical designs in his bronzes, including with the equestrian monuments that were closely related to Giambologna's designs, as Chapter 3 further explores. Both instances expose how Giambologna's closest *allievi* not only rethought his designs, but also articulated them in unique ways through their material practices.

Claims of Authorship

Although in current scholarship Antonio Susini is understood as an inventive craftsman, he is rarely acknowledged as a design innovator. Of Susini's entire oeuvre, which includes a number of signed statuettes to which we will return, only a *Standing Madonna and Child* is accepted as his own design invention.[25] (Figure 2.1) This attribution comes from the Salviati inventory, which identifies the material and design authorship of this group: "*di mano di Antonio Susini* and his invention."[26] Although he is given the authorship of only this one statuette in current scholarship, Zikos has argued that Susini was making statuettes independently of Giambologna starting in the 1590s before he left the Borgo Pinti studio.[27] Mentions of these statuettes are clearly appear in the account books of the Portigiani foundry, where Giambologna also had his bronzes cast. The subjects of Susini's independently-made statuettes

[25] Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini", p. 194. Examples are in the Museo Nazionale di Bargello (139B), Bode Museum (M109), Museum of Fine Arts Houston (44.586).
[26] "di mano di Antonio Susini e sua inventione." Watson and Avery, "Medici and Stuart", document I. There is also a recorded payment in the *Guardaroba* to Susini for "*una madonna; di bronzo*" ASF, *Guardaroba* 319, c. 7, cited in Avery and Radcliffe, *Giambologna, 1529-1608: Sculptor to the Medici*, cat. 92.
[27] Zikos, "Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini", pp. 198-199, 204-206.

included horses, a reduced-scale *Wild Boar*[28], a *Bull,* and a *Lion.* Except for the *Wild Boar,* which was after an antique model, all of these subjects were also explored in statuettes said to be designed by Giambologna.

In his so-called "independent" statuettes Susini thus continued to be a "copyist," working either after Giambologna's designs or the antique. According to Baldinucci, even Susini's study of the antique was inspired by Giambologna who suggested that he go to Rome to copy ancient objects. Assessing the truth of such a statement is impossible, but it should be emphasized that this biography once again defines Susini's artistic capabilities as dependent upon Giambologna.[29] Yet there are a number of statuettes deriving from antique prototypes that bear Susini's signature. While the previous examples I have discussed demonstrate how period viewers recognized and appreciated Susini's stylistic authorship, the statuettes he signed provide more straightforward declarations of how he conceived of his contributions to these works.[30]

One example of Susini's signature appears on a statuette of a *Pacing Horse.* (Figure 2.2) Unlike other horse statuettes by Giambologna, Susini, or even Tacca, this example includes a bridle, but not a rider. The rider would have been attached via a square hole on the horse's back. Susini's signature appears on the saddle girth under

[28] An example signed ANT° SUSINI was purchased by the Berlin museums at Christie's London, 22 October 1974. The Victoria and Albert Museum has two copies, one attributed to Susini (A.1.1960) and the other, an after cast, attributed to his workshop (A.153-1910). A *Wild Boar* attributed to Giovanni Francesco Susini, which sits atop a later base is in the Bargello (inv. 115 B).
[29] That there are no independent publications on Susini is further proof of this.
[30] For the role of signatures in the Renaissance, see P. Rubin, "Signposts of Invention: Artists' Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art", *Art History,* Vol. 29 (No. 4, 2006). For a discussion of sculptor's signatures in particular, see David Boffa, “Sculptors’ Signatures and the Construction of Identity in the Italian Renaissance,” in Victor Coonin (ed.), *A Scarlet Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Sarah Blake McHam* (New York, 2013): 35-56 as well as his dissertation, D. Boffa "Artistic Identity Set in Stone" (Rutgers University, Ph.D. Art History, 2011). For the complex practices of signatures on prints, see L. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven, 2004), pp. 67-85.

belly, ANT: SUSINII FLOR: FE[31], and was added in the wax before casting.[32] While there are many known variations of horse statuettes made in Florence during the period, both as independent statuettes and as preparatory models for large-scale equestrian monuments, the composition of the horse is most closely related to the horse of monument of Henri IV of France and is identical to a statuette in Dijon's Musée des Beaux Arts.[33] It has therefore been suggested that the *Pacing Horse* signed by Susini was a studio model used in preparation for the larger equestrian monument that would later be cast. Yet, interestingly, the horse for the Henri IV monument was cast in reused moulds originally made for the horse of the monument to Ferdinando I, thus raising a question as to the function of this model.[34]

The authorship of the four equestrian monuments commissioned from Giambologna late in his life is discussed more fully in the next chapter, but it is important to emphasize the collaborative nature of these complex and technically challenging projects that occupied the expertise of a wide range of craftsmen for decades.[35] We know that Susini had a role in developing the methods for casting the large horses and that he was present when the monument of Cosimo I was cast. The curator Peta Motture has suggested that Susini's signature on this statuette was therefore a way of asserting his authorship of the technical knowledge that he brought to casting.[36]

His use of the term *fecit*, or made, after his name in some ways parallels the use of *di mano* in period inventories to describe his role in making. This division of

[31] Victoria and Albert Museum (11-1924).
[32] Ex. cat. Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi*, cat. 61, p. 276.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* p. 188. For a discussion of the moulds reused for the equestrian monuments, see Chapter 3.
[35] For more on Pietro Tacca's role in the execution and design of the equestrian monuments as well as a timeline of their progress, see Chapter 3.
[36] See Peta Motture's catalogue entry for the *Pacing Horse* in *Giambologna: Gli ei, gli eroi*, cat. 61, p. 276.

designer and executer in signatures on finished objects appears on the statue of Ferdinando I in Arezzo (1595), which was collaboratively signed JOANNES BONONIA I(nvenit) PETRUS FRANCAVILLA BELGA F(ecit), indicating Giambologna's role in the invention of the design as well as Francavilla's carving of it. (Figure 2.3) But if we are to follow Motture's suggestion that Susini's claim of authorship on the statuette referred not just to the execution of this statuette, but a larger role in the technical production of the equestrians monuments, we must think about the variety of modes of making that were involved in casting bronze objects.

One of Susini's fellow contributors to the casting project of Cosimo I was the founder Giovanni Alberghetti, who had come to Florence from Venice. He professed his technical expertise by including his signature on two cannons, inscribing on them with GIOV^{NI} ALBE^{TI} VENETUS FUND^{T}.[37] In this case, by emphasizing that he cast the canons, he added specificity to the mode of making he had contributed to the finished work. The founder, Cosimo Cenni, working several decades later, claimed that the *cannone* of San Paolo, which had been cast for the Medici fortress in Livorno 1638, was his *opera* as he both developed the model and cast it.[38] (Figures 2.4 and 2.5) The elaborate design and ornament of the canon certainly attest to an aesthetic as well as a functional use. Cenni's son, and successor in his role, Giovanni Maria Cenni would also sign canons he made in this manner.[39] Thus while Alberghetti, like Francavilla, accentuated his technical skill, the Cenni emphasized not only their skill as founders, but also their inventive expertise in artillery design. That founders could conceive of

[37] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 43.
[38] The canon is in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello (Florence).
[39] OP IONI MARIAE CENNI FLORENTINI. For Cenni's cannons, see M.C. Mendes Atanzaio "*Canhoes de Bronze no Museu do Mar em Cascais, Fundidos em Florença"*, in *Arquivo de Cascais*, Vol 82 (No. 3, 1981); H. Renault "A propos d'une pièce d'artillerie en bronze, déposée au quartier Forgemol, à Tunis", *La Revue Tunisienne,* (1914).

and, further, proclaim themselves as, creators of an *opus* and not simply *operai* thus points to the different period valances of design as well as of technical authorship.

A signature by the founder Domenico Portigiani is an interesting corollary to these instances and provides further evidence of a division between the maker of a design and an executer of it. During his career Portigiani, who cast many important works for Giambologna and others, signed his name only once. It appears on the lower cornices of the bronze ornament on the altar of the Crucifixion in the Calvary Chapel of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which was donated by Ferdinando I. The inscription reads FRATER / DOMINICUS / PORTISIANUS / CONVENTUS / SANCTI /MARCI / DE FLORENTIA / ORD / PRAED / ROM / PROV / PROFESSUS /FECIT /ANNO DOMINI / NOSTRI / MDLXX / XVII (Fra Domenico Portigiani from the Convent of San Marco of Florence, the Preaching Order, of the Roman province, a "*frater professus"* made [the work] 1588 A.D.)[40] In an article on this commission, Avraham Ronen has argued that the designs of the panels of the ornament were likely by Francavilla, even though he did not sign the work. In this case Ronen suggest that Portigiani claimed authorship as both the founder as well as the organizer of the commission because he had taken on the full expense of the work's execution.[41] Returning to Susini's signature on the *Pacing Horse*, we might understand his inclusion of *fecit* as marking not only his contribution to the work through craft skill, but also implicitly through technical and organizational knowledge.

While Susini never claimed a statuette related to Giambologna's designs to be his *opus*, he used such a signature on statuettes that were after antique prototypes. This difference emphasizes a freedom to claim design authorship both outside of the

[40] A. Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze "Ornamento" in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz,* Vol. 14 (No. 4, 1970), p. 429. Translation by Ronen.
[41] ibid.

Giambologna workshop and when following antique prototypes. Two sets of pendant statuettes of a *Lion Attacking a Bull* and a *Lion Attacking a Horse* are signed by Susini in distinctly different ways. (Figures 2.6 and 2.7) The *Lion Attacking a Bull* groups are signed ANT SUSIN/NI.F,[42] while examples of the *Lion Attacking a Horse* are inscribed ANT. SUSINI OPUS.[43] A 1611 list of statuettes said to be designed by Giambologna includes both "un gruppo d'un lione ch'ammazo un cavallo" and "un gruppo d'un lione ch'uccide un toro." [44] This evidence has supported scholars' attribution of the original design to Giambologna. Yet there are no known examples of these compositions with Giambologna's signature while there are several signed by Susini.

The design for the *Lion Attacking a Horse* was not, in any case, Giambologna's sole invention. It derives from a Graeco-Roman prototype now in the Capitoline Museums. (Figure 2.8) The pendant *Lion Attacking a Bull* also has antique precedents that are less well known. That Susini used the term "opus" in the signature on the *Lion Attacking a Horse*, as opposed to simply his name and F, likely for fecit, in the pendant pieces of the of *Lion Attacking a Bull* suggests that Susini believed he had a role in the design conception of the former work that he did not have in the latter. At the time when Susini would have seen the original in Rome, in 1588, it would have been fragmentary. We can therefore surmise that the completion of the

[42] Louvre (OA 6062) and Palazzo Venezia Rome (F.N. 172), formerly Corsini collection.
[43] ANT^{O} SUSINI FLORE OPUS and the other ANT. SUSI/NI OPUS/FLORE. Palazzo Venezia Rome (F.N. 171), formerly Corsini collection. Avery and Radcliffe, *Giambologna, 1529-1608: Sculptor to the Medici*, cat. 170 In this catalogue entry, Avery attributes this as Susini *after* Giambologna.
[44] For the list of models attributed to Giambologna by Zeh in 1611 and by Baldinucci see Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 134. For catalogue descriptions of both works see Ex.cat. London, 1978, *Giambologna Sculptor the Medici,* pp. 186-174, as well as *Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna,* ed. M. Leithe-Jasper (London; Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 226-228.

fragmentary antique was an act that Susini saw as a form of invention, creating his own *opus*.[45]

Susini similarly signed another "copy" after the antique, his *Farnese Bull,* as his *opus* in three cases.[46] (Figure 1.19) Susini was the first Early Modern artist to make a small reproduction of the colossal marble group, which was discovered in 1545 and later displayed in the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese. In his translation of the ancient statue into bronze, Susini eliminated the supports needed in the marble and made some small modifications, like the addition of the figure of Antiope.[47] In the *Lion Attacking a Horse* and the *Farnese Bull*, he thus adapted his antiques model when translating them into bronze and statuette form. Together these two statuettes, which Susini signed as his *opera*, document how he conceived of his translation of these antiquities into bronze as a form of creative design invention. These signatures therefore challenge the narrative of Susini's dependence upon Giambologna as it relates to antique subjects. It also opens up questions about why Susini was unable to sign statuettes he made after Giambologna's designs even if he was similarly translating the original compositions into new works through his execution.

This difference was likely not related to the role Susini played in the workshop, but instead was a result of greater Medicean control of the output of "Giambologna" sculptures. Charles Avery has suggested, and the evidence provided by the extant bronzes seem to attest, that while Giambologna had the ability to loan out some of his models and moulds to Susini, there were other designs that were

[45] I have made this argument in a paper, "The Call of Ancient Masters" Sculpting Identity through Restoration" presented at the conference *Reuse Reconsidered,* Brown University (September 2017) thereby refuting Radcliffe's suggestion that Giambologna must have told Susini to complete the fragment thus justifying the signature. Radcliffe, *Bronzes 1500-1650*, p. 68. For the relationship between statuettes and restoration, see Claudio Parisi Presicce, "Mimicking Restoration: Small Bronzes as a Medium for Experimentation," in ex. cat. Milan 2015.
[46] ANT^{O} SUSINI FLORE OPUS Galleria Borghese, Rome (CCXLIX), dated 1613, Hermitage Museum (1210), dated 1613, Galleria Colonna, dated 1616.
[47] On the evolution of this design, see Davide Gasparotto, "The Pleasure of Littleness", p. 87.

tightly controlled by the Medici and were therefore not reproduced, such as *Samson and a Philistine, Florence Triumphant over Pisa,* the *Rape of the Sabine,* and the equestrian monuments.[48] This was surely at least in part because these compositions transmitted particularly potent political messages. It was not just the content of these compositions that the Medici controlled, but also Giambologna's "authorship" by regulating who could sign casts of his designs. Yet even Giambologna's signature should not be assumed to indicate "true" authorship in a straightforward manner.

A bronze statuette of Ferdinando on horseback dated to around 1600 was signed IOAN.BOLO.BELG.[49] While in many cases this is proof of Giambologna's authorship of both design and execution, at a date this late in his career it is more likely that the statuette was actually made by others in his workshop. His signature therefore was likely included because of the object's function as a diplomatic gift that coincided with the engagement of Maria de' Medici to Henri IV.[50] Giambologna's "authorship" therefore cannot be removed from the collaborative construction of his identity within the workshop as well as the political or social circumstances in which particular statuettes were produced.

Though the full extent of Susini's independence from his master still remains unclear, more is known about the statuettes that he produced than the numerous, now anonymous, others who must have also executed Giambologna's designs in Florence during the early seventeenth century. The administrative structure of the Borgo Pinti studio became so efficient that even as Giambologna withdrew from the day-to-day affairs of the workshop because of age, the quality of its products did not change

[48] Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 235.
[49] Liechtenstein Collection, Inv.-No. SK575. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture,* cat. 137, pp. 268-269.
[50] Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, cat. 137, pp. 268-269.

substantially.[51] Even after his death in 1608, "Giambologna" statuettes continued to be requested by foreign collectors and Florentine sculptors continued to make them.[52] This had the consequence of not only making the finished bronzes desirable, but also making Giambologna's models for them particularly valuable.

Singular Reproductions

The production of multiples and replicas was not unique to Giambologna's workshop. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed a reproductive revolution across a range of artistic and artisanal practices. Printmaking had enabled the multiple production of prints, while moveable type and the printing press mobilized texts in entirely new ways. In Florence, low-relief Madonnas were translated into the more affordable materials of stucco, terracotta, and paper mâché for domestic use through the use of moulds made off of the surfaces of carved marbles. Impressions of coins and gems, made for humanistic study, did not strive to reproduce the materiality of their prototypes, but instead facilitated the study of ancient iconography through the way in which the original was impressed in the reproductive material.

In all of these cases, the potential for reproduction of an image or (in the case of three-dimensional objects) form was dependent on particular technologies of making that allowed the prototype to be translated into a new object. The material limits of that transfer were crucially important to the exactitude of a copy. In terms of sculpture, for example, copying by hand through modeling created a different form of fidelity than the use of a mould that traced the form of the original. This is similar to

[51] Katherine Watson notes that Giambologna started to complain of old age as early as 1584. She questions if these claims had ulterior motives. Watson, "Giambologna and his Workshop: the Later Years", p. 37. Cole argues that Giambologna wanted create an identity for himself as a modeller and not a maker, which accounts for his increasing distance from the casting process. Cole, *Ambitious Form*, pp. 70-71.
[52] How his designs were reproduced in northern Europe through after-casts is another topic entirely.

various methods of two-dimensional copying where an artist could draw the design from sight rather than tracing the prototype. As will be further discussed below, the material constraints of different practices of copying by extension influenced the use and social function of the translated image.

Reproduction functioned on multiple levels in the market–on the one hand to spread particular images, but on the other, it produced singular reproductions that were individualized through their finishing. In a religious context, for instance, reproduced images were useful in spreading the power of a miraculous image and by extension in establishing the efficacy of that image through ritual use. In the home, for example, domestic Marian images that were related to prototypes in churches similarly encouraged particular kinds of devotion and served as social exemplars.[53] Reproductions also had secular functions. In the 1530s, a particular genre of reproductive prints emerged that aimed at capturing the tonal effects of a painting's colour in black and white.[54] Peter Parshall and David Landau have argued that these prints were the "postcards" of the sixteenth century, which helped to create myths about Rome and its treasures.[55] Copies and replicas were thus defined not only through their relationship to the original, but also through the social function that they gained through that relationship.

Since the Early Modern period, Giambologna's models have been viewed as particularly prized as relics of his original conceptions. Some are particularly sketch-like, literally imprinted within the traces of the artist's rapid touch such as the model of the terracotta model of a *River God*, dated to around 1580. (Figure 1.2) As

[53] Geraldine A. Johnson, "Beautiful Brides and Model Mothers: The Devotional and Talismanic Functions of Early Modern Marian Reliefs", in Anne L. McClanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnación (ed.), *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation and Marriage* (New York, 2002)
[54] D. Landau and P.W. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven; London, 1994), pp. 162-168.
[55] ibid., p. 168.

collectors' items they are therefore regarded as a means of accessing the artist himself. But as the previous examples have shown, within his own lifetime there was an understanding that a Giambologna statuette was simply his design and not necessarily an object of his own making. His models then were the source of a product, made unique through their translation into bronze by knowledgeable craftsman. As Fortuna's letter demonstrated, access to the models produced by the workshop was "mediated" by the Medici, thus endowing them with further value. Like their maker who was controlled by the court, Giambologna's models became a princely privilege as well as a commodity.

As was discussed in Chapter 1, the use of piece-moulding and indirect casting was a crucial technical innovation that influenced not only the aesthetic qualities of Giambologna's works, but also the organization of labour within his workshop. These processes, revived from antiquity, were first used during the period by Antico, although during his career did not reproduce his designs to the extent that Giambologna later would, a point to which I will return. Severo da Ravenna, working in Padua, also relied on moulds to allow for his designs to be produced by his assistants.[56] These were more utilitarian objects, such as inkwells and lamps, made for a humanist market in the university town. Giambologna, working just a few decades later in Florence, made his name through the same process and specifically through the reproduction of his designs, which did not claim to be functional, like Severo's, but severed primarily aesthetic needs.

While the Grand Duke mediated the production of Giambologna's statuettes, and in particular those transposing the most important public statues in the city, it appears that some of Giambologna's models were his own independent, or private,

[56] Severo relied on moulds to allow for his designs to be produced by his assistants. M. Trusted, *The Making of Sculpture,* p. 54, C. Kryza-Gersch, "The production of multiple small bronzes in the Italian Renaissance", p. 34.

property. As previously mentioned, during his life Giambologna allowed Susini to reproduce his models and even cast into his moulds. We also know that Giambologna gave some models to his earliest patron, Bernardo Vecchietti.[57]

Borghini's *Il Riposo* describes the Vecchietti collection, which included drawings, cartoons and paintings by important artists including Michelangelo, Leonardo, Bronzino and Botticelli. He owned as well the drawing and model of Cellini's *Perseus*, alongside many figures in wax, clay and bronze by unnamed makers.[58] In Vecchietti's villa there were also a number of rooms in which he himself would make things, including a *scrittoio* that was described as "full of Giambologna models."[59]

Amongst the objects in Vecchietti's collection was a bronze statuette of a horse that, according to an eighteenth-century story, Giambologna had gifted to his protector while he was "still living in his house."[60] How dearly Vecchietti held this object is documented by the fact that he chose to have this bronze statuette depicted with him in his portrait by Santi di Tito.[61] According to Avery, after Giambologna had given this bronze to his patron he never again replicated it. Although he later

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[57] M. Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti, Patron of Giambologna", Avery, *Giambologna's Julius Caesar and His Patron*, pp. 26-35, Charles Avery, "Bernardo Vecchietti and the Wax Models of Giambologna", in *La ceroplastica nella scienza e nell'arte* (Florence, 1977), F. Carrara, "Il magnifico Bernardo Vecchietti, cortigiano e committente in un inedito epistolario privato" in Ex. cat. Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi.*

[58] " [...] molte figure di cera, di terra, e di bronzo in diverse attitudini rappresentati varie person come prigioni, donne, Dee, fiumi & homini famosi" Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 13.

[59] "[...] è piena di modelli di Giambologna, e di statue d'altri maestri di pittura, e di disegni." ibid., p. 14. The collection was inventoried in 1609. For the inventory, see Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti, Patron of Giambologna", Appendix I, *Inventory of Il Riposo* ASF, *Notarile Moderno* 8542, fol. 55, verso ff., Graziadio Squadrini, 7 May 1609. As Charles Avery has discussed, though the models are described in this inventory as "little old things," *anticagliaccie,* Vecchietti's appreciation of them is testified by the fact that he entailed the collection with a *fide commisso* that forbid the dispersal of the collection. Avery, *Giambologna's Julius Caesar and his Patron,* p. 28.

[60] According to Charles Avery, the statuette is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1924.24.212.23) ibid., p. 34. Eckart Marchand's research into the collecting of plaster casts that personal connections continued to be the primary means for collecting models and casts of them through the end of the sixteenth century. Eckart Marchand, "Image and Thing: The Distribution and Impact of Plaster Casts in Renaissance Europe", *Sculpture Journal* Vol. 26 (2017), p. 86.

[61] A previously unpublished copy after the Santi di Tito portrait is illustrated in Carrara, "Il magnifico Bernardo Vecchietti", ill. 16-17.

made similar compositions, he always adapted the design by adding details such as a saddle blanket.[62] Ownership of a model was thus closely linked with the right to its replication.

THE BORGO PINTI STUDIO AND OWNERSHIP

The *palazzo* of what would eventually become the Borgo Pinti studio complex, was purchased by Giambologna in 1587. Initially, it only comprised living quarters. It was a purchase that reflected Giambologna's elevated status as a respected courtier in the city.[63] Shortly after Giambologna had purchased the building, Grand Duke Ferdinando I paid for the construction of a studio and large casting furnace next to the *palazzo* to facilitate the production of an equestrian monument that Ferdinando had commissioned to memorialize his father, Cosimo I.[64] The statue was successfully completed in 1593. After it was installed in 1594, Ferdinando gave Giambologna ownership of the workshop and furnace that had been built with grand-ducal funds.[65] It was a gift that could be passed on to Giambologna's heirs and successors.

In the 1590s, the Borgo Pinti furnace was used exclusively for the production of large-scale cast sculpture. By 1601, Susini had left the Borgo Pinti studio and Pietro Tacca took on a leading role in his master's workshop, managing the complex production of works that Giambologna had designed. Tacca had been Giambologna’s

[62] Ex. cat. Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi*, cat. 20, pp. 274-275.
[63] E. Ferretti, "La casa-studio di Giambologna in Borgo Pinti," in Ex. cat. Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi*, pp. 315-320.
[64] Dimitrios Zikos has proven that Giambologna had purchased the property on Borgo Pinti before this period. D. Zikos, "Giambologna's Land, House, and Workshops in Florence", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz,* Vol. 46 Bd, (No. H 2/3, 2002). For more on Giambologna's house, see E. Ferretti, "La casa-studio", pp. 315-320.
[65] "S.A. dona a Giovanni Bologna, e suoi eredi, e successori la Bottega e fornace fatta da S.A. con spesa di scudi 1900 in circa nel Popolo di S. Piero in Pinti vicino alla sua Casa e la donazione si fa per lui, suoi Eredi e successori" 24 July 1596. 23, ASF, *Misc. Med.* 580, 457v and ASF, *Practica Segreta* 190, f. 23 r-v. Interestingly, Cosimo I refused to build Baccio Bandinelli a studio and instead provided him with 60 scudi to do so. L. Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court: A Corpus of Early Modern Sources* (New York, 2004), doc. 414.

assistant starting in 1592, assuming increasing oversight of the production of his aging master's works. He was added to the Grand Ducal *ruoli* in November 1601.[66] After Giambologna died in 1608, grand-ducal administrators praised Tacca for his technical capacity and especially for the methods he had developed that shortened the casting process, which saved time, money, and material.[67] He, like Foggini would later be, was rewarded for his service by being named the new head of the Borgo Pinti studio.

When Giambologna died in 1608, Tacca was granted his master's title by the Medici Grand Duke, now Cosimo II, and was given a set salary of 25 *scudi*.[68] Through Giambologna's will, Tacca was allowed to rent the *palazzo,* which comprised a living space, and its furniture from Giambologna's ten-year-old heir, Giovanni Dionisio Bologna, until he reached maturity in 1616.[69] Tacca was also granted access to his master's tools (*masseritie*) and the casting furnace. The will emphasized, interestingly, that the models in the studio and the tools in the house were to be used by Tacca and Giovanni together, thereby implying that Tacca could not use them alone.[70] This line of the will reveals how Giambologna hoped that his

[66] For a discussion of the history of the court *ruoli* or payrolls, see Elena Fumagalli, "On the Medici Payroll: at Court from Cosimo I to Ferdinando II (1540-1670)", in E. Fumagalli and R. Morselli, *The Court Artist in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Rome, 2014). The essential study on the court's relationship to artists is W. Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici with the Reconstruction of the Artistic Establishment* (Florence 1993).
[67] *Fabbriche Medicee* 123, 100r transcribed in Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, appendix I, C.
[68] ibid., appendix I,C.
[69] "A Pietro del Tacca da Carrara suo allevato lasciò l'habitatione per se et per una serva solamente della casa di esso testatore posta in Firenze in Pinti et dove di presente habita in compagnia del infrascritto Giovanni suo herede che a San Giovanni prossimo avrà otto anni insina a che detto Giovanni abbia finito anni diciotto et cosi insina alla Nativita di San Giovanni 1616." Testament of Giovanni Bologna, 1 September 1605, ASF, Archivio Notarile Moderno, Atti del notaio Francesco Quorli anni 1602-1608, N° 7028, cc. 56 v. 58, transcribed in Dhanes, *Jean Bologne*, pp. 373-374, also reproduced in Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, Appendix I, B.
[70] "[...] et con l'uso insieme con detto Giovanni di tutte le cose che sono nello studio di detta testatore, et di tutte le masseritie che saranno in casa, delle quali cose dello studio et masseritie debba fare inventario et mantenerle." Testament of Giovanni Bologna, 1 September 1605, transcribed in Dhanes, *Jean Bologne*, p. 373. See above, note 69, for full citation.

nephew would eventually become a sculptor and perhaps follow in his own illustrious footsteps.

It is important to emphasize that at this moment, the Borgo Pinti house and studio were not the property of the Grand Dukes. Permission to live in the Borgo Pinti *palazzo* was therefore not granted to Tacca by the Grand Duke, but instead through Giambologna's will and only until 1616. Giambologna's will is thus a testament to the respect that Giambologna held for his *allievo,* Tacca. He granted Tacca the guardianship of the two complementary means by which his legacy could continue after his death: through his nephew and through his models.

While Giambologna had worked assiduously during his life to create both an artistic and familial legacy in Florence, in 1613 his heir renounced his Florentine title and sold the *palazzo* to Cosimo II for 3,250 *scudi*.[71] At the same time, Tacca purchased the *palazzo*'s interior furnishings, undoubtedly assuming that the Grand Duke would allow him to continue to live in the property as he had since 1605.

Giambologna had initially purchased the *palazzo* on Borgo Pinti as a private living space, which was subsequently transformed into a workshop.[72] The workshop was built specifically to accommodate the production of monumental sculpture, in particular the equestrian monument of Cosimo I. Availing himself of Ferdinando's interest in the rapid production of these important works, Giambologna argued that having a furnace on the grounds of his *palazzo* would cut down on the amount of time

[71] "Gio Dionisio Bologna Erede di Gio Bologna Scultore vende al Gran Duca Cosimo per se, e suoi Eredi, e successori la Casa Grande di Pinti di Gio Bologna con tutte le sue pertinenze per scudi 3250 che furono pagati al Pro.e di Cav. Gio Bologna" 22 May 1613, ASF, *Misc. Med*. 580, 733v.
[72] Zikos' research has revealed that the purchase of the *palazzo* and the plans for the construction of the studio and furnace happened nearly simultaneously, therefore suggesting that Giambologna had persuaded Grand Duke Ferdinando to build the studio and furnace within his property prior to its purchase. Zikos, "Giambologna's House and Lands".

he would spend walking back and forth from his workshop in *Palazzo Vecchio* and his house.[73]

After the successful completion of the Cosimo I equestrian monument–and quite possibly as a result of it–Giambologna was gifted ownership of the studio and furnace in 1596.[74] Zikos suggests that Giambologna had hoped to gain complete ownership of the workshop complex from early on. Zikos' evidence for this comes from the fact that in a petition to the Grand Duke, Giambologna listed the portions of his property that would have to be destroyed in order to accommodate the studio and furnace.[75] I would argue that, based on other patterns of grand-ducal gifts of property, it is more likely that ownership of the studio and furnace was instead a form of compensation that was awarded after the successful completion of the monument.[76]

While Giovanni sold his uncle's *palazzo* four years after his death, it was not until 1617 that he decided to sell the "studio and the wax models" to Cosimo II.[77] As the document of the sale makes clear, the Grand Duke had the intention of buying the models from Giambologna's heir prior to 1617, perhaps as early as the sale of the *palazzo.*[78] Tacca clearly had an interest in the purchase as well, as he negotiated the sale and worked as the procurator.

The posthumous inventory of Giambologna's property drafted in 1608 notes that the ground floor *studio* of the *palazzo* contained sixteen large shelves (*mensole*) of stucco models and two smaller shelves (*palchetti*) of wax models, and another even

[73] Zikos, "Giambologna's Land, House, and Workshops in Florence", p. 386.
[74] The pronouncement of this gift is recorded in *Practica Segreta* 190, f. 23 r-v.
[75] Zikos, "Giambologna's Land, House, and Workshops in Florence", p. 387.
[76] For more on this see Chapter 3.
[77] *Contratto per l'acquisto di beni da parte di Pietro Tacca, Archivio Notarile di Firenze, Notaio Ser Filippo Valentini, Protocollo* n° 11428 c. 36-52, transcribed in S. Lo Vullo-Bianchi, "Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca", Appendix I. Susini, interestingly, was the witness to these contracts. Watson discusses the sale of the waxes in Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 93.
[78] See above, note 77.

smaller shelf (*palchettino*) of small models of an unspecified material.[79] In the *scrittoio* were "two small bronze horses that were made as models."[80] That these models were made in bronze, and not fugitive wax, indicates that these must have been particularly important and perhaps frequently moulded.[81] To the disappointment of art historians, the inventory gives much more specification to the contents of boxes of clothes and linens, including, for example, "used trousers of black cloth" or "two well-worn red shirts," than to the subjects and state of these models that would become prized relics of Giambologna's artistic genius.[82] Similarly, the contract documenting the sale of the waxes to Cosimo II doesn't specify the subjects of the models, just the Grand Duke's desire for them.

Another notable omission of Giambologna's post-mortem inventory is that it does not include the models for large-scale sculpture that were still in the *cortile* in 1687, which were listed on the inventory attached to the proclamation of Foggini's accession. In fact, there is little to suggest beyond the models in his *scrittolo* and *studio* that the palace complex also functioned as a *bottega* where assistants like Tacca lived and many others worked.

As Michael Cole and Mary Pardo have argued, in this period, the *studio* was understood as a place for contemplative and intellectual work. This would have been the private space of an artist in which he would have developed his design inventions.[83] The *bottega,* on the other hand, was where those inventions were later

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[79] "[...] seidici mensole d'albero, tinte suvi sua modelli di stucco, dua palchetti, sopra sua modelli sequentemente di cera [...] un palchettino d'albero intero, con suoi modellini." Inventory of Giambologna's inheritance, 22 August 1608, ASF, *Notarile moderno*, 7021: Francesco Quorli, 1608-1609, fols. 1v-6v transcribed in G. Corti, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Inventories Involving Giambologna", *The Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 118, No. 882 (1976), appendix I.
[80] "[...] dua cavalletti di bronzo, che furono fatti per modelli." Ibid.
[81] I would like to thank Charles Avery for sharing his thoughts on these models with me.
[82] "[...] cascha et calzoni di panno nero, usati" and "dua camic[i]uole rosse, usati bene," Corti, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Inventories", appendix I.
[83] Mary Pardo and Michael Wayne Cole, "Origins of the Studio", in Mary Pardo and Michael Wayne Cole (ed.), *Inventions of the Studio, Renaissance to Romanticism* (Chapel Hill; London, 2005). For the

executed. While Giambologna's *studio* was inventoried, another room above the kitchen was not because it contained the "Grand Duke's things for the *bottega*."[84] It is likely in this case that the *Fortezze e Fabbriche* would have kept a more complete inventory of what that room contained, though my own archival research did not bring such a document to light. There was thus a clear separation between the objects that belonged to Giambologna and those that belonged to the Grand Duke, even if both were used in the production of final works. The absence of the large-scale models from the inventory may therefore suggest that they were never in fact Giambologna's property, unlike the small-scale models that clearly did belong to him. The sketch-like *concetti* were therefore seen as Giambologna's own property, but the means to realize them were not.

The Materiality of Ownership

Unlike the Giambologna models owned and displayed with pride by Vecchietti, Cosimo II's interest in the purchasing the wax models from Giovanni seems to have been for very practical reasons. As I have already discussed, the master's models were particularly valued during his lifetime as they facilitated the facture of bronze statuettes within and outside of his workshop. We must imagine therefore that if the Medici had not purchased Giambologna's models, they could well have left Florence and thus could have allowed someone outside of the Florentine workshop to reproduce them. It is clear that even after Giambologna's death, there was a continued demand for what were understood to be "his" statuettes. One could assume, therefore, as Watson did in her publication on Tacca, that Tacca encouraged

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use of the word "stanza" to similarly connote an artist's place for creation and socialization with non-artisans, see L. Bauer, "From *bottega* to *studio*", *Renaissance Studies,* Vol. 22 (No. 5, 2008).

[84] "[...] robe del Gran Duca, per la bottega." Corti, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Inventories", appendix I.

Cosimo to purchase the models so that he would have access to them and permission to reproduce them.[85] This was because, as noted above, while Giambologna's will gave Tacca access to the models, they were to be used "with" his heir Giovanni.

In 1609, Giovannni had left Florence which most likely restricted Tacca's access to the models.[86] While the contract for the sale does not illuminate Cosimo and Tacca's motivations for purchasing the models, understanding how other members of the Medici family had previously used the control of reproduction to their advantage allows us to rethink the value of Giambologna's models as more than just his original designs, but instead as a mode of accessing the artist even after his death, thereby continuing his utility to the court.

As I have mentioned previously, a wide range of objects were reproduced in the Early Modern period each with its own social function, which were created in part through its reproduction. Amongst the most potent of these types of reproductions were those made after miraculous images. At the time, miraculous images were understood as worldly embodiments of the divine.[87] As Gervase Rosser has argued, the rise of these miraculous images was brought on by the papal promotion of *The Veronica*, a cloth veil on which Christ was believed to have left an imprint of his face along the Via Dolorosa, after the universal Council of 1215.[88] The image on *The Veronica*'s claim to being a true icon of Christ was based on how it was made, as an imprint and therefore truthful impression of the likeness of Christ. The touch of Christ's sweating face to the veil thus made *The Veronica* a contact relic. The validity

[85] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 92.
[86] ibid., pp. 100-101.
[87] J. Garnett and G. Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles: Transforming Images in Italy from the Renaissance to the Present* (London, 2013), pp. 30-34, M. Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence* (New Haven, 2013), pp. 6-9.
[88] Gervase Rosser, "True Icons? The Power of Supernatural Images in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy" in J.P. Genet (ed.), *La vérité: Vérité et crédibilité: construire la vérité dans le système de communication de l'Occident (XIIIe-XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: 2015) [online].

of such a claim was reinforced by church authorities through calculated display and the rituals performed around *The Veronica*.

While such rituals played an important role in the creation of the relic's meaning, period belief held that powerful images, such as *The Veronica*, were able to perform not only through the original, but also through copies of them.[89] The copies therefore became surrogates not only for the "original" image, but also for the heavenly power it contained.[90] This conception that that the divine could be present in miraculous images as well as copies after them, made way for what Rosser has called the "democracy of the cult image" whereby a wide range of images outside of the supervision of clerical authority became a means of communicating with the divine, thereby rendering "null the attempt by authority to declare a singular truth in the miraculous image."[91]

In order to limit such unfettered access to the divine, religious or political bodies that controlled the image's cult labeled particular types of copies as "authorized". [92] This practice of authorization tried to establish the perceived authenticity of particular copies, endowing them with a sense of legitimacy. To prevent "unauthorized" images from assuming too much power, some copies or even the means through which they were produced, such as the printing plates, were destroyed.[93] While Giambologna's artistic models are not exact equivalents of miraculous images, the sequestration of his models–a kind of contact relic for the

[89] Garnett and Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles*, pp. 191-196.
[90] For a discussion of how the processes of printmaking endowed copies with potent meaning based on how it "imprinted" its prototype, see L. Pon, *A Printed Icon in Early Modern Italy: Forlì's Madonna of the Fire* (New York; Cambridge, 2015), and in particular pp. 39-79.
[91] Rosser, "True Icons?", section 8.
[92] Ibid., pp. 208-219.
[93] Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, p. 81, as well as Garnett and Rosser, *Spectacular Miracles*, pp. 213-217 for other examples.

artist himself–as well as the controlled reproduction of them in order to authorize and validate certain types of replicas finds parallels in the control of religious images.

The *Annunciation* fresco at the church of the Santissima Annunziata in Florence, known in the period as *La Nunziata,* was one such miraculous image. (Figure 2.9) This fresco, dated to circa 1340, had became highly venerated by around 1360, due to the belief that the face of the Virgin had supposedly been completed not by an artist, but an angel.[94] While they were not the private owners of *La Nunziata*, by the mid-fifteenth century, the Medici had become the primary patrons of the image's cult. During this period they installed a new tabernacle around the fresco and copying the image virtually ceased.[95] Their control of the miraculous image continued to increase after 1532, when they became the hereditary rulers of Florence. As the primary patrons of the cult, the Medici controlled public access to this powerful image.[96]

Proof of the Florentines' limited access to the image is documented by a story about Michelangelo's encounter with it sometime between 1530 and 1534, recounted in a 1598 account by Francesco Bocchi, a courtier of Francesco I. According to Bocchi, Michelangelo was asked to verify the authenticity of the miraculously painted face of the Virgin in the company of Duke Alessandro de' Medici and other noblemen. Upon seeing the image, Michelangelo dropped to his knees, unable to speak, due to a stupor brought on by seeing the divine face. Later when asked by a friend what had aroused his new devotion for the image Bocchi reported that Michelangelo replied: "After I was allowed, in the company of those noblemen, [...] to see the likeness of the Holy Virgin Annunciate from close up, which I had never

[94] For the history and reception of this image, see Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence,* pp. 97-104.
[95] Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, p. 269.
[96] For the importance of the unveiling of the image, see ibid., p. 225.

before seen, I say now the same thing that I said then, that here it is not the skill of brushes (*arte di pennelli*) that made the face of the Virgin, but something truly divine (*divina veramente*)."[97]

What is particularly intriguing within this context of Medicean control of *La Nunziata,* as well as this written account describing it, is that the truth of the power of the image, that the face of the Virgin was not created through the "*arte di pennelli,*" was confirmed by Michelangelo's close examination of the image which was dependent upon the Medici unlocking the doors that removed the image from sight. Michelangelo's access to examine this socially well-known, yet visually-secluded, image was thus granted to him by the Medici Duke. Further, his astonishment at the divine beauty of the face, which he felt surpassed the abilities of men, was performed in front of visiting noblemen who were simultaneously witnesses of the image and to the power the Medici held as the patrons of it.

In 1558, Duke Cosimo I took even more pronounced ownership of *La Nunziata* when he gained possession the two keys that locked the shutters that concealed the image. He insisted to the Servite friars that such control would "maintain devotion to the image." He therefore determined that "from this time onward it should not be shown to anyone without an expressed license (*licenza*) issued by us [the Medici] and no others."[98] The keys, significantly, became possessions of the *Guardaroba*, which the Medici family's private possessions, rather than of the church in which it was displayed. By controlling the keys, the Medici were

[97] "Da poche e' mi fu conceduto in compagnia di que Signori, come sapete, di vedere il sembiate da presso della Santissima Nunziata, la quale prima veduta non havea, dico ancora il medesimo, che dissi allora, come quivi non è arte di pennelli, onde stato sia fatto qual volto della Vergine, ma cosa divina veramente." Bocchi, *Sopra l'immagine*, pp. 87-88. This passage is discussed and translated in Megan Holmes, "Miraculous Images in Renaissance Florence," *Art History* Vol. 34 (2011), p. 445.
[98] "[...] conoscendo quanto importi al mantenimento della devozione, vi commettiamo che di quì innanzi, no possiate mai più demonstrate a persona senza nostra licenza espress, e non d'altri, e se la mostrerete, che credian di nò, vi dimostrememo quanto sia grande il conto che la volontà nostra è che se ne tenga" quoted in ibid., p. 225 citing Migliore, *Firenze citta nobilissma illustrata,* 1684. Translation by author.

able to govern who could view this image and, by extension, tried to restrict how and for whom its miraculous powers were exercised.

As Megan Holmes and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda have discussed in their work on copies after *La Nunziata*, when the Medici had become the primary patrons of the image cult in the fifteenth century, active Medici policies discouraged the production of copies of after the image. This changed only at the end of the sixteenth century when they began to repromote its reproduction, including by allowing for an engraved copy by Cesare Capranica to be made in 1586.[99] Holmes has emphasized that during these two periods different aesthetic goals governed the production of copies. Earlier copies, like that at San Marco (Florence) dated to 1371, relied on a "visual armature," or on particularly potent visual clues, that drew a connection between the copies and the original, even if the composition and execution of the copy were not identical to the original. (Figure 2.10) But by the late sixteenth century, copies of *La Nunziata* were marked by a new visual similitude. Importantly, it was during this period when copies were encouraged that the Medici were in complete control of access to the image through their ownership of the keys that concealed the image from public view. As Holmes has argued, this visual likeness was given value by strategies for confirming the "truthfulness" of the relationship between original and copy, which were contingent upon access to the original.[100]

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[99] For the evolution of the Medicean policy on reproduction, see Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, '"Et sia nella forma medesima' das Florentiner Gndenbild der SS. Annunziata und seine Repliken', in Walter Cupperi (ed.), *Multiples in Pre-Modern Art* (Zürich, 2014) and Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, p. 81. Holmes even notes that during the fifteenth century that the Medici punished the head of the monastic Servite Order for producing an unauthorized copy for the Holy Roman Emperor. Holmes, "Reproducing Sacred Likeness", in A. Putzger, M. Heisterberg, S. Müller-Bechtel (ed.), *Creating Nothing New: Perspectives on the Faithful Copy: 1300-1900,* (Berlin, forthcoming). I would like to thank Megan Holmes for sharing a draft of this paper with me before it was published.

[100] Holmes, "Reproducing Sacred Likeness", Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, pp. 269-271. Gervase Rosser has argued that access to the miraculous prototype was not always required to endow the copy with a sense of authenticity, as exemplified by some thirteenth-century

A letter written by a member of the Spanish court in 1588 indicates that it was not just visual access to *La Nunziata* that the Medici were thought to control, but also the technical knowledge of how it could be accurately copied. As one courtier wrote,

> I've been told that there is no painter who knows how to [copy the image] correctly, apart from one of the deceased Grand Duke's painters and he never made a work [copy] without the permission of his Serene Highness, and that it was also necessary to ask his permission to copy the image because the keys lay in his [The Grand Duke's] power.[101]

The technical knowledge of how to copy the image was therefore understood to be possessed by only one grand-ducal painter. Yet this artist's technical facility was also controlled by the Grand Duke, who had to grant him the permission to make his copies. Further, the commissioner of the copy had to similarly receive permission from the Grand Duke for the copy to be made. The artist's and the patron's access to *La Nunziata* was therefore regulated by the Grand Duke not just conceptually through permission, but also practically through the keys that were in his possession and kept the image out of sight.

The first of these sixteenth-century "faithful" copies was by Alessandro Allori was executed between 1579 and 1580 as a commission from Duke Francesco I de' Medici for arch-reformer Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan. (Figure 2.11) As Bocchi relates in his history of *La Nunziata*, after a visit to Florence when Borromeo had seen *La Nunziata*, he requested that the miraculous image be copied (*ritratta*) " as exactly as one could make" in a painting (*quadro*).[102] As Holmes has

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English "authentic" versions of *The Veronica*. Rosser, "True Icons?", section 4. See also the discussion in Rosser and Garnett, *Spectacular Images*, p. 213.

[101] "Todos me an dicho que no oy pintor que lo sepa haazer come conviene si no uno que era del Grand Duque que esta en el cielo y no hazia ninguna obra sin lincencia de Su Ser.d y que tanbien era menester perdirsela para copiar la imagen porque en su proprio poder estavan las llaves." Marìa Pimentel de Fonseca to Ferdinado I de' Medici 15 November 1588, ASF, MdP, 5079, ins. 3, f. 528, transcribed in Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, "'Et sia nella forma medesima'", pp. 211-212. Translation by author.

[102] "[...] dopo la visita della Santissima Nunziata, à qui di vederla fu conceduto con suo agio come grazia singulare domandò al Gran Duca Francesco, che in un quadro à suo nome qui in Fiorenza ella fosse ritratta quanta più simile si potesse." M.F. Bocchi, *Sopra l'imagine miracolosa della Santissima Nunziata di Fiorenza* (Florence, 1592), p. 88. Translation by author.

noted, this copy of *La Nunziata* is described in all contemporary primary sources as a "ritratto," including in Allori's *Ricordi* when he refers to the painting as the "tela per il Cardinal Buonromeo del ritratto dellla Nuntiata di Firenze."[103] How Allori achieved this type of copy was by making traced cartoons directly off of the image. Doing so meant that he was given extremely privileged access to the image, far beyond what Michelangelo had been granted, which was simply to see the face of the Virgin and confirm its veracity. Instead, Allori was able to trace and touch the divine image in order to copy it "exactly."

It is worth noting that there were other ways in which Allori could have made his copy, for example by drawing the composition by hand and from sight at a distance. But the exactness, or truthfulness, of this copy was confirmed by the actions he took to make it.[104] In letter written by Francesco to Borromeo concerning the copy made for him, the Grand Duke noted that the copy was the same size as the original, "della medesima grandezza."[105] The phrase was not just a comment on its size, but implied a particular practice of exactness used to make it. As will be discussed further below, at the time, making a *ritratto* through tracing the original image was understood to be a means of imprinting not only the composition, but also the power of the original into the copy.[106] Allori's use of the cartoon was therefore not simply a

[103] For a discussion of Allori's use of this language, see Holmes, "Reproducing Sacred Likeness." She quotes from Allori's *Ricordi*. A. Allori *I ricordi di Alessandro Allori* I.B. Supini (ed.) (Florence, 1908) 1908, p. 12.
[104] Allori went on to make other copies in varying scales between 1582 and 1583, but in all cases it was understood that he could render a "true likeness." Holmes, *The Miraculous Image in Renaissance Florence*, pp. 269-271.
[105] "Non prima che hora s'è potuto finir il ritratto dell'Annuntiata, il quale s'è cavato nel modo apunto che sta, senza scemare, o accrescere, cosa alcuna; anzi è della medesima grandezza, et credo che satisfarà a V.A. Ill.ma, sendosi fatto usar quella maggior diligenza che s'è potuto, et perchè questa è una delle principali devotioni di Toscana, et s'è conservata sempre con molta satisfattione di tutta questa città, né mai più per alcuno tempo se n'è cavata copia, però desidero et prego V.S. Ill.ma a non lassar cavar da persona ma se la goda lei per sua devotione" Francesco I to Carlo Borromemo, 11 July 1580, ASF, MdP 254, folio 67, dated July 11, 1580, reproduced and discussed in Kubersky-Piredda, "Et sia nella forma medesima", pp. 207-208. Translation by author.
[106] For a discussion of the term *retrahere*, to trace or redraw, see Megan Holmes, "Copying Practices and Marketing Strategies in a Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painter's Workshop", pp. 48-49. For the

practical decision to speed the production of the copy, but instead a mode of transferring the power of the holy image directly into the copy. For Allori to do so meant that he had to have the Grand Duke's permission to see and then touch the original, as well as, more importantly, access to the two keys that unlocked the shutters, which were the Grand Duke's private possessions. Within this context, these forms of access were seen to enable the potency of the holy image to transfer into the copy.

When Allori's copy was sent to Milan, a letter from the Grand Duke accompanied it to further underline its rarity, and thus preciousness. "Never in any other time, has a copy (*ritratto*) been drawn out (*cavata*) [from this painting]."[107] Material possession of the original was therefore a powerful tool used to form political allegiances, because when a copy's potency relied on the touch of authenticity, which was facilitated by the act of tracing, the owner of the original could control how the transfer of power from the original into the copy would take place.

Certain originals, like the *La Nunziata* fresco, were bound to a location and immobile. Its reproducibility thus was static. This stasis was created through its immobility and solidified by the means through which access to it was controlled–in the case of *La Nunziata* through the shutters locked with a key in the Grand Duke's possession. Yet mobile objects, and especially small statuettes like those produced by Giambologna, were not so easily controlled because they could, if not regulated, readily move beyond the confines of Medicean authority.

In 1609, in exchange for a gift of trout and carp from Lake Garda, the Grand Duke Cosimo II de'Medici sent his cousin Duke Francesco IV of Mantua a crucifix

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role of impression in transferring the power of an icon into a printed image, see Pon, *A Printed Icon*, pp. 39-79.

[107] For the text, see above, note 105. Translation by author.

"by the hand of" the deceased Giambologna. While it was a small gift, Cosimo hoped that Francesco would admire it not only for its religiosity but also because of the fact it was by the hand of such a rare maker. Cosimo stressed that due to the great prestige and regard his father held for this "modello," he prayed that Francesco would not allow any one to make a copy of it, "non lasciare anche cavare copia da nessuno."[108] The use of the term *modello* in this context referred to what must have been a specific design for a crucifix created by Giambologna which had been made in a limited number, perhaps only for Ferdinando I. Cosimo's use of the word *cavare* is especially important as it indicates not only that Cosimo did not want any copies made of it, or more literally "drawn out from it," but also emphasizes the particular kind of copy Cosimo was trying to prevent.

CAVANDO DAL NATURALE

In this period, the term *cavare,* as well as *ricavare*, were used within the context of copying. Both terms meant "levar dall'esemplo."[109] The verb *cavare* was often used in relation to taking moulds, using the word to illustrate how an image was "drawn out," "pulled out," or even "excavated" from an exemplar. Baldinucci's *Vocabulario Toscano del'arte del disegno* indicated that a *cavo,* or *forma,*[110] was the object into which one cast in order to produce statues or other works in relief.[111]

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[108] "[...] Essendomi in questo punto ricordato del desiderio che mi mostrò già V.A. d'havere un Crucifisso di quie, che di mano del già Giovanni Bologna ci rappresentano in croce il Nostro Salvatore semivivo gnene mando uno d'argento, et spero che per la pietosa devotione dell'immagine e per esser fabbricato da mano cosi rara ella habbia ad haverlo caro, che fuori di queste considerationi il dono è troppo piccolo [...] Prego strettissimamente V.A. per il gran pregio et riguardo in che teneva mio Padre questo modello di Crucifisso, et in che lo tengo anch'io, a volersene servire per sè et a non lasciare anche cavare copia da nessuno, che me ne farà piacere accettissimo et sarà anche conforme all'amorevole intentione ch'ella me ne dette." Cosimo II to Franceso IV, 27 July 1609 transcribed in: A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627-28: Documenti degli Archivi di Mantova e Londra* (Milan, 1913), p. 267.

[109] "Cavare" and "Ricavare" in *Lessicografia della Crusca in rete* <lessicografia.it>.

[110] For the multiple valances of the verb *formare*, see Chapter 3.

[111] "Cavo" and "forma" in F. Baldinucci *Vocabolario Toscano dell'arte del disegno* accessible online <http://baldinucci.sns.it/ >.

Beyond artistic practices the word "esemplo" had connotations not just of a sculptural model, but an exemplar, especially of one related to virtuous action.[112] The phrase "levar dall'esemplo" could then mean both to draw from an example as well as to pull forth from a model. In both cases, something essential about the model was drawn into its replica. The multiple valances of the term model–as simultaneously an exemplar and a sculptural model– described not only how the cast from the *cavo* related to its prototype, but also how the mould mediated the relationship between the two.

While the term *cavi* appears less frequently than *forma* across sources that refer to moulds, the act of making the moulds was often described as *cavare dal naturale.* In the period, *dal naturale* did not exclusively refer to being taken "from nature," as one might suppose, but instead it meant that this form of casting was made directly off of a model in a one-to-one relationship, such as was possible through the piece-moulding process.

The first Early Modern description of taking a mould literally from life was described in Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'arte*, though in this case he used *improntare*, a verb used to describe the making of both effigies and moulds, to describe this act of making. *Improntare* was also the verb that Leonardo used to describe the process of making copies of sculpture, by which the copy imprinted itself with equal *virtù* onto the original.[113] In Leonardo's formulation, moulding or "effigizing" the original allowed for both the design and the *virtù* of the original to be transferred into the copy. In his passage on moulds, Cennini instead focused on their utility in design. He believed that moulding was not only useful for exact copying, but

[112] "Esempio" in *Lessicografia della Crusca in rete* <lessicografia.it>.
[113] "Questa non s'inpronta come si fa la scultura, della quale tal è la impressa qual è la origine, in quanto alla virtù de l'opera." For a discussion of this passage see the Introduction, and for the original text, see Barrochi (ed.), *Scritti d'arte del cinquecento*, p. 74.

also was a method that was "very useful to *ritrarre* and *simigliare* things from nature and it [was] a method that brings great honor in design."[114]

Cennini's instructions on moulding began by laying out how one could take a mould off of the face of a living person. The process was also described in Book 78 of Pliny's *Natural History.* In it, Pliny describes how Lysistratus of Sicyon, the brother of the famous sculptor Lysippus, also made moulds from a person's face.[115] Lysistratus went on to cast the mould in wax and to correct its imperfections, thereby inventing casting.[116] The impression of the person's face in this formulation was therefore the starting point for the artist.[117] Through his reworking of the form taken from life, a portrait could be made.

While most often the term *ritratto* in art historical literature today is utilized in relation to portraits, it did not have this exclusive definition in the period and instead was an aesthetic term to describe how the *ritratto* related to its prototype.[118] The definition of *ritratto* in the *Crusca* draws together several verbs that describe the ability to produce close similarity to its prototype, "vale somigliarla, demonstrare, descrivere, cavando dal naturale." In Baldinucci's *Vocabulario*, "dal naturale" was used to describe drawing, painting, modelling, or sculpting in front of "il naturale" or that which was being imitated (*quello imitantando*). The resulting work was thus called "fatta dal naturale," or made from the real thing that was to be depicted.[119] To *ricavare* or *fare dal naturale* was, in Baldinucci's definition, the opposite of *fantasìa,*

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[114] C. Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte o tratto di pittura* (Florence, 1859), p. 136. "molto utile (e al disegno fatti grande onore) in ritrarre e simigliare cose di naturale." Translation by author.
[115] S.B. McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance,* p. 277.
[116] ibid., p. 79.
[117] For more on how Cennini describes *ritrarre* as a starting point for developing one's own hand and concepts, see Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, chapters XXVII-XXVIII, pp. 16-17.
[118] Joanna Woodall, "Introduction", in Joanna Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester, 1997), p. 3. See also F. Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa*, pp. 27-63 for the gendered valences of *ritrarre.*
[119] "Dal Naturale" in F. Baldinucci *Vocabolario Toscano dell'arte del disegno* accessible online <http://baldinucci.sns.it/ >.

or those things made without an *esemplo*. Works of *fantasìa* were imaginative and of pure *invenzione.*[120]

Works made *dal naturale* were thus understood to be unmediated, direct transcriptions of their prototypes. Baldinucci therefore used the term within his definition of a study (*studio*), noting that from models the artist would be able to perfect the "Idea of that thing" (*l'Idea di quella cosa*). Drawing *dal naturale* was thus seen as a form of direct, objective tracing devoid of artistic interpretation. In period texts this mode of transcription was described as *ritrarre.* Like Cennini's and Pliny's descriptions of taking moulds from person's face, Baldinucci's description makes clear that there was a further step required to perfect the "idea" the model contained. This action was encompassed by the verb *imitare.*

There was therefore a clear distinction between the acts embodied in the verbs *imitare* and *ritrarre.* Vincenzo Danti described the difference as such "by *ritrarre* I mean to make something exact as another thing is seen to be; and by the term *imitare* I similarly understand that this is to make a thing not only as another has seen the thing to be, but to make it as it would have to be in order to be of complete perfection."[121] Often this distinction was used to exclude particular modes of making from the increasingly intellectualized sphere of inspired artistic practice. Imitation required that the artist perfect his model, going beyond the "mechanical" transcription of his subject and what was perceptible on the surface in order to penetrate it and thus depict the subject's inner qualities.

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[120] "Fantasìa" in *Lessicografia della Crusca in rete* <lessicografia.it>

[121] [...] dico primieramente che ritrarre intendo io che sia fare una cosa appunto come si vede essere un'altra. E lo imitare medesimamente intendo, al proposito nostro, che sia fare una cosa non solo in quel modo che altri vede essere la cosa che imita, quando fosse imperfetta, ma farla come ella sarebbe da essere in tutta perfezzione."Vincenzo Danti, *Il primo libro del tratto delle perfette proporzioni,* reproduced in P. Barocchi ed., *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma* vol. 1 (Florence, 1960), p. 241. The English translation is by F. Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa,* p. 45.

While this formulation of artistry was an important one for critics and intellectuals of the period, it does not completely summarize the needs and desires of all beholders and consumers of Early Modern objects. The ability to *ritrarre* was not simply a stepping-stone to independent invention, but in some cases an end to itself. The maker's technical ability to *ritrarre*, to essentially prevent one's own *fantasìa* from entering into an object, was crucial to the resulting copy's function.

The term *ritratto* appears in Early Modern Italian documents, especially in relation to copies of altarpieces, to indicate that the finished product was to be a close copy of the exemplar.[122] For example, the copy of *La Nunziata* Allori made for Cardinal Borromeo was described in Allori's own writing as the "ritratto della Nuntiata."[123] The use of the term *ritratto,* then, was a distinct form of reproduction than was called for in contracts that included *moda et forma* clauses, which more often referred to reproduction of particular material components of the prototype, such as the frame or the use of gold.[124]

The specification of the use of a particular material was different than how the qualities of the original were meant to appear in a *ritratto.* In Early Modern Seville, for example, a document called a *retrato* even served as the legal proof of the skillful production of the copies made after the sacred image of the *Virgen de la Antigua* in the *Catedral de Santa María de la Sede*. The *retratos* certified that a witness had ratified the match between original and copy. Importantly, the copies had to capture not only the composition, but the also the glowing quality of the original painted

[122] O'Malley, *The Business of Art*, p. 151.
[123] Allori, in his *Ricordi*, for example, wrote: "Dal Ser[…]mo Gran Duca Francesco scudi dodici di moneta, cioè lire ottantaquatro, tanti sono per a buon conto della tela per il Cardinal Buonromeo del ritratto della Nuntiata di Firenze" (1580, between April 2 and May 7), Allori *I ricordi*, p. 12. See also Holmes, "Reproducing 'Sacred Likeness' in Renaissance Italy".
[124] For the *moda et forma* clause, see O'Malley, *The Business of Art*, p. 151. For different levels of fidelity in copies, see Holmes, "Copying Practices and Marketing Strategies in a Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painter's Workshop", pp. 48-49.

image in the church.[125] In the Sevillian context, the *retrato* not only described the form the copy took on, but importantly was also the *proof* of the exactness and thus of the power of the resulting copy.

It seems that the term *ritratto* did not just describe the closeness of the copy to the prototype and its ability to stand in for the "original", but could further describe the mode in which the *ritratto* was made through the act of *ritraendo*, or tracing the form of the original. As previously mentioned, when Allori made his copy of *La Nunziata* in the exact same dimensions as the original, he first traced the composition of the holy image in order to make his copy. To make this tracing required that he touch his cartoon to the miraculous image itself, thereby having the cartoon function as a conduit between the holy hand of the angel who painted the Virgin's face and the face he would then paint for Borromeo. The cartoon was more than functional, it took on a talismanic role of transferring the power of the original–which was tightly regulated–into the copy. Moulds made *dal naturale* similarly would have allowed for the resulting objects to be made in exact proportion with the original's dimensions, just as cartoons allowed reproduction "della medissma grandezza," but technically also required that the mould, like the cartoon, touch the surface of the original. These modes of reproduction were believed to have the power to imprint the interior qualities of the original.

The *ritratto*'s aesthetic exactness, though facilitated by the cartoon or the mould, was therefore less valuable than the relationship between original and copy which the term contained. By creating a conceptual and aesthetic language of exactness that was dependent upon a one-to-one relationship, the original became

[125] Maria Lumbreras, "'Con el oro e matizes de la dicha ymagen': Sacred Matter and its Replicas in Early Modern Seville," paper presented at *The Matter of Mimesis: Studies on Mimesis and Materials in Nature, Art, and Science* (Cambridge, 18 December 2015).

more powerful not just for its compositional or iconographic content, but also for its own materiality. The *ritratto* was a witness as well as a servant to that power.

THE MODE OF REPRODUCTION AS THE ORIGINAL

Controlling the original was, as we have already seen, important to the owner of it–or as Cosimo I put it to the Servites, for "maintaining devotion to the image." In the case of *La Nunziata*, access was granted only through the Grand Duke. But once the crucifix had been sent to the Gonzaga, it was outside of Cosimo's reach and the replica had the potential to be further reproduced. Without recourse to a key and lock, but control of the design instead depended on trust.

It is important to underline that Cosimo had gifted the crucifix to Gonzaga as a form of repayment for the carp and trout that the latter had given to him. Fishing within Tuscany was, like copying powerful images, controlled by license. Gonzaga had thus given something valuable to Cosimo and, in return, Cosimo gave something valuable to him. This gift, though small, was made more potent by the deep meaning that it held –as an object by Giambologna's hand as well as a *modello* appreciated by Cosimo's father. Putting his trust in Gonzaga that he would not let it be reproduced thus further underlined an allegiance between the two men. This crucifix, and more importantly the fact that it was not to be copied, therefore materialized their relationship in multiple ways.[126]

As Holmes has pointed out on her work on the so-called Lippi and Pesellino Imitator, the Medici had used the circulation and control of close copies of their paintings to confirm their political allegiances as early as the mid fifteenth century. As she has shown, of the four close copies of Filippo Lippi's *Adoration of the Child,* a

[126] For more on the use of copies as a form of political "fidelity", see Chapter 4.

painting that had originally been made for the Medici Palace Chapel, three copies are attributed to the so-called Lippi and Pesellino Imitator.[127] (Figures 2.12 and 2.13) The copies, dated to the 1460s and 1470s, were made from six cartoons: four cartoons for the figures and two for the landscape. This indicates that the precision of the image was once again not founded on a "visual armature" that referred only to particular elements of the work, but rather to the original painting's entire composition. Holmes' research reveals not only that the Lippi and Pesellino Imitator's copies were exacting copies, but also that they were meant to serve as a direct reference to the Medici prototype thereby making visible the relationships between owner (the Medici) and the recipients.[128]

Another interesting example of the Pesellino and Lippi Imitator's production relates to the *Virgin and Child*, which has been said by some scholars to be a copy of the lost central panel for Alfonso of Naples. (Figure 2.14) After the panel for Alfonso had been made, a Neapolitan nobleman asked Giovanni de' Medici for a copy. In a letter, Giovanni de' Medici instructed his agent that he could "take the *disegno* and see to it." Holmes has interpreted this to mean that the Medici owned the drawings or cartoons that could be used by Lippi's studio to make the copy.[129] The Medici, not the workshop, therefore owned both the image to be reproduced and the means by which it could be exactly copied, the cartoons.

These examples illustrate particular situations in which access to the original, first visually, but then also physically, became incredibly important for the production of a particularly potent form of exact copy. Allori and the Lippi and Pesellino Imitator were granted special access to take the form of the image, not at a distance but

[127] Holmes, "Copying Practices and Marketing Strategies in a Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painter's Workshop", p. 43.
[128] ibid., pp. 42-52.
[129] ibid., p. 50.

through touch. The form of the image, and thus its power –whether miraculous or political– was imprinted through the artist's act of tracing.[130] The power of the original was then circulated through the very tangible (and ultimately controllable) material form of transfer. Exact copies were thus dependent upon access to the original that was materialized in the means of reproducing them. The means of reproduction themselves therefore became a form of access, the ways by which an exact likeness could be not only produced, but also continuously re-produced. The means of reproduction were therefore another material form of the original, which potentially needed to be controlled.

Access to the original was governed by closed and locked doors that were opened only through friendship and political allegiance and thus the means of reproduction, especially if seen as another form of access to the original, depended upon similar agreements. The value of the copy and the original, like the two parties in the agreement, were effectively made co-dependent through the act of copying. This means that it was not just the original that had to be controlled, but also the means by which copies could be produced so that this balance of co-dependence would not be undermined by an abundance of copies.

Returning to the question of the models Giambologna's left in his studio, it becomes clear why that the Medici would have wanted to purchase them not for aesthetic purposes, but to control the after production of his designs, in ways similar to how they had controlled him during his life through *servitù particolare*. Although while he was alive, Giambologna's designs had been executed by his studio, it is clear that those statuettes cast in moulds taken off of his original models were more valuable. This is because through the use of the indirect casting process,

[130] For discussion of how the plate used for printmaking took on a similar function, see Pon, *A Printed Icon,* pp. 39-79.

Giambologna's hand, as expressed through his models, could work through the hands of his workshop's members. The touch of the mould to the terracotta manipulated by his hands made him present in the bronze, which otherwise contained only his concept.

THE TOUCH OF POSSESSION

In 1687, Ferdinando Tacca, sculptor and engineer of Cosimo III Grand Duke of Tuscany, died without male heirs and only a sister as his beneficiary. His legacy and title could not be passed on, as his father had been able to do to him.[131] As a result, shortly after his death two representatives of the Grand Duke, Signore Giovanni Carducci, *Visitatore Generale delle Possessioni*, and Marchese Francesco Feroni, *Depositario Generale*, entered into Tacca's living quarters and studio to repossess it for Cosimo III and his heirs and successors.[132] The building was, as the document that records the act of possession describes, "a house in Florence in the parish of San Piero Maggiore on the street called Pinti, with a large *fabbrica* and a furnace for casting bronze statues, a portico, and a large stone door."[133]

Forty-seven years earlier, Ferdinando had supplicated the court for his father, Pietro's, title of *Primo Scultore della Casa Serenissima*. With this title he was also granted the privilege of living and working in the *palazzo, studio*, and *fabbrica* on Borgo Pinti by the Grand Duke. The building which the Grand Duke's agents had

[131] "Et Essendo che stante la morte senza figliolio Maschi di detto Sigore Ferdinadno a asserito la medesimo esser ritornata con piena ragione di Dominio a S. Altezza Sernissma." ASF, *Possessioni* 734, f. 171v- 172r. This documented, cited repeatedly in the following pages, is unpublished.
[132] "[...] Serenissimo Grand Duca e suoi serinissimi erdei e sucessori per rendere a nome di essi l'attuale e corporale posesse della medesima casa e riservatome infrascritto che della medesima le oridersi il domando posesso." ASF, *Possessioni* 734, f. 172r.
[133] "[...] Una Casa posta in Firenze nel Popolo di S Pier Maggiore in Via detta di Pinti con fabbrica grande e fornace da Fondere statue di bronzo, portico, porta Grande di Pietra." ASF, *Possessioni* 734, f. 171v.

repossessed after Ferdinando's death was then not just his workspace, but also a storehouse for the artistic legacy of his predecessors. As the document reads: the two men "entered the house, opening and then locking the principal door. They walked through the ground-level of the building through the courtyard, portico, and *loggia* touching the statues [that remained inside] as they passed"[134]:

> Two marble *bozze* of life-sized statues, one representing a Hercules and the other a Samson
> One clay model of the Rape of the Sabines group by Giambologna [...]
> Two larger-than-life clay models representing Rivers, one missing a leg [...]
> Four gessoes of Colossuses representing the four bronze slaves that are at the Port of Livorno, two of which are on the verge of ruin [...]
> A clay model of a larger-than-life Victory with a Slave beneath her [...]
> A model of a larger-than-life horse with iron armor in the act of walking
> A gesso representing a larger-than-life rearing horse with iron armor, nearly destroyed
> A gesso of the Wild Boar from of the *Mercato nuovo*, extremely battered [...][135]

"They ran their hands through the fresh grass and other plants of the courtyard"[136]: "two mulberry trees, two grape vines, and two orange trees."[137] "They climbed the

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[134] "[...] fatto entrate in Casa aprire, e serrare la Porta principale della medesima, fattolo passegiare per il Terreno per la Corte, Portici, e Logge e fattoli toccare statue, e daroli in mano dell'erba frasche, et altro di detta corte, passegiando per l'orto, salendo la scala, apprendo, e serrando finestre, e facendo altri atti possessori secondo l'uso di pigliare possessi [...] e perche erano in detta Casa alcune stanze e camere sigllate con l'Arme di Palle di S. Altezza Serenisima ad instanza dello Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche di SAS che pero non poteste nelle medesime entrare, e cosi pigliarne il corporale posesso si protesto per d'haverelo preso con l'Animo." ASF, *Possessioni* 734, f. 172r-172v.

[135] " Nº 2 Bozze di Marmo di Statue grande quanto il naturale rappresentanti un Ercole e l'altra un Sassone [...]Nº 1 Un Modello del gruppo del rampto delle Sabine di terra del Giambologna, posta sopra d'un Banco di legno alla salvatica, Nº 2 Due Modelli di terra maggiore del naturale, rappresentanti due Fiumi, che ad uno manca una gamba, posano in terra, Nº 4 Quattro Gessi di Colossi rappresentanti gli quattro Schiavi di Bronzo che sono nel Porto di Livorno, due de'quali minacciano rovina, posano sopra una Base di legno, Nº 1 Un Modello di terra d'una Vittoria maggiore del naturale, con sotto uno Schiavo, posa in terra, Nº 1 Un Modello d'un Cavallo maggiore del naturale, con sua Armadure di ferro, in atto di passeggio, Nº 1 Un Gesso rappresentante un Cavallo maggiore del naturale in Corvette, con Armadure di ferro, sta per rovinare, Nº 1 Un Gesso del Porco di Mercato nuovo, assai lacero, posa sopra un piano di legno." This portion of the inventory is transcribed without error in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 258, p. 269, Inventario delle Masserizie fisse, Modelli di Statue, et altro, 25 November 1687, ASF, *Possessioni* 1329, n. 173. Translation by author.

[136] See above, note 134.

[137] "Nº 2 mori, Nº vite a pergola, Nº aranci al muro." ASF, *Possessioni* 1329, n. 173. Lankheit had misunderstood the section of the inventory referring to the "orto" as containing the two moors by Tacca, "due mori," which were instead in the *cortile*. Within the context of the original document it is clear that the word *mori* should refer to mulberry trees as they are listed with other valuable plants. For his transcription, see Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 258, p. 269. Translation by author.

staircase, opening and closing the windows, and performing others acts of possession according to the custom of repossessing."[138] They could not enter some rooms in the house as they were marked with the coat of arms of His Most Serene Highness, so they repossessed the objects inside by spirit.[139] In ways similar to how the touch of the mould to the surface of the model drew the original into the copy, the agents' hands drew the Borgo Pinti complex and models inside of it back into the Grand Duke's complete possession.

Before arriving at Borgo Pinti, the Grand Duke's agents had also visited two properties that had belonged to first Pietro and then to Ferdinando Tacca, near the Medici villa of Pratolino to repossess them for the Grand Duke. One had been gifted to Pietro in 1627 when he completed the bronze figures of bound slaves that adorned the base of the monument to Ferdinando I in Livorno (*I Quattro Mori)*, the models for which were then in the *cortile* of the Borgo Pinti studio. The second property had been given as payment in 1632 for a monumental figure of Cosimo II for the *Cappella dei Principi*.

Ferdinando's home and studio, the place where his father Pietro had died 47 years earlier, were never really his possessions. Nor were the compositions of a walking and leaping horse which had brought Pietro Tacca esteem in the courts of Europe ever truly his own. While in 1608 Giambologna was able to leave behind a legacy to his male heir, which included both his property and his sculptural designs, the two Tacca sculptors could not. This was not just because Ferdinando lacked male heirs, but instead, because it seems that many of the elements of his artistic legacy were never truly his own possessions.

[138] See above, note 134.
[139] See above, note 134.

The repossession document's incredibly cinematic narration of the passage of objects from one owner to another is more than just a legal record. It is a story of loss and disappearance. It is a document of how easily a name and a legacy, built over years, can be lost inside of the leather binding of a book. The few manuscript pages that record the loss of Ferdinando Tacca's properties, which during his life were testament to his and his father's success as artists, are buried away within numerous volumes that record the Medici Grand Dukes' possessions. But the extent of Ferdinando's loss–not only of his properties, but also of the documentation of his renown–extends before the life whose end is recorded within this document. It begins with his father, Pietro.

Pietro and his legacy are the focus of Chapter 3, for Ferdinando is a figure still very much lost to history.[140] Though the next chapter raises many questions about Pietro's work and status as an artist– such as how can we understand the period appreciation for Pietro's material inventiveness? and how did his role as a court artist influence the types of objects he could make and the fame he could garner?–the question I began and end with is wrapped up within the documents of ownership discussed in this chapter: to what extent did the court artist actually possess his own originality?

[140] For Ferdinando Tacca, see A. Radcliffe, "Ferdinando Tacca the Missing Link in Florentine Baroque Bronzes", A. Brook "Sculptors in Florence during the reign of Grand Duke Ferdinando II of Tuscany (1621-1670)", A. Brook, "La scultura fiorentina tra il Giambologna e il Foggini", in Ex. cat. Florence 1986, *Il Seicento Fiorentino* (Florence 1986), pp. 71-76, Luigi Zangheri, "Ferdinando Tacca architetto e scenografo" *Antichità Viva,* XIII (1974), pp. 50-61.

CHAPTER 3

PIETRO TACCA'S FORM OF INVENTION

> [...] thus one cannot speak of them as being works of art, but instead *un semplice parto della natura.*[1]
>
> Filippo Baldinucci, "Life of Pietro Tacca" (1702)

Filippo Baldinucci's life of the Carrara-born Medici Grand Ducal Sculptor Pietro Tacca describes and recounts his making of several extremely mimetic and life-like works. While Baldinucci praised Tacca's abilities, he included an anecdote that revealed that the naturalism that he praised could also be criticized. The sculptures Baldinucci used to expose the double-edge character of Tacca's naturalism were two drowning *putti* made for the "grande vasca del giardino di Boboli" that serve as the central elements of the *Moses Grotto*, which were designed by Tacca and carved in marble by a now unknown artist named Giampetron of Carrara. (Figures 3.1-3.3) Baldinucci recorded that certain critics informed Grand Duke Ferdinando II that for these *putti,* Tacca had "moulded his own son in that pose and then using a gesso from that mould worked up the figures, instead of using a proper model."[2] These unnamed denigrators of Tacca's technique concluded their observation with a damning judgment: "and thus one cannot speak of them as being works of art, but instead simply born from nature [*un parto della natura*]."[3]

While highlighting the mimetic qualities of Tacca's work, the negative judgments hurled by his critics also point to two broader issues that have continued to influence the reception of Tacca's sculpture up to the present day. The first is the claim that Tacca had relied too completely on moulds in the conception and execution of his

[1] "[...] e così non poter dirsi le medesime esser opera dell'Arte, ma un semplice parto della natura." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, XII, p. 168.
[2] "[...] accusandolo d'aver egli formato un proprio figliuolo in quel'attitudini; e poi sopra il getto della forma, e non sopra proprio modello aver fatte lavorare quelle figure, e così non poter dirsi le medesime esser opera dell'Arte, ma un semplice parto della natura." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, XII, p. 168.
[3] Ibid.

design models for the finished works in marble. By this logic, it was assumed that he had taken plaster moulds directly off of his son's flesh and then, using those negative matrices as a receptacle, cast gesso into the moulds thereby creating the model that would serve as Giampetron's guide for carving the marble. According to Tacca's detractors, this was not an appropriate method for developing a "proper" sculptural model. Hidden inside of this accusation is a broader assumption about how the sculptor's *concetto* should be materialized in the model. This supposition is then encapsulated in his critics' more pejorative claim: that these *putti* were not works of art, but instead born from nature.

The delicate line between convincing artistic mimesis and the mindless copying of nature was part of a larger period discussion about artistic creativity and genius that hinged on a strict separation between form and matter. As Fredricka Jacobs has argued, the language used to described "artistic" creation mapped closely onto that of biological reproduction, through which male force actively manipulated (female) passive matter to give it form and thus life. Such ideas found their roots in ancient texts.[4] Aristotle even used the example of bronze casting, a process that Tacca was particularly known for, to exemplify this separation between the male and female roles of creation. Woman was bronze, an imperfect material, which the male sculptor gave form to by transforming it into sculpture.[5] While the act of casting itself, through which the male artist manipulated material and breathed life into his model, was associated with the power of artistic creation, strict reliance on the casting matrix alone was not a form of invention.[6]

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[4] Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa*, pp. 28-38.
[5] Sohm, "Gendered Style in Italian Art Criticism", p. 799, Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa*, p. 28.
[6] A particularly good example of the life-giving language associated with the artist being seen as a God-like creator is found in Cellini's description of his *Perseus* statue. For a discussion of this passage, see Fritz Scholten, “Bronze, the Mythology of a Metal” in Ex. cat Leeds 2005, *Bronze the Power of Life and Death* (Leeds, 2005), pp. 24-26, Michael Cole, "Cellini's Blood," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (1999), pp. 219-227.

The artistry of making cast sculpture thus rested upon two acts of manipulation, first translating the *concetto*, something imagined and invented by one's intellect, into the material form of the proper model and then giving life to that model through the skillful manipulation of matter via casting.[7]

Much of the discussion related to this terminology has been related to female artists' perceived inability to create instead of copy, but as David Summers and Philip Sohm have argued, these judgments are not bound by biological sex, but instead are a means of feminizing certain modes of making and by extension the artists who used them. This feminization in turn removes particular makers from traditional canons of art, leaving them instead to be labeled as followers, craftsmen, and copyists.[8] As Sohm has argued, "men create styles; women only inherit them preformed."[9]

Many of the judgments that have been used to degrade the work of female artists have also been used to describe Tacca. He is discussed most frequently in art historical scholarship not as an independent artist, but instead as the heir of his master, Giambologna. His artistic production is often considered within publications on his master as a way of describing the continued production of Giambologna's designs after his death. Some have claimed that Tacca didn't have a unique style, while others simply believe that he "prolonged the survival of Giambologna's style."[10] Other works in Tacca's oeuvre are described by their attention to surface, finish, and ornamentation. In the period, the *donnesca mano* as well as feminine styles of making more generally were defined by an attention to detail, a preference for geometric patterns, and a

[7] The distinction between the design imagined in the artist's mind and made material is broken into the categories of *disegno interno* and the *disegno externo* by Federico Zuccaro. For the text see, F. Zuccaro, *Scritti d'arte di Federico Zuccaro*. For a discussion of these ideas within their historical context, see E. Panofksy, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory,* translated by J.S. Peake (London, 1968), pp. 85-95.
[8] Sohm, "Gendered Style in Italian Art Criticism", p. 800. See also Maria Loh's discussion of Padovanino as an "effeminate copyist," Loh, *Titian Remade*, pp. 3-4.
[9] Sohm, "Gendered Style in Italian Art Criticism", p. 800.
[10] K.J. Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* prologue and pp. 1-8, Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture*, p. 256.

predilection for ornament.[11] These visual qualities and tendencies are also often identified in Tacca's works and are seen by most art historians as detracting from the overall design of his works and by extension define him as a feeble successor to Giambologna. Furthermore, his over-attention to the surface qualities of the works he produced has been used as evidence of his disinterest in creating "strong" compostions. These claims recall a similar criticism hurled at Giambologna by Michelangelo when the latter destroyed a highly finished model by the a young Giambologna in order to teach the aspiring sculptor that the most important task for any artist was his development of the design.[12]

Tacca's critics in Baldinucci's narrative derived their judgment on an understanding–one that continues to the present day in art historical scholarship–that artistic creation requires a particular form of model, conceived in the mind of its creator and actively made material through his hands. While Giambologna had created designs in wax and clay and then utilized moulds in order to replicate his designs,[13] as this chapter will explore, moulds were central to how Tacca created his models. Often the use of moulds, in contrast to modelling, is considered a passive, or mechanical, form of making because it simply takes the form of an image that already exists. By extension, artists such as Tacca are seen as lacking creative genius because he, like his empty moulds, simply took forms without transforming them.

As Baldinucci's story of the *putti* "born from nature" reveals, while Tacca's mode of making closely align with gendered ideas of art production in the period, as well as embedded biases in the field of art history in more recent times, this does not mean that his works were not appreciated in the period in which they were made. In what follows, my goal is to investigate Tacca's use of moulds (that is, *forme*) in the

[11] Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa*, p. 89.
[12] See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the anecdote.
[13] For more on this, see Chapter 1.

development of his sculptural forms (again, *forme*). I argue that although Tacca is often seen as prolonging Giambologna's style, his form of invention both technically and stylistically was distinct. His "form of invention" was deeply rooted in his use of the indirect casting process, and specifically moulds (*forme*).

My interest in this chapter is not to argue that Tacca was a "great" artist or to isolate his hand within the works whose completion he oversaw, both of which have often been the focus previous publications on him.[14] It is instead to think about how his works, career, and period reception reveal that his sculpture was appreciated in his own time precisely because of his innovative use of the indirect casting process, which in turn influenced his designs.[15] It is important to also underline that he used this process in distinctly different ways than his master. Emphasizing a period appreciation of his material innovation as a form of artistic style is important because, as other scholars have long noted, Tacca's work often involved repeating the designs of other artists or even directly copying from nature or the antique. But in all cases, Tacca used moulds in inventive ways in doing so. My assertion is that his process was central to the development of his style and that ultimately his process produced the aesthetic qualities of *somiglianza* and *meraviglia* that were used postitively in the period to praise his works.

To arrive at these conclusions, this chapter begins with a discussion of Tacca's sculptural processes and how they related to Giambologna's. I use the equestrian monument of Philip IV, which Tacca produced at the end of his life, to illustrate how Tacca's technical skill allowed him to create a design that expanded upon and freed itself from his master's designs. It was through Tacca's prolonged engagement with

[14] Ex. cat. Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca: Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee,* Tommasi, *Pietro Tacca*, Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* Torriti, *Pietro Tacca da Carrara*.
[15] For insights into Tacca's casting methods, see Dimitrios Zikos, "Ars sine scientia nihil est'. Il contributo di Pietro Tacca al bronzo italiano", in Ex. cat Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca: Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee* (Florence, 2007).

Giambologna's designs for equestrian monuments, especially for that of Philip III, that he was able to rethink them. (Figure 1.11) One of the striking features of the later Philip IV monument is its nuanced rendering of the muscles and veins of the horse as well as the sumptuous costume of the rider. (Figure 1.12) This monument is often seen as a break from Tacca's earlier work, yet it also highlights many of the visual qualities that Tacca had already developed earlier in his career.

While other scholars have focused on the "natural" subjects that Tacca explored in discussing his naturalistic works, in this chapter I will instead argue that Tacca's mimesis of nature was tied to how he used moulds to capture his subject, whether this be the muscles of an African slave or the bristles of a boar depicted in a Hellenistic marble. (Figure 3.4 and Figure 0.9) It is clear that Tacca used moulds as a starting point for his models, but I argue that he also used moulds as a form of sketching and a route to art, or nature perfected through the selection of its most beautiful parts. This conclusion challenges the general assumption that the use of moulds in service of the articulation of form is simply a passive form of making, whereby the artist takes the form of his subject directly. As this chapter will demonstrate, it is clear that the moulds were actually just a starting and not an end point in Tacca's work. Tacca is often criticized for his fixation on surface at the expense of the design. Yet understanding how he arrived at that surface and how it reflected his interest in illusionistic rendering reveals Tacca to be an artist who was not just working in his master's shadow, but instead one who was elaborating upon concepts and techniques he had learned under his master's tutelage in service of new aesthetic goals.

In the final section of this chapter, I explore Tacca's value to the court so as to complicate the general scholarly assumption that he was a lesser figure than, and ultimately nothing more than a merely imiator of, his master, Giambologna. While in

previous scholarship Tacca's supposed failure as an artist has been diagnosed as being tied to "his role as grand-ducal artist [that] restricted his private life and individual creativity,"[16] as will become clear, his most impressive works would not have been possible without access to the Medici's credit line and the metal held in their fortresses. My goal, then, is to argue that the success Tacca had within his lifetime, as documented by gifts of property and one of the highest salaries of the court, was a direct result of his technical skill, which was especially useful for the type of large-scale sculpture that formed a core aspect of the Medicean theatre of state in the period.

By focusing on how Tacca created his works, I emphasize how he utilized methods of piece-moulding and indirect casting, which were central to Giambologna's workshop, in inventive and distinctive ways. I demonstrate that keeping Tacca trapped between the binary of follower/copyist versus sole author ignores a key aspect about him: that reproduction acutally produced his originality, and ultimately his fame. Tacca's sophisticated use of the methods of piece-moulding and indirect casting, which resulted in objects of stunning naturalism and technical marvel, brought him wide-spread renown, monetary benefits, and esteem during his career. Tacca was not just a follower of Giambologna, but an important court artist in his own right in the seventeenth century.

Pietro Tacca, Successor to Giambologna

In the only full-length publication in English on Pietro Tacca, which appeared in 1983, the author Katherine Watson lamented that after years of research she was unable to identify or describe his unique style.[17] Tacca was, to her, simply a manager of a

[16] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 1.
[17] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, pp. 1-2. While Watson begins with this statement, interestingly in the Conclusion she has an entire section dedicated to defining his style. Ibid., pp. 294-300. Even so, she continues to lament that his true talent was as a manager.

complex workshop rather than the creative genius his master had been.[18] Watson located the reason for Tacca's lack of individuality in the workshop, and specifically Francesco I's 1586 establishment of the *Galleria dei Lavori*.[19]

As discussed in Chapter 1, the *Galleria* was a unified administrative structure for the production of artificats within which all art forms, both "high" and "low", became subject to a centralized artistic vision in service of the Grand Dukes.[20] The objects produced in the *Galleria,* as well as at the Borgo Pinti studio that Tacca led, were used to cement the image of the Medici Grand Dukes not only within their territory, but also outside of it. As the previous chapter has explored, Giambologna statuettes were amongst these products, used particularly in diplomatic exchanges, but they were certainly not the only products used to such ends.

Watson claimed that as a result of the increased bureaucratization of artistic production that occurred in the late sixteenth century through the establishment of the *Gallleria,* Tacca was unable to enjoy the creative autonomy his master had enjoyed:

> Ferdinando [I dei Medici] saw the production of the grand-ducal sculptor and foundry in terms of propaganda. An art of propaganda invites no new concepts, and an artist's individual style becomes schematized in terms of recurring subject matter and designs to gratify the patron who is also the subject of the propaganda. This situation, combined with the ever-worsening physical state of Giovanni Bologna, created a decline in creativity and inventiveness.[21]

According to her diagnosis, it was the recurrence of particular subject matter that was commanded by the Grand Duke that resulted in a decline in creativity and inventiveness in Florentine sculpture in the years leading up to and then immediately following Giambologna's death. The freedom to invent, as Watson defined it, was related solely to

[18] For Watson's analysis of the workshop structure and Tacca's management, see Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, pp. 291-294.
[19] Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* pp. 25-26.
[20] For a fuller description of the establishment of the *Galleria dei Lavori* as well as the role of the Grand Ducal Sculptor within this system, see Chapters 1 and 2.
[21] ibid., pp. 310-311.

the artist's manipulation of the design. Tacca's creativity was thus blunted because he was unable to produce his own designs. The title of her book, *Pietro Tacca, Successor to Giovanni Bologna*, thus succinctly summarized Tacca's standing in relation to his master by defining him merely as someone who sought to prolong the style of Giambologna.

On the surface, the works Tacca produced as Grand Ducal Sculptor could be easily categorized as replicas or close copies devoid of his own design invention. In his 1975 publication on Tacca, Piero Torriti identified three stages of Tacca's style, two of which were defined by replication. The first was the Giambolognesque period, during which Tacca was simply imitating and completing his master's works (1608-1620). This was then followed by a phase of naturalism (1620-1634), with then a final phase in which his own style that was developed, though only thorugh a series of bronze equestrian statues and statuettes of a rearing horse and rider (1634-1640).[22] In Torriti's classification of Tacca's development, two of his stages were marked by close copying: the first of his master and the second of nature.

Tacca's work on statuettes after Giambologna designs and his completion of the equestrian statues designed by his master prior to the latter's death are indicative of Tacca's Giambolognesque period that Torriti identified. Little archival evidence is available to understand Tacca's involvement with the production of "Giambologna" statuettes, though we know they must have continued to be made in the grand-ducal workshop. In the years after his master's death in 1608, Tacca continued to oversee commissions that Giambologna had already been granted, including for the equestrian monuments of Henri IV, which was completed in 1611, and Philip III, which was completed in 1614. (Figures 1.10 and 1.11)

[22] Torriti, *Pietro Tacca da Carrara*, pp. 11-12. Torriti does not include the date ranges listed above; they are my addition in order to clarify a timeline of these styles within Tacca's career.

Scholars have often struggled to identify Tacca's hand within these early works on which we know that he collaborated with his master. Indeed, identifying his individual contributions to such significant projects based on archival evidence alone is a nearly impossible task. However, as I will discuss, Tacca's involvement in the technical aspects of the monuments' facture has long been recognized. As manager of the workshop, Tacca is given credit for the progressively lighter weight of the monuments, which lowered production and transportation costs, and which attest to his deep knowledge of casting and capacities as a workshop manager. Yet upon closer examination of individual objects, Tacca's design influence emerges from within even the compositions in which he clearly closely followed his master's original design conceptions. Even within these monuments, it is clear that Tacca had an interest in detailed renderings of surfaces in bronze that became expressed especially in the costume of the monuments' riders, as will be explored later. Once the monuments to Henri IV and Philip III had been completed, Tacca was apparently freer to develop his own designs and not simply to complete his master's unfinished projects, thereby inaugurating his so-called naturalistic phase.

Key examples of the naturalistic phase are the figures of the bound slaves on the monument to Ferdinando I in Livorno, *I Quattro Mori,* and the garlands of fish and shells that ornament the *Sea Monster Fountains* in Florence's Piazza Santissima Annunziata, which were originally designed to be installed next to the *Quattro Mori.* (Figures 3.4 and 3.5) It was also during this period that Tacca produced his bronze copy of the *Wild Boar*, which is not only a close copy of a Hellenistic marble statue, but also includes an intricate base of plants, lizards, crabs, and snails that were derived from life casts. (Figure 0.9) His later works, which date from the second half of the 1620s until

his death in 1640 and include the monumental figures for the *Cappella dei Principi*, are also often disparaged for Tacca's over-attention to surface, finish, and ornamentation.

Tacca's role within the court workshop, undoubtedly, was to respond to the needs of his patrons and protectors, the Medici Grand Dukes–of which he served three. Denying the articulation of individual style within a court style, or simply labeling it as propaganda, ignores Tacca's (as well as other court artists') own agency within a tightly regulated system of co-dependence. Court artists were given their roles due to their abilities. Inscription onto the court *ruoli* was a privilege not all artisans received. Court artists were paid to invent and produce and in order to do so, they were provided the tools and materials required. My goal in the pages that follow is not to glorify either patron or artist within this relationship, but instead to think more subtly about the reciprocal benefit offered by the system of court service. The inventions of the court artist certainly aided in the patron's own "propagandistic" goals, but conversely the stability of the court structure and ready access to required materials allowed artists like Tacca to invent in particular ways.

TACCA AND GIAMBOLOGNA

The relationship between Tacca and Giambologna is often framed in terms of influence, whereby Tacca is said to have followed his master.[23] But there were important differences in how they conceived of their roles within the workshop and executed their designs. Michael Cole in his monograph on Giambologna, Bartolomeo Ammannati, and Vincenzo Danti, proposes that artists invested in particular personas, which they advertised through their art. As Cole points out, it is often assumed that all

[23] This is even further accentuated by the fact that the only publication on Tacca in English is entitled *Pietro Tacca: "Successor to Giambologna."* Watson, *Pietro Tacca*. The most recent exhibition on Tacca in 2007 was also a result of the archival research conducted for the earlier exhibition on Giambologna in 2006. Ex. cat. Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca*; Ex. cat. Florence 2006 (a), *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi* respectively.

sculptors prioritized design as the core of their persona, yet this was not necessarily always the case.[24] While Giambologna developed his reputation through his designs, and in turn collectors came particularly to appreciate his models as manifestations of them, it is dangerous to assume that his artistic descendants adhered to similar goals.[25] Cole's provocative claim is especially important in relation to Tacca's goals and artistic persona because only by looking closely at the processes he "invested in" is it revealed that his material innovations were particularly important to how he could execute his designs and thereby the fame he could attain. It is therefore critical to begin deconstructing the relationship between the two artists by thinking about the differences between how Giambologna and Tacca worked.

One striking contrast between Tacca and Giambologna revolves around the question of the models themselves, especially those made in wax and clay. A defining feature of Giambologna's practice is the abundance of his extant models. This corpus of evidence about his process, which is still readily available to scholars today, aligns with a documented interest in sculptors' use of clay and wax models that emerged more broadly in the last decade of the sixteenth century. The important role played by the sculptural model in Giambologna's self image is suggested by Federico Zuccaro's portrait of the sculptor in which he lovingly cradles his model.[26] (Figure 3.7) In contrast, there is only one known model in red wax attributed to Tacca, which served as a model for the restoration of the ancient marble sculpture *Menelaus supporting the body of Patroclus*.[27] (Figure 3.8) There is one gesso model of the *Quattro Mori* held in the Museo Civico Giovanni Fattori, that has been attributed to Tacca and described as a

[24] Cole, *Ambitious Form*, pp. 21-25.
[25] Similarly, one should be wary of assuming that Giambologna's artistic ambitions were simply to compete with Michelangelo, a concept that Cole also challenges. ibid.
[26] In a slightly later period, many terracotta models by Gianlorenzo Bernini are known, which comprise both *bozzetti* as well as presentation models. Ex. cat. New York 2012, *Bernini.*
[27] The restored marble is displayed in the Loggia dei Lanzi (Florence) and a carved copy of the same design is in the Palazzo Pitti. The wax is held in the Casa Buonarotti.

bozzetto, but it is clearly an after-cast of fully developed figure studies given the visible lines of the piece-mould.[28] (Figures 3.9 and 3.10) Finally, there are three portraits by Tacca in terracotta and *terracruda* that all must have served as models for works in bronze.[29] The number as well as the types of extant models by Tacca, although surely incomplete, nevertheless point to an important difference in working practices compared to Giambologna.

By the time Tacca began working in Giambologna's workshop in 1592, the production of small statuettes, which made Giambologna famous throughout Europe, had already begun.[30] As Chapter 1 has explored, indirect casting and piece-moulding allowed Giambologna's designs to be continuously reproduced within his workshop through the assistance of Susini and Tacca, as well as many others whose names are less well-known. The indirect casting process was especially useful for producing Giambologna's designs for large-scale works and replicating his designs for statuettes, not only because it allowed for the reuse of his models and moulds, but also due to the many steps of the process, which encouraged individual workmen to specialize, thereby dividing out the tasks involved in making, and thus atomizing Giambologna's hand across his entire workshop.

A hierarchy within the workshop's division of labour happened at both the lowest level as well as at the highest. It was not just Giambologna who received particular privileges as the designer, but also the casters and smelters who made their facture possible. Casting itself was a highly specialized craft that was regulated by the

[28] Ex. cat. Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca*, cat. 1, pp. 122-125.
[29] The portrait models are for a bust of Cosimo II in the Bargello Museum (Florence), for a bust of Giambolgona in the Bargello Museum (Florence), an attributed model of a bust of Ferdinando II in the Speed Museum of Art (Louisville, Kentucky), and a portrait bust of Ferdinando II sold at Sotheby's (London) 2 July 2017.
[30] For more on this process, see Chapter 1 as well as previous publications on this topic such as Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, pp. 63-72, Avery, "Giambologna's sketch-models and his sculptural technique", Krahn, "I bozzetti del Giambologna".

Grand Dukes and came with a number of very real exclusive benefits including a set salary, workspace, and in some cases exclusive licenses for smelting and casting particular metals.[31] The Grand Dukes were interested in developing technical expertise in casting within Florence because it benefitted not only art production, but also artillery. Within the Borgo Pinti studio, different assistants developed unique skills that benefitted the production of sculpture, rather than the development of designs for sculpture. Susini, trained as a goldsmith, became particularly admired for his finishing skills, especially of statuettes, while Tacca became known for his casting techniques for large-scale works. It also was in this workshop environment, with a number of men working as moulders, model makers, smelters, and finishers, that a figure like Tacca could become what other scholars have disparagingly identified as a workshop manager.[32]

While documents suggest that Tacca continued to make small statuettes throughout his career, much more archival documentation is available to help us understand his working method at large-scale.[33] From early on, including while Giambologna was still alive, it is clear that Tacca developed particular expertise in casting, which was beneficial for the production of large-scale works. This talent was likely nurtured due to the fact that, especially later in his career, Giambologna was less involved in the facture of objects and instead focused more on their design.[34] But unlike his master, Tacca would continue to engage with the casting process as well as the development of large-scale models throughout his career, thus documenting the

[31] For an example for privileges related to smelting, see ASF, *Auditore poi Segretario delle Riformagioni,* 23, "Strato della filza primo delle relzioni di Ministri di Riformagnoi del 1598, 1599, 1600", n. 35. For debates on the salaries and provisions given to casters, see ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorenesi* 1928, n. 38. Both documents are unpublished.
[32] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, prologue.
[33] Zikos, "'Ars sine scientia nihil est'. Il contributo di Pietro Tacca al bronzo italiano", p. 55.
[34] Early in his career Giambologna took on a greater role in the casting of the *Neptune Fountain* (Bologna), which Cole argues was intended to underline his ability to cast. Cole, *Ambitious Form*, pp. 58-62. He was also involved in the preparations for casting the equestrian monument of Cosimo I.

important role that facture played in his personal conception of his own style and artistic persona.

Tacca's skill at and dedication to large-scale casting was noted as early as 1609 when he was awarded the title of Grand Ducal Sculptor following Giambologna's death. In a document confirming his promotion, the Grand Duke's agent, Donato Antella, concluded there was "in this youth great love for his work and we can attest with certainty that he has invented many techniques which resulted in great savings and brevity."[35] These observations about Tacca's technique made when he was first developing his artistic identity–one distinct from that of his master–would hold true until he made his last works twenty years later. Tacca's ability to generate these casting inventions came from his exposure to and close oversight of the casting process in the Borgo Pinti studio. Two archival documents, the first dated 1609, describe ailments Tacca suffered from due to his extended exposure to the casting furnace.[36] One even describes him spending too much time at the mouth of the furnace. These documents serve as clear proof that Tacca remained closely invovled with the process of casting throughout his career in Florence. Tacca also utilized piece-moulding in the production of his models in a distinctly different way than his master did. It appears that, in contrast to Giambologna's concentration on the elaboration of his designs through modeling at small-scale, Tacca worked out his most complicated designs at full-scale.

While Watson used the 1687 inventory of the Borgo Pinti studio, discussed in Chapter 2, to argue that nothing really changed in the 80 years after Giambologna's death, in doing so she ignored the large number of models of Tacca's own designs that

[35] "[...] essere in questo Giovane grande ai lavori e possiamo atestare per scienza propria che da lui sono stati inventati piu chose di gran rispiarmo e, brevita di che conviene lodarlo." ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 123, 100v, transcribed in Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, Appendix I, c, p. 322. Translation by author.
[36] These documents are discussed in, ibid., p. 289-290.

remained in the studio decades after his death.[37] Eight entries of models and gessoes were recorded in the *cortile* of the studio. Of them, four certainly relate to Tacca's own designs:

> Four gessoes of Colossuses representing the four bronze slaves that are at the Port of Livorno, two of which are on the verge of ruin [...]
> A model of a larger-than-life horse with iron armour in the act of walking
> A gesso representing a larger-than-life rearing horse with iron armour, nearly destroyed
> A gesso of the Wild Boar from of the *Mercato Nuovo*, extremely battered [...][38]

Two other "marble *bozze* of life-sized statues, one representing a Hercules and the other a Samson," were begun by Giambologna and then passed to Tacca.[39] The remaining three inventory entries were for a larger-than-life clay model of *Victory with a Slave*, a clay model of the *Rape of the Sabines* attributed directly to Giambologna, and two larger-than-life clay models of river gods.[40] The most notable difference between the models by Tacca and Giambologna that remained in the studio is their material: those attributed to Giambologna are in clay, while Tacca's are in gesso. It should also be noted that Giambologna's models all served for marble statues, while Tacca's models were for bronzes.

To propose a clear reason for this material difference between the models of Tacca and Giambologna would be mere speculation. Further research could reveal that it was a result of the fluctuating price of raw materials or simply an artistic preference. More important to my argument, though, is that Tacca's working method has always

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[37] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 8. The inventory is further discussed in Chapter 2.
[38] ASF *Possessioni* 1329, n. 173, "Inventario delle Masserizie fisse, Modelli di Statue, et altro," 25 November 1687. See Chapter 2, notes 135-37 for the text in Italian.
[39] A 1608 document records that Tacca had "cominciato ad abozzare il sansone" after the death of Giambologna. Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* Appendix I, C. p. 321. See also the discussion on ibid., pp. 87, 89.
[40] Both Tacca and Giambologna's large-scale models are now lost, though Joshua Reynolds' sketchbook of 1752 (British Museum 1859,0514.305, f. 14) noted that they were still in the studio at that date: "At a sculptor's shop which was formerly that of John de Bologna is a Gess of one of the slave[s] belong[ing] to the Pedestal at Leghorn, that done by John de Bolognia, and Models for two of the figures belonging to the fountain in the Boboli—admirable—and a Model for the Rape of the Sabines besides other admirable Gesses in fine [word illegible] after figures in the Gallery." This document and the circulation of models in the eighteenth century are discussed in the Conclusion.

been described by scholars as closely following his master's. The difference in their use of models, however, points to one of many disparities between their working methods as well as the aesthetic goals of the workshops they oversaw, thereby revealing that Tacca had elaborated the processes he had learned as an assistant to achieve new types of sculptural forms.

THE POLITICAL POTENCY OF BRONZE AFTER GIAMBOLOGNA

As discussed in Chapter 2, shortly after Giambologna had purchased his *palazzo* on Borgo Pinti in 1587, Grand Duke Ferdinando I paid for the construction of a studio and large casting furnace next to it to facilitate the production of an equestrian monument that Ferdinando had commissioned to memorialize his father, Cosimo I.[41] (Figure 1.8) Yet it is clear that Giambologna had ambitions from his earliest days in Florence to accomplish such a monument.[42] Giambologna had certainly studied the bronze statue of *Marcus Aurelius* during his time in Rome during the 1550s, which served as a compositional, as well as a conceptual model for his design. (Figure 1.17) While he had played with iterations of equestrian and rider compositions in statuette form earlier in his career, the execution of a large-scale monument presented technical challenges.

For Giambologna, casting at such a scale required a furnace of similar monumentality.[43] Equally important to the work's successful completion was having technical knowledge of smelting and casting such large quantities of metal. The casting was overseen by the founder Giovanni Alberghetti with the assistance of sixteen other

[41] For the importance of Giambologna's purchase of the workshop and its subsequent use by grand-ducal sculptors, see Chapter 2.
[42] Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 158, Charles Avery, "Giambologna's Horses: Questions and Hypothesis", in Sabine Eiche (ed.), *Giambologna tra Firenze e l'europa* (Florence, 2000).
[43] The measurements of the furnace are found in a document related to its construction, ASF, *Auditore poi Segretario delle Reformigioni*, 21, inserto 77, f. 399v, which is transcribed in Zikos, "Giambologna's Land, House, and Workshops in Florence", Appendix III.4.

men, including Susini.[44] Alberghetti was so proficient in smelting that he was given exclusive privilege to practice it in Florence.[45] The monument to Cosimo I, which when finished weighed 7,849 kilograms, was cast in two separate pieces one for the rider and another for the horse.[46]

The statue was successfully completed in 1593 and installed in the Piazza Signoria in 1594. Ferdinando rewarded Giambologna for this achievement by giving him ownership of the workshop and furnace that had been built with grand-ducal funds.[47] In 1601, Ferdinando went on to commission another equestrian monument depicting himself at a similar scale. But Giambologna's increasing age, and subsequent death in 1608, left a great deal of the production of this second sculpture, as well as of two successive monuments, one of Henri IV of France (commissioned in 1604) and the other of Phillip III of Spain (commissioned in 1606) to Tacca's oversight. As Medicean commissions became increasingly fixed on ambitious larger-scale works, Tacca's recognized technical inventions for saving metal and time–and thus saving money on both materials and labour–during production were clear advantages that undoubtedly

[44] For a document recording details regarding the casting of the horse, see Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* Appendix I. As also discussed in Chapter 2, Susini likely documented his contribution to the technical development of the project by including his signature on a bronze statuette of a horse now missing a rider held in the Victoria and Albert Museum. See Chapter 2.
[45] Alberghetti was granted a privilege for "l'artificio del fare il latone, o vero ottone," that is smelting brass, a practice that he introduced to Florence. ASF, *Auditore poi Segretario delle Riformagioni* 23, "Strato della Filza primo delle relzioni di Ministri di Riformagnoi del 1598, 1599, 1600," n. 35. The proclaimation of his exclusive privilege to pratice this art is found in ASF, *Practica Segreta*, 190, (35v, 36r). Both documents are unpublished.
[46] Gasparotto, "Cavalli e cavalieri", p. 94, Di Dio, "Shipping Sculptures, Shaping Diplomacy", p. 182.
[47] "Sua Altezza dona a Giovanni Bologna, e suoi eredi, e successori la Bottega e fornace fatta da Sua Altezza con spesa di scudi 1900 in circa nel Popolo di S. Piero in Pinti vicino alla sua Casa e la donazione si fa per lui, suoi Eredi e successori." 24 July 1596. 23 ASF, *Misc. Med.* 580, 457v. Unpublished. Other documentation concerning this gift is found in ASF, *Practica Segreta* 190, f. 23 r-v, which is cited but not transcribed by Zikos, *Giambologna's House and Lands*, p. 387 with a longer discussion of the circumstances of, what Zikos calls, the donation of the building to Giambologna on pp. 385-388. This gift is discussed in Chapter 2 of the present dissertation.

placed Tacca in good standing to become Grand Ducal Sculptor upon his master's death.[48]

By the second decade of the seventeenth century, small bronze statuettes like those made during Giambologna's lifetime, which had once been used as key diplomatic gifts, were no longer considered adequate gifts of state. This change in the status of statuettes was first noted in an article by Avery and Watson about a commission of 1612.[49] At the time, Cosimo II was trying to arrange a marriage between his sister, Caterina, to Henry, the Prince of Wales. To ease the negoitations, the Prince was invited to request works of art from Florence. He asked for statuettes from sculptors "of quality" like Giambologna, who at this time had been dead for four years.[50]

Interestingly, in this case, seven finished statuettes belonging to the Salviati family were lent to Tacca to have moulds taken from them in order to produce the desired bronzes.[51] The Salviati inventory, which describes the finished bronzes that were used as models, itself presents evidence of a nuanced recognition of artistic hands during the period that are also centred on questions of access to the master's models, as well as a period recognition of different the artistic styles deployed to execute them. Ten statuettes are listed in the Salviati inventory as "coming from Giambologna" (*vengono da Gio. Bologna*), but as also being by the "hand of Susini" (*del mano di Susini*), while a *Nessus and Deineira* is indicated as being "by the hand of Gio. Bologna" (*di mano di*

[48] It should also be noted that Antonio Susini, the other key assistant in the workshop, left the Borgo Pinti studio in 1600 and began to work independently.
[49] Watson and Avery, "Medici and Stuart".
[50] "[...] di valentissimi huomini, come di Gio Bologna" Vincenzo Salviati to Belisario Vinta 19 April 1610, A.S.F. *MdP*, 4189, not paginated. This document is among the *filzia* of letters mentioned in Watson and Avery, "Medici and Stuart." Although this document is not transcribed nor is it cited directly.
[51] For a list of the bronzes borrowed from the Salviati by Tacca see ASF, *Guardaroba* 293, c. 78r. transcribed in ibid., "Medici and Stuart", document VII.

Gio. Bologna).[52] Of this group of bronzes, Tacca moulded seven to send to England and then may have had some hand in their casting and finishing.

These seven statuettes were supplemented with three others that Tacca made from models in his possession and an additional five smaller-scale figurines of unspecified authorship.[53] The ten bronze statuettes were ready for shipment from Livorno in just three months, a rapid rate of production that indicates the studio's efficiency in making this type of object. When the statuettes arrived in England, the Prince took great delight in them. Period documents record that he was particularly amazed by their beauty and that he took care to arrange them personally in his cabinet.[54] Henry then went on to request more statuettes, including one of Michelangelo's *David*.[55] Unfortunately for Cosimo, Henry died before the second commission could be completed and the marriage negotiations came to an abrupt end.

This episode is particularly revealing about the status of Giambologna statuettes within and outside of Florence in the early seventeenth century. Firstly, it documents that "Giambologna" statuettes continued to hold political significance after his death, thereby complicating present-day notions of authorship. For scholars of the Giambologna workshop, it also raises interesting questions about access to the deceased master's models in the years when they belonged to his heir and not to the Grand Dukes.[56] The commission for the English court came in 1612 after Giambologna's heir had left Florence and before the models that remained in Giambologna's studio were sold to Grand Duke Cosimo II in 1617. As discussed in Chapter 2, Giambologna's

[52] A transcription of the Salviati inventory can be found in Avery and Watson, "Medici and Stuart", document I. The commission is discussed in ibid., pp. 501-502. How these period descriptions shed light on the relationship between Giambologna and Susini is discussed in Chapter 2.
[53] An unsigned letter to Ottaviano Lotti in England dated March 1611 provides list of the objects sent to the English court. ASF, *Guardaroba* 293, 80v-81r transcribed in ibid., document VIII.
[54] ibid., p. 501.
[55] ibid., p. 501, citing, but not transcribing ASF, *MdP* 4190, 62r.
[56] For more on the inheritance of Giambologna's models and their subsequent sale to the Grand Dukes, see Chapter 2.

models were only to be used by Tacca together with his heir, thereby implying that at this time Tacca would not have been allowed on his own to use the master's models for the production of the statuettes for the English court.[57]

The fluididy of authorship labels associated with objects in the collections of different courts in this period is clearly evident. Yet an equally important conclusion to draw from the case discussed above is that by 1612, single statuettes were no longer seen as adequate gifts of state, as they had been during Giambologna's lifetime, but rather the demand had shifted to giving "sets" of bronze statuettes or, increasingly for important relationships, commissioning large equestrian monuments. It is thus not surprising that it was in these years that Tacca's energies increasingly turned to large-scale diplomatic gifts that demonstrated a new level of commitment to the display of monetary and material excess by the Medici in order to demonstrate their political power and cement their relationships with foreign courts. Where the indirect casting process within the workshop during Giambologna's life had been used primarily for the serial production of statuettes, by the seventeenth century it is clear that the same processes were being utilized in order to create monumental works.

The successful accomplishment of the Cosimo I monument served as the impetus for Ferdinando I to commission his own monument in 1601. (Figure 1.9) He was followed not long after by Maria de' Medici who, in 1604, requested that her Florentine relatives arrange for an equestrian monument to be made of her dead husband, Henri IV for display on the Pont Neuf in Paris.[58] (Figure 1.10) Two years later, Ferdinando decided to have a monument of Philip III of Spain made as a gift to

[57] For the restricted use of the models specified in Giambologna's will, see Chapter 2.
[58] For Maria de' Medici's role in the commissioing of this sculpture, see Geraldine Johnson, "Imagining Images of Powerful Women: Maria de' Medici's Patronage of Art and Architecture", in Cythnia Lawrence (ed.), *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (University Park, PA, 1997), pp. 131-134. A sugar sculpture of Henri IV on horseback was made for Maria de' Medici's wedding banquet of 1600, which Charles Avery has argued might have served as the first model for the later equestrain monument. Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, cat. 48, p. 258.

the king. (Figure 1.11) All three commissions were granted to Giambologna and are inter-related through their designs. In each, the horse takes on a similar stance with the rider in a static pose atop. As will be discussed, it was not just their designs that were related, but the horses of these three figures were likely cast from the same moulds. Although individualized through their portraits, which were based on sculpted or painted models sent from the recipient court, these objects broadcast both Florentine expertise in casting and a relationship between these other courts and that of the Medici. While the initial designs for the equestrian monuments of Ferdinando I, Henri IV, and Philip III–referred to as the second, third, and fourth equestrians in period documents–were completed during Giambologna's lifetime, the execution of the statues would fill nearly the next decade of Tacca's career, attesting to the complexities involved in their production.

Monuments on the Move

As Kelley Di Dio has articulated in an article about the challenges of transporting sculpture in the Early Modern period, part of the value of a diplomatic gift of sculpture was the perceived challenge of moving it. Transporting sculpture (especially large pieces) held within it a risk that the object would break. The value of these gifts, for both the benefactor as well as the recipient, was thus held in a delicate balance that rested in the material of the sculpture itself.[59] Bronze, due to its durability and relative pliability, was a particularly good material for mobilized works. Tacca's ability to cast large monuments with less bronze, as noted as early as 1609 by Donato Antella, would have also been advantageous for the movement of these objects over

[59] Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, "Shipping Sculptures, Shaping Diplomacy: Gifts of Sculpture for Spain", in Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio (ed.), *Making and Moving Sculpture in Early Modern Italy* (Farnham, Surrey, 2015). The rest of the volume is especially helpful for considering the difficulty of transporting sculpture.

land and across water, although doing so still came at a substantial expense.[60] The clearest evidence of Tacca's material innovations in relation to the equestrians monuments was how he reduced their weight through the progressive commissions although the scale of them remained the same (Table 1). Indeed, the monument to Philip III, overseen by Tacca, weighed only about half as much as that of Cosimo I made under Giambologna's supervision.

Table 1: Weight of the equestrian monuments

Cosimo I (1587-1593)	23,154 *libbre* 15,438 *libbre* for horse 7,716 *libbre* for statue[61]	7,849 kilograms
Ferdinando I (1601-1608)	14,850 *libbre*[62]	5,034 kilograms
Henri IV (1604-1612)	12,275 *libbre* [63] 8,285 *libbre* for horse 3,990 *libbre* for statue	4,161 kilograms
Philip III (1606-1616)	11,400 *libbre*[64]	3,864 kilograms
1 *libbra* =.339 kilograms		

Tacca achieved this reduction in weight not just by using less metal, but by completely rethinking the processes that his master had developed for casting the monument of Cosimo I.

[60] On the difficulty of transporting the horses, see Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, pp. 227-233. Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio has a forthcoming article on this subject based on her talk on "Pietro Tacca's Bronze Equestrian Monuments for Spain," given at the *Robert H. Smith Renaissance Sculpture Conference, International Connections: Renaissance Sculptors and Their Impact Abroad*, 20 March 2015, Victoria and Albert Museum (London).

[61] The weight of the monument was transcribed and published by del Badia in a document he identifies as ASF *Carte dello Scrittoio delle RR Fabbriche, Libro di ricordanze di Girolamo Seripi, segnato C.* This description does not correspond to the system now in place. For a transcription of the document, see J. del Badia, *Della statue equestre di Cosimo I de' Medici modellata da Giovanni Bologna e fusa da Giovanni Alberghetti* (Florence, 1868), document II. In her article on moving statues, Di Dio lists all of the weights of the horses as in "lbs." this should be understood as *libbra* and not pounds. Di Dio, "Shipping Sculptures, Shaping Diplomacy", p. 182.

[62] ibid., p. 182.

[63] The document recording these measurements is ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 124, 9v. This document was discussed but not transcribed by Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 191 with a lengthy descriptive footnote summarizing the document. Watson clarifies that protective covering was included in the weight. The measurements were thus 9,075 *libbre* for the horse, with 790 *libbre* of protective covering and the core, and the statue weighed 4,020 *libbre*, of which 30 *libbre* were covering. Di Dio does not subtract the weight of core and covering and lists the total weight as "13,095 lbs." Di Dio, "Shipping Sculptures, Shaping Diplomacy", p. 182.

[64] Di Dio uses Tinghi's *Diario* for this measurement so it is unlikely to as be exact as other measurements.

Giambologna's execution of large equestrian figures was tied to common tropes about Renaissance bronze workers who aimed to achieve the object in a single pour of liquid bronze, even if the rider and horse had to be cast separately. The large furnace at Borgo Pinti was created to allow for such a technical feat. When Ferdinando I proposed the equestrian monument to Philip III, he also mentioned that the horse would be "cast in one piece and then cut up in pieces to then reattach them there."[65]

Technical examinations have shown that Tacca worked differently than Giambologna, casting pieces separately and then soldering them together to complete the form. This would allow for smaller sections to be cast at a time, thereby minimizing the risk of casting faults. This technique would have also been particularly useful for the shipment of these objects, so that the individual pieces could be placed into separate boxes and then assembled *in situ*. For all three monuments, the Florentine court paid for the transportation of the object as well as the living expenses of the workmen who were sent to reassemble the works following Tacca's strict instructions.[66] Returning to Di Dio's argument that part of the value these works had in furthering the Grand Dukes' political objectives was linked to the difficulty of moving them, it is also important to consider the movement of artistic expertise–which was tightly controlled by the Medici court–as another means of displaying the political relationship these large-scale monuments materialized.

While in the case of Giambologna's statuettes, the labour of the workshop became materialized in the bronzes and moved via the statuettes to other courts, in the case of the equestrian monuments, it was the men of the workshop themselves who had to move in order to complete the object. The designs thus couldn't be stolen because the technical ability and the means of production to execute them made them

[65] ibid., p. 182, citing ASF, *MdP* 5050, 103v, 22 December 1604.
[66] To be discussed in Di Dio's forthcoming publication that is related to her lecture, "Pietro Tacca's Bronze Equestrian Monuments for Spain."

unreproducable. Therefore, due to his technical abilities, which made these monuments possible, Tacca was called to work for the King of England and the Duke of Savoy.[67] The Duke of Savoy had even offered Tacca twenty thousand *scudi* if he was able to accomplish a monument of a rearing (*corvette*) horse. But Tacca, "for being obligated to the service of the Most Serene House," that is the Medici court, did not accept these offers.[68] This was similar to Giambologna who, in addition to being called to work for Maria de' Medici in Rome,[69] was offered a position at the court of Rudolf II.

Understanding how Tacca's development and execution of Giambologna's designs brought him renown demonstrates that while Tacca was undoutedly influenced by his master's designs, his own technical talents innovations allowed him to transform his master's designs into ever more complex and large scale-objects that were the source of his fame not only in Florence, but throughout Europe.

Design Lineage of the Equestrian Monuments

Giambologna had begun work on the model of the monument to Ferdinando I in 1601.[70] The large-scale gesso model of the horse, from which the casting moulds were made, was completed by 1602 and the bronze horse was cast by October of that year.[71] Finishing the statue and preparing it for installation took several years and it was not

[67] Tacca gave the Duke of Savoy a statuette of a horse in this pose in 1619, which inspired the commission. Ex. cat. Carrara, *Pietro Tacca: Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee*, cat. 22., pp. 172-173.
[68] "[...] per che essendo obbligation al servitio della Casa Serenissima con la provissione non ne potette ottenere la licentia" Pietro Tacca to Andrea Cioli, 6 September 1639, ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 140, no. 84. Unpublished. A document of 1632 also alludes to the fact that Tacca and his assistant had been called to work in Rome several times "non haranno occasione di andare a Roma dove più volte sono stati richiesti." Cosimo Sessetti informe a Andrea Cioli, 2 settembre 1632, ASF, *Carteggio degli Artisti* DVD 1, Bobina 9. Unpublished. When Tacca was unable to go to England to make an equestrian of James I, Hubert Le Sueur take his place. For the relationships between Le Seur's equestrians and those made by the Florentine workshop, see Peta Evelyn, "The Equestrian Bronzes of Hubert Le Sueur", in S. Eiche (ed.) *Giambologna tra Firenze e l'Europa* (Florence, 2000).
[69] See Chapter 1.
[70] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 161, citing, but not transcribing, ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 122, n. 113.
[71] ibid., pp. 161-162.

until 1606 that preparations for the marble base were made.[72] When Giambologna died in August 1608, the workshop was rushing to complete the installation of the monument in anticipation of the wedding of Cosimo II and Maria Maddalena of Austria. The completed monument was installed in the Piazza Santissima Annunziata in September. While the majority of the work on this monument was finished during Giambologna's lifetime, his increasing age opens questions as to whether Tacca might have been more involved with the development of the large-scale model, its execution in bronze, and then its installation. Unfortunately, the documentary record leaves this unclear.[73]

Tacca clearly did have a more active role in the production of the monuments to Henri IV and Philip III, which were completed in 1612 and 1616, respectively, after Giambologna's death. As in the case of the Ferdinando monument, the horses for both monuments were developed and cast separately and prior to the statue of the rider. When Maria de' Medici arranged through her Florentine relatives to commission the monument to honour her husband, she was hopeful that it would be executed quickly. To expedite the process, she asked Ferdinando I if it was possible for Giambologna to simply substitute the head of Henri for that of Ferdinando on the statue, thereby reusing the moulds for both horse and rider.[74] Ferdinando instead agreed that only the moulds for the horse could be reused.[75] This exchange between the two rulers indicates that patrons had a sophisticated understanding of the processes involved with the execution of these monumental bronzes and thus it is likely that they would have understood that only certain artists were capable of realizing them.

Although the commission for the Philip III monument was granted in 1606, progress was interrupted by the urgency of the Maria de' Medici commission. Work on

[72] ibid., p. 165.
[73] For a discussion of Tacca's potential involvement with this work, see ibid., p. 171.
[74] For the letter from Maria de' Medici, see Des Jardins, *La vie,* pp. 50, 181-182.
[75] ibid., p. 188.

the Philip III monument was therefore not taken up again until December 1608, after Giambologna's death. It is likely that in this case the same moulds, originally made for Ferdinando's horse, were also used for casting Philip's horse. By February 1609, Tacca had been working to "dar perfetioni a 2 cavalli," which confirms his role in finishing these two horses.[76]

The figurative statues for each of the commissions were thus executed separately from the horses and were individualized with portraits based on models sent by their intended recipient courts. In the case of Henri IV, a wax portrait bust of the king was shipped to Florence in 1606.[77] Giambologna therefore may have done some work on the statue of Henri based on the wax bust, but it is clear from the documents that Tacca finished the figure and prepared it for casting.[78] A painted portrait by Pantoja de la Cruz was sent to Florence as a model for the likeness of the Spanish king. Tacca must have then translated the painted model into bronze before preparing it for casting and finishing.

Since the commissions for the monuments of Henri IV and Philip III had been given to Giambologna and were based on his two earlier Medici monuments, Tacca was required to follow his master's overall compositional designs in the case of the two later equestrain sculptures. But in each instance, Tacca's naturalistic style begins to appear in the elements that he had a greater hand in producing, especially the costume of each rider. Tacca's influence is perhaps subtler in the monument to Henri IV. Ludovico Cigoli's drawing of the monument provides some evidence of the visual apparence of the now lost bronze, which was destroyed during the French Revolution. (Figure 3.11) Henri's armour is depicted as if comprised of small plates, which suggests he was

[76] ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche*, *Fabbriche Medicee* 123, 100r transcribed in ibid., Appendix I, C.
[77] Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* p. 188.
[78] "[...] attende alla statua del re di francia della quale doppo la morte del Cav're a finto la cera e comincia a interrare." ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche*, *Fabbriche Medicee* 123, 100r transcribed in Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, Appendix I, C.

depicted in a much more highly ornamented armour than was the case for the figures of Cosimo or Ferdinando. An eighteenth-century engraving of the installed monument from the rear reveals that a sash of fabric extended behind the figure of the rider, thereby adding a sense of dynamism not apparent in the earlier monuments. (Figure 3.12) Tacca further elaborated these design details in the Philip III equestrian monument. The embellishment of the costume takes greater promenence in the rider portrait of Philip III, where a sumptuous ruffled collar frames his face. (Figure 3.13) Delicately ornamented armour, as well as a chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece further individualized the rider. Once again, a swath of billowing fabric on Philip's back created dynamism in the otherwise static monument. (Figure 3.14)

In the scholarship, the majority of the work on the Henri IV monument is attributed to Tacca, although he did not actually sign the sculpture.[79] That Tacca, as well as his patrons, believed he had become the leading author of the Philip III monument is explicitly confirmed by the fact that he signed it PETRUS TACA [sic] FECIT FLORENTIAE.

While more sophisticated period viewers may have understood that these mouments were related to Giambologna's earlier designs for the two equestrian monuments of the Medici Grand Dukes, it seems clear that Tacca was acknowledged as their primary maker. Furthermore, it is likely that period beholders understood these works to be portraits of their individual rulers, and thus singular objects, rather than merely one in a series. The problem is that in art historical scholarship, these monuments, which were executed and customized in both technical and design terms by Tacca, are always seen only in relation to Giambologna's prototypes and traced through a lineage of Giambologna's designs.[80] The monuments are not described as singular

[79] ibid., pp. 205-206.
[80] See, for example, Gasparotto, "Cavalli e cavalieri", Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 164, and cats. 47-49, pp. 258.

works, but instead are viewed as decendents of the first wax models Giambologna made of the horses. They are thus never understood to be fully Tacca's own.

Material innovation as a path to design innovation

According to the contemporary diary of Cesare Tinghi, it was "a marvel that a monument as large as that of Philip III could weigh so little."[81] It was seven and a half *braccia*, or ten *braccia* including the statue, tall.[82] The empty body of the horse was so large that thirty men could enter inside it.[83] Intriguingly, Tinghi's description of the monument was based on Tacca's own account of the commission, which reveals what Tacca himself believed were the chief accomplishments of the work.[84] In addition to the reduced weight, which as discussed above was associated with lower costs in terms of both materials and transportation, the passage in Tinghi emphasized the detail of the rider's costume, drawing the reader's attention to the intricate Spanish armor, the ruff at his collar and sleeves, and the twisting band of fabric that fell from his shoulder: "[...] armato con armadura alla spagnuola con Calza intera ed al Collo ed alle mane le latughe con una Banda che cade al fianco, ritto con la Spada a canto".[85] By downplaying the visual qualities of the horse, which had been cast from Giambologna's moulds for the Ferdinando I monument, and instead emphasizing the lightness of the monument and the detailed rendering of the figure, Tacca foregrounded aspects of his approach to the subject and his execution of the monument that were distinct from his master.[86]

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[81] "[...] il cavallo e di peso 7800 libbre; la statua pesa 3600 che e di merevilli di sè poco peso a si gran macina." Cesare Tinghi *Diario* manuscript in Biblioteca Nazione, Cod. CCLXI, I, II, p. 45 transcribed in Lo Vullo-Bianchi, "Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca", p. 145.
[82] 1 *braccio* = .58 meters, the full monument thus measures 5.8 meters or 19 feet.
[83] Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* p. 240, drawing on Tinghi's *Diario.*
[84] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 240.
[85] Tinghi's *Diario* transcribed in Lo Vullo-Bianchi, "Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca", p. 145.
[86] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 241.

These two qualities, technical achievement and nuanced rendering of detail, were further developed in the final equestrian commission Tacca was involved with for a monument of Philip IV of Spain. (Figure 1.12) Within the lineage of the equestrian monuments, it is the only work considered by scholars to be Tacca's own design conception, even if he had already signed the earlier monument of Philip III. The initial 1634 commission was for a horse in the act of trotting. But a year into the project, a request was made to change the stance of the horse to "corvette," that is rearing with the two front hooves raised, like the stance depicted in the painted portrait of Philip IV by Peter Paul Rubens.[87] (Figure 3.15)

The translation of the horse's stance from painting into sculpture, especially in large-scale bronze, was particularly challenging. While in the previous monuments, the weight of the rider and horse had rested flatly on two hooves, with a third partially attached to the base, in this case the entire monument would balance on just the horse's two back hooves. According to Baldinucci, Tacca called on the mathematical expertise of Galileo Galilei, another employee of the Medici court, to help him resolve the issue.[88] While Galileo may well have been consulted, Tacca's other works point to his own capability for resolving such technical, as well as design, issues himself and then translating them into his sculptural practices.

He worked on these challenges first in reduced scale, as documented by statuettes in Florence and Kassel.[89] (Figures 3.16 and 3.17) But achieving a similar

[87] Baldinucci, *Notizie*, XII, p. 171-172, says that the portrait was by Rubens. Pope-Hennessey quotes a letter related to the commission that expresses a wish for the monumented to be "'conforme a unos retratos de Pedro Pablo Rubens," but that the paintings sent from Spain as models in 1636 were likely "after Rubens." J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1996), pp. 339-341. For another discussion of the painting that served as the model, see Gasparotto, "*Cavalli e cavalieri",* p. 99. As I have mentioned previously, in 1619 the Duke of Savoy commissioned Tacca for a monument in a similar stance, but he wasn't able to take the commission.
[88] Baldinucci, *Notizie*, XII, p. 173.
[89] *Louis XIII of France*, 1615-1618, Museo Nazione del Bargello (inv. 238), *Rearing horse,* 1615-1618, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (inv. 141 B), *Portrait equestrian of Carlo Emanuele I, Duke of Savoy*, 1621-1622, Kasel Museumlandscaft Hessen Kassel (inv. GK III 34 89).

design at large scale would have presented even greater technical challenges. An unpublished document of 1636 reveals that Tacca worked extensively with full-scale gesso models of both the horse and rider to resolve the composition and, we must also assume, to work out the balance of the monument. In the document, he described that he needed to "take everything out of his studio to have good light on all sides." He then wanted to cast the horse in gesso and to work out the statue of the rider on top of the gesso horse.[90] This would have been a distinctly different process than was used for the other monuments, where the horses were cast in bronze prior to the completion of the models for the riders.

This process, in which Tacca himself was working on the large-scale gesso model and the moulds, was in distinct contrast to how Giambologna developed the horse of the Ferdinando I monument. Giambologna first produced reduced-scale models that he then gave to Jacopo Quaratesi so that the latter could select pieces of iron in order to make the *ossatura* of the gesso model of the horse. This metal was then given to Piero Cusini to make the *ossatura* itself, which was comprised of 634 parts.[91] Thus in Giambologna's technique, the design of the object was developed at reduced-scale to be enlarged, while others executed the technical aspects of creating the full-scale model. But it seems that Tacca instead took a more integrated approach by simultaneously developing his design and the techniques that would allow it to be made.

Tacca's solution to the facture of the Philip IV monument in some ways was counter to his previous solutions to save metal and expense by casting progressively

[90] "[...] per fabbricare il nuovo cavallo in atto di Galoppo per Spagna ha fato fare un tutto fuori di bottega per havere buoni lume da ogni parte ora per far la statua per detto et anticipare molto ha pensato gettare il medisimo cavallo di gesso per fabbricarcela sopra." Copy of a supplication by Pietro Tacca transcribed by Andrea Arrighetti, 21 March 1636 ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 127, 118v. The same supplication also appears in ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorenesi* 1930, n. 229. Both documents, as well as the subsequent approval of the alterations to the courtyard of the studio documented in Andrea Cioli to Grand Duke Ferdinando II, 17 Aprile 1637, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 127, 119r, are unpublished.

[91] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 161-162 citing, but not transcribing, ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 122, 113v and ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 122, 118v.

thinner walls. A document that records the packing of the pieces of the monument for shipment to Spain does not allow for an easy comparison to the weights of the other horses because it includes the weight of the boxes and mooring ropes, but it does give us an overall sense of the weight of the monument, as well as how Tacca broke it down into separately cast and finished elements. In the first box were the rear legs, the tail and the horseback and all of the chest until mid-section where the belt of the saddle was fastened, a with a total weight of 11,300 *libbre*. The second box contained the head of the horse, at 5,070 *libbre.* The third box included the saddle and the legs of the statue, with a total weight of 3,950 *libbre.* The fourth box contained the head and body of the statue, which weighed 1,550 *libbre*. The total weight of the monument, with the boxes and mooring ropes included, was 21,870 *libbre.*[92] It therefore weighed more than all of the other equestrian monuments Tacca had overseen, but still was less than the weight of the first of monument of Cosimo I.

The comparatively greater weight of the Philip IV monument was because to balance the monument it was necessary for the rear portions to be cast more thickly than the front pieces, so as to offset the centre of gravity by resting the weight of the entire monument on the back hooves. The packing lists also confirm what Baldinucci described as Tacca's method of breaking down the composition into individually-cast pieces that were heavier in the back than in the front of the monument.[93] Although the weight of the monument was enormous, so too was its visual impact of this piece, which broadcast Philip as a rider of great control, but also Tacca as an artist of notable talent.

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[92] 7,413 kilograms. The weights of the boxes are recorded in a memorandum made at the Castello di San Giovanni Battista (today known as Fortezza da Baso) on 17 September 1640, ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 140, n. 111. A covering letter confirming that the measurements were made with Pietro Tacca present is found in Persio Falconieri to Grand Duke Ferdinando II, 22 September 1640, ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 140, no. 108. Both documents are unpublished.

[93] "[...] Fece eli la metà del cavallo, cioè fino alla cigna, tutto d'un pezzo, salve le gambe, e dalla cigna alla testa, pure d'un solo pezzo, salve le gambe, e la statua d'un pezzo solo, e quello di dietro fece ripiene, crescendo e moderando le grossezze a proporzione." Baldinucci, *Notizie,* XII, p. 173. For a discussion of this technieque see also: Zikos, "'Ars sine scientia nihil est'. Il contributo di Pietro Tacca al bronzo italiano", p. 69.

Extensive work on this monument took Tacca away from other projects. As he wrote in an unpublished letter, it was "the longest and most tiring study and [he] made many models for the new *inventione*."[94] The invention in this case involved, not just the complex composition of the monument itself, but also the technical means through which it could be achieved. As will be discussed in greater detail at the end of this chapter, Tacca's technical innovation in breaking apart the figure into smaller cast parts allowed him to achieve monumental figures endowed with the theatrical lightness characteristic of the Baroque.[95] This was a result specifically of how he manipulated the indirect casting process, not as Giambologna had done, but in response to the visual and political demands of his period. The process was useful not just for serial production, but also for the elaboration of singular complex forms.

The composition of the Philip IV monument influenced the designs of subsequent equestrian monuments throughout Europe. So while the lineage of these monuments can to a certain extent be traced back and said to be born from Giambologna's "original" design invention, it was Tacca's technical understanding of the process of casting that allowed him to innovate within his master's design and thereby produce a new model for others to follow.[96]

The execution of the Philip IV monument is often described as the epitome of Tacca's autonomous phase as an artist, which came in the very last years of his life. In fact, he died while his son Ferdindando was in Spain installing the monument. Yet the most striking visual features–the exquisite rendering of lace blowing in the breeze or the

[94] "[...] il lunghissimo e fattiosissimo studio de molt[sic] modelli per la nuova inventione rivisiti." ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 140, no. 84, 6 September 1639.
[95] For a discussion of Taccas's techniques and how they inabled him to create "theatrical" designs at monumental-scale, see Bietti, Monica, Mazzoni, Maria Donata, Salvioli, Nicola, "La statua bronzea di Cosimo II alle Cappelle Medicee a Firenze realizzata da Pietro Tacca e bottega: annotazioni di tecnica statuaria da un intervento di manutenzione", *OPD restauro,* Vol. 27 (2016), pp. 20-24.
[96] This conclusion challenges the more Giambologna-focused lineage suggested by Gasparotto, "Cavalli e cavalieri", Avery, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculpture*, p. 164, says that all seventeenth and eighteenth-century equestrians are "linear descendants of Giambologna's original equestrians."

veins that seem to pulsate beneath the horse's hide– like the technical achievements of the compostion did not appear suddenly in Tacca's work, but instead developed over the course of his career. (Figure 3.18) Understanding how Tacca used casting to create not only technical feats, but also nuanced examples of naturalism reveals yet another difference from Giambologna.

TAKING AND MAKING A BEAUTIFUL FORM

In the 1609 document that recorded Tacca's promotion to Grand Ducal Sculptor, the grand-ducal agents listed amongst his accomplishments the facture of a series of eight turtles that served as bases for two ancient obelisks raised in Piazza Santa Maria Novella in Florence for the wedding of Cosimo II and Maria Maddalena of Austria.[97] (Figure 3.19 and 3.20) These turtles sit below the large stone obelisk, appearing to support the entire mass on their shells. The agents noted that Tacca had made the turtles using "new concepts of brevity and savings."[98] This statement confirms that the Grand Duke clearly admired Tacca's technical expertise early in his career, but the document as a whole does not necessarily attest to the fact that Tacca was also inventive in his designs. But looking closely at the turtles, they are so surprisingly naturalistic as to raise the question of whether they were cast from life.

Objects from Tacca's so-called "naturalistic" phase are linked by the fact that they are all depictions of natural forms that are particularly detailed in the rendering of their surfaces, in Torriti's words "una fervida fantasia decorativa."[99] Key examples are the turtles beneath the obelisks at Santa Maria Novella, the garlands on the *Sea*

[97] Until Watson's publication, these turtles had been attributed to Giambologna. Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* pp. 261-263.
[98] ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche*, *Fabbriche Medicee* 123, 100r transcribed in Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, Appendix I, C.
[99] Torriti, *Pietro Tacca da Carrara*, p. 11, Elisabetta Nardinocchi, "Pietro Tacca tra natura e decoro", in Ex. cat. Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca: Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee* (Florence, 2007).

Monsters Fountains in Piazza Santissima Annuniziata in Florence, and the figures of the bound slaves known as the *Quattro Mori* in Livorno, which will be discussed below. (Figures 3.5 and 3.4) In the pages that follow, I want to argue against a definition of naturalism that simplifies Tacca's detailed renderings of life-like forms, taken from nature, into mere decoration. I argue that these objects' meaning doesn't rest in what others have described as their "objective" description of their subjects. By instead deeply looking at how Tacca used moulds, we can see his adherance to the classical formulation of art as an imitation comprised of perfected forms drawn from nature.

The most complete documentation we have about Tacca's working method is from the description by Baldinucci concerning Tacca's creation of the bronze figures of four bound men that adorn the marble base of the so-called *Quattro Mori* monument, atop of which rests a white marble statue of Ferdinando I by Giovanni Bandini at the port of Livorno. (Figure 3.4) These figures are Tacca's most oft-discussed sculptures, especially in Anglophone scholarship, specifically for how one of the figures presents a individualized and naturalistic rather than idealized (or villified) depiction of a black African, as was typical in the period.[100] The statues therefore have often been used to illustrate the history of the Medici slave prisons as well as period ideas about "the other," rather than considered as documents related to Tacca's own artistic practice.

The monument was erected in the piazza near the galleys that held men who had been captured by the Tuscans in battles against the Barbary pirates and Ottoman Turks and were subsequently used as oarsman on Tuscan ships. The four bound captives serve as visual documentation of the varied ethnicities of the enslaved people held in the galleys. Three of the four figures depict Turkish men, while the fourth figure is

[100] S.F. Ostrow, "Pietro Tacca and his *Quattro Mori*: The Beauty and Identity of the Slaves", *Artibus et Historiae,* Vol. XXXVI (No. 71, 2015), M. Rosen, "Pietro Tacca's Quattro Mori and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany", *The Art Bulletin,* Vol. 97 (2015).

recognizably a black African.[101] (Figure 3.21) The placement of the subjugated figures contributed to the overall message of the monument, which glorified Ferdinando's military victories. It is worth emphasizing that the bronze equestrian monument of Ferdinando I, commissioned from Giambologna and installed in the Piazza Santissima Annunziata, was erected to similar ends. (Figure 1.9) The equestrian monument was even cast from artillery captured from the enemy, as the inscription on the horse's girth proclaims: DEI METALLI RAPITI AL FIERO TRACE. While the equestrian monument subsumes the traces of the conquered by literally transforming their weapons into the figure of the Grand Duke, in the case of the *Quattro Mori,* the individualized features of the captives prominently display the figures themselves as part of the booty.

The sensitive renderings of the figures have garnered particular attention because of how Baldinucci described their making in his life of Tacca.[102] Baldinucci records that Tacca traveled to the Medici slave prisons in Livorno to cast the enslaved men's bodies directly. He wrote that in Livorno, Tacca:

> was able to make use of many slaves, with the most graceful (*leggiadri*) muscles best suited to imitation (*imitazione*) to mould (*formare*) from them an absolutely perfect body, and he moulded (*ne formò*) many of them in their most beautiful parts (*più belle parti*). One of them was a Turkish Moor slave, who called himself by the nickname Morgiano, who due to his greatness of character (*grandezza di persona*) and the fact that each of his bodily features was *bellissimo*, he was of great help to Tacca in completing the *bella figura*, with his exact likeness (*naturale effigie*) which we see today.[103]

[101] For more on the slave prisons in Livorno, see Rosen, "Pietro Tacca's Quattro Mori".
[102] Archival documents attest to the fact that Tacca traveled to the slave prison and, further, that there were enslaved men with the names Baldinucci uses in the passage held there at the time. For a discussion of these documents, see Ostrow, "Pietro Tacca and his Quattro Mori", pp. 152-160.
[103] "[..] quivi [a Livorno] ebbe facoltà di valersi di quanti schiavi vi avesse riconosciuti de' muscoli più leggiadri, e più accomodati all'imitatizione per formarne un perfettissimo corpo, e molti e molti ne formò nelle più belle parti. Uno di costoro fu uno schiavo moro turco, che chiamavasi per sopranome Morgiano, che per grandezza di persona, e per fattezze d'ogni sua parte era bellissimo, e du di grande aiuto al Tacca per condurne la bella figura, colla sua naturale effigie, che oggi vediamo; ed io che tali cose scrivo, in tempo di mia puerizia, in età di dieci anni, il vidi, e conobbi, e parlai con esso non senza gusto, benché in sì poc'età nel ravvisar che io faceva a confronto del ritratto il bello originale." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, XII, p. 161. Translation by author.

Baldinucci's description is rich with observations about Tacca's technique of discovering, selecting, and reproducing the most graceful and beautiful parts of the slaves, not through sketching but through moulding them directly.

As Stephen Ostrow has pointed out, this passage is particularly interesting for how it describes a non-European as a source of beauty.[104] But the double meaning of the word *formare* in this context is also worth noting. Tacca used not one, but many enslaved men's bodies, in order to form a perfect body. It was therefore through the use of the *forme*, or moulds, that Tacca was able to create the ideal *forme* (forms) of the enslaved men in bronze.[105]

As Baldinucci describes, Tacca selected the best of the features he had moulded to assemble into a singular model, which was then completed by Morgiano's visage. As Baldinucci makes clear, it was something of Morgiano's inner character (*grandezza di persona*) that Tacca believed could be captured in his *effigie.* Combining this inner beauty with the outward physical features, which had been collected from many men, produced the *bella figura.* Therefore while Tacca used a process that would enable him to create exact and unmediated "tracings" (*ritratti*) of these bodies, in combining them to form the *bella figura,* Tacca did not just *ritrarre,* but instead assembled a more perfect figure, an *imitazione*.[106] His use of the mould was not mindless mimicry, but part of a process of artistic creation that aligned with many classical tropes of artistic invention, from the story of Zeuxis' creation of the ideal beauty to Vasari's ideas about perfect forms.[107]

[104] Ostrow, "Pietro Tacca and his Quattro Mori", pp. 161-163.
[105] For the relationship between these two meanings of the word *forma,* see the Introduction.
[106] For a dicussion of the period valances of the terms *imitare* and *ritrarre* see Chapter 2.
[107] For more on the *seicento* combination of classicism and naturalism, which are often thought to be competiting, see D. Mahon "Electiscism and the Caracci: Further Reflections on the Validity of a Label", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 16, No. 3/4 (1953), pp. 333-338.

Although the body of the figure comprised the best parts taken from many different men, according to Baldinucci, the face that Tacca completed the figure with was an exact likeness (*naturale effigie*) of the man who called himself Morgiano. (Figure 3.21) *Naturale* in this context would have not only meant "from life," but also without *fantasìa* and therefore an objective depiction. Baldinucci explained that the *effigie* of Morgiano in bronze was so precise that Baldinucci, even in his old age, was able to recall seeing Morgiano when he was just ten years old and that he was able to recognize him "by comparing the beautiful original (*bello originale*)," in this case the man himself, "to his likeness (*ritratto*)" in bronze.[108] Baldinucci's insistence on the relationship between the "original" man and his depiction in bronze thus rested upon Tacca's use of moulds to capture his likeness, as if the mould itself had directly translated the man into bronze. But it is important to note that the final figures for this monument are actually larger than life-size, which means that Tacca undoubtedly reworked the models he cast from the moulds he had taken from life. His use of the moulds was therefore not mechanical and passive, but an active form of exploration and a means of composing a *bella figura*. Tacca's use of moulds thus enabled him to capture the inner qualities of Morgiano by beginning with a straightforward, objective transcription of his features in gesso.

This story draws parallels to Baldinucci's narrative about the *putti* for the *Moses Grotto*, when Tacca was accused of having moulded his own son in order to create the model. As Baldinucci concluded, from seeing just the finished marbles, one would have believed that this was true. Yet to clear his name of these accusations, Tacca presented Grand Duke Ferdinando with his models, first done in wax and then in clay, thereby

[108] See the text above in note 103.

revealing the lie for what it was and confirming Tacca's true ability to translate–rather than simply mechanically transcribe–nature into art.

These passages are just two of several examples contained in Baldinucci's life of Tacca that emphasize the mimetic qualities of the sculptor's work. That the figures were so life-like that Ferdinando would have believed that the marble *putti* were based on moulds formed over the flesh of Tacca's own son was surely used by Baldinucci to dramatic effect to accentuate his recurring emphasis on Tacca's ability to achieve *somiglianza* and *meraviglia* in his sculpture. Yet like in the case of the figure of Morgiano, moulding his son from life would have required doing so in pieces and then creating a model, which could be then passed on for transfer to the marble block and subsequent carving. It was Tacca's ability to manipulate moulds and thus to compose his verisimilar transcriptions of nature into artistic representations, not his passive reliance upon moulds, that Baldinucci admired.

NATURE, ART, ANTIQUITY

As discussed in Chapter 2, moulding *dal naturale*, as Tacca did in the case of the figures for the *Quattro Mori*, was not just a term used for objects made "from life", but in the period also described a mode of transcription that was devoid of *fantasìa*. During the period Torriti identified as Tacca's naturalistic phase, the sculptor also made a series of copies after the antique. A *stimo* dated 1633 records a number of works that Tacca had made during the late 1610s and early 1620s for which he had not yet received payment. This document indicates that Tacca had made several works that were copied directly from the antique. The first was "a bronze Wild Boar moulded over the marble

that is in the Galleria of His Royal Highness."[109] The document records that Tacca produced not only the bronze, but also a wax copy that had not been cast and at the time of the *stimo* had been partially ruined due to the length of time it had been exposed to heat.[110] Tacca also had made "three bronze figures comprised of copies of Michelangelo's *Aurora* and *Night* [...] an Antinous copied from that of the Belvedere"[111] and "a Laocoön copied from that by Baccio Bandinelli that was in the courtyard of the Palazzo Medici on via Larga."[112] Of these copies, today only the *Wild Boar* is known. (Figure 0.9)

That the *Wild Boar* was noted as being specifically cast from moulds made over, "sopra," the original indicates how faithfully the copy was thought to relate to its exemplar.[113] Even in the other cases where such a direct form of copying was not indicated in the *stimo*, the descriptions of these objects, which were written at least a decade after they had been completed, were able to identify not only the subjects they copied, but also their exact model. This means that they were likely exacting reproductions and not simply loose imitations or Tacca's interpretations of the original sculptures.

The description of the *Wild Boar* in the *stimo* indicates not only how exact this copy was, but further that it was made through the use of moulds. Like the indirect casting process, piece-moulding was an important process for the reproduction not only

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[109] "[...] Un porcho cigniale formato sopra quelli di marmo che e nella Galleria di S.A.S. fatto di bronzo." "Stimo fatto da Govan Francesco Susino e Baccio Lupicini," 20 September 1633, ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorensie,* 1929, ins. 139, transcribed in Lo Vullo-Bianchi, "Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca", document XXI. Translation by author.
[110] ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 139, transcribed in ibid., document XX.
[111] "[...]tre figure di bronzo coie lauora la notte chopie di micelagnoli [sic] e i lontino (l'antinoo) chopiato da quello di belveder di nome." "Stimo fatto da Govan Francesco Susino e Baccio Lupicini," 20 September 1633, ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorensie,* 1929, ins. 139, transcribed in ibid., document XXI.
[112] "[...] un laoconte chopiato da quello di baccio bandinelli chera nel cortile del palazzo medici di via larga." ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 139, transcribed in ibid., document XX.
[113] For more on the importance of moulds made over the original in assuring the "faithfulness" of a copy, see Chapter 4.

of sculptural models in clay or wax, as well as of finished sculptures. As in the case of taking piece-moulds from a model in clay or wax, first the marble sculpture, which served in this case as the model, was covered with a release agent. (Figure 3.22) Then small swaths of gesso were applied to the surface to form the individual sections of the piece-mould. Those pieces would then be enveloped by a larger mother-mould into which the smaller pieces would be registered. Both the mother-mould and the piece-mould would then be removed and reassembled in order to cast the first model in wax, which would be reworked in preparation for casting.

While quite often moulding is seen as a mechanical form of copying, the act of moulding was not simply a method of directly "taking" the original's form, but a process that required constant reworking. Evidence of this can be found in Tacca's *Wild Boar.* When the bronze was recently restored, conservators closely studied the relationship between the articulation of the boar's bristles on the marble exemplar and Tacca's bronze. While issues of wear and restoration certainly affected the surface of each, it is clear from their study that the relationship between the two objects does not result in a one-to-one match.[114] Even just by looking closely at the surface of the bronze, it is clear that the delicacy of the bristles' articulation show that Tacca clearly reworked his wax model and cast bronze surface to achieve such definition. (Figure 3.23) This points to the way in which Tacca used moulding as a process of selecting the best portions of any given model and reworking those pieces into his finished product.

While there were certainly advantages to moulding a static model, it also presented challenges. In the case of the *Wild Boar*, Baldinucci claimed that Tacca struggled to accurately mould the snout and mouth of his marble exemplar. This was due to the difficult undercut (*sottosquadro*) required to mould the marble boar's mouth

[114] Several articles in *Studi e restauri IV: i marmi antichi della Galleria degli Uffizi,* ed. F. Paolucci (Florence, 2013) discuss this issue. Particularly revealing are the figures on pp. 202-205 and 208-215.

dal naturale. Working with living human models, Tacca would have been able to pose and select small portions for moulding. In the case of taking a mould from a statue, Tacca had to work in very small pieces to trace the form of his rigid model. But this also meant that he had to be able to insert and manipulate his tools around all of the surfaces of his model. The shape of the marble *Wild Boar*'s mouth was such that he was unable to insert the pieces of the mould inside of it without causing damage to the original.[115]

To help Tacca overcome this challenge, the Grand Duke sent Tacca a wild boar he had killed to mould instead, as Baldinucci wrote, "so that with the truest likeness [*somiglianza*] the work could be brought to completion."[116] Although it is difficult to prove the veracity of this account through archival documents, close comparison between the marble and bronze mouths of the two boars show a distinctly different means of approaching the mouth. (Figure 3.24 and 0.10) Here again, Tacca's ability to recreate and perfect his models, whether natural or man-made, tallies with the emphasis found in Baldinucci's text.

In the period, the *Wild Boar* marble was particularly well regarded for its naturalism.[117] The Duke's challenge to Tacca was thus two-fold, first to accurately copy the marble and then to seamlessly combine it with nature itself. If one of the achievements of the marble *Wild Boar*'s ancient artist was his ability to capture nature, then Tacca was adding to the admired ancient form by supplementing it, combining it with models from nature itself. The bronze *Wild Boar*, though incredibly worn from years of exposure and handling, is therefore a key demonstration of Tacca's skill in using moulds as one step in his process of imitating and perfecting nature as he had in

[115] This is a clear example of a problem that would plague eighteenth-century *formatori*, since only particular marble statues could accommodate "exact" moulding. For more on copying antique sculpture, see Chapter 4.
[116] "[...] acciò che a magior somiglianza del vero gli venisse quell'opera condotta a fine." Baldinucci, *Notizie*, XII, p. 163.
[117] F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900* (New Haven, 1981), pp. 161-163.

the case of Morgiano–though in the case of the bronze *Wild Boar,* this was done somewhat ironically, by using an ancient marble depiction of a boar as his source of nature.

It is particularly challenging to fully comprehend Tacca's expertise as expressed in the *Wild Boar* due to is current state of preservation. For two centuries, the statue served as a fountain in the *Mercato Nuovo* in Florence where its surface was worn away by weather, the touch of human hands, and water running into its basin. The former fountain is now displayed in the Bardini Museum in Florence, atop a replica base that was modeled in 1856 by Giovanni Benelli "over the few traces that remained from Tacca."[118] The remains of Tacca's base are displayed nearby. Even in its ruined state, the reveals traces of the incredible level of detail captured in the seventeenth-century bronze. (Figures 3.25-3.27)

There are some questions concerning the timeline of the *Wild Boar'*s execution due to sparse documentary evidence dating to Tacca's lifetime as well as errors in the transcription of some of the documents published by recent scholars. But it is clear that the statue was not originally made to serve as a fountain. The moulds of the marble *Wild Boar* in the Grand Duke's Gallery and two waxes cast from them were made sometime before 1621. A single bronze was cast sometime before 1633, when it was documented in Palazzo Pitti. At the same time, another wax model of the figure remained in Tacca's studio.[119] A bronze *Wild Boar* in Palazzo Pitti was recorded in an inventory of 1637 as

[118] The base made by Benelli is inscribed: "G. Benelli modello questo base nel 1856 sulle poche tracce rimanente del Tacca." It is clear that Benelli's copy was not exact, using moulds made over the traces of Tacca's original base. He added elements such as a turtle and bees, clear references to Tacca's other works, in the composition. Ex. cat. Carrara 2007, *Pietro Tacca: Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee*, cat. 7, p. 139. For further comparisons between the two bases, see A. Cagnini, E. Della Schiava, M.D. Mazzoni, et al., "Il Porcellino di Pietro Tacca: vicende storiche e problematiche di restauro della base originale", *OPD Restauro,* No. 23, 2011), pp. 62-63.

[119] The location of this wax model is indicated in the *stimo* compiled by Giovanni Francesco Susini and Baccio Lupicini. "Stimo fatto da Govan Francesco Susino e Baccio Lupicini," 20 September 1633, , ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorensie,* 1929, ins. 139, transcribed in Lo Vullo-Bianchi, "Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca", document XXI.

being displayed on a wooden base.[120] An inventory of 1638 was annonated to record that the statue was moved in May 1640 by order of the Grand Duke to be installed in the *Mercato Nuovo*.[121] While there is some disagreement in the scholarship concerning the extent of Tacca's involvement with the design and fabrication of the bronze base, as he had died in 1640, as early as 1677 Cinelli identified the base as being by Tacca and stylistically it clearly relates to his some of his other works.[122]

Cinelli's description of the base of the fountain captures a vivacity that has since been worn away:

> [Tacca's] magnificent artifice brings together skill, invention, and the *maniera Greca* of the original marble with some delicate observations, all taken from nature, that render it [the statue] even more admirable, and in the place where the water falls there are many aquatic and terrestrial insects that play about and seem real.[123]

Cinelli emphasized the verisimilitude of Tacca's insects that "seem real," perhaps even appearing to play about due to the motion of the flowing water that surrounded them. But Tacca's naturalism was not simply a transcription of nature, rather, it was a means of bringing his skill and invention to the marble thereby rendering it "even more admirable," as Cinelli put it.

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[120] ASF, *Guardaroba* 530, "Entrata e Uscità di Pitti 1637-1647," f. 132 transcribed in P. Barocchi and G. Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo Mediceo e storia artistica: Il cardinale Carlo Maria Maddalena, Don Lorenzo, Ferdinando II, Vittoria della Rovere, 1621-1666,* (Florence 2005), Part II, Vol. I, p. 85, note 324. A similar description and notation of this move is found in the unpublished ASF, *Guardaroba* 535, "Inventario della Guardaroba di Pitti 1638," f. 50. A.M. Massinelli, *Bronzetti e anticaglie dalla Guardaroba di Cosimo I* (Florence, 1991), pp. 78-79, had mistranscribed the date that the statue was moved as 1643, indicating that a similar date could be found in ASF *Fabbriche Granducali* 2018, ms. 282. For an explanation of this error, see Falletti, *Pietro Tacca* cat. 7, pp. 137-139.

[121] ASF, *Guardaroba* 535, "Inventario della Guardaroba di Pitti 1638," f. 50 and ASF, *Guardaroba* 530, "Entrata e Uscità di Pitti 1637-1647," f. 132 transcribed in P. Barocchi and G. Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo Mediceo,* Part II, Vol. I, p. 85, note 324.

[122] For disagreements in the dating of this bronze, see Falletti, *Pietro Tacca: Carrara, la Toscana, le grandi corti europee*, cat. 7, pp. 136-139, Massinelli, *Bronzetti e anticaglie dalla Guardaroba di Cosimo I*, pp. 78-79.

[123] "Fu questo getto da Pietro Tacca, al quale questo maraviglioso artefice aggiunse all'arte, ed alla maniera Greca del quale l'originale di marmo, alcune osservazioni graziose, tutte viste dal naturale, che lo rendono maggiormente ammirabile, e nel luogo dove cade l'acqua sono molti insetti aquatici, e terrestri, che scherzano assai vagamente, e paiono veri." G. Cinelli, *Le bellezze della città di Firenze, dove é pieno di pittvra, di scvltvra, di sacri templi, di palazzi, i più notabili artifizj, e più preziosi si contengono.* (Florence, 1677), p. 217.

Tacca's base also serves a narrative purpose since it elaborates the story associated with his Hellenistic model, which at the time was believed to be overhearing a rustling noise in the surrounding woods.[124] The evidence for such a reading came from the boar's raised ears as well as the attentive position of his front hooves. Yet the marble's base does not offer further information about the figure's context. Through his bronze base for the fountain, Tacca invented a setting for such a story by recreating the environment in which boars traditionally live. Leaves of plants, flowers, wriggling lizards, snails, and crabs surround the watering hole, which as an actual fountain would have been itself full of water. The statue as a whole–with the faithful copy of the marble *Wild Boar* on top combined with Tacca's unique design for the base–thus elaborated the theme of the original marble produced through Tacca's own combination of moulded elements, including those taken from the marble, from a real boar, and from other flora and fauna. By including this basin, thereby highlighting the supposed narrative implied in the original marble, the fountain demonstrates Tacca's material as well as intellectual engagement with and understanding of the work of his artistic forbearer. Importantly, this activation of the sculptural model by his addition of the base was accomplished through the use of moulds.

The thinness of the casts of the plant life, even in their nearly ruined state, once again illustrates Tacca's technical expertise. The very thin stems of plants and the undulating foliage are astounding for their achievement. (Figures 3.26 and 3.27) But perhaps even more astonishing is that botanists from the University of Florence have been able to identify all of the plants on the base as being from Tuscany, thus confirming Tacca's close imitation of nature that undoubtedly resulted from casts taken

[124] For the history and reception of the marble, see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, pp. 161-163.

from life.[125] In scholarship about Tacca's *Wild Boar*, the base, like other objects of Tacca's naturalistic phase, is discussed simply in terms of its decorative or ornamental function. But I argue that one should instead understand these elements as documentating his complex intellectual engagement with his models, both artistic and natural.

Visually, the base of the *Wild Boar* is reminiscent of the marvelous sixteenth-century objects by the Nuremberg goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer, who also delicately cast animals, plants and especially fine flowers and grass that he transformed into complex compositions. (Figures 3.28) Jamnitzer's technique, which was utilized by other sixteenth-century artisans, is known as the "lost lizard" process. While in the lost wax process the sculptor creates his invested model in wax, which is then melted out leaving a void for the liquid metal, in the "lost lizard" process, the animal or plant itself is invested and burnt to ash. The challenge of the technique is that the artisan has to develop an intricate system of vents and sprues that will allow the carbon-based model (such as a dead lizard) to be completely burned and blown out of the mould material to facilitate the casting of the positive in metal.[126]

Tacca's creatures on the base of the *Wild Boar* are, like the figure of Morgiano, based on the direct observation of life, but reworked and adapted to create a finished product that is deceptively close to nature, but not a direct unmediated transcription of it. A comparison, for example, would be the articulation of the small crabs that scramble across the base of the *Wild Boar* with the crabs cast from life made by Paduan artists working in the sixteenth century. (Figures 3.29 and 3.30) Tacca's crabs are heartier than crabs with spindly legs cast in bronze by his Paduan predecessors. The snails' shells on

[125] Marina Clauser and Chiara Nepi, "La fontata del Tacca osservata dal botanico: identificazione delle piante raffigurate intorno al "Porcellino"', in Antonella Nesi (ed.), *Il Porcellino di Pietro Tacca: le sue basi, la sua storia* (Florence, 2011).
[126] For the challenges of this form of casting, see Smith and Beentjes, "Nature and Art, Making and Knowing".

Tacca's base too seem more idealized than directly moulded, which suggests that he reworked their forms in an intermodel –although this does not discount the possiblity that he had first taken the form of the shells through moulding for expediency. Yet, Tacca did not always rework his models to the same extent. Within a single sculpture, one can identify a combination of more direct uses of moulding, reworked models, as well as modeled passages.

On the *Sea Monster Fountain*, for instance, the crabs' shells are covered in a speckled roughness reminiscent of a real crab shell and the joints of their legs have an precision that make them appear to be directly cast from nature. (Figure 3.31) Yet in contrast, the fish are flat, lacking the dimensionality one would expect if there were a true skeleton inside. (Figure 3.32) Their scales have clearly been drawn with a stylus onto the surface of the wax intermodel that was invested for casting and not impressed directly. The turtles on the obelisk of Santa Maria Novella also are very naturalistic, but it would have been nearly impossible to use the "lost lizard" process to burn a turtle out of a mould due to the thickness of the shell and body inside. (Figure 3.20) In this case, Tacca may have taken moulds off of a turtle shell and then modeled the rough skin of the legs by hand. This means that Tacca must have combined multiple processes including moulding, modeling, and direct observation in order to arrive at their form.

Using life casts as the basis for a sculptural model would have been practically useful in reducing the time needed to model subjects by hand, but refining those models to varying degrees also served to highlight a *paragone* between nature and artifice, ancient and modern, that played out in Tacca's works. For example, the monster on the *Sea Monster Fountain* cannot be defined by its naturalism because it is instead a fantastical rendering. (Figure 3.33) Importantly, the monster becomes even more fantastical, and inventive, because it is juxtaposed with the naturalistic rendering of fish

and shells on the garlands below. The garlands thus create a setting in which Tacca's artistic fantasy could be made accessible, thereby bringing life to his creation and presenting the viewer with his art-nature *paragone.*

As Baldinucci described in the passage in which he discussed how Tacca took moulds off of bodies of enslaved men in Livorno, can can assume that the forms he adapted from nature were likewise "sketched," or intimately observed, through moulding. In otherwords, moulding was for Tacca a mode of observation and discovery.

These naturalistic objects are perhaps more closely related to the amalgams of nature and artifice brought together in grottoes, like the Villa of Castello that contained Giambologna's array of bronze birds. [127] (Figure 3.34) In Borghini's narrative these animals were described as "many bronze *ritratti* made *dal naturale,"* which highlights that they were thought to be exactly transcribed from life.[128] In the darkness of the grotto, the deceptive ambiguity between the natural and the artificial was meant to trick and confuse viewers. The line between the two forms of beauty, and the uncertainty as to whether their creator was either man or God, was purposefully blurred. But in the light of a city square, Tacca's *Wild Boar* and the life-like rendering of Morgiano in the *Quattro Mori* achieved the same juxtaposition of nature and artifice in a much more subtle way. The distinction between his own hand and that of nature became hidden through his skillful integration of the forms he took (in Italian *quello che ha formato*) versus the forms he made (in Italian *quello che ha formato*). In this context, his direct "copying" was a means of understanding and elaborating the beauty of the ancient work as well as of nature through his own skill and artifice.

[127] E. Micheletti "I 'ritratti di uccelli' del Giambologna per la Grotta di Castello" in M.G. Ciardi, D. dal Pogetto, and P. dal Poggetto (ed.) *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci* (Milan 1977), vol. 2.
[128] R. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 588.

TACCA'S STYLE

While Watson believed that Tacca did not have a unique style, this chapter has explored three recurring themes in Tacca's work: the sophisticated use of casting techniques for the production of monuments with dynamic compositions, the use of moulds in order to create *paragoni* between nature and artifice, and attention to the finishing of both large and small-scale objects in order to create *somiglianza* to the depicted subject. For Tacca, a concentration on giving "*perfetione"* to the surface became a key element of his style. This aspect of his work was acheived by casting pieces separately and not in a single pour so that they could be finished more precisely– an approach that sculptors such as Massimiliano Soldani Benzi would take up later in the century. This technique has been disparaged by some scholars as Tacca's obsession with surface at the expense of form. But this too was an important aspect of his aesthetics. These processes allowed for him to create monumental bronzes embodying the dynamic characteristic of the "Baroque." But, importantly, also allowed them to be made in such a way as to make them, even in their great size, mobile thus serving the political needs of the court.

Watson and others have argued that Tacca did not have a style distinct from his master, Giambologna. This mainly due to the fact that they have focused primarily on the works produced in the early part of his career. As I have argued, Tacca did undoutedly develop a style, one that, importantly, evolved from his use of piece-moulding and indirect casting in distinctly different ways from Giambologna. Tacca also utilized the piece-moulding and indirect casting processes differently than his master had. Both of these differences were in response to changing aesthetic tastes of his patrons and period. For Watson, Tacca's supposed lack of style was symptomatic of the oppressive court culture in which he served. The bureacractic structure of the court

workshop, she believed, not only stiffled Tacca's creativity, but further limited his ability to succeed in both social and financial terms in ways similar to his master. In contrast, in the final section of this chapter, I will explore how Tacca's style, as I have articulated it, was only possible through the court. More crucial though is to demonstrate, through newly discovered documents, that he did, in fact, reap similar benefits as a court artist as his master had.

THE PRICE OF *MERAVIGLIA*

In September 1631, Grand Duke Ferdinando II[129] offered Tacca 3,000 *scudi* in the form of a *podere* (agricultural complex) to execute a monumental bronze figure of Cosimo II that would be installed in the *Cappella dei Principi* in the church of San Lorenzo in Florence.[130] (Figure 3.35) The written agreement confirming this exchange states that the Grand Duke believed that due to Tacca's facility with bronze, the statue would cost very little and would be completed much more quickly than in the hands of others.[131] This flattery was not just confirmation of the court's appreciation of Tacca's skill, but also a response to Tacca's disillusionment with being prevented from taking commissions from other courts, which the same document also alludes to.

According to Baldinucci, in the plague year of 1630, Tacca's workshop was without any major commissions and he feared that many of the men he had trained in

[129] In 1628, Ferdinando II reached maturity and became Grand Duke, thus ending Christine of Lorraine's regency. As discussed below, Christine of Lorraine had initiated the commission for the figures but since Ferdinando reigned during their facture he would have been named in this document.
[130] "[...] tremila scudi di tirarla alla fine, o vero gli faccia consegnare, Il Podere, che ha in prania di comprare da V.A., a Pratolino, che se bene non val tanto spenderà il resto di suo per essere rimborsato alla fine dell'opera." Cosimo Sassetti to Andrea Cioli, 2 September 1631, ASF, *Carteggio degli Artisti*, DVD 1, Bobina 9, n. 91. This document appears to be a transcribed copy that served as part of Pietro's son's petition for the payment of several works in 1661. These documents comprise the corpus of ASF, *Carteggio degli Artisti*, DVD 1, Bobina 9, "Pietro Tacca (negozio di)". This group of documents is unpublished.
[131] "[...] che la spesa sarà pochissima, rispetto a quello che costrebbe in altre mani." Cosimo Sassetti to Andrea Cioli, 2 September 1631, ASF, *Carteggio degli Artisti*, DVD 1, Bobina 9, n. 91.

his workshop would leave the city for other courts, taking with them his technical inventions. Baldinucci described these methods as "all of his wonderful *invenzione* and a secret method [Tacca] had invented for the fusion of metals, the ease of casting, and finally for the graceful and stable joining [*commettitura*] of the pieces."[132] As I have already indicated, these techniques of facture were particularly important for the construction of large- and monumental-scale sculptures, as they allowed for smaller pieces of a larger work to be cast and finished separately. Doing so allowed the pieces to be cast more thinly thus reducing the amount of metal required, which, in addition to reducing the overall cost of production, also allowed for the rendering of complex compositional forms. These same techniques also allowed Tacca to moderate the thickness of the cast walls in various sections of his compostions, as was discussed in relation to the production of the Philip IV equestrian monument, and to have the weight of the monument be supported by an internal armature rather than simply the bronze itself. Due to his expertise in casting and the sculptural forms his methods were able to create, courts in England, Spain, Savoy, and Rome tried to lure Tacca into their service. In all cases Tacca had to refuse these offers due to the terms of his service to the Medici court. The fear that Baldinucci's passage captures, and that the contract for the execution of the Cosimo II statue also alludes to, was that the workmen, who were not tied to Florence like Tacca was, could leave, having a detrimental effect on both Tacca's own potential as an artist as well as the Medici court's ability to monopolize on his *invenzione* (both technical and compositional) for their own benefit.

The monumental figures of the Grand Dukes for the *Cappella dei Principi* were therefore important not only for Tacca but also for the Medici on multiple levels. The

[132] "[...] che i molti scultori che teneva in suo servigio non abbandonassero esso e la città per portarsi in diverse parti e quel ch'era più a servigi d altri Principi onde si facesser comuni all Europa tutte le belle invenzioni e il bel segreto da lui inventato per le fusioni de metalli per la facilità del getti e finalmente per la leggiadra e stabile commettitura dei pezzi" Baldinucci, *Notizie*, XII, p. 169.

initial conception for these 8 *braccia* colossi was developed during Ferdinando I's lifetime as polychrome *pietre dure* figures. Though both Lodovico Cigoli and later Bernardo Buontalenti worked on designs for these figures, the project was abandoned in 1609 after the deaths of Ferdinando and Buontalenti only to be taken up again by Christine of Lorraine in 1626, who at the time was serving as regent. She broke with her predecessors' vision by deciding that the statues should instead be in cast bronze with gilding to contribute to the cosmic imagery of the chapel, which alluded to Galileo Galilei's "Medici Stars" as well as period references that related both Ferdinando I and Cosimo II to the sun.[133] Yet the choice of material should not be seen as only metaphorical, but also as a means of broadcasting Floretine expertise in monumental bronze casting in this highly politicized space. Although there were already designs for these monuments, Tacca set to work to develop his own models to fill the chapel's niches.

Like with the Philip IV monument, Tacca began the facture of the Cosimo II monument by working up a full-scale model in gesso from which piece-moulds were then taken. These moulds allowed him to create an inter-model that could be deconstructed in order to cast the figure in separate bronze sections, which could be finished individually and then pieced together *in situ*. The figure, which is 3.5 meters tall and 1.7 meters at its widest, is comprised of 64 individually cast parts that are fastened together with hundreds of pieces of iron on the interior, all supported by an iron armature. (Figure 3.36) Surprisingly, in its totality, the monument weighs only 1,000 kilograms thereby revealing the thinness of the cast walls.[134] Yet even at this

[133] Christine Strunck "The Female Contribution: Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine, the Cappella dei Principi and the New High Altar for San Lorenzo (1592-1628)" in R. Gaston and L.A. Waldman (ed.) *San Lorenzo a Florentine Church* (Florence, 2017), p. 618.
[134] For technical information about the construction of the monument, see Bietti, Monica, Mazzoni, Maria Donata, Salvioli, Nicola, "La statua bronzea di Cosimo II alle Cappelle Medicee a Firenze realizzata da Pietro Tacca e bottega ", pp. 20-24.

grand scale, the rendering of the fabric demonstrates a concentration on subtle surface effects also present in Tacca's smaller-scale works. (Figure 3.37) Due to Tacca's sensitive finishing, the drapery that surrounds the body of the Grand Duke flows as if made of a single piece of damask, thus recalling the blowing lace of Philip IV's cape. (Figure 3.18) The rendering of velvet captures a vision of glittering polychromy through Tacca's gilding of particular textural details, despite being executed in monochrome. Perhaps most strikingly, the Duke's face was only gilded on one side, which allowed the same chiaroscuro effect to be captured as in the gilded drapery –one that is unfortunately difficult to capture in photographic reproduction. (Figure 3.38)

The fact that there was a contract for the production of the colossal statue of Cosimo II is worth noting, as this was unusual for court commissions. As a salaried member of the court, Tacca would have been expected to produce works without a formal agreement and simply at the request of the Grand Duke. Orders for particular works were recorded in accounting books of the *Guardaroba* and *Fortezze e Fabbriche* and indicated as coming from the Grand Duke, his family, or a *sopratendente* of a particular area of the Medici manufactories. For each work, the Grand Duke, or more specifically one of his administrative departments, would pay the *prezzo*, or the expenses of materials and workmen, and in addition pay Tacca a sum for the *merito* of the work.[135] The "merit" was valued through the expertise of other sculptors at the completion of the project.[136] The existance of a contract for the Cosimo II figure indicates the unique status of this monument.

[135] During Ferdinando Tacca's career there was a debate as to whether or not casters themselves should be paid in similar manner and not simply given a set salary with provision of housing and a workshop. ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Lorenesi* 1928, n. 38. Unpublished. For a discussion of *meriti* paid to Giambologna, see Zikos, "Giambologna's House and Lands", p. 366.
[136] The *stimo* discussed earlier in this chapter for Tacca's production of copies after antiquities is an example of this type of valuation document.

As Baldinucci suggests, and a number of archival documents confirm, for this work Tacca broke from the convention of having the materials and workmen paid through the *Fortezze e Fabbriche* during the facture of the object, with an additional *merito* payment for his contribution to the work upon its completion.[137] In this case, on 2 September 1631, after seeing the model of the Cosimo II monument, the Grand Duke promised to give Tacca 3,000 *scudi* to bring the sculpture to completion. From this first mention, the value was to be paid not in cash or credit, but in the form of a *podere.* This same document indicates that if that sum was not enough to cover the cost of the facture, Tacca would have to pay for the additional expenses himself and be reimbursed at the work's completion.[138] The cost of execution must have been recalculated shortly after, beacuse on 28 September directions were given for a contract to be drawn up for the sale of a property in Curliano, valued at 2,800 *scudi* including animals. The contract also clarified that the bronze was to be completed within one year, which would have been extremely quick for a monument of this size.[139]

The *podere* was located near the Medici Villa of Pratolino.[140] The property consisted of farming land and a house for a labourer, vineyards, fruit trees, and woods.[141] The price of 2,800 *scudi* indicated in the contract for the statue included 90 *scudi* worth of animals comprised of two cows, a pair of bulls, 30 sheep, nine pigs, and

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[137] Baldinucci, *Notizie*, XII, p. 170.
[138] ASF, *Carteggio degli Artisti*, DVD 1, Bobina 9, no. 91. For the text, see 131.
[139] "[...] che il prezzo sopradetto [2,800 scudi] deve servire per pagamento d'una statua, e la quale deve fabbricare per la Cappella Reale, soggiugendo che prontamente gli bisogna comperare diverse materie e che fra un Anno, la darà finita." Andrea Cioli to Grand Duke Ferdinando II, 22 October 1631, ASF, *Carteggio degli Artisiti*, DVD 1, Bobina 9. Unpublished.
[140] "[...] Il Gran Duca vende a Pietro Tacca Scultore Un podere nel Popolo di S. Jacopo a Fratigliano l[uogo] d[etto] Curliano di sopra [i.e. as mentioned in the previous entry] per scudi 2,800 compreso in detta somma scudi 90 di bestiami qual prezzo ritiene detto Tacca per far una Statua di Bronzo dorato di Cosimo II per la Cappella di S. Lorenzo, il Podere e della Fattoria di Pratolino." 27 Ottobre 1631, ASF, *Misc Med*. 580, 738v. Unpublished.
[141] This property is described as: "Un Podere con Casa da Lavoratore Capanna e tutte le sue abiture e pertineze posto nell' Vicariato di Scarperia Popolo di S. Jacopo a Festigliano luogo detto Corliano di sopra e consistente in Terre Lavorative, vitate, fruttate e Boscate, Prative, e sode." ASF, *Possessioni* 734, 167v. Unpublished.

a donkey.[142] This was not the only property that Tacca owned in the area, nor was it the first given to him by the Grand Duke.[143]

In 1627, Tacca had received another *podere* in the "*fattoria,*" or agricultural land, around Pratolino, in the same parish of San Jacopo in an area known as Curliano. While the two properties must have been close in distance, they were not contiguous. The *podere* of 1627 had been given to Tacca for the completion of the *Quattro Mori.* According to an unpublished document, the property was valued at 3,000 *scudi* and, in addition Tacca, once again, received animals, this time valued at 208 *scudi* and 1 *lire*. The property consisted of workable land, with vineyards, olive groves, fruit trees and woods on which there was a house for a labourer who would tend to the property, a ruined cottage, dovecot, bird-catching nets (*ragnaia*), fountains, and other things useful to the workman.[144] This was a gift that could be, like the gift of the studio and furnace on Borgo Pinti to Giambologna, passed on to Tacca's legitimate male heirs. But if his line failed, the property and the value of the animals had to be restituted to the Grand Dukes.[145]

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[142] "[...] un paio di manzi scudi 63, un paio di buoi scudi 52, numero 30 pecore scudi 30, numero 9 porci scudi 20, un asino scudi 10.3.13, di conto scudi 245." 23 October 1631, ASF, *Possessioni* 28, 2. Unpublished.

[143] As is discussed below, in 1617 Tacca purchased two *podere*, one in Tizzana and the other in Quarata, which had been owned by Giambologna. Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 103 citing ASF, *Archivio Notarile Moderno*, Notaio Filippo Valentini, No. 11428 (1614-1620), cc. 36r-39r, 13 January 1616 (common era 1617), which is partially transcribed in Lo Vullo-Bianchi, "Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca", pp. 189-190. A description of these properties is included in Giambologna's will, which is transcribed in Dhanens, *Jean Bologne*, p. 374, indicate that these properties were also given as gifts to Giambologna.

[144] "[...] dato e concesso per causa e titolo di Donazione renumeratoria al Sig. Piero d' Jacopo Tacca di Massa di Carrara scultore e cittadino Fiorentino per se, e suoi figlioli e descendenti maschi legittimi e naturali Un Podere con casa che di presente serve per il lavoratore, et un Casolare rovinato, Colombaia, Ragnaia, Fonte, et altre sua appartenze posto nel Contado di Firenze, Vicariato di Scarperia Popolo di S. Jacopo a Festigliano luogo detto Curoliano, con terre lavorative, Ulivate, Vitate, Fruttate, Boscate, e soda." 8 May 1627, ASF, *Possessioni* 734, 169r. Unpublished.

[145] "[...] Il Gran Duca [Ferdinando II] dona à Pietro Tacca Scultore per se, et suis filiis, et descendentibuis masculis legitimis, et naturalibus Un podere nel Popolo di S. Jacopo in Festigliano l[uogo] d[etto] Curliano della Fattoria di Pratolino stiamato scudi 3,000, eli Bestiami stimati scudi 208 lire 1 da restituirsi queste stime di bestiami in caso di reversione." 8 May 1627. ASF, *Misc. Med* 580, 733v. Unpublished.

In very simple economic terms, gifts and payments of land and animals made by the Grand Dukes to Tacca were equivalents for the agreed value of the agreed price that would have been due to Tacca. Two bulls, for instance, were worth 52 *scudi*. Those *scudi* were given in compensation not for sculptural materials–such as gesso or bronze–but instead for the merit of Tacca's work as valued by his contemporaries and, ultimately, confirmed by the Grand Duke. Yet considering the bulls, or the property itself, as simply a tangible economic equivalent of a monetary sum is to misunderstand the social value such things held.

As Dimitrios Zikos has suggested in an article on Giambologna's properties, land ownership in Florence had been a key goal for the ambitious sculptor. Over his career, Giambologna had acquired and sold properties both within and outside of the city. His movements, Zikos argues, indicate his changing social status within the court. The *palazzo* on Borgo Pinti, a major traffic artery, was not just useful for Giambologna's position in larger society, but was also located within an urban network of other artists and courtiers.[146] While Giambologna acquired some of his properties at his own expense, he was also given others as compensation for the *merito* of his works. It is clear that Tacca used property to similar ends, in order not simply to be compensated, but also to increase his social status within the court and city in which he had been awarded citizenship in 1617.[147]

The hitherto unpublished volume that records the gift of the *podere* to Tacca includes other instances of the Grand Dukes gifting *podere* to their artists during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Francesco I, for example, gave such a

[146] Zikos, "Giambologna's Land, House, and Workshops in Florence", p. 388.
[147] Further research into how Tacca used his "dual" citizenship between both Carrara and Florence to his and his family's advantage should be further investigated.

property to his architect and engineer, Bernardo Buontalenti,[148] and three to Giambologna,[149] while Ferdinando I gave a *podere* to the goldsmith Jacques Bilivert.[150] Gifts of land were thus a form of compensation that were reserved for the most admired artists working at the court, usually in relation to particularly important projects. Baldinucci suggests that the 1627 gift of the property to Tacca was the point at which Ferdinando began awarding Tacca compensation for the *merito* of the work.[151] This property is proof of how greatly Tacca's *Quattro Mori*, with their extreme mimetic naturalism, were admired and valued. Yet the *podere* received as payment for the Cosimo II monument suggests that Tacca also continued to use property as a form of direct compensation for his own skill, as well as to manipulate his social status.

The financial risk involved in being responsible for the entire cost of the work that Tacca undertook when producing the statue of Cosimo II hints at a sense of bravado as well as the belief that he could increase his own status through such a gamble. As the contract notes, it was his goal "to make something that truly would render marvel."[152] In the early 1630s, Tacca had not yet been granted the commission for the Philip IV monument and continued to be disappointed that he had been prevented by the Medici court from taking on commissions from the Duke of Savoy and the King of England. Though advanced in age, Tacca was still active and arguably at the peak of his career. The execution of a monumental work like that of Cosimo II would have brought him further fame across Europe. The work thus had a double value for Tacca, first to advertise his skill; but if he was then also able to secure a *podere* as payment for this

[148] ASF, *Misc. Med.* 580, 349v. Victoria Addona's dissertation in progress at Harvard will address Francesco's gifts of property to Buontalenti.
[149] ASF, *Misc. Med.* 580, 353v.
[150] ASF, *Misc. Med*. 580, 454r.
[151] Baldinucci, *Notizie,* XII, p. 162.
[152] "[...] il desiderio che ha di far cosa che veramente, renderà a qualche maraviglia." Cosimo Sassetti to Andrea Cioli, 2 September 1631, ASF, *Carteggio degli Artisti*, DVD 1, Bobina 9, n. 91.

work, it would serve as an immediate source of income and an enduring sign of social status for his family.

Baldinucci wrote that two things killed Tacca: overwork on the monument of Philip IV and a lack of payment. It is true that throughout his life, Tacca was constantly supplicating the court to settle debts related to projects long completed. In an unpublished document of 1639, he claimed that for "48 years he served the court with many works and he lived with every thriftiness. [He] was only given a piece of land at Pratolino gifted to him by [Your Highness] in recognition of the four bronze slaves of Livorno and with a few hundred *scudi* for the value of the [sea monster] fountains. Now being of failing age, [he would] leave his poor sons in an unfortunate state."[153] Even in 1663, his sons, Ferdinando and Jacopo, were still supplicating "to settle many accounts and credits with the *Fortezze*, with the *Fabbriche*, and others"[154] To what extent these debts impacted Tacca's own wellbeing is difficult to understand, a point that Watson also struggled to comprehend in her earlier study on Tacca.[155] But the tricky balance between the money that was paid for the *prezzo* and the rewards generated by the less easily quantifiable *merito* of the works must be considered in light of how they contributed to Tacca's success as an artist in period terms.

Judging the "value" of a court artist like Tacca or his contemporary the painter Justus Sustermans, who has been defined by his apparently repetitive portraiture, is a difficult task because their roles as salaried members of the Medici court influenced the

[153] "[...] in 48 anni che a servito con tante opere che a fatte ancora che sia vissuto con ogni parsimonia si trova solo di havere havanzato uno podere a Pratolino donatoli da V.A. per recognitione de quattro stiavi di bronzo di livorno con pochi centi di scudi che ebbe per la stima delle fonte e che essendo hora mai di eta cadente, lassera e [sic] sua poveri figiuoli in cattivo stato." ASF, *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee* 140, no. 84, 6 September 1639. Unpublished.
[154] "[...] saldare tanti conti e avuti con le Fortezze, e con le Fabbriche, et altri." Supplication by Ferdinando Tacca, 1 November 1661, ASF, *Carteggio degli Artisti*, DVD 1, Bobina 9, no. 84. Unpublished.
[155] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, pp. 301-305.

types of subjects they could present in their works.[156] It is not possible to ask what Tacca might have produced had he not been tied to the Medici court through *servitù particulare*, but we can examine how this system influenced his work and how he was able to innovate within its strict confines.

When Tacca took on Giambologna's title of Grand Ducal Sculptor in 1609, he was given a set salary of twenty-five *scudi* a month (which was a raise of ten *scudi* on his previous salary), the privilege of working and living in the palace on Borgo Pinti, use of a horse, the coal needed for his work, and provision of food.[157] Surprisingly, his salary remained the same until the very end of his life, but it was one of the highest of the court, and just below that of the court architect Giulio Parigi.[158] As a result of his position, we must assume that Tacca lived in relative financial stability and we know that he was provided with the materials required for his work. Besides his set salary, he received additional payments based on the estimated value of his work made by other artistic experts. But this position also meant that he was not able to take on commissions from outside the court without express license.

While Tacca's title and salary certainly confirm his privileged position within the court hierarchy, the landholdings that were gifted and sold to him by the Medici held particular significance by transforming him from an artisan into a true courtier in the mould of his master, Giambologna. It is clear that this was Tacca's goal from early in his career. Significantly, after Giambologna's death, Tacca bought two properties the older artist had owned, *podere* in Tizzana and Quarata which Grand Duke Francesco I

[156] I would like to thank Shelia Barker at the Medici Archive Project in Florence for the suggestion of this comparison to Sustermans and for sharing her knowledge about the important properties he too was gifted by the court.
[157] Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, p. 91.
[158] ASF, *Possessioni* 734, "Libro dei Provisionati 1734-1635," 82v for Tacca and 68v for Giulio Parigi.

had gifted to Giambologna.[159] Yet Tacca's ability to accomplish his most important works, such as the *Quattro Mori* or the monument of Cosimo II for the *Cappella dei Principi*, was not simply a result of his own technical and artistic skills. They were made possible through the infrastructure provided by the court itself. That infrastructure provided materials, technology, and the workmen who supported Tacca's technical developments and thus allowed the development of his own artistic style. This advantage was not unique to Tacca, but could also be applied to the evolution of Giambologna's works while he was grand-ducal sculptor. Ultimately, therefore, Tacca's role as a court artist did not hinder his inventiveness, but rather provided him with the means to achieve it.

[159] These properties were given to Giambologna's heir in his will, see Dhanes, *Jean Bologne*, pp. 373-374. Tacca first rented and then, in 1617, purchased the properties. Watson, *Pietro Tacca*, pp. 92-93 and p. 103, citing ASF, *Archivio Notarile Moderno*, Notaio Filippo Valentini, No. 11428 (1614-1620), cc. 36r-39r, 13 January 1616 (common era 1617), which is partially transcribed in Lo Vullo-Bianchi, "Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca", pp. 189-190. These properties were part of the donation from Grand Duke Francesco I to Giambologna in 1585. For more on this gift, see Zikos, "Giambologna's House and Lands", pp. 366-369.

CHAPTER 4:

SOLDANI'S AND CIPRIANI'S FAITHFUL COPIES AFTER THE TRIBUNA'S ANTIQUITIES

> [...] a far le copie di marmo di queste statue, non sia bene, perchè non si può mai arrivare a copiarle con quella tenerezza, e grazia di contorni come elle sono
> Massimiliano Soldani Benzi to Prince Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein (1695)[1]

Three wooden crates locked with iron were loaded onto Tuscan sailing boats at the Ripa port in Rome on 16 August 1677. They had been carted in secrecy from the Medici villa at Trinità de Monti that morning once news had arrived that the boats had docked. The plan of how to clandestinely package and transport the contents of these boxes, the three most esteemed pieces of ancient statuary from the villa's garden–the *Venus*, the *Knife Grinder*, and the *Wrestlers*–had been developing since early June. (Figures 0.12, 4.1, 4.2) It was not just the marbles' weight of 5,200 *libre* (1,760 kilograms) or the risk that they might break during travel that had preoccupied the Tuscan resident in Rome, Torquato Montauti, but also the fear that "some" Romans would prevent their export. These Romans believed that, as Montauti reported, "the Pope had given a great favour to His Highness [Grand Duke Cosimo III]" by allowing him to export "their statues."[2] The Tuscan court advised Montauti that to ease the growing discontent, he "could let it be understood that our Prince is bringing the statues to Florence in order to be cast in bronze. In this form, they will be returned to the garden in Rome."[3] The three statues arrived in Florence two weeks later and were put on display in the Tribuna of the Grand Duke's Gallery in 1688. No copy was ever sent

[1] Soldani to Liechtenstein, Florence, 5 July 1695, transcribed in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* doc. 644, pp. 328-329.
[2] Montauti to Panciatichi, 17 July 1677, ASF, *MdP* 3397, transcribed in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, p. 239, note 40.
[3] "[...] et se ella sentisse fare di ciò alcuno stiamazzo pare a S.A. che ella potrebbe fare lasciarsi intendere che si ha pensiero di farle venire per formarle di bronzo e in tal forma poi rimandarle a codesto giardino." Minuto to Montauti, 27 July 1677, ASF, *MdP* 3397, quoted in ibid., p. 241, note 48. Translation by Goldberg.

back to the villa's garden. But between their arrival in Florence and the end of the Medici dynasty in 1737, full-scale casts after them would be sent across Europe. Two important groups landed in England.

In Edward Wright's 1730 *Some Observations Made in Traveling through France, Italy, Etc.* he concluded his account of the antiquities of the Tribuna of the Grand Duke's Gallery in Florence by describing bronze copies of its "four capital statues," which were on display in the Duke of Marlborough's palace at Blenheim in Oxfordshire. (Figures 4.3- 4.6) Visiting Florence in 1721, Wright had assisted the Lord Chancellor Thomas Parker (subsequently First Earl of Macclesfield) in purchasing bronze copies of the same famous antiquities. (Figures 4.7 and 4.8) The casts' maker, Pietro Cipriani, promised that they would "at least equal [Massimiliano Soldani Benzi's for Marlborough], and be the most exact that ever were made."[4] When the Marlborough copies were shipped from Florence in 1711, the English Envoy to the city had remarked that the copies were "little inferior to the Originals, even in the Opinion of the Criticks."[5] Two decades earlier, Soldani had promised Prince Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein that his copies of the same antiquities would be "singular in the world." (Figures 0.11 and 4.9) Although the King of France already had copies in marble, Soldani argued that marble copies could not replicate the original with the same exactness that bronze would.[6] In all of these cases, Soldani and Cipriani suggested to their patrons that their ability to make such exact copies resulted from the moulds they had used to cast them. They claimed that these moulds had been made "over" the original marble in the Grand Duke's Gallery.

[4] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 412.
[5] British Library, *Add MS 61153*, ff. 204-205. John Molesworth to Duke of Marlborough, Florence 29 March 1711.
[6] Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* doc. 647, pp. 329-330. Soldani to Liechtenstein, Florence 30 August 1695.

The Duke of Marlborough's copies, like those Wright would later help Lord Parker commission, mark a turning point in the narrative that I have developed thus far about the political utility of copies made at the Medici court. While Giambologna, Susini, and Tacca had produced important copies for heads of state, these early eighteenth-century commissions were for ministers of the English court. They therefore signal a change not only in the audience for copies, but also in the decreasing political power of the Medici court at the dawn of the age of centralized nation states, an issue more fully discussed in the Conclusion.

The narratives of the commissions for and facture of these two sets of bronze copies after the Tribuna's antiquities shed light on the way in which the production of copies in Florence was transformed as the Medici increasingly lost their political power in the eighteenth century, specifically as the final generation of the Medici failed to produce heirs and continue their reign as Grand Dukes. While the recipients of these court-made copies had changed, we will see that the notion of the "faithful" copy made through the use of moulds formed over the surface of the model continued to hold particular potency in this period. Part of the value of the faithful copy came from the rarity that was implicit in how it was made through the use of moulds, which required that the entire original antique sculpture be covered in gesso to create them.

Like papal control over the removal of the Trinità de Monti antiquities from Rome described above, authorization to make a cast copy of Medici-owned sculptures was also carefully controlled by the Tuscan court. The ability to acquire copies of the Tribuna marbles therefore resulted from a pact of mutual benefit to the owner of the copy and the Medici, similar to the types of agreements discussed in Chapter 2. To acquire a copy of one of the Medici's most important antiquities was therefore inherently dependent upon having access to it.

In the present chapter, I continue to argue for an understanding of "access" I first articulated in the Introduction and further explored in Chapter 2. In that chapter, I explored how the Medici's purchase of Giambologna's models could be understood in relation to other policies of sequestrating and reproducing particularly meaningful objects such as the miraculous image known as *La Nunziata*. As I have discussed, *La Nunziata* became a powerful political tool for the Medici not only because of its spiritual powers, but also because of how the Medici controlled access to the image in order, as Cosimo I said, "to increase devotion to the image."[7] This regulation took place practically through locked shutters that concealed the image from public sight as well as a licensing system that governed the production of copies. This limiting of access to the image functioned not only to make the image more venerated, but also the authorized copies of it more sought after.

Though *La Nunziata* was hidden from public sight, many in Florence knew of its powers, as well as something of its likeness, through world of mouth or the rare occurrences when it was shown in public. Visual access, that is, being given the privilege actually to view the fresco, was granted to some, with an even more select few being allowed physical, tactile access to the holy surface of the fresco itself. This was the type of access that Allori was granted in order to make his *ritratto* of the image for Cardinal Borromeo in 1579/80. It was by the tracing he made of the fresco that the key features of the original could be transferred into the copy. Access to the original thus took various forms–verbal, visual, and physical. Each indicated a different level of privilege.

[7] "[...] conoscendo quanto importi al mantenimento della devozione, vi commettiamo che di quì innanzi, no possiate mai più demonstrate a persona senza nostra licenza espressa, e non d'altri, e se la mostrerete, che credian di nò, vi dimostrememo quanto sia grande il conto che la volontà nostra è che se ne tenga" quoted in ibid., p. 225 citing Migliore, *Firenze citta nobilissma illustrata,* 1684. Translation by author. This quote is discussed in Chapter 2.

In this chapter, the original under consideration is no longer a religious image or a prized *modello* from Giambologna's hands, but it is instead a celebrated ancient sculpture displayed in the Grand Duke's Gallery. Yet these three forms of access again are crucial to understanding the value of the resulting copies. As I will discuss, ekphrastic knowledge of these highly-regarded antiquities was made public through the growing number of period guidebooks published for the bourgeoning Grand Tour market. In Florence, some were granted the privileged access to see the original marbles themselves in the Grand Duke's Gallery. Just how privileged is suggested by archival sources that indicate that visits to the Gallery were highly regulated and mediated by the Gallery's *Primo Custode*, Sebastiano Bianchi. While many would have also liked to own their own three-dimensional copy of these antique sculptures, before the 1730s few such copies were made. Physical access was thus even more limited than verbal or visual access.

Access to the original was also a primary concern for the sculptors Massimiliano Soldani Benzi and Pietro Cipriani, who during the first decades of the eighteenth century made the full-scale bronze casts of the Tribuna's sculptures, which included the three marbles brought from Trinità de Monti in 1677. In letters to their patrons, the two bronze sculptors stressed the essential role played by the mould made over the ancient marble in accurately capturing the qualities of the original, thereby highlighting not only their copies' close relationship to the original, but also their own privileged access to the ancient sculptures.

In art historical scholarship, faithful or exact copies are defined by their appearance as clearly "mechanical," and therefore implicitly uninspired, reproductions of a known model. Such copies are believed to slavishly reproduce their prototypes, and therefore a faithful copy's maker is similarly constrained by the vision of his prototype's

maker. But as this chapter explores, exact, faithful copying was what Soldani and Cipriani offered, and what their patrons most desired. By saying that the moulds were crucial to the "exactness" of their copies, both Soldani and Cipriani implied that the process of moulding itself produced a level of precision that ultimately removed their own subjectivity from the resulting work. What one can understand, then, is that what the patrons wanted was not a Soldani or a Cipriani bronze, but instead a *Medici Venus* or a *Dancing Faun*. By prioritizing the process of making, the sculptors therefore assumed that their patrons understood how the process of moulding enabled this precision, not only in removing their own hand, but also in recreating the original. Perhaps more significantly, it reveals that direct, tactile engagement was seen as crucial for the allegedly unmediated translation of the original into the copy.

Yet archival and published period sources investigated in this chapter confirm that neither man made new piece-moulds himself; both instead reused moulds made for other castings. The moulds thus became materialized metaphors that represented the fidelity of Cipriani and Soldani's copies, and ultimately the relationship of co-dependence between the Medici and the recipients of the copies.

This chapter moves between the material and political connotations of *faithful* full-scale copies made after prized antiquities to reconstruct how these bronzes' multiple values rested upon their exactness. I begin by unpacking the story of how the statues were first brought from Rome to Florence as a result of political negotiations between the two courts. Juxtaposing the histories of the export of both original ancient marbles from Rome and copies made after them from in Florence illuminates how both the Pope and the Medici Grand Dukes, Cosimo III and Gian Gastone, strategically and increasingly controlled the circulation of antiquities during the eighteenth century. These instances also hint at emerging ideas about state patrimony, which I explore

further in the Conclusion. By tracing the histories of three commissions for bronze copies of the Tribuna's antiquities, my goal is to clarify how the licensing system gave value to these copies. The powerful role of license confirms that the relationship between copy and original was made significant by the means through which it was reproduced: the mould.

Trinità de Monti to the Tribuna

The Medici villa at Trinità de Monti was the Roman seat of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, an avid collector and patron of the arts and Cosimo III's uncle. Leopoldo's intellectual and connoisseurial interests would come to influence Cosimo's own ideas about collecting and displaying art.[8] In the 1690s, Leopoldo's plans for redesigning the south and west corridors of the Grand Duke's Gallery, now the top floor of the Uffizi Galleries, were implemented and his collection of artists' self-portraits was expanded under Cosimo.[9] Leopoldo died in 1675 and, after a series of inventories were drawn up, his private objects began to be integrated into the Medici dynastic collections.[10] His death presented a prime opportunity to rethink the display of the Medici collections.

Cosimo III became Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1670 at the age of 28. Scholars often begin the story of art patronage during his reign by pointing to his interest in improving the historic Florentine arts of sculpture and statuary, which he perceived to be in decline, as the impetus for establishing the Tuscan Academy in Rome in 1673.[11]

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[8] Goldberg, "Personality and Politics".
[9] Paula Findlen, "Uffizi Gallery, Florence: The Rebirth of a Museum in the Eighteenth Century", in Carole Paul (ed.), *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Los Angeles, 2012), pp. 93-112.
[10] Inventories of the Roman *palazzi* taken after Leopoldo's death can be found in ASF, *MdP* 1118.
[11] Jennifer Montagu and Klaus Lankheit use F.S. Baldinucci, *Vita di G.B. Foggini*, to suggest that the perceived decline was specifically in "sculpture and statuary." See "Introduction, Sculpture" in *The Twilight of the Medici*, p. 26; for Baldinucchi see K. Lankheit, *Florentinische barockplastik*, doc. 48, pp. 233-238. Goldberg cites an official document written by a minister that says that Cosimo was intent on promoting "good design in the most noble professions of painting and sculpture, which once so flourished

The Academy produced the two major Florentine Baroque sculptors: Giovanni Battista Foggini and Massimiliano Soldani Benzi. Just four years after the first scholars were sent to the Academy, the *Venus*, the *Knife Grinder*, and the *Wrestlers* were moved from Rome to Florence. But beyond the family's art collections, Cosimo was also taking stock of the Medici's territorial land holdings, which had been sold off during the seventeenth century.[12] Having travelled throughout Europe a year before becoming Grand Duke, Cosimo surely had a keen sense of the politics of the newly emerging nation states with which his, by contrast, small duchy could compete in only a limited number of ways.

While the dynastic and political dimensions of Cosimo's understanding of Tuscany's place in a rapidly changing world might justify his consolidation of the family's antiquities in Florence, letters between court ministers point a much less compelling reason for his decision.[13] Suffering from excessive weight, Cosimo had been advised by his doctor to "frequent his galleries for exercise." To "increase his pleasure in going there," he wanted to raise the galleries to a "more flourishing state with ornaments, paintings and statues," which in the latter case specifically included those from Trinità de Monti.[14] Even if the archival documents suggest an apolitical reason for Cosimo wanting to move the statues, the subsequent correspondence reveals the highly politicized environment in which the export was negotiated.

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in this city where they have in these last years much declined." Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, pp. 134-172.

[12] A very interesting set of manuscripts compiled by a historian working for Cosimo III traces the Medici land holdings and privileges back to Cosimo I. See ASF, *Misc. Med.* 578-581. To my knowledge, these volumes have not been published, but they were discussed during a session of the Medici Archive Project's summer course in 2015.

[13] Goldberg explores the competition between the purchasing power of Cosimo and Louis XIV, which suggests how this weakness played out on multiple levels. See Goldberg, "Personality and Politics," pp. 234-237.

[14] "[...] a cominciato l'altezza Sua così consigliato dal medico a frequentare per esercizio le sue gallerie, e per andare con più diletto, si è messo a volerle rifiorire di adornamenti di quadri e di statue et haverebbe però volontà di farne venire di costà alcune delle belle che sono nel suo palazzo della Trinità de Monte." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Minuto to Montauti, 30 May 1677, transcribed in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, p. 230, note 13. Translation by Goldberg.

The Tuscans had originally expected that the license would be easy to obtain, because the Grand Duke assumed that the Pope, Innocent XI, and his Cardinal Secretary of State, Alderano Cibo, would "be no less eager to see this favour granted than [Cosimo] to receive it."[15] The grand-ducal court believed, or perhaps optimistically wished, that although the legal practice of export required a written license, the support of Innocent and Cibo would be sufficient to allow the statues to be removed from Rome since it would, as the Tuscan court ministers wrote, "be better and less public, since our highly justified request should not encounter any obstacle except perhaps the arrogant presumption of a few rash zealots."[16] But throughout the correspondence between the Tuscan court and Montauti, it becomes clear that the Trinità de Monti marbles were bound within a network of perceived possessors: the Medici, the Roman people, and the Papal Court. The symbolic function of the statues for these diverse and competing entities meant that the request to export them was not just a simple question of ownership, but instead a tangled web of political interests.

While the statues were undoubtedly the private possession of the Medici family, the fear that "some" Romans would try to circumvent their export was not an unjustified concern. Less than a decade earlier, in 1669, Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici had purchased fifteen pieces of ancient sculpture from the Ludovisi collection for two thousand *scudi*, a price far below their fair value.[17] The pieces had been acquired to

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[15] "[...] impertrarli dal benignissimo affetto di Sua Santità questa permissione che essendo per ridondar in benefizio della sua salute et il motivo che S.A. averà di passeggiare più spesso con più allettamenti confida che dal paterno amore della S^{ta} Sua gli sarà concessa ben volentieri e dalla cortese parzialità del Sig^{re} Card^{e} procurata." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Minuto to Montauti, 30 May 1677, transcribed in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, p. 230, note 13. Translation by Goldberg.

[16] "[...] che dovesse bastare la sola parola di S. S^{ta} e del Sig^{re} Card. Cibo che sarebbe la meglio e la meno pubblica, non potendo incontrarli questa giustissima richesta altro ostacolo che la saccenteria forse di qualche zelante indiscreto." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Minuto to Montauti, 30 May 1677, transcribed in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, p. 230, note 13. Translation by Goldberg

[17] For the social nature of prices in the Early Modern period, see Suzanne Butters, "Making Art Pay," pp. 25-40, and Guido Guerzoni, "The Social World of Price Formation: Prices and Consumption in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara", in Michelle O'Malley and Evelyn S. Welch (ed.), *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 85-105.

display at the Palazzo Madama, but a week after the purchase, Ferdinando's agent, Ottavio Falconiere, decided instead to send all the statues to Trinità de Monti "to satisfy Prince Ludovisi's agent, who fervently begged that the transport of the statues be less exposed to the public gaze."[18] While such antique sculptures were certainly objects that could be converted into liquid assets, their symbolic value within the socio-cultural sphere also contributed to a construction of identity that functioned beyond economics alone.[19] Falconiere's later correspondence reveals that the embarrassment resulting from the sale of these pieces was felt not only by the Ludovisi, a Roman-Bolognese family, but also by the Roman people in general who Falconiere said blamed him for his part in not only for the family's but also the city's loss of such rare pieces.[20]

In the case of the Trinità de Monti marbles, culpability for the removal of the statues from Rome would fall on Innocent and Cibo for permitting their export. It is for this reason that the Tuscan court would have assumed that a less public removal of the statues would be beneficial not only to Cosimo, but also to Innocent, thus a perfectly justifiable request. But counter to the Medici court's initial instincts, Innocent was less eager to grant the favour than Cosimo was to receive it. Allowing Cosimo to export the statues was not simply a response to a legitimate request that permitted Cosimo, as the owner, to move his private possessions. Instead, because the statues were considered so valuable in themselves and so powerful in constructing Roman identity, allowing their removal would in effect become the equivalent of a gift given to him by the Pope. In the end, the benefit to Cosimo of receiving this gift could not come without a similar reciprocal benefit being given to Innocent.

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[18] "[...] per sodisfare in questo al desiderio del Ministro del Principe, il quale me n'ha pregato con molta istanza accioche il transporto di esse statue fusse meno esposto agli occhi della gente." ASF, *CDA X*, 18 May 1669, transcribed in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, p. 233, note 21. Translation by Goldberg.
[19] For more on this idea, see Suzanne Butters, "Making Art Pay," pp. 26-28.
[20] ASF, *CDA X*, 28 May 1669, transcribed in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, p. 233, note 22.

Over a month into the negotiations, Cibo expressed Innocent's reservations about issuing the license since it was his "opinion that [the statues] appear to have better advantage in the garden here than in Florence where His Highness has such an abundance of statues and then many replicas."[21] This was not an understatement: Cinelli's 1677 guidebook to Florence noted the growing number of antiquities on display in the city, and as I have discussed, replicas had been produced in growing numbers ever since the early part of the century.[22] While Cosimo's collection of antiques and replicas of antiquities was large, Innocent's concern about these statues being lost amongst the already ample Medici collection was not a curatorial concern, but a thinly veiled display of his political power. As temporal ruler of the Papal States, Innocent controlled the excavation and export of antiquities from its territories and thus restrained Cosimo's private ambitions in this situation.[23]

Both Innocent and Cibo shrewdly demonstrated Cosimo's dependence upon their good will, and thus upon their authority, by making the Medici court anxiously wait for the license they had assumed they would so easily receive. Shortly after obtaining the orders from Florence to negotiate the extraction of the statues, Montauti set to work arranging the tricky transportation of the three statues. But the court quickly warned him to wait until the agreement had been reached. The Tuscan court's objectives were clear from the outset: the difficulty of transporting statues over such a distance was only

[21] "[...] haveva concetto che si rendessero di maggior decoro in questo giardino, che in Firezne dove ne ha S.A. tanto gran numero, e doppo varie repliche." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Montauti to Panciatichi, 3 July 1677, quoted in ibid., p. 237, note 35. I have amended Goldberg's translation to English so that it includes include the phrase "e doppo varie repliche," which he disregards.
[22] F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, pp. 53-61, G. Cinelli, *Le Bellezze della Città di Firenze,* p. 101. For Tacca's copies of antique sculpture made in the seventeenth century, see Chapter 3.
[23] A. Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici e culturali negli antichi stati italiani, 1571-1860* (Bologna, 1978), G. Guerzoni, *Apollo & Vulcan: The Art Markets in Italy, 1400-1700* (East Lansing, 2011), I. Bignamini and C. Hornsby, *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (New Haven, 2010), vol 1., pp. 27-28.

worth undertaking for those objects held in the greatest esteem.[24] Frustrated at Innocent's games, the court wrote to Montauti about the growing fear that Innocent might only allow the Grand Duke to take one or two of not even the "most beautiful," and, therefore not even the most valuable, statues. "In this case," the minister ordered, "the Grand Duke means for you to reject such an offer with all politeness, since in the accounting these are *his own possessions* and he should therefore require no other license."[25]

Even if Cosimo had hoped to extract the statues without the written license, the Tuscans were not oblivious to the political undertones of the negotiations and the exchanges required to facilitate it. The initial letter to Montauti explaining the Duke's request for the statues included a letter under the same cover offering the Pope occasional use of Tuscan galleys for battling pirates off of the Barbary coast.[26] Five days before this letter was sent to Montauti, twenty-eight Turkish slaves had been captured by a joint Tuscan and Papal enterprise and then brought to the Tuscan city of Portoferraio. When the negotiations for the antiquities seemed nearly at a standstill, the Tuscan court informed Montauti that Cosimo was waiting "to hear whether it pleases his Holiness to have [all of the slaves] or to divide them proportionally." By insuring that "the greatest satisfaction of his Holiness is always identical with that of His Highness," Cosimo exposed his awareness of the mutual benefit offered by the exchange.[27] The flattery was well received, with Cibo replying that, "if all Princes dealt

[24] For more on the challenge and cost of moving sculpture see K. Helmstutler Di-Dio (ed.), *Making and Moving Sculpture in Early Modern Italy* (Farnham, Surrey, 2015).
[25] "Ma quando contro la fiducia che ne concepisce l'A.S. s'intopparte in qualche repugnanza, e che si volesse ristringere la facultà ad una, o due sole, e di questo piccol numero si volessero eccetuare le due più belle ad elezione di S.A., il Grand Duca intenderebbe che V.A. Ill[ma] con buon modo non l'accettasse, perche finalmente essendo cosa propria, S.A. crederebbe in rigore di non haver bisogno d'altra licenza." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Minuto to Montauti, 22 June 1677, transcribed in in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, p. 236, note 32. Translation by Goldberg with my emphasis added.
[26] ASF, *MdP* 3397, Minuto to Montauti, 30 May 1677, transcribed and discussed on ibid., p. 230, note 13.
[27] "[...] [S.A.] aspetta di sentire se S. Sta habbia gusto di averli o pure voglia che si spartischino a proporzione... la maggior sodisfazione del Pontefice sarà sempre la propria di S.A." ASF, *MdP* 3397,

with [the Pope] as does the Grand Duke, then His Holiness would know what it meant to be Pope."[28] The Pope's perceived sense of respect gave Montauti the opportunity to ask again for the statues. Montauti emphasized that if permission to extract the best pieces was not possible, it was "not worth troubling His Holiness" for any permission at all.[29] Thus, very coyly, Montauti evoked Papal reliance upon the Tuscans, as Cibo had also done through Innocent's "curatorial judgments." In the end, the license for four statues, of Cosimo's choosing, was granted.[30] As a further benefit, the export tax, which for these three statues would have been high, was waived.[31]

The exchanges between Cosimo and Innocent, played out through their ministers, expose the important role that material objects, and access to them, played in the performance of authority. While the prestigious art collection of the Grand Duke was obviously a symbolic of his wealth and power, outside of his own realm, Cosimo's ability to activate this power was mitigated by Innocent's authority within the Papal States. Furthermore, it is quite revealing that the Florentines' situation changed once Innocent was given something that he wanted. The respect that Cosimo showed Innocent by giving him slaves and galleys allowed Innocent to know "what it meant to be Pope," as Cibo had put it. In turn, Cosimo was given access to "his possessions."

The Trinità de Monti marbles were clearly very important to Cosimo. Although the initial correspondence suggested that Cosimo wanted to export the statues for the benefit of his health, the court's insistence upon exporting the most important statues in

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Minuto to Montauti, 22 June 1677, transcribed in ibid., p. 236, note 33. Translation by Goldberg. For the unfolding negotiations for the galleys and slaves see ibid., pp. 234-236.

[28] "[...] se tutti i principi trattassero come fa il Gran Duca, all'ora Nostro Signore conoscerebbe d'esser Papa." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Montauti to Panciatichi, 3 July 1677, transcribed in ibid., p. 237, note 35. Translation by Goldberg.

[29] "[...] et in buona et chiara form li asserii che mentre non si potessi sperare l'estrazione delle migliori, non metteva conto d'incomodar per l'altre." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Montauti to Panciatichi, 3 July 1677, transcribed in ibid., p. 237, note 35. Translation by Goldberg.

[30] The first confirmation from Montauti that the license would be granted is found in ASF, *MdP* 3397, Montauti to Panciatichi, 10 July 1677, transcribed in ibid., p. 283, note 37; but Montauti had to wait for several weeks to receive it in written form.

[31] The export tax was waived on the day the statues were moved, August 16 see ibid., p. 241.

the villa raises questions as to why these three pieces were worth the expense and risk of transporting them to Florence, as well as the bartering of galleys and slaves. Reading between, around, and behind the lines of this correspondence will never completely reveal these motivations, but the documents do suggest the value of these highly-esteemed objects even before their museification, when they became even more well known not only within Italy, but across Europe. The extent to which Innocent had to use his power to control the export of these marbles also exposes his own political weaknesses. More broadly, this episode illustrates how Italian courts continued to be tied to the idea that power could be mediated and traded through access to material goods. But, as will be explored below, by the later seventeenth century, those structures of power were on the brink of change.

Even with Innocent appeased and the license granted, there was yet another layer of perceived ownership to circumvent, that of the Roman people. Montauti again set to work to devise a way to transport the statues despite this potential stumbling block. He hoped that his plan would not allow time for any protests, for, as he wrote to the court, the "Romans seldom hear of the removal of their most noteworthy statues without deep regret."[32] Montauti was warned several times to keep quiet about the work and not to proceed without direct orders. Those involved with packing and transporting the statues were similarly sworn to secrecy, which exposes the sensitive nature of the export.[33] However, even with strict commands to conceal the project, by the last days of July news of the Medici's plans had begun to spread in Rome.

[32] "[...] i romani per ordinario non sentono senza rammarcio che si estragghino le loro statue insigni." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Montauti to Panciatichi, 17 July 1677, transcribed in ibid., p. 239, note 40. Translation by Goldberg.
[33] ASF, *MdP* 3397, Minuto to Montauti, 17 July 1677, transcribed in ibid., p. 239, note 41.

As the lamentations of the Roman people increased, fear that the export would be prevented grew.[34] The Tuscan court advised Montauti that if any disturbance should arise, he:

> could let it be understood that our Prince is bringing the statues to Florence in order to be cast in bronze. In this form, they will be returned to the garden in Rome.[35]

This statement is extremely revealing about the perceived value of copies and their ability to stand in for the original. The copy held within it enough reference to that which had given the original meaning for the Romans for them to value it as if it were an original, even if it was made in a different a material than the original. This demonstrates the continuing understanding that the original became remediated in its copies, especially if the copies were made through the use of moulds. As we shall see, making copies cast in bronze was also understood in the period as the most faithful or exact forms of copies.

On the morning of 16 August 1677, the increasingly anxious Montauti received word that the Tuscan *feluche* had arrived at the Ripa port in Rome. Montauti went with Ercole Ferrata to the port to watch the boxes being packed onto the ship and to also insure that the already fractured statues had not suffered further damage while in the carriage.[36] Back at his palace, Montauti wrote to the court with a clear sense of relief;

> I never believed to have sent the statues away since I always doubted some other thing [would happen], having heard said that these statues cost the Romans, who captured them in Greece and brought them to Rome, blood and sweat.[37]

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[34] For more on the Roman *signori*'s complaints about the "sacking" of their civic patrimony, see ibid., pp. 239-241.

[35] "[...] et se ella sentisse fare di ciò alcuno stiamazza pare a S.A. che ella potrebbe lasciarsi intendere che si ha pensiero di farle venire per formarle di bronzo e in tal forma poi rimandarle a codesto giardino." ASF, *MdP* 3397 Minuto to Montauti, 27 July 1677, transcribed in ibid. p. 241, note 48. Translation by Goldberg.

[36] Ferrata would later restore these pieces when they arrived in Florence. F. Boyer, "Les Transfert des Antiques des Médicis de Rome a Florence", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* Vol. 106 (1932), Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, pp. 245-249.

[37] "A me non parvero di havere le mandate via giache ho sempre dubitato di qualche novità essendosi fin sentito dire che queste statue costano sangue e sudore ai Romani che l'hanno conquistate in Grecia, e condotte a Roma," ASF, *MdP* 3397, Montauti to Florence, 16 August 1677 transcribed in Goldberg,

This dramatic expression of perceived Roman ownership tied these objects into a long history reaching back to antiquity. Even though the statues had been in the Medici villa, owned by the Tuscan Grand Dukes, the Romans perceived them as part of their own civic patrimony through their understanding of themselves as the ultimate inheritors of the artistic accomplishments of ancient Greece.[38] This anecdote also exposes the ways in which ancient history could be made possessable and tangible through sculpture and other ancient objects. Therefore, ownership of such ancient objects, which were symbolic of that heritage, itself became contested because they were physical evidence of the truth of such myths. These founding myths transformed and were activated in different ways through the same material objects in possession of different owners. Once the Trinità de Monti statues departed from Rome, their history was transformed into a story about the Medici and their superior taste. In Florence, the statues also found a new audience in the growing number of English Grand Tourists who had their own aspirations to possess the antique.[39]

ADMIRATION IN THE TRIBUNA

Three days after the Trintà de Monti statues were shipped from Rome, the Spanish ambassador met with Montauti, praising the city of Florence and "the beautiful things which are there." He had seen casts of the Trinità de Monti statues in Spain, but not the originals. He professed that based on what he had seen in the casts [*formate*], the

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Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage, p. 241, note 51. This English translation has been adapted from Goldberg's.

[38] All of these pieces were understood at the time to be Greek and not Roman. In Florence, they continued to be called the "Greek statues of the Gallery" until the mid-eighteenth century. For example, Lorenzo Maria Weber, Soldani's artistic heir, wrote that the moulds of the Tribuna statues he inherited from his master to be "le Statue Greche di Galleria." See Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* doc. 52, p. 243.

[39] For general overviews of English collecting of antique sculpture, see R. Guilding, *Owning the Past: Why the English Collected Antique Sculpture, 1640-1840* (New Haven, 2014), V. Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain 1760-1800* (New York, 2006), J. Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity: British Collectors of Greece and Rome* (New Haven, 2003), P. Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1997), D.R. Marshall, S.A. Russell, et al., *Roma Britannica: Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (London, 2011).

Trinità de Monti marbles must be "the most beautiful statues in the world."[40] While the ambassador's flattery of the Grand Duke's city and collections was an evident attempt to see the marbles before they left Rome, Montauti's interpretation of the ambassador's motivations for complementing the Duke's possessions exposes the perceived relation between appreciating a collection and forging political allegiances with its owner. Montauti wrote that as a result of these conversations he left with his "previous idea yet further strengthened, that [the Spanish ambassador] wishes to be on good terms with the Grand Duke, since he talks about all of His Highness' possessions."[41] Respecting Cosimo's precious possessions was thus symbolic of esteem for his person and power.

During the last decades of the seventeenth century, the Grand Duke's Gallery, originally conceived as a place for Cosimo to walk for exercise, was transformed into one of the most important cultural spaces for Europe's, and especially England's, elite. The emergence of the Gallery as a quasi-public space under Cosimo's watch resulted from the reorganization of the collection that began in the 1690s, which was based on the designs drawn up by his uncle, Cardinal Leopoldo de'Medici, before the latter's death in 1675. In anticipation of Gian Gastone de'Medici's marriage to Anna Maria Franziska of Saxe-Lauenburg in 1697, the south and west corridors of the Gallery were reinstalled and Leopoldo's collection of artists' self-portraits was also reframed to give the paintings greater visual unity.[42] The *Primo Custode*, a newly created post within the court bureaucracy, oversaw the objects' display.[43] These changes, while primarily tied

[40] "[...] Dice che l'ha vedute in Spagna formate da queste, che son le più belle del mondo" ASF, *MdP* 3397, Montauti to Marucelli, 19 August 1677, transcribed in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, pp. 242-243, note 54. Translation by author.
[41] "[...] e con questo io mi son partito con accresciemnto del concetto già formato ch'egl'abbia caro di star bene con S.A. per che discorre di tutte le appartenenze della medesima." ASF, *MdP* 3397, Montauti to Marucelli, 19 August 1677, quoted in Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage*, p. 243, note 54. Translation by Goldberg.
[42] For the early history of the gallery, see Findlen, "Uffizi Gallery, Florence," pp. 73-77 as well as essays within P. Barocchi and G. Ragionieri (ed.) *Gli Uffizi: Quattro secoli di una galleria* (Florence, 1983).
[43] For more on the role of the *primo custode*, see Findlen, "Uffizi Gallery, Florence", p. 99.

in to the display of power in relation to dynastic ambitions, also initiated a reconceptualization of the aesthetic functions of the Gallery.

In the Tribuna, the Trinità de Monti statues were accompanied by three other ancient figures–the *Dancing Faun*, the *Venus Victrix*, and the *Celestial Venus*. (Figure 4.10) The room, richly decorated with a mother of pearl ceiling, red velvet walls, and a polychrome marble floor, became the space in which Cosimo displayed his prized antiquities and paintings. While by the mid-eighteenth century Rome had eclipsed Florence as the source of the Grand Tourists' fascination, in the early part of the century Florence was especially well regarded for its collection of paintings and ancient sculpture.[44] As visits to the Grand Duke's Gallery increasingly became a rite of passage for cultural travellers and the space was understood as a place in which to refine one's understanding of art, guidebooks and other forms of writing ritualized the experience of viewing and commenting on the Grand Duke's possessions.[45] The importance of the Tribuna in particular for travellers is attested to by the significant amount of space dedicated to it in published accounts of the Gallery.

English tourist diaries and guidebooks, starting with Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy,* published just eighteen years after the Trinità de Monti antiquities were on put display, described them in detail, demarcating these sculptures as essential objects of study for the Grand Tourist.[46] By the time John Breval published his account of Italy in 1738, he didn't waste words to portray the space and its contents as he said they were already so well known.[47] It was not just what was described, but

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[44] R. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, C. 1690-1820* (Cambridge, 2012), Rosemary Sweet, "British Perceptions of Italian Cities in the Long Eighteenth Century", in Kazuhiko Kondo and Miles Taylor (ed.), *British History 1600-2000: Expansion in Perspective* (London, 2010).
[45] For the ritual aspects of museum visitation in general, see C. Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (New York, 1995).
[46] J. Addison, *Remarks on several Parts of Italy, &c: In the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London, 1718), pp. 323-325.
[47] J. Breval, *Remarks on several Parts of Europe, Chiefly Relating to their Antiquities and History. Collected upon the Spot in several Tours since the Year 1723* (London, 1738), p. 156.

how it was described that became repetitive. The Tribuna was, as Wright recounted, "the *Buon Boccone,*" the most treasured room in the Grand Duke's Gallery in a city which, Breval wrote, was itself a "*bonne bouche* [...] the noblest Magazine of antient [sic] Monuments, and modern Sculptures and Paintings, in the World."[48] The often repetitive nature of the guidebook texts, in most cases adapted from the tour of the galleries provided by the Gallery's custodian, Sebastiano Bianchi, crystalized the importance of a few key works, including the Trinità de Monti marbles.[49]

The close parallels between descriptions in different guidebooks indicate how highly regulated the experience of this space was and how one's interaction with the Medici's treasures was mediated by the court, and especially by Bianchi, the Gallery's Custodian, who also served as a tour guide. The amount of ink used to describe the treasures of the Tribuna is especially surprising in relation to the relatively small amount written about the Pitti Palace where a large collection of paintings was also displayed. Descriptions from Parker and Roger Newdigate, another period traveller who also bought copies from Cipriani, of the Pitti Palace are so similar that they suggest that a standard guided route or tour, such as had been instituted for visitors to the Grand Duke's Gallery, was also implemented in the Pitti Palace's collections. Surprisingly, although there are several famous early eighteenth-century written accounts of the Tribuna, the earliest known drawing dates to the 1730s[50], which raises questions about whether restrictions were placed on drawing in the space, a practice that was in force in the Bourbon's collections of objects excavated from Pompeii and Herculaneum that was

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[48] E. Wright, *Some Observations made in Travelling through France, Italy &c. in the Years 1720, 1721, and 1722*, second edn (London, 1730), p. 405; Breval, *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe, Chiefly Relating to Their Antiquities and History. Collected Upon the Spot in Several Tours Since the Year 1723*, p. 132.

[49] V. Conticelli, "Il taccuino di Sir Roger Newdigate: gli Uffizi e la Tribuna nelle carte di un viaggiatore del Grand Tour (1739/1744)", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz,* Vol. LVII (No. I, 2015).

[50] Roger Newdigate, *The Tribuna of the Uffizi,* private collection. For an image the drawing, see Conticelli, "Il taccuino", il. 16.

installed in their palace at Portici.[51] These pieces of evidence suggest a highly regulated system through which visitors were able to access the Grand Duke's most important objects.

The highly repetitive nature of guidebooks, which sampled from, repackaged, and referred to each other's descriptions, created a common language used to describe antique sculpture and scripted the Grand Tourist's experience of them.[52] This common language gave value to the ancient marbles by providing a way of describing their significance and rarity. The *Medici Venus* was the work that was most often discussed.[53] According to the father and son duo Jonathan Richardson junior and senior, the *Medici Venus* was "such a *Leggiadra* Figure, that by it the other two *Venus*es [the *Celestial Venus* and the *Venus Victrix*] look[ed] Robust," though they too had their charms.[54] The *Dancing Faun*'s head was repeatedly attributed to Michelangelo, said to be made "in such manner, as to leave little room to lament the Loss of the old one."[55] The *Knife Grinder* was known by various names, such as the *Arrotino* or *Scythian Slave*, depending on the author's interpretation of the enigmatic iconography.[56] The *Wrestlers*,

[51] The Bourbon monarchs closely guarded the collections displayed at Portici in order to limit the publication of these newly unearthed objects. Visitors were prevented from making sketches or even taking notes while in the collection. For an overview of the importance of the collection and the restrictions in place, see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique,* pp. 74-78, Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique,* p. 99.
[52] Sweet, *British Perceptions of Italian Cities in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Jane Whitehead, "The Noblest Collection of Curiositys' British Visitors to the Uffizi, 1650-1789', in Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Ragionieri (ed.), *Gli Uffizi: Quattro secoli di una galleria* (Florence, 1983), Chloe Chard, "Nakedness and Tourism: Classical Sculpture and the Imaginative Geography of the Grand Tour", *Oxford Art Journal,* Vol. 18 (No. 1, 1992), Chloe Chard, "Antique Sculptures as Sights and Wonders: The Unease of Viewing and Commenting", in Antonio Pinelli (ed.), *Viewing Antiquity: The Grand Tour, Antiquarianism and Collecting* (Rome, 2001), Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820*.
[53] For a general history of the *Medici Venus'* period reception, see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, pp. 325-328, J.R. Hale, "Art and Audience: The *Medici Venus* c. 1750-1850", *Italian Studies,* Vol. 31 (No. 1, 1976)..
[54] J.S. Richardson and J.J. Richardson, *An Account of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, France, &c. with Remarks*, second edn (London, 1754), p. 56.
[55] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 409. For a general history and period reception, see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, pp. 205-208.
[56] For a general history and period reception, see ibid., pp. 154-157.

as Wright recounted, were known in England through the several copies that were already in the country.[57]

While guidebooks provided readers with an aesthetic language that would enable them to speak about the works of art they saw, they didn't necessarily always include lengthy visual descriptions to educate the readers about what the objects actually looked like. One way they did so was by mentioning copies of these famous sculptures in England as a way of creating a visual reference for readers.[58] Publications at the time included few engravings or etchings to illustrate the copious number of objects discussed. Mentioning cast copies in the text therefore served a practical function of referencing the visual qualities of a work, but at the same time also served to emphasize the value of particular copies. There are several noteworthy descriptions of copies of the Tribuna's antiquities that did just that.

The Richardsons included in their description of the ancient marble *Dancing Faun* information regarding copies that had been made of it:

> Dancing Faun; a most beautiful colour'd Marble, but has been changed in two or three places by Moulding, especially the Face, which is the reason that none are allow'd to be taken off now; the Duke of *Marlborough's Venus*, and other statues, were not cast off these in moulds made express, but in old ones, the *Venus* has never been cast off since the Duke of *Florence* had it.[59]

This story, propagated by the Richardsons in their text, helped to emphasize the fragility of the original *Dancing Faun* and *Medici Venus* while also reinforcing the rarity, and thus the value, of particular copies of it.

[57] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 411. For a general history and period reception, see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, pp. 337-339.
[58] H.W. Kinney, "Antique Sculpture, Copies, and the Language of Value in Early Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour Guidebooks,' in *Le guide touristique: lieu de rencontre entre lexique et images du patrimoine culturel* Vol. II, R. Raus, G. Cappelli, and C. Flinz (ed.), (University of Florence Press, 2017).
[59] Richardson and Richardson, *An Account of the Statues,* p. 57. Original emphasis and capitalization.

A Triangle of Trust

The interest of John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough's, in purchasing works of art from Florence for his Blenheim Palace in Woodstock, England is first documented in 1709. Marlborough's initial intention was to acquire twelve marble sculptures of mythological figures by Pietro Francavilla from the Bracci family collection, which had been recommended to him by the Tuscan Envoy to England, Jacopo Giraldi.[60]

Giraldi was a close confidant of Cosimo III. In addition to his correspondence as a minister of the court, which reported on the political landscape in England, his personal correspondence with Cosimo provided information on the English elite's social lives. Cosimo likely also had an interest in English life in general, as he had traveled throughout the country in 1669, shortly before becoming Grand Duke.[61] Giraldi's letters in the years prior to 1709 had informed Cosimo about the construction of Blenheim Palace, Marlborough's growing art collection, and gifts he had received from other powers in addition to describing Marlborough's military victories, for which Queen Anne had gifted the palace to him.[62]

In an unpublished letter dated 5 May 1709, Marlborough's architect, John Vanbrugh, wrote to Christopher Crowe, English Consul at Livorno, to inform him of the Duke's interest in the Bracci collection.[63] Crowe and the English envoy to Florence, Henry Newton, went together to view the Bracci collection, which comprised a group of

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[60] BL, *Add MS* 61523, ff. 244-245, John Vanbrugh to Christopher Crowe, Woodstock, 5 May 1709. This letter is cited and discussed below.
[61] L. Magalotti, *Travels of Cosimo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England, during the Reign of King Charles the Second (1669). Translated from the Italian Manuscript in the Laurentian Library at Florence.* (London, 1821).
[62] The estate and funds to build the palace had been gifted to Marlborough to celebrate his victory at the Battle of Blenheim over the French in the War of the Spanish Succession.
[63] BL, *Add MS* 61523, ff. 244-245, John Vanbrugh to Christopher Crowe, Woodstock, 5 May 1709. Unpublished.

mythological figures.[64] Crowe wrote to Marlborough on 1 July 1709 that he found them to be "very good Italian Statuary [...] of the hand of Francavilla a scholar of the famous Giovanni Bologne." Tempering his and Newton's judgment with the advice of Tommaso del Bene, Chamberlain to Cosimo III, Crowe suggested to the Duke of Marlborough that the collection was too expensive, even for such good pieces, at 14,000 crowns.[65]

Within the same letter of 1 July 1709, Crowe enclosed note from Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, a sculptor working for the court who was in charge of the Medici mint.[66] Within this note, Soldani proposed to make bronze copies of "the six famous and singular marble statues that are in the Tribuna of the *Galleria* of his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany," adding that other statues from the Gallery could also be cast in bronze if Marlborough so desired.[67] The price of 225 *pistoles* for single figures and 450 for double figures Soldani proposed would include the price of bronze, facture, packing, export, and delivery.[68] A set of bronze figures, Crowe proposed, would be cheaper in the end than buying the Bracci collection. Crowe emphasized and assured Marlborough that Newton could also attest to the fact that Soldani was an "ingenious workman."[69] This makes it clear that Soldani was not yet nearly as famous in England as he would later become as a result of this commission. As the Richardsons' account of the copies in their guidebook attests, Bianchi would tell visitors to the Gallery about the

[64] These are described in BL, *Add MS* 61523, f. 250, enclosure in letter from Christopher Crowe to Duke of Marlborough, Livorno, 1 July 1709. This enclosure is unpublished.
[65] BL, *Add MS* 61523, ff. 246-247, Christopher Crowe to Duke of Marlborough, Livorno, 1 July 1709. Avery published a transcription of this letter in Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 11.
[66] Soldani was a student at the Tuscan Academy in Rome in the 1670s. He was then sent to study in the mint in Paris. Upon his return, he was appointed as *Maestro de' Coni e Custode della Zecca* in 1682, although he also continued to produce small-scale and large-scale bronze sculptures throughout his life.
[67] Enclosure found in BL, *Add MS* 61523, f. 251, Christopher Crowe to Duke of Marlborough, Livorno, 1 July 1709. It is difficult to tell whether this is indicates that Soldani had already received some kind of permission from the Grand Duke to make these copies. The enclosure was fully transcribed and translated by Avery and published in Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 12 with the original Italian transcribed in his note 14.
[68] Ibid., f. 251, Christopher Crowe to Duke of Marlborough, Livorno, 1 July 1709.
[69] Ibid., ff. 246-247, Christopher Crowe to Duke of Marlborough, Livorno, 1 July 1709. This passage is included in Avery's transcription as indicated above, note 65.

facture of these copies in front of the original marbles, thereby allowing visitors to the Gallery to link Soldani's craftsmanship to that of the ancient sculptor.[70]

From an unpublished letter of 4 March 1710, it is clear that Marlborough still hoped to purchase the Bracci collection, while Newton once again tried to convince him that the bronze copies would be a worthy alternative.[71] Newton stressed that Soldani enjoyed universal esteem. His works were prized not only in Florence, but also in Rome, Vienna, and Paris.[72] Newton further emphasized that Soldani would be willing to cater to Marlborough's demands, but even more importantly, confirmed that the Grand Duke was "very ready to give any orders that may tend to your Grace's satisfaction, about ye statues in his gallery."[73] This line has within it a promise of exchange that is reminiscent of those between the Pope and Cosimo forty years earlier. To commission the copies of the Tribuna marbles was thus an exchange between Marlborough and Cosimo that would be affected once the needs of both parties had been satisfied. The problem was that Cosimo needed something from Marlborough in return, but Marlborough did not yet see the benefit to be had from Cosimo.

What finally convinced Marlborough to commission the copies is not clear from the known correspondence. However, in January 1711, Giraldi wrote to Cosimo on behalf of the Duke of Marlborough to say that Marlborough wished to commission Soldani to copy four of the six statues of the Tribuna in bronze: the *Venus*, the *Faun*, the *Knife Grinder* and the *Wrestlers.* (Figures 4.3-4.6) The commission had been agreed between Soldani and Marlborough with the trust (*fiducia*) that the Grand Duke would

[70] Richardson and Richardson, *An Account of Statues,* p. 57.
[71] BL, *Add MS* 61153, ff. 196-197, Henry Newton to Duke of Marlborough, 4 March 1709/10.
[72] Soldani had been one of the first students sent to the Tuscan Academy in Rome and, as noted above in note 66, was later sent by Cosimo III to study minting in Paris. His works in Vienna, dating between 1695-1707, are discussed below.
[73] BL, *Add MS* 61153, ff. 196-197, Henry Newton to Duke of Marlborough, 4 March 1709/10.

grant the necessary permission for the copies to be made.[74] To make a copy thus required a tripartite agreement to be made between the patron, the artist, and the owner of the original who granted permission to the patron and access to the original to the artist.

Three sets of copies of these figures made by Florentine sculptors already existed. Giovanni Battista Foggini, Soldani's rival, made the first set shortly after the Trinità de Monti marbles arrived from Rome. His plaster copies of the *Dancing Faun, Knife Grinder,* and *Wild Boar* were sent to the French Academy in Rome in 1684. (Figures 4.11 and 4.12) In 1687, using plaster copies as models, Foggini then produced marble versions of the same figures and Michelangelo's *Bacchus* for Versailles. The first commission for bronze copies came in 1694, when Prince Johann Adam Andreas of Liechtenstein contracted Soldani for copies in bronze of the *Venus* and *Dancing Faun*.[75] (Figures 0.11 and 4.9) In these three instances, the patrons, like Marlborough, had obtained permission from Cosimo for the copies to be made. A year before the Marlborough commission, Foggini produced gesso casts of the statues for the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, the husband of Cosimo's daughter Anna Maria, who had begun a collection of gesso casts.[76] As these casts were gifts from Cosimo to his son-in-law, no express license was required.

The Marlborough copies were unique within this lineage of copies as well as those discussed in this dissertation thus far. They were not made for a head of a state, but instead for a powerful court minister. These copies break from a model of exchange that has been explored earlier in this dissertation and therefore expose an important

[74] ASF, *MdP* 4234, f. 206, Jacopo Giraldi to Cosimo III, 24 January 1710, London, cited, but not transcribed in Andrew Ciechanowiecki and Gay Seagrim, "Soldani's Blenheim Commission and other Bronze Sculptures after the Antique", in Klaus Lankheit and Wolfgang Hartman (ed.), *Festschrift Klaus Lankheit: Zum 20. Mai 1973* (Cologne, 1973), p. 180, note 5.
[75] Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* pp. 139-148 and 326-338.
[76] Cosimo III to Elector Johann Wilhelm, 14 July 1710, San Cresci, Bayerisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, *Kasten Blau* 49/11. CC. 235-236, transcribed in ibid., doc. 280, p. 272.

change in the Grand Duke's political status. As will be discussed below, the Marlborough bronzes also mark a turning point in the audience for copies, as their making coincided with the rising influence of the Grand Tour on collecting copies.

In April 1710, as Marlborough's commission was being finalized, Giraldi wrote to the English Secretary of State to inform him that Carlo Rinuccini would represent Tuscany at the Peace Congress of the Hague, where he would request the reversion of the Grand Duchy into a Republic. Giraldi requested Queen Anne's support for the Grand Duke's interests at the Congress. In this context, he urged her to consider especially how the Grand Duke's goodwill had supported the interests of the maritime powers in Livorno, a free port where the English could have their goods pass free of duty and with only a flat stallage fee regardless of the contents of their merchandise.[77] In the end, in a letter of 12 May 1710, the Queen gave directions for her ministers "to take care of the Interests of the Grand Duke and assist his ministers in his Negociations [sic]."[78]

The realization that the Medici Grand Duchy would soon come to an end due to a lack of viable heirs greatly influenced Florentine culture and politics in the early eighteenth century, which makes it unsurprising that the question of Tuscan succession became bound up in the copies made of Cosimo's most famous sculptures. The British ambassador to the Hague between 1711 and 1714, Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford and 3rd Baron Raby, also commissioned copies of the Tribuna antiquities, though they were never completed.[79] With the grand-ducal finances in shambles and

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[77] C. Tazzara,"Managing Free Trade in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Information, and the Free Port of Livorno", *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 86 (No. 3, 2014), pp. 507-508. For the history and function of the free port at Livorno, see C. Tazzara, "The Masterpiece of the Medici: Commerce, Politics, and the Making of the Free Port of Livorno, 1574-1790" (Stanford University, Department of History Ph.D., 2011).

[78] Extract of a letter from Mr. Boyle to Lord Townshed, 12 May 1710, Whitehall, BL, *MS* 36 795, ff. 124-25.

[79] This commission has been mentioned in several publications but never clearly explicated. See for example, Dimitrios Zikos, "From the Workshop of Cipriani: Bronzes and Plasters for the 1st Earl of Macclefield", in *The Macclesfield Sculpture: The Fruits of Lord Parker's Grand Tour* (London, 2005), p. 27. Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes," p. 15. Zikos also mentions this commission, without

little political power of his own, access to his collections was one of Cosimo's only bargaining tools.[80] This exchange also recalls an earlier time, when Cosimo undoubtedly had much greater political power, but nevertheless had to provide ships and captured slaves to Pope Innocent XI who at the time had to give his approval for the removal of the original marbles from Rome to Florence.

Throughout the correspondence concerning the Soldani commission, Cosimo expressed his respect for the Duke of Marlborough through objects, thus recalling the Spanish ambassador's praise of Cosimo through his collection. When trying to convince Marlborough to commission the copies from Soldani, Newton wrote in an unpublished letter to Marlborough that Cosimo "has often bin [sic] pleased to express his readiness for your Grace's Service; & the great esteem he has for a prince who deservedly makes so considerable a figure in the world; having already honr'd his gallery, & his palace with two portractures [sic] of your Grace."[81] From an earlier letter we know that one of these portraits of Marlborough by Adriaen van der Werff was even on display in Cosimo's "*propria camera*."[82] For Cosimo, owning and displaying the Duke's image was symbolic of his esteem for Marlborough as well as his readiness to cater to his wishes. Cosimo keeping one of the two portraits he owned in his private chambers seems to have even further emphasized his perceived closeness of their relationship. But

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clarifying the patron. Dimitrios Zikos, "Prince Johann Adam Andreas I of Liechtenstein and Massimiliano Soldani Benzi: The Late Baroque Florentine Bronze Sculpture", in ex. cat. Vienna 2005, p. 173.

[80] Ashley Buchanan similarly explores the way Cosimo used medicinal recipes as political collateral in her forthcoming dissertation at the University of South Florida. She presented portions of this research at the Renaissance Society of America 2016 conference in a paper entitled: "The 'Empire of Things': Cosimo III de' Medici as Collector, Patron, and Naturalist." I thank her for sharing a copy of this paper with me.

[81] BL, Add MS 61153, ff. 202-203, Henry Newton to Duke of Marlborough, 3 February 1710/11, Florence. Unpublished.

[82] "[...] Io avendo avuto favorerolissima opportunita di parlare col Duca di Marlborough del ritratto che V.A.Re teneva di lui nella propria camera." ASF, *MdP* 4234, f. 62, Jacopo Giraldi to Cosimo III, 18 March 1707, London. Unpublished. The portrait discussed is likely Van der Werff, dated and signed 1705, Polo Museale Fiorentino, Inventory Palatina, 76.

then how could Cosimo make Marlborough similarly feel his presence in Blenheim Palace, even if he remained in Florence?

If Cosimo could be made manifest through his possessions, as the Spanish ambassador's obsequious praise implied, Cosimo's presence could then be displayed in Blenheim through the copies which provided access to his statues.[83] The bronze copies of Cosimo's prized antiquities would thus materialize their mutual relationship and alliance. In addition to granting Soldani permission to cast the statues, Cosimo also allowed for the large amount of metal needed to cast the statues to be imported into the city without paying duty, and later let the finished statues leave free of export tax.[84]

When Marlborough communicated his gratitude to Cosimo, he thanked him for allowing Soldani to copy the famous statues of the Gallery.[85] He thus recognized the implicit favour displayed by this action. In the exchange, Marlborough benefitted from owning such instantly recognizable works. English collectors often modeled their collections of statuary on Italian ones. The value of English collections therefore derived in part from their comparison with Italian collections. In some cases it was not possible or too expensive to have an original of the type the patron desired. In such instances, Molesworth wrote "that good Copys are better than scurvy Originals."[86] But when Marlborough's bronzes were finished Molesworth wrote to him to say that, "I can assure your Grace that [the statues] are little inferior to the Originals, even in the

[83] The relationship between portraits and copies is discussed in Chapter 1.
[84] BL, *Add MS* 61153, ff. 202-203, Henry Newton to Duke of Marlborough, 3 February 1710/11, Florence. Unpublished. For the export of the statues see ASF, *MdP* 4238, Coriolano Montemagni to John Molesworth, 8 September 1711, transcribed and translated in Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 13, with the original Italian included in note 19.
[85] ASF, *MdP* 4234, f. 262, Jacopo Giraldi to Cosimo III, 27 Feb 1711, London. This letter is discussed but not transcribed in Ciechanowiecki and Seagrim, "Soldani's Blenheim Commission", note 5.
[86] National Library of Ireland, N4081 (*Clements Papers*), John Molesworth to Robert Molesworth, 10 December 1721, quoted in W. Molesworth, "John Molesworth (1679-1726) as a Patron of Art: Complacence, Connoisseurship and Commissions" (Trinity College, Dublin M. Litt, 2010), p. 61, note 326.

Opinion of the Criticks."[87] Clearly, there was a hierarchy of copies. Some could be good, others bad, and a few could even equal the original.

Once they had been de-coupled from the original, the Marlborough copies took on their own independent value, becoming a kind of original in themselves. As Newton wrote to Marlborough in a letter of 1711, Soldani's bronzes were works "w[hi]ch will not at this time bee anywhere exceeded in Europe, & may therefore in some measure, bring an honor of their kind to ye Place, & bee worthy for ye vein & possession of their most illustrious owner."[88] Newton therefore suggested that the Soldani bronzes were not superseded by similar copies, and thus were the best copies in circulation. Intriguingly, Soldani had offered a similar promise to the Prince of Liechtenstein years prior, as I will later explore. While one always has to consider how the artists and agents tried to emphasize their own contribution to a commission, these letters confirm that that copies were judged not just in relation to the original, but also to one another. This hierarchy between different qualities of copies became even more important in assessing their value as more ever of copies began to be produced.

The Rarity of Copies

Edward Wright, author of the guidebook *Some Observations Made in Traveling through France, Italy, Etc,* traveled to Italy between 1720 and 1722 as the "bear leader,"[89] or educational guide, of George Parker, whose father, Thomas Parker, had recently become Lord Chancellor of England and was decorating a new estate worthy of

[87] BL, *Add MS* 61153, ff. 204-205, John Molesworth to Duke of Marlborough, 29 March 1711, Florence transcribed in Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 13.
[88] BL, Add MS 61153, ff. 198-199, Henry Newton to Duke of Marlborough, 5 May 1710, Livorno. Unpublished.
[89] "Bear leader" was a term used to describe the role of the older men who looked after young Grand Tourists. In this role, the bear leader would serve as tutor, chaperone and guardian. Pier Leone Ghezzi parodied such practices in his drawing "Caricature of Dr. James Hay as a bear leader" in which a small elegantly-dressed cub is dragged through the Italian landscape by Hay. Ghezzi's drawing is in the British Museum, accession number 1946,0713.98, but there are also many prints after it.

this position.[90] George Parker met Wright, "his guide to understanding pictures," in Venice.[91] From Venice, they went to Rome, where Parker took his father's advice not to talk about government or religion.[92] The letters that he sent back to his father recount the art he had seen, including the Sistine Chapel and the "best sculpture" in the Belvedere: the *Apollo*, *Laocoön*, *Antinous*, and "the famous trunk of a statue that Michelangelo studi'd," the *Belvedere Torso.*[93] On the back of each letters he received from his son, Lord Parker made brief notes of his son's expenses and visits. The antiquities seem to have been of particular interest to him.[94]

Parker first wrote to his father from Florence on 25 October 1721, apologizing that he had not arrived there sooner. He and Wright had purchased several pieces of sculpture in Rome and "by reason of the difficulty there is of getting things of that sort of any value out of Rome," they had stayed there until the license was granted.[95] In Rome, another Englishman recommended them to contact Alessandro Galilei, the Tuscan Grand Duke's architect, upon their arrival in Florence.[96]

Galilei had spent time in England but returned to Florence in the winter of 1720, though his correspondence with potential English architectural patrons continued throughout the 1720s and 1730s. Galilei's fluency in English and close relationships with John Molesworth, Envoy to Florence and later Turin, and Crowe appear to have made Galilei a key contact for other English men who wished to purchase and

[90] T.P. Connor, "The Fruits of the Grand Tour: Edward Wright and Lord Parker in Italy, 1720-22", *Apollo,* Vol. CXLVIII (No. 147, 1998), T. P. Connor, 'Lord Parker on the Grand Tour', in *The Macclesfied Sculpture: The Fruits of Lord Parker's Grand Tour 1720-22* (London, 2005), Zikos, "From the Workshop of Cipriani", Molesworth, "John Molesworth (1679-1726) As a Patron of Art", pp. 116-119.
[91] BL, *Stowe MS* 750, f. 343, George Parker to Thomas Parker, 1720.
[92] BL, *Stowe MS* 750, f. 376, George Parker to Thomas Parker, June 28/17 1721.
[93] BL, *Stowe MS* 750, f. 379, George Parker to Thomas Parker, July 5/June 24, 1721.
[94] Their correspondence is held in BL, *Stowe MS 750*. This correspondence was first referenced in Connor's publications, but he does not transcribe it.
[95] BL, *Stowe MS* 750, f. 384, George Parker to Thomas Parker, 25 October 1721.
[96] They were introduced to Galilei through a letter from Benjamin Crowe. ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 41, Benjamin Crowe to Alessandro Galilei, 11 November 1721. Connor referenced the Galilei collection in his publications, but does not transcribe the letters. The citations draw from my own archival research and reconstruction of the correspondence held in the ASF and BL.

commission objects in Florence. The pieces described in his letters range from marble statues by Antonio Montauti to leather gloves, and even a specific request from Molesworth for biscuits from the Grand Ducal *Biscotteria*.[97] The letters from visitors to Florence, as well as commissioners from afar, addressed to Galilei begin with a similar refrain about his excellent English. Wright and Parker echoed this sentiment, noting that Galilei was "a most excellent Artist, and a Person the most obliging, the most communicative, and of the greatest Civility in all respects that I think we met with in our Travels [...] and [he] expresses a particular Respect for the English."[98]

In Florence, Galilei played a double role for Parker and Wright, serving both as a guide to the city and as an agent for Parker's commissions to Cipriani and the painter Giovanna Fratolina. Because of his position within the court, one might also assume that Galilei had a distinct advantage in seeking to fulfill his English correspondents' requests when compared to English envoys who needed to both uphold diplomatic relations with the court as well as play host to traveling gentlemen from their own country. One of Parker's first requests of Galilei was an audience with Grand Duke Cosimo III to "pay his compliments to his Royal Highness" on his father's behalf. Cosimo III had not taken audiences for several weeks because of "his indisposition," but returned the compliments to the younger Parker and asked him to thank Lord Parker for his "remembrance of him." Parker was instead "very graciously" received by the Great Prince Gian Gastone, Electress Palatina Anna Maria Luisa, and the Princess Eleonora Luisa Gonzaga, the widow of ex-cardinal Francesco Maria de'Medici.[99]

[97] Galilei's correspondence for the years 1722-1731 are held in ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1. For the specific request for biscuits, see ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 66, John Molesworth to Galilei, 16 December 1722.
[98] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 393.
[99] BL, *Stowe MS* 750, f. 389-390, George Parker to Thomas Parker, 29/18 November 1721.

By mid-November of 1721,Wright and Parker had made two trips to the Grand Duke's Gallery, where they were escorted by the *Primo Custode,* Sebastiano Bianchi.[100] Unfortunately Parker's letters do not describe his own experiences in the Gallery. He explained to his father that he would leave this task to Wright. Wright's *Some Observations* was published after their return from Italy and included the lengthy description of the Grand Duke's Gallery that Parker had promised his father. Wright's publication, like many period guidebooks, clearly parroted information he had received from Bianchi.[101] It is interesting to note that in his description he mentions two portraits of the Duke of Marlborough hanging in the corridors.

Wright concluded his own passage on the Tribuna with a history of the copies made after the *Venus, Knife Grinder*, *Wrestlers*, and the *Faun:*

> These four capital Statues were cast in Copper, exceeding well, by Signor Soldani, for the Duke of Marlborough, and are now at Blenheim. When my Lord Parker was at Florence, and greatly delighted with these Statues, Signor Pietro Cipriani, an excellent Artist, and formerly a Scholar of Soldani, and his Assistant in casting those Statues for the Duke of Marlborough, undertook to make for him Copies in Copper of the Venus and Faunus.[102]

It is important to note that when Soldani had offered copies to Marlborough in 1709, he had proposed to copy all six "famous" antique marbles displayed in the Tribuna. The "capital statues" that Wright described were just the four that Soldani copied in bronze for Marlborough, suggesting that the existence of the Marlborough copies served to elevate the value and fame of those four marbles–the *Venus, Knife Grinder*, *Wrestlers*, and the *Faun*–above the other two Venuses. How these two narratives are intertwined also suggests that Marlborough's copies influenced George

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[100] ibid.
[101] Sebastiano Bianchi was the *Primo Custode* of the Grand Duke's collection. He was a key source of information for Grand Tourists and served as their guide to the galleries. For more on Bianchi see Conticelli, "Il taccuino di Sir Roger Newdigate", p. 96 and pp. 112-115 for his later influence on publications about the collections.
[102] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 412.

Parker's appreciation of the originals and Lord Parker's subsequent motivation for purchasing the copies from Cipriani.[103]

Parker's commission for cast copies of sculptures from the Grand Duke's Gallery is first mentioned in a letter of early January 1722, nearly two months after they had arrived in Florence.[104] After trying to get permission to have new moulds made for casting, Parker reported to his father that Cosimo would not allow new moulds to be made off of the originals. He and Wright were thus endeavoring "to get casts made from the best moulds we could find ready made."[105] Intriguingly, Wright's published account of the commission does not mention this difficulty. Wright instead wrote that Cipriani already possessed moulds of several parts of the two statues and needed permission from the Grand Duke not to make the moulds off of the original marbles, but "to have recourse to the Originals, for the more exact putting the Parts together," a point I will return to in the next section.[106]

The correspondence confirms that the necessary permission from Cosimo for making the copies from reused moulds was granted quickly. Before departing for Milan one month later, Parker had finalized his contract with Cipriani "for two brass statues" of the *Venus* and the *Faun* to be completed within eighteen months. (Figures 4.7 and 4.8) Parker reported to his father that the cost of the two pieces came to "above 200 pounds" of which he had left a "considerable sum" for Cipriani in Florence, as was standard practice to cover the initial cost of acquiring the requisite materials.[107] It is worth noting that Parker never mentioned the sculptor's name or his relation to Soldani to his father, as Wright so clearly did in *Some Observations.* This indicates that Lord

[103] Zikos suggest this is also the reason why Lord Strafford tried to commission Soldani for the same four figures in 1714. Zikos, "From the Workshop of Cipriani", p. 28.
[104] BL, *Stowe MS* 750, ff. 393-394, George Parker to Thomas Parker, January 3 1721/2.
[105] BL, *Stowe MS* 750, ff. 395-396, George Parker to Thomas Parker, 17/6 January 1721/2, Florence, partially transcribed in Connor, "The Fruits of the Grand Tour", p. 26.
[106] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 412.
[107] BL, *Stowe MS* 705, ff. 397-398, George Parker to Thomas Parker, 10 February 1721/2.

Parker's motivation for wanting to purchase the figures was based on the fame of the originals and not the maker's reputation.

It was not until October 1724 that the two statues were completed and Galilei requested the remainder of the sum due to Cipriani for their packing and shipment to Livorno.[108] Galilei described the finished pieces, noting that "they are extremely well wrought, and finished with ye utmost exactness and I dare say that they are as good as the originall [...] in deed every body in Florence says that these are ye finest statues that ever were made of this sort." [109] Galilei's judgment, like Molesworth's a decade earlier concerning the Marlborough bronzes, thus placed Cipriani's bronzes in competition with all of the previous bronze copies that had been made. Due to their exactness and finishing they were said to be comparable in quality with the original marbles themselves.

Through Galilei's letter, Cipriani offered his next set of copies from the Grand Duke's Gallery to the Parkers, two "pretty busts," one of *Geta* and the other *Plautilla*, for 100 *scudi* each.[110] While George Parker hoped that Galilei could get the busts for a lower price, he accepted the offer and asked that they be shipped together with the *Venus* and *Faun*. According to Wright's diagram of the sculptures displayed in the corridors of the Grand Duke's Gallery that were published in *Some Observations*, the busts of *Geta* and *Plautilla* were the first two statues one would encounter upon entering the Gallery. (Figure 4.13) This would have justified their pairing and perhaps even made them recognizably "Florentine" to others who had been in the Gallery. Another diagram of the antique statuary displayed in the Grand Duke's Gallery in a 1725 manuscript that takes a very similar form to Wright's diagram indicates that the

[108] ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 150, draft of letter from Alessandro Galilei to George Parker, undated but before Parker's response dated 18 October 1724.
[109] ibid.
[110] ibid.

Plautilla was one of the rarest pieces displayed in the corridors.[111] The bust's rarity surely also would have warranted Parker's interest in procuring a copy of it.

While he was in Florence, George Parker had initially tried to acquire busts of *Plautilla* and *Antinous* through someone other than Galilei, who is unnamed in the correspondence.[112] According to Parker, through this person he had applied for and was given leave to take a mould of the bust of *Plautilla,* but "by a mistake of the person, to whom [he] applied in this matter," he had not received permission to have a mould made of the *Antinous*.[113] Although the correspondence does not make it clear which material the copies were to be made in, it seems likely that he was trying to initially to acquire gesso and not bronze copies of these busts.

In addition to commissioning the bronze *Venus* and *Faun*, Parker and Wright also compiled a collection of 23 already-made gesso busts in Florence.[114] Parker sent a list of the gesso heads and busts that he had purchased in Florence to his father, confirming that three came from Rome,[115] but many more were in the Grand Duke's Gallery, including "some others from the Gallery here which we have not yet compar'd with the Originals to be assur'd whose [heads] they are."[116] The gesso busts were given value, and deemed worthy of purchase, as a result of their relation to known works in the Gallery and the other named collections in Rome. Further, Wright and Parker assumed that even the busts of unknown likenesses were worthy of purchase simply because they were also copies of works in the Grand Duke's Gallery.

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[111] The diagram can be found within A.C. Duracel, "Remarks on the Great Duke's Gallery in Florence," Bodleian Library, MSGough Misc. Antiq. 3.
[112] ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 138, George Parker to Alessandro Galilei, 18 October 1724, London, quoted in Zikos, "From the Workshop of Cipriani", p. 30.
[113] ibid.
[114] In his article on Parker's collecting, Timothy Connor has suggested that Lord Parker expressly wanted gesso copies of busts from the Gallery, but this point is not clear in the available correspondence. Connor, "Lord Parker on the Grand Tour", p. 10.
[115] One of Niobe's daughters from the Villa Medici, Demothenes from the Farnese Palace, Saint Susanna by François Duquesnoy.
[116] Published as appendix II by Connor as British Museum Stowe 750, fol. 403 but now held in the British Library, *Stowe MS* 750. Connor, "The Fruits of the Grand Tour", p. 30.

It was only after acquiring the group of gesso busts that Parker tried to get permission for the additional moulds of *Plautilla* and *Antinous,* apparently as an appropriate pair for the busts he had already purchased. Parker had already acquired a young *Geta* and thus wanted its appropriate pendant based on the pairing in the Gallery, namely, the *Plautilla*. The *Hadrian*, included on his list of purchases, would have required an *Antinous* as its appropriate mate. Although these two statues were not placed together in the Gallery, the reason for commissioning them as a pair would have been in order to display a historic knowledge of classical figures, as Antinous was Hadrian's lover.

Responding to Parker's request within a series of letters, Galilei tried to obtain permission to take a mould of the *Antinous* while simultaneously applying for permission to export the *Venus*, *Faun*, *Plautilla,* and *Geta*.[117] Galilei wrote to George Parker that he had also asked the Grand Duke, now Gian Gastone, to waive the export duty.[118] Galilei fawningly mentioned that he had done so against everyone's advice and, further, that he had "had much to do because this present Grand Duke is very strict to grant such favours and he gives Audience to no soul."[119] In the end, the permission to export the statues and busts, together with a waiver from export duty, was granted by Gian Gastone.[120]

Even after the other pieces had been shipped to Livorno, Galilei was still struggling to obtain permission to have a mould made of the *Antinous.* To try and appease Parker, Galilei wrote that "Cipriani has got two very fine moulds one of ye famous *Arrontino* and ye other of *Wrastlers* [sic] therefore if ever ye Lordship resolves

[117] ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 150, draft of letter from Alessandro Galilei to George Parker, undated but before Parker's response dated 18 October 1724.
[118] Cosimo III died on 31 October 1723.
[119] ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 138, Alessandro Galilei to George Parker, 7 October 1724.
[120] ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 150, draft of letter from Alessandro Galilei to George Parker, undated but before Parker's response dated 18 October 1724.

to have yem alsoe [sic] Cipriani will be very glad to cast yem."[121] While Galilei's struggle to obtain permission for moulding the *Antinous* could have resulted from Gian Gastone's disinterest, it seems more probable that the real difficultly lay in the fact that there were no other moulds of this figure in circulation. All of the other pieces Parker purchased had previously been cast, and were likely made in reused moulds.[122] As Parker and Wright discovered when they first tried to acquire copies, the Grand Duke had forbidden the making of new moulds.

THE CIRCULATION OF THE MOULDS OF THE TRIBUNA MARBLES

As have previously mentioned, in their description of the *Dancing Faun,* the Richardsons had noted that its marble surface was discoloured, especially in the face, from moulds being taken off of it. This damage, Bianchi had told them, was the reason that no moulds "are allow'd to be taken off now." The *Faun*'s disfiguration must have occurred before 1710, because the passage then claimed that for this reason, "the Duke of Marlborough's *Venus*, and other Statues, were not cast off in moulds made express, but in old ones; the *Venus* has never been cast off since the Duke of Florence had it."[123]

The passage simultaneously references grand-ducal control of permission to take moulds off of original marbles, especially the *Medici Venus,* and the fact that moulds were reused.[124] It also references two incidents that I have already explored. First, that the Grand Duke had wanted to (or possibly did make) a copy of the *Medici Venus* after

[121] ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 138, Alessandro Galilei to George Parker, 7 October 1724.
[122] Zikos, "From the Workshop of Cipriani".
[123] Richardson and Richardson, *An Account of the Statues,* p. 57.
[124] As I have explored in Chapters 1 and 2, moulds and models were frequently passed between the master and his assistants as well as reused within the workshop. Once an initial piece-mould was made of the original, cast model and subsequent set of moulds were made. Each of these pieces of the moulding process could be reused in the creation of new moulds, models, and finished objects, see Chapter 1.

it was brought from Rome.[125] Second, that Marlborough's and others' copies had not been cast from moulds made specifically for them. However, archival documents call the Richardsons' narrative into question. They were correct in their assertion that Marlborough's bronzes were not cast from new moulds made off of the original, but in reused moulds. This was not an issue of control, but instead one of expediency.

Marlborough had initially wanted to purchase marble statues in a collection that would have been ready for export nearly immediately. Newton foresaw that although Soldani's bronzes would be cheaper to acquire than the Bracci marbles, it would take time for them to be completed. Once Marlborough had agreed to purchase the bronzes, Newton claimed that he would take it upon himself to expedite the work by having Soldani reuse old moulds that had been made for Foggini's gesso copies for the Elector Palatine.[126] Eleven years later, when Cosimo would not allow new moulds to be made for the Parker commission, Cipriani also reused old moulds. It is assumed that Cipriani gained access to the moulds from his master, Soldani, who was unable to take the commission himself because he was working on the monumental tomb of Fra Marcantonio Zondadari, Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Malta.[127] But Cipriani could have also gained access to the moulds through Foggini.

Considering this lineage of reused moulds, as well as Galilei's struggle to obtain permission to make a mould of the *Antinous* raises further questions about the accuracy of Wright's narrative about these commissions. In *Some Observations* Wright claimed that for the copy of the *Plautilla,* Parker was given not only the bronze cast,

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[125] Giuseppe Bianchi's 1759 guide to the Medici collections notes that copies of the four statues by Soldani were displayed in small room off of the *Arsenale*. G. Bianchi, *Ragguaglio delle antichità e rarità che si conservano nella Galleria Mediceo-Imperiale di Firenze* (Florence, 1759), p. 231. Ciechanowiecki has suggested these might have been full-scale copies made for Cosimo III, but surprisingly Soldani doesn't mention them in his autobiography. Ciechanowiecki and Seagrim, "Soldani's Blenheim Commission", p. 182.

[126] BL, *Add MS* 61153, ff. 196-197, Henry Newton to Duke of Marlborough, 4 March 1709/10, Florence.

[127] Dimitrios Zikos suggests this to be the case for a set of plaster busts also commissioned by Parker. By extension we can assume that Cipriani would have borrowed moulds from Soldani for the full figures as well. Zikos, "From the Workshop of Cipriani".

> but the very Mould, which was made on purpose for him, with the Leave of his Royal Highness; who insisted that the Mould should not be left at Florence, for the Cast to become common there, but should either be broken to pieces, or carried away by my Lord [Parker]; his Lordship [Parker] was not long in determining upon the later, and accordingly brought it into England.[128]

This suggestion is particularly peculiar because this would be the only recorded case in which either Cosimo III or Gian Gastone would have allowed a mould to be removed from Florence and seems to be counter to common practice. For example, when Primaticcio made moulds of antiquities from Rome for François I in the 1540s, he had to be granted a papal license for the export not of the finished statues but of the moulds themselves.[129] Considering the difficulties Galilei encountered only to get permission for the export of the copies without paying duty, it is difficult to comprehend why Gian Gastone would have granted this particular favour.

The control of moulds, like access to the original statues, was crucial for controlling the number of copies in circulation, especially of full-scale exact copies. As discussed in Chapter 2, controlling the mode of reproduction, in this case the mould, was crucial because when the original could be translated into a copy through it, the mode of reproduction was in fact the source of originality itself. To prevent the original from spreading beyond the owner's control, the means of reproduction had to be governed by licenses or trust.

In Venice, Parker himself had been warned against unauthorized copying. There, he was offered a marble head of a *Hercules* said to be by the same ancient maker as the *Farnese Hercules*. Parker was not sure if his father would want it, but the owner insisted that they ship it to England anyway. If Lord Parker did not want to keep it, the owner said he would be able to sell it to someone else. But in the meantime the owner stressed

[128] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 412.
[129] Vatican Archives, *Cabinets XXXIX-XXX*, Vol. 126, folio 209 of the *Diversa Cameralia* cited and discussed in N. Bensoussan, "Casting a Second Rome: Primaticcio's Bronze Copies and the Fontainebleau Project" (Yale University Ph.D., 2009), pp. 120-121.

that he was not to have "any sculptor or other Person to take a Copy or model in Clay or otherwise."[130] The authorization to reproduce this antiquity, either through direct moulding or indirect modeling, thus rested with the owner.

As these examples show, Wright's narratives about the copies of the *Venus* and *Faun,* as well as the *Plautilla* mould, should not be taken as factual accounts of the commissioning process as they neither align with archival sources related to the commission nor common period controls around copying. It is therefore more productive to use Wright's narrative as a tool for understanding what Lord Parker valued in these copies, how Wright's rhetorical structures emphasized that value, and by extension, to elucidate period views about the value of copies more generally.

DESCRIBING RARITY

In *Some Observations,* Wright affirmed the prestige of Parker's commission by including Cipriani's promise that the casts "should at least equal Soldani's, and be the most exact that ever were made."[131] Wright used a language of comparison to express the value of these copies.[132] They would "at least" equal Soldani's now well-known copies in bronze, which when completed in 1711 were said to be "little inferior to the Originals, even in the Opinion of the Criticks."[133] The aesthetic qualities and social value of Cipriani's copies were therefore created through a chain of references to other known works, first to Soldani's bronzes for Marlborough, and then to the originals, which had "greatly delighted" George Parker when he saw them in the Grand Duke's Gallery.[134] Wright went further, though, by suggesting that Cipriani's copies would be

[130] George Parker to Thomas Parker, 17 January 1721, BL, *Stowe* MS 750, f. 358, quoted in Connor, "The Fruits of the Grand Tour", note 13.
[131] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 412.
[132] For the diverse uses of such a comparative language of value see Kinney, "Antique Sculpture, Copies, and the Language of Value in Early Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour Guidebooks".
[133] BL, *Add MS* 61153, ff. 204-205, John Molesworth to Duke of Marlborough, 29 March 1711, Florence.
[134] Wright, *Some Observations*, p. 412.

"more exact" than Soldani's. In fact, as already mentioned, Galilei had attested to this by saying that they were finished so well that they were able to compete with the originals and that many in Florence had agreed they were the best copies that had ever been made. The competition for prestige that Wright expressed was not just between copy and original, but also between the two different sets of copies.

While Wright admitted that Cipriani also had to resort to old moulds, and thus did not touch the originals while making his copies, he created a relationship between the original and the copy through Cipriani's process of making. Despite using old moulds, Cipriani too had asked for permission from the Grand Duke, as Wright recounts,

> to have recourse to the originals for the more exact putting the parts together (for want of which, casts often differ more from the originals, than one would easily imagine; as has happened particularly in most of the casts of the Venus).[135]

In this phrase, Wright reveals that some copies were regarded as more exact than others. His framework of comparison between multiple copies is different than that which had been used to describe Marlborough's bronzes. As previously noted, Molesworth had said that to own good copies was better than to have bad originals. He believed the Marlborough copies were unsurpassed. It was their originality, not their exactness, which would bring Marlborough's copies fame and the Duke himself esteem. Instead, the exactness that Cipriani offered in his casts, and that Wright praised, resulted from Cipriani's permission and access to simply view the original marble statues, which the Grand Duke controlled as much as he did the moulds made from it. Access to the original was thus made material through the moulds, but also required visual knowledge of what the original looked like.

[135] ibid., p. 412.

By studying the original, Cipriani could more accurately capture its "Air," as Wright called it.[136] Wright's description thus gave Cipriani's copies value by emphasizing that because of the grand-ducal system of control, not everyone could have a copy made, and therefore exact copies demonstrated that the patron, in this case Parker, had the connections required to obtain the license and, consequently, access to the original itself. Wright's use of this anecdote therefore emphasized the rarity and singularity of certain copies that resulted from their "exact" copying of the original.

The faithfulness of these copies came from the moulds, which like the original, were controlled by the Grand Duke. Wright's story about the *Plautilla* speaks to the relationship between original and copy that the mould materialized, and by extension the threat that the mould posed to the uniqueness of the original and its authorized copies. Wright suggested that the Grand Duke commanded that "the Mould [of the *Plautilla*] should not be left at Florence, for the Cast to become common there, but should either be broken to pieces, or carried away by my Lord."[137] The mould could therefore be the source of a particular design's rarity or its ubiquity depending on how it was controlled. A faithful copy therefore simultaneously referred to many different layers of trust, respect, and co-dependence. The copy's exactness was mediated by the mould, which served as the meeting point for the owner, commissioner, artist, original, and copy.

PIECE-MOULDING AND EXACTNESS

In correspondence with their patrons, Soldani and Cipriani repeatedly marketed bronze's capacity to faithfully reproduce marble sculptures. Surprisingly, fidelity to the original did not necessarily come from using a material with visual similarities to the

[136] ibid., p. 268.
[137] ibid., p. 412. He doesn't specify the year that this happened or the Grand Duke who allowed it.

original, such as white plaster or marble for the reproduction of marble statues, but instead from the technical process that, they suggested, most accurately captured the aesthetic qualities for which the original was famous, thereby equaling its beauty in the copy through their own skill in working bronze. In discussing their technical expertise, Soldani and Cirpriani stressed to their patrons that a mould made "over the original" was essential to produce an exact copy.

Soldani first proposed the key importance of the mould when he was working for the Prince of Liechtenstein in the 1690s. He claimed that although the King of France had copies in marble, marble copies could not replicate the original with the same exactness that bronze would.[138] Only bronze copies could accurately reproduce the "softness, and grace of the contours as they are" in the original marble, he wrote.[139] His copies therefore would be "singular in the world," because they would be more exact than those previously made in marble.

Soldani's motivations for such an approach should be recognized. As I have previously mentioned, the first copies of these statues were made in gesso and then in marble by Soldani's rival, Giovanni Battista Foggini. In this context, Soldani's comparison between the material affordances of marble and bronze also sought to emphasize that it would be better to commission him than Foggini.[140] If Liechtenstein wanted marble copies, the Prince could have instead commissioned Soldani for models in terracotta that could be sent to Felsberg and then carved by artisans there. In this case, Soldani's true expertise, finishing, would not be necessary. It is understandable that Soldani's own interests would have encouraged him to rely on the material arguments about the superior qualities of bronze, but has been discussed in Chapter 2,

[138] Soldani to Liechtenstein, 30 August 1695, Florence, quoted in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 647, pp. 329-330.
[139] Soldani to Liechtenstein, 5 July 1695, Florence, quoted in ibid., doc. 644, pp. 328-329.
[140] For more on material affordances, see Chapter 1.

there was a particular value perceived in the direct, touch of the mould to the surface of the original marble.

Writing to Marlborough twenty years later, Soldani again repeated the crucial role of the mould: "these marbles [in the Tribuna] are all life size and to have them made in bronze at the same height requires moulding the marbles directly so that they come out exactly."[141] While the moulds became for Soldani, and later for Cipriani, evidence of the exactitude of their process of copying, by clarifying the challenges of each of the steps of process of piece-moulding, casting, and finishing it becomes clear that this process was no more exact than any other.

Taking a piece-mould off of the original was a multi-step process. (Figure 3.22) To capture the intricacies of the original, tiny swaths of gesso were used to slowly trace the entire surface of the original marble. Those pieces were then connected to a larger mother-mould. Before the pieces of the mould could be applied, the original first had to be greased with a release agent so that the gesso pieces would pull away from the surface. It was the release agent that the Richardsons believed had discoloured the surface of the *Dancing Faun* some time before 1710.

Some original objects were easier to mould than others. The Prince of Liechtenstein had initially requested copies from Soldani of the heads of Michelangelo's figures from the New Sacristy in the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, which he wanted made into portrait busts. Soldani replied that because of the way the heads were turned, they were not fit for display on a pedestal.[142] He proposed instead that the four

[141] BL, *Add MS* 61523, f. 251, enclosure in Christopher Crowe to Duke of Marlborough, 1 July 1709, Livorno. "[...] Le sei statue di Marmo famosa e singolari che si ritrovano nella Tribuna della Galleria dell'A.R. del Granduca di Toscana, le quali sono tutte alte al naturale e volendole far di bronzo dell'istessa grandezza bisogna formare le medissime perche venghino giustate." Translation by author to emphasize the use of the term *formare* as moulds. The enclosure was fully transcribed and translated by Avery and published in Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 12 with the original Italian transcribed in note 14.

[142] Soldani to Liechtenstein, 11 August 1694, Florence, quoted in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* doc. 635, pp. 326-327.

figures could, and should, be cast in their entirety. But to do so would be time consuming because they were located in a place where they could not be moved and for that reason, "it would take a long time to mould them exactly, and cast them as correctly as the originals."[143]

Cipriani, in an unpublished letter to a potential patron in 1739, described the multiple steps of the mould-making process. Making copies was a difficult enterprise, he wrote, because it required that the sculptor had to make not just one, but two sets of moulds: first, the piece-mould on the marble and then a second, around the wax inter-model. Reworking the intermodel is where Cipriani suggested that his model, and thus the finished copy, could be brought to perfection.[144] Reworking the model reduced the time and effort need to finish the bronze since it allowed for cleaner casts and a more perfect finish.

Usually figures were cast as separate pieces, comprised of arms, legs, torso, and head. The joins of the pieces are very obvious in a full-scale copy of the *Venus* made in porcelain at the Doccia factory outside of Florence in the 1740s. (Figure 4.14) Doccia's founder bought many moulds from Soldani's heirs, including that of the *Venus*, which were then used for porcelain casting.[145] Due to the structural limitations of porcelain, the joins were covered by the addition of bands at the neck and arms as well as a cloth draped across the figure's upper thighs. Soldering joins are also present on the Marlborough bronzes, in similar locations, but due to the material and the ability to

[143] "… poichè a far le forme sopra gl'originali, che sono collocate in luogho dove non si possono muovere, inporterà molto tempo per formarele esattamente, e gettarle giusto come sono le medesime." Soldani to Liechtenstein, 5 October 1700, Florence, quoted in ibid., doc. 663, p. 333.
[144] Warwickshire County Archive, CR136/B3520, Pietro Cipriani to Sr. Rodger Newdigate 27 December 1740, Florence. Unpublished letter by Cipriani found with a letter from Cipriani to Newdigate cited by Michael McCarthy, "Art Education and the Grand Tour," in Mosche Barasch, L. Freeman Sandler (ed). *Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H.W. Janson* (1981), p. 43.
[145] The purchase of these moulds is documented in the "Autobiographies of L.M. Weber and A.F. Gori" quoted in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 52, p. 244.The afterlife of these moulds at Doccia is investigated in the Conclusion.

finish bronze after casting, they are much less apparent.[146] (Figure 4.15) As Wright noted, because these full-scale figures were comprised of multiple pieces, putting them together also required an understanding of the composition of the original to correctly reproduce the turn of the head or position of the arms. If the pieces were put together incorrectly, qualities of the original could be lost.

While quite often Soldani's quote about the potential of bronze to make exact copies is often cited by scholars as his own idea, in the correspondence it was Liechtenstein himself who had first acknowledged the superior qualities of bronze in copying originals. He believed that the moulds taken directly of off the original would make the copy exact by precisely copying the design, but it was the finishing of the bronze that allowed the statue's surface to appear as soft as the flesh depicted in the marble surface of the original. It is not surprising, then, that in his letters Soldani continuously referred to his ability to capture in bronze the softness of the original marble in order to cater to his patron's desires. In one letter regarding a series of classical busts from the Grand Duke's Gallery had he copied in bronze, Soldani claimed that he had not spared time or expense "to imitate the original well." Grand Duke Cosimo and Grand Prince Ferdinando had come to his studio to see the busts and agreed that they were well made. Soldani even went as far as to suggest that the Medici, as well as men of "buon gusto," had "concluded that it is not possible to make more correct or noble copies, than of this material," that is, bronze.[147]

Throughout the correspondence, Soldani again and again returned to bronze's ability to capture the appearance of flesh. This was not just a quality Soldani

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[146] When cast figures are assembled from multiple mould pieces, the breaks are usually made not at the proper joints of a body, but on the smooth surfaces of the thigh, neck, and upper arm so that the material join can be polished away during finishing.

[147] "A' questi Serenissimi Principi sono assai piaciute, siccome a i Sig.re che anno buon gusto, concludendo che non si pùo far copie più giuste, e più nobili, che di questa materia." Soldani to Liechtenstein, 21 January 1695/96, Florence, quoted in ibid., doc. 650, p. 330.

emphasized as being important in his copy of the *Medici Venus*, which was particularly known for its fleshiness, but he also underlined that this aesthetic quality would be captured in his proposed figures from the New Sacristy. (Figure 0.11) He promised to finish the brawny Michelangelo bodies with all of his *diligenza* specifically in order to not lose the articulation of the muscles.[148]

In the end, Liechtenstein didn't commission copies of the New Sacristy figures, and Soldani instead made him a copy of Michelangelo's *Bacchus*. (Figures 4.16 and 4.17) When it arrived, Liechtenstein found it "mal disegnata" and a weak and dry compostion. He concluded his critique with a judgment on Soldani himself. "To be truthful," Liechtenstein wrote, "we are greatly displeased that you have not occupied yourself in a work more fitting of your *Virtù*."[149] Soldani replied expressing his disappointment that Liechtenstein had found almost all parts of the statue flawed. Soldani had chosen to copy the *Bacchus* because he knew how much Liechtenstein had wanted a piece by Michelangelo. He had selected the *Bacchus* to copy in particular because it was a well-regarded work in the Duke's Gallery that had been copied along with the *Venus* for the past fifteen years, ever since the first casts were made for Louis XIV. This is suggestive not only of an emerging set of canonical works of sculpture in Florence, but further implies that Soldani was utilizing old moulds in the production of these copies. Although the Prince was disappointed with the *Bacchus,* Soldani hoped that he would be pleased when he saw the *Venus*, for it was "delicate and soft, as if it

[148] "[...] io ne sarei contento, e mi affaticherei a rinettarle con tutta la mia diligenza, per non perdere i muscoli." Soldani to Liechtenstein, 20 November 1700, Florence, quoted in ibid., doc. 664, p. 333.
[149] "La statua di Baccho è arrivata, ma vien iudicata tanto delli pittori come scultori per una cosa mal dissegnata, e veramenta troviamo l'istesso, che habbia un'attitudine cativa, idea pessima, e seccha, che non potiamo maravigliarci a bastanca, che V.S., che ha così buon gusto, ha scielto di fare questa cosa tanto Ordinaria, dove nella Galleria se ne trovano altre Superbissime [...] habbiamo un disapiacere, che lei non ha impiegato in una cosa meliore la Sua virtù." Liechtenstein to Soldani, Felsberg, 4 April 1703, quoted in ibid., doc. 673, p. 335.

were flesh."[150] As the lustre of the finishing faded Soldani promised the Prince that he "would see all of the tenderness that there is."[151]

Translating the aesthetic qualities of the original into bronze was where Soldani, and later Cipriani, best expressed their skills. It was how they could compete with the original as well as with each other. Writing about the bronze busts he sent to Liechtenstein, which the Medici had also admired, Soldani boasted that they were "finished to that point which one can perceive *arte* in it."[152] The copy was thus a place in which he could fully demonstrate his technical skills, by finishing the object to the point at which the skills of the ancient master combined with his own.

Soldani and Cirpriani certainly had self-interested motivations for suggesting the superior ability of bronze over marble to capture the aesthetic qualities of the original, but their focus on the mould in facilitating this transcription is particularly noteworthy. As previously mentioned, the moulds could also be used, as Foggini did, in the production of carved copies. Then there were also inevitable limitations involved in moulding and casting. First, not all objects were easy to take a piece-mould from. And not all originals, like the heads of the figures in the New Sacristy, would have made good copies. Second, the moulds that the bronze was cast into were not those that had actually touched the original work's surface, but were instead made over a second model. Moulds and models could be, and were, reused and thus it is often difficult to know how many iterations away from the original a cast actually was. Finally, the

[150] "Spero dunque che quando vedrà la Venere abbi da restare l'A.V. contenta, per esser delicata, e morbida, come fusse carne." Soldani to Liechtenstein, 20 April 1703, Florence, quoted in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 674, p. 335.
[151] "Godo che la Venere sia stata di sua sodisfazione, e ben presto lascierà il lustro, et allora si scoprirà tutte le tenerezze che vi sono." Soldani to Liechtenstein, 5 February 1707, Florence, quoted in ibid., doc. 686, p. 337.
[152] "Spero che V.A. sia per gradire il lavoro delle Teste [...] le quali mi paiono pulite a quel segno che può arrivare l'arte, non avendo auto riguardo alcuno nè a tempo, nè a spesa per bene immitare gli orginali." Soldani to Liechtenstein, Florence, 21 January 1695/96, quoted in ibid., doc. 650, p. 330.

resulting cast pieces could be put together differently than the original composition, further complicating notions of accuracy and exactitude.

Quite simply, the casting process did not make a copy exact; the skill of the maker, his access to the original, and, most importantly, the way he spoke about his casts (and thus sought to frame their reception) did. From the very first step of the process of piece-moulding, the original was literally obscured as it was slowly covered by the gesso that would form the parts of the piece-mould. The piece-mould then became a new kind of original, serving as the register for the subsequent models and moulds. The finished copy, through the multiple movements between negative and positive required to make a full-scale cast, moved increasingly away from its design model, the original marble. The copy's exactness was therefore predicated on the maker's understanding of the original and not necessarily on the unmediated original itself.

Soldani and Cipriani's insistence on the central importance of the mould in making an exact copy demonstrates how they took advantage of the symbolic value of faithful copies: the close relationship between the owner of the original and the owner of the copy. The Grand Duke's control of the moulding process meant that copies such as those discussed in this chapter were rare and therefore highly valued. Soldani and Cipriani were not only capitalizing on bronze's ability to capture and render the original exactly, but also on the scarcity of these faithful copies and their own privileged access to the few moulds that existed of the originals. An unpublished receipt for payment signed by Cipriani and annotated by Roger Newdigate in 1739 illustrates how effective this marketing scheme could be. (Figure 4.18) Newdigate indicated the number of

copies cast from each mould, even specifying that the *Venus* was "cast from the mould which was made upon the original statue."[153]

A Taste for the Florentine Antique

Returning to Galilei's struggle to obtain permission to mould the *Antinous*, it is clear that the market for copies in Florence in the eighteenth century became dictated by the moulds that were already circulating in the city's workshops. The fame of just four of the Tribuna marbles, rather than all six statues, was confirmed and perpetuated by the availability of copies after them. A key reason that only copies of the four were available was due to the limited number of moulds in circulation. If fame was dependent upon the existence of copies, which in turn produced tourist guidebook descriptions of the originals and increased their regard across Europe, one must ask: Would other statues have become more famous had their moulds also been in circulation?

In 1731, Galilei received a letter from William Horneck, who had been asked by John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll, to inquire about sculptors in Florence who made copies of classical sculpture. Argyll had been in Livorno in 1712 and recalled having seen good pieces when he was there. When the Marlborough bronzes were completed in 1711, Molesworth too had mentioned a similar abundance of statues after the antique.[154] These documents point to an active market for copies in early eighteenth-century Florence, one that is practically unknown today.

Horneck's letter further reveals that copies, such as Marlborough and Parker's, themselves influenced taste in England. Horneck requested that Galilei "ask the Statuaries [i.e. sculptors] whether copying well from the antique be cleaner than their own designs, and what they would demand for a Copy in clean white marble, of a

[153] Warwickshire Country Record Office, CR136/B3520. This document is cited, but not transcribed in McCarthy, "Art and Education," p. 43.
[154] BL, *Add MS* 61153, ff. 206-207, J. Molesworth to Marlborough, 6 October 1711, Florence.

Venus de Medicis, a Faunus and Ercole Farnese, a Bacchus after Buonarotti and the like [...] pray lett me know if they work cheaper and better att Rome than att Florence –and whether Brass or Marble Statues come the cheapest–and the prices of Busts."[155] Horneck asked precisely for the figures that had become well known as a group as a result of Marlborough's and then Parker's commissions, with Michelangelo's *Bacchus* included. In the eighteenth century, the "most beautiful statues" in Florence, were therefore no longer the Giambologna statues that Rinuccini had described being recreated in sugar in for the Medici wedding banquet of 1608, but instead classical marbles.

The transfer of the three ancient statues from Trinità de Monti to Florence is a preface to the complex practices controlling the export of antiquities that would evolve alongside the growth of the Grand Tour. The Medici export was the first in a series of devastating losses of Roman patrimony in the early eighteenth century, which would lend greater weight to papal attempts to control and display antiquities as a way of reinforcing the Pope's temporal power.[156] Since the early seventeenth century, the Medici had controlled the export of paintings from Florence by important masters, but they did not have the same ability as the Pope to control the growing market for antiquities because they lacked a supply of antique objects.[157] However, Florence, through its strategic control of cast copies after the few antique sculptures it did possess, took on an important role in the neoclassical art market, especially in the first half of the eighteenth century.

[155] ASF, *Carte Galilei*, V, insert 1, f. 367, William Horneck to Alessandro Galilei, 4 June 1731, Livorno. Unpublished.
[156] For the papal control of the excavation and export of antiquities see, Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-century Rome*.
[157] For export control within Florence, see Guerzoni, *Apollo & Vulcan*, pp. 139-162, Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti,* pp. 23-37.

Even after the Medici's policy of controlling copies of sculpture had come to an end, Florentine bronze copies of ancient sculpture continued to influence neoclassical taste. In the 1750s, the Duke of Northumberland tried to purchase bronze statues for his sculpture hall at Syon House through James Adam but found them to be too expensive. He settled instead for cheaper restored ancient marbles.[158] Soldani's and Cipriani's copies therefore not only encouraged an interest in particular figures, and especially those from Florence, but also a taste for classical statues copied in bronze. Significantly, this happened decades before the first theories that classical marbles were Roman copies of original Greek bronzes were first articulated.[159]

By juxtaposing the story of the export of the Tribuna antiquities from Rome with the way Cosimo III governed the production of copies in Florence, my goal has been to propose ways in which we might think about the how the Italian states' control of the art market, in particular through the licensing of copies, influenced taste and conferred value upon particular categories of objects, especially antiquities in the eighteenth century. The implications of this change of frame to consider the active role played by the producers, and not just consumers, in the Grand Tour economy is beyond the scope of the present work, but doing so forces us to look anew at the Grand Tour market to consider its roots in an earlier history. The Tribuna's antiquities' sudden rise in renown can appear to be tied to the Grand Tour, its consumeristic behaviour, and the concurrent rise of a taste for the neoclassical. In practice, however, it was closely tied to active Medici polices of cultural diplomacy that had their roots in an earlier tradition of replication. Florentine-made copies after the antique were therefore not passive responses to the Grand Tour, but, in their earliest phase, a form of political collateral.

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[158] E. Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven, 2001), p. 66.
[159] For the history of theories about the relationship between bronze originals and marble copies, see M. Marvin, *The Language of the Muses*, pp. 120-137.

Tracing the lineage of copies of the antique back into the seventeenth century also highlights stark changes in the production and circulation of art in the eighteenth century. As the Medici increasingly lost their own political authority starting in the 1720s, they also loosened control of artistic production within Florence. As a result, artists became less governed by the court and newly able to respond to the market. As a result, it was not just the modes of commissioning and acquiring copies that changed, but in fact the value of copies and copying itself, as will be explored in the Conclusion.

CONCLUSION

COPIES AND FLORENTINE CULTURAL PATRIMONY AT THE DAWN OF THE GRAND TOUR

Fra le cose più rare adunque che sono senza numero, veggonsi sei Statue di marmo le più belle e più perfette, al parere degl'intendenti, di quanti mai siense vedute a' nostri tempi, e di ciò fanno fede le moltissime copie, che in varie forme si trovano sparse nel mondo, servendo a' Professori di perfetto modello ed esemplare.[1]

Thomas Salmon, *Lo stato presente di tutti e paesi e popoli del mondo* (1757)

Thomas Salmon's 1757 *Lo stato presente di tutti i paesi e popoli del mondo* described the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and city of Florence through the works of admired artists. Imaginatively walking the city through Salmon's words, the reader discovered the city's artistic legacy in every corner. This guide, like so many of the period, reinforced the illustrious history the Medici family had written for themselves through their investment in the artistic culture of the city to which so many Grand Tourists made their pilgrimage. The pinnacle of the Grand Tourist's experience of Florence was viewing the wonders of the famous grand-ducal galleries, which Salmon said were "perhaps unique [*forse l'unica*]."[2] Salmon catalogued room by room the "great works of every Art" collected through the "immense expense" of the "Heroes of the Medici House."[3] The last room, the Tribuna*,* contained "the best qualities of nature and art, the marvels of painting and sculpture." Held in highest regard was "the most beautiful Statue of Venus, commonly called the *Venere de'Medici*, which in past centuries was the wonder of Rome, and now one could say the marvel of this city." Her

[1] T. Salmon, *Lo stato presente di tutti i paesi e popoli del mondo naturale, politico e morale: con nuove osservazioni e correzioni degli antichi, e moderni viaggiatori* (21vols., Florence, 1757), p. 43.
[2] Ibid. "[…] la famosa Galleria, la quale è forse l'unica, o pur va del pari colle più celebri di Europa; non potendo abbastanza descriversi le cure ed attenzioni, onde l'augusta Casa de'Medici acquistò da ogni parte con immense spese i preziosi avanzi delle antichità, e gli eccellenti lavori in ogni genere di Arte, di questo illustre Museo: basta il dire che tutti gli Eroi della Casa de'Medici fecere a gara per arricchirlo." Translation by author.
[3] Ibid.

perfection, Salmon emphasized, was attested to by "the many copies that one finds scattered throughout the world."[4]

Just thirty years earlier, when Cipriani made his bronze copies of the *Medici Venus* and *Dancing Faun* for Lord Parker, there had been only seven other groups of licensed copies of the Tribuna antiquities in circulation.[5] The first were a series of gessoes made by Giovanni Battista Foggini for the French Academy in Rome that later served as models for carved marbles made for the King of France. Foggini later made gesso copies of the ancient sculptures for Johann Wilhelm, the Elector Palatine, in 1713 as well as bronzes for Thomas Wentworth, 3rd Baron Raby, in 1714. Soldani had created two sets of bronze copies, one for the Prince of Liechtenstein in the 1690s and the other for the Duke of Marlborough, completed in 1711.[6] As the previous chapters have argued, this limited number of copies was a direct result of the active Medici policy of controlling access to the original marble, and thus faithful copies of it, in order to use these licensed copies to form and cement diplomatic allegiances.

While the Trinità de Monti antiquities' fame accounted for the political maneuvering required to move them from Rome to Florence in 1677, as Salmon's statement reveals, their meaning was transformed and their significance grew substantially over the first half of the eighteenth century. In the seventeenth century, the three ancient statues, though located in the Medici gardens at Trinità de Monti, were perceived as objects of Roman identity.[7] But by the mid-eighteenth century, when the

[4] Salmon, *Lo Stato Presente,* p. 62. "L'ultima Stanza alla fine, detta la *Tribuna*, è quella che accresce la maraviglia, poichè in essa ritrovansi compendiati i maggiori pregi della natura e dell'arte, i prodigi della pittura e della scultura, e quanto v'ha di più bello, ricco, prezioso. Fra le cose più rare adunque che sono senza numero, veggonsi sei Statue di marmo le più belle e più perfette, al parere degl'intendenti, di quanti mai siense vedute a' nostri tempi, e di ciò fanno fede le moltissime copie, che in varie forme si trovano sparse nel mondo, servendo a' Professori di perfetto modello ed esemplare. Più delle altre però si tiene in pregio la bellissima Statua di Venere, dette volgarmente la *Venere de' Medici*, la quale ne' passati secoli fu la maraviglia di Roma, ed ora si può dire un prodigio di questa città." Translation by author.
[5] For this lineage of copies, see Chapter 4.
[6] For the history of these commissions, see Chapter 4.
[7] For the political negotiation related to the removal of the statues from Rome, see Chapter 4.

statues had been museified in the Tribuna of the Grand Duke's Gallery, these once fractured pieces of private garden ornament had been transformed into celebrated works of art and objects scrutinized to develop one's taste. Installed in the Grand Duke's Gallery, these sculptures, formerly perceived as part of Roman identity, became instead exemplars of Medici taste and essential objects of study for Grand Tourists.

Yet Salmon's passage is revealing not only for how it documents the importance of the original marbles on display in the Tribuna, but also for how he explains that copies of these statues reinforced the rarity, and thus the significance, of the originals. It was the many copies (*le moltissime copie*) "scattered throughout the world" that "attested to" (*di ciò fanno fede*) the singularity of the originals. This conception of the relationship between original and copy was very different from that previously discussed in this dissertation. As I have explained, in the seventeenth century, the Medici had controlled the reproduction of statues, specifically those made through indirect casting and moulds made over a prized model, in order to create value for both the copy and the original as a result of their mutual scarcity. This, I have argued, was a means of utilizing copies of sculpture in order to manipulate and confirm political relationships.

The practice of creating value for both the copy and the original through rarity depended on several assumptions about how copies, especially "exact" ones, functioned in the period. The first was that the copy was able to hold within it some power of the original, not simply as the (re)presentation of an image or form, but instead as a material manifestation of the original in its totality. This understanding of the relationship between original and copy, I have argued, developed from how the Medici controlled the production of copies and how they and their artists emphasized that certain modes of making–and specifically moulding–had the ability to "exactly" copy a prized model by

effectively removing the artist's *fantasìa* from the resulting work and instead producing a *ritratto,* or objective translation.[8] As I have discussed, this kind of reproduction was very tightly controlled in order to give meaning to the relationship between original and copy, which served the social function of materializing the bond between the Medici and the recipient of the copy. This was done conceptually through agreements of trust that mirrored bonds of political allegiance, but also practically by controlling the original by removing it from public view, creating a licensing system to govern the production of copies, and limiting how the artists who could make the copies could access the original. As I have shown, certain court artists were also understood to uniquely possess the technical ability to make these faithful copies and the Medici court also oversaw their ability to respond to commissions for copies as well as other kinds of objects through the terms of *servitù particulare.* The social and political effectiveness of these methods, all of which limited the production of copies, was reinforced through an aesthetic language that described the rarity of the copies in visual and material terms.

"Originality" in the seventeenth century, I have argued, therefore rested not in the "original" object itself but instead in the means of reproduction that were a threat to the rarity of copies and, by extension, regulated access to the original. In the Conclusion, I would like to point to some ways in which this system that created value for copies in the long seventeenth century, and ultimately the conception of how copies function in that period, changed as a result of the demise of the Medici Grand Duchy and the concurrent rise of the Grand Tour, which created a new audience, as well as new markets, for copies.

The art historical story of Florence's early eighteenth century remains relatively uncharted territory. For that reason, the topography outlined here is intended as a map

[8] For the period meaning of *ritratto* as it related to exact copying, see Chapter 2. For a wide ranging discussion of notions of "truth" in the Early Modern period, see S. Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford 2007), and especially pp. 14-17 on *species* and impression.

for further investigation. While I provide only suggestive conclusions, my main goal is to point to the way in which the factors that gave exact copies value during the long seventeenth century began to break down in the early eighteenth century, thereby further accentuating the differences between early modern and modern conceptions of originality.

Medicean Patrimony and Copies as "infinite children"

When describing how diverse media create copies, Leonardo labeled those emanating from printed books as "infinite children."[9] The equation of copies and children was not unique to Leonardo. As I have discussed, the language used to describe copying and replication closely mirrored that of procreation.[10] Relationships between the original, or origin (*orrigine*) as Leonardo put it, and copy were often constructed through a lexicon of familial relationships. This mode of description depended not only upon gendered ideas of making, as I have discussed,[11] but also how copies were used in the period as surrogates for a potentate himself.

Copies were frequently used to ease negotiations and to confirm alliances. Copies themselves were objects of value in part because they granted access to the owner of the originals' prized possessions while simultaneously affirming the value of those originals. Through their circulation, copies and replicas expanded the reach of the owner of the original in ways similar to how daughters were sent as brides to foreign courts, thus becoming embodiments of the Medici Grand Duke's interests by making these physically present even at a distance.[12] Yet, both of these systems of spreading "children" were dependent upon the strength of the court itself. In the early decades of

[9] For the full quote and a discussion of it, see Introduction.
[10] See Chapter 3.
[11] See Introduction and Chapter 3.
[12] For more on this, see the discussion of portraits and copies in Chapter 4.

the eighteenth century, the Medicean production of children ceased and that of copies changed. Both were indicative of the family's loss of political power.

In 1713, Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, who was destined to succeed Cosimo III as Grand Duke, died. He, like his siblings Giangastone and Anna Maria Luisa, had a barren marriage. Upon his death, it became increasing clear that the Medici-ruled Grand Duchy would end and pass into foreign possession. In the subsequent decade, Grand Duke Cosimo III tried in various ways to safeguard his family's legacy in the face of the inevitable loss of their territorial possessions. He did so first by negotiating that Anna Maria Luisa be recognized as her brother's successor, thereby derferring the family's certain demise for a little bit longer. Cosimo later tried to revert the Grand Duchy back into a republic ruled by the city's noble families, who in the intervening two centuries of the Medicean regime had been transformed into courtiers dependent upon the Medici for their survival. One can't doubt that Cosimo's actions were self-serving in order to preserve his family's legacy, but it also is intriguing to consider how the decision to revert to a republic also embodies a reverence for Florentine "nationalism" in the face of foreign intervention. The political implications of this decade, between Ferdinando's death in 1713 and Cosimo III's in 1723, are beyond the scope of the present discussion; but the impacts of progeny and politics on artistic production and conceptions of patrimony are of key importance when considering how the utility of copies changed during this period.

After Giangastone died in 1737, Anna Maria Luisa did not become Grand Duchess as planned, but instead the nominal regent of Tuscany. Francis Stephen of Lorraine took control of the Grand Duchy and Medicean possessions upon Giangastone's death. From that point on, Anna Maria Luisa lived essentially as a visitor in her family's former palaces. Even before her brother’s death in 1737, Anna Maria

Luisa began drafting the *Family Pact*, the most well-known of her actions to memorialize her family's legacy.[13] The *Family Pact,* completed in 1739, recognized the House of Lorraine as the rightful owners of Medici patrimony but prevented it from being exported to Vienna. The Medici treasures would remain in Florence "for the ornament of the State, for the usefulness of the Public and to excite the curiosity of foreigners."[14] Since the early seventeenth century, the Medici had controlled the export of paintings by certain named masters from Florence, but Anna Maria Luisa's *Family Pact* included new categories of objects as being worthy of protection, including jewels, statuary, and libraries.[15] Her act permanently museified portions of her family's collection, thereby creating an enduring monument to Medicean rule while simultaneously constructing an idea of Florentine patrimony that continues today.[16] When considering the role that ownership of the original played in the meaning of copies, this bourgeoning sense of civic ownership is important to emphasize.

As part of her project to protect the Medicean legacy, Anna Maria Luisa also turned her attention and monetary resources to finishing the still incomplete *Cappella dei Principi,* which had been under construction since the early seventeenth century. When Francis Stephen of Lorraine took power in 1737, he disbanded many of the court

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[13] For the life and legacy of Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici, see E. Ciletti, "An 18th-Century Patron: The Case for Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici", *Woman's Art Journal,* Vol. 5 (No. 1, 1984), Elena Ciletti, "The Extinction and Survival of the Medici, Anna Maria Luisa de'Medici and the Family Pact of 1737", in Cynthia Lawrence (ed.), *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs* (University Park, 1997), *Il testamento di Anna Maria Luisa de'Medici,* ed. A. Valentini (Florence, 2006), Ex. cat Florence 2006, *La principessa saggia: l'eredità di Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici, Elettrice Palatina* (Florence, 2006), Ex. cat. Florence 2014. *Arte e politica: l'Elettrice Palatina e l'ultima stagione della committenza medicea in San Lorenzo* (Livorno, 2014).

[14] "Per l'ornamento dello Stato, e per utilità del Pubblico, e per attirare la curiosità dei Forestieri, non ne sarà nulla trasportato, o levato fuori della Capitale, e dello Stato del Gran Ducato." Translation by author. The text of the *Patto di Famiglia* is reproduced in S. Casciu, *Anna Maria Luisa de'Medici, Elettrice Palatina 1667-1743* (Florence, 1993).

[15] For a discussion of the earlier policy, see G. Guerzoni, *Apollo & Vulcan*, pp. 139-162, A. Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti,* pp. 23-37.

[16] Anna Maria Luisa's lasting impact on Florentine patrimony is explored in E. Ciletti, "Cosimo III and the Electress Palantine's Objectives at San Lorenzo", *Paragone*, Vol. 435 (1986), Ciletti, "The Extinction and Survival of the Medici". See also J. Tribby, "Florence: Cultural Capital of Cultural Capital", *The Eighteenth Century,* Vol. 35 (No. 3, 1994), for a broader take on cultural capital and nostalgia in the period.

workshops and artists fled to Rome and Spain. However, Anna Maria Luisa continued to patronize some artists working on the *Cappella.* In 1741, two years before Anna Maria Luisa died, Pietro Cipriani was paid for his work on the bronze statues of Ferdinando I and Cosimo II in the *Cappella dei Principi* that had been made by Pietro Tacca (and discussed in Chapter 3) more than a century earlier. At that time, Cipriani was working to enhance the pommel of the sword of the statue of Ferdinando I as well as the ermine tails on both figures' mantles, thereby preparing the appearance of their power, wealth, and ducal glory for enduring admiration precisely at the moment when in reality the duchy was in steep and terminal decline.[17] Thus even in the very last years of the duchy, as artists were leaving the city, Florentine bronze sculptors continued to play an in important role in cementing the image of the Medici Grand Dukes.

Anna Maria Luisa's shifting priorities from the active production of artworks to their safeguarding serve as the backdrop for how the system of producing copies, as well as the notions of value that were entwined with it, evolved in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The well-regarded pieces of art scattered throughout the city were beginning to be reconceived as *Florentine* and not Medicean patrimony. They were objects that belonged to the people and not to the Grand Duke, and thus were no longer controlled by a single person issuing a license.

Even in this brief review of the major factors influencing the art market in Florence, we can see that the court's control of artistic production dwindled during these decades and the facture of diplomatic gifts was no longer useful or relevant. While the protection of the "original" works of art was certainly important to Anna Maria Luisa, continuing to control the means of reproduction was no longer as significant. It seems that in these years, court artists began to discover a newfound freedom in offering their

[17] ASF *Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabriche Medicee* 100, 151 (right and left), 31v, 33v. These documents are transcribed in C. Przyborowski, *Die Ausstattung der Fürstenkapelle an der Basilika von San Lorenzo in Florenz* (Berlin, 1982), documents CVIII, CIX.

works to foreign patrons, and especially English men, without the mediation of the Grand Duke.

THE CIRCULATION OF MODELS IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FLORENCE

One indication of the loosened control of Florentine artists' reproduction of sculpture is suggested by Soldani's correspondence with Giovanni Giacomo Zamboni, a London-based agent based who gathered works from Florence and Livorno.[18] Soldani began corresponding with Zamboni in October 1716 and continued to engage him as a conduit to English patrons until Soldani's death in 1740. While Soldani appears to have had a particular freedom throughout his career to approach potential patrons, perhaps as a result of his family's noble heritage, the types of objects he began to offer to Zamboni are striking.[19]

In the 1720s, Soldani proposed to sell a variety of statuettes after famous statues in Florence including those depicting *Florence Triumphant Over Pisa,* Jacopo Sansovino's *Bacchus*, as well as ancient marbles from the Grand Duke's Gallery. [20] (Figure 5.1) In his correspondence with Zamboni, Soldani referred to these statuettes as "copiato" from their large-scale exemplars. These statuettes were thus not like the "faithful" copies produced through direct moulding that he had sold to Marlborough, but instead derived from reduced-scale models he had produced by hand. In the first decade of the 1700s, Soldani had also offered the Prince of Liechtenstein reduced-scaled

[18] For the relationship and a biography of Zamboni see, Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 17.
[19] See, in particular, his correspondence with the Prince of Liechtenstein discussed in Chapter 4 and further reproduced in Lankheit, *Florentine Barockplastik*, pp. 326-338. There is also the curious case of his direct correspondence with the Duke of Marlborough, also discussed in Chapter 4. For the relationship with Zamboni and some correspondence concerning the Marlborough commission, see Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes". For the noble lineage of Soldani's family, see ASF *Ceramelli Papiani*, fasc. 4434, unpublished.
[20] Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 23, note 55, includes an English translation of Bod., *Rawl Ms*. 132, f. 191, Fol. 208r, 29 July 1723, Soldani to Zamboni "che sono due figure copiate da Gio:Bologna, che rappresentanto La Gioventù che calca il vizio, un Bacchetto in atto di camminare che viene dal Sansovino scultore pure famoso, un soldato on un vaso in mano copiato dall'antico, et il faunetto, che suona i ciobali, copiato pure dall'antico."

models of marbles from the Grand Duke's Gallery as well as the "most celebrated statues that there are in this City, amongst them a Group *copiato* from Giambologna (*Florence Triumphant over Pisa*)," which he said could be cast in bronze.[21] It therefore seems that Soldani had been granted access to the originals in the Grand Duke's Galley to produce models around the turn of the century, but was now trying to cast them for new patrons.

Understanding the relevance of Soldani's ability to reproduce these figures decades later is significant if one recalls that in the 1720s Edward Wright had claimed that artists needed permission not only to copy, but also to even study the original marbles in the Grand Duke's Gallery.[22] The small-scale models that Soldani had made decades prior therefore continued to serve as a source of access to his exemplars. One should also pause to remember that no statuettes were made of *Florence Triumphant Over Pisa* in the early seventeenth century, which Avery has suggested was evidence of Medicean control of the models, and thus the reproduction, of Giambologna's public works.[23] Soldani was thus using the reproducibility of his models not to create a relationship between the original and copy through scarcity, but instead to make money quickly by catering to growing English taste for works of art from Florence. He was also, notably, beginning to spread what had once been tightly regulated models, therefore simultaneously feeding and creating a desire for copies, in any form, of certain Florentine works.

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[21] "e sono copiate esattamente dalle statue più Celebri, che sieno in questa Città, e fra queste vi è un Gruppo copiato da quello fatto da Gio. Bologna." Soldani to Liechtenstein, 8 December 1706, transcribed in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 684, p. 337.This is discussed in Dimitrios Zikos, "Prince Johann Adam Andreas I of Liechtenstein and Massimiliano Soldani Benzi: The Late Baroque Florentine Bronze Sculpture", in Johann Kräftner, Claudia Jobst, et al. (ed.), *Baroque Luxury Porcelain: The Manufactories of Du Paquier in Vienna and of Carlo Ginori in Florence* (Munich; New York, 2005), p. 159.

[22] For a discussion of the required permission to view the original, see Chapter 4.

[23] For this discussion, see Chapter 2.

In 1736, near the end of Giangastone's life, Soldani became even more confident in recasting once important Medicean-owned models. He first mentioned to Zamboni that he had "the twelve figures of Giambologna" which he would sell for 5 doubloons each.[24] The addition of these works to his repertoire at this late date is puzzling, but perhaps not surprising. With the Grand Duke close to death and Foggini already deceased for nearly a decade, one can only imagine that access to the prized models in the Borgo Pinti studio had become less regulated. Intriguingly, Soldani's student from the 1720s and artistic heir, Lorenzo Maria Weber, claimed that he and his brother had assembled a collection of models that included Giambologna's models that they had purchased from the heirs of "Tacca."[25]

While it is not clear if Soldani suddenly gained access to Giambologna's models that were once held in the Borgo Pinti studio, it is noteworthy that Soldani did not blindly reproduce them. One such example is a bronze statuette now titled *Executioner with the head of St. John the Baptist,* which was purchased by Joseph Lesson, a Dublin brewer who was elevated to 1st Earl of Milltown, around 1744.[26] (Figure 5.2) In Soldani's statuette, Giambologna's *Mars* has been transformed into the executioner through the addition of the severed head of John the Baptist in one hand and a sword in the other. (Figure 1.1) The Milltown Collection at the National Gallery of Ireland includes several other bronzes depicting some of the twelve labors of Hercules, including *Hercules with the Pillars*, *Hercules Clubbing the Lernaen Hydra*, *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar*, and *Hercules Slaying the Nemean Lion*.[27] While all are

[24] Avery, "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 25.
[25] Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 52, p. 244. For the full text of the quote, see below note 37. The "Tacca" he referred to were likely the sons of Pietro Tacca's daughter, Caterina Tacca Serrati, discussed in ASF *Possessioni* 739, ff. 26r-30v. This unpublished document is a petition to have the property, Curoliano in the *fattoria* of Pratolino, that was repossessed by the Grand Dukes after Ferdinando's death (discussed in Chapter 2) restituted to the family.
[26] This commission is discussed in Avery "Soldani's Mythological Bronzes", p. 26.
[27] *Hercules with the Pillars* (NGI.8125), *Hercules Clubbing the Lernaen Hydra* (NGI.8121), *Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar* (NGI.8132), *Hercules Slaying the Nemean Lion* (NGI.8124).

attributed as being "after Giambologna," and tentatively to Soldani's contemporary, Giuseppe Piamontini, these bronzes are perhaps related to "the twelve Giambologna's" Soldani referred to in his letter.[28]

In the same letter in which Soldani offered the statuettes after Giambologna's designs to Zamboni, he also proposed to sell a larger and more complex bronze of *The Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter.* (Figure 5.3) The design had been developed as part of a series of twelve console-sized bronze scenes commissioned by Anna Maria Luisa between 1722 and 1724 from Florence's leading sculptors.[29] Soldani's audacity to recast and sell the bronze to a willing buyer, an object made by express commission from the Electress, hints at not only the desperation of artists in the period to find sources of income, but also their newfound freedom from court control over their designs.

Soldani was not alone in trying to seek out potential commissions in England. Cipriani corresponded with his one-time patron Roger Newdigate in 1740 about assembling a company of seven or eight investors to divide the cost of making moulds of several figures in the Grand Duke's Gallery.[30] This is further proof that the system of licensed copies, which the Medici had used to their advantage, was not of interest to Anna Maria Luisa or the legal owners of Medicean patronage, the Lorraine. Making copies of paintings in the Gallery, though, was still controlled to an extent. Starting in

[28] For tentative attribution to Piamontini, see the online catalogue entry for *Hercules with the Pillars* <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/11353/hercules-with-the-pillars> [Accessed 14 April 2018]. An earlier summary catalogue of the sculpture collection attributed the *Labours of Hercules* bronzes to Ferdinando Tacca, A. Harivel (ed.), *National Gallery of Ireland Illustrated Summary Catalogue of Prints and Sculpture* (Dublin, 1988). The attribution to Piamontini is likely due to the fact there are documented commissions to him for the production of copies after *The Knifegrinder* (NGI 8210) and the *Wrestlers* (NGI 8211). For a discussion of this commission, see Cynthia O'Connor, "Dr. James Tyrell, Agent at Florence", in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 69. No. 274 (1980), pp. 137-144.
[29] Jennifer Montagu, "The Bronze Groups made for the Electress Palatine", in Klaus Lankheit (ed.), *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici* (Munich, 1976); Ex. cat. Florence 2006, *La Principessa saggia*, cat. 163-174, pp. 296-317.
[30] Warwickshire County Archive, *CR* 136, B3520 Pietro Cipriani to Roger Newdigate 27 December 1740. This unpublished letter was found amongst the cache of documents McCarthy cited in McCarthy, "Art and Education," p. 43.

1738, "permessi per copiare Quadri" were issued to artists working the Uffizi gallery.[31] In the decades to come, access to moulds of ancient sculpture for making gesso casts would become a lucrative source of artistic production for sculptors across Italy that generated statues to fill palaces and cast galleries throughout Europe.

AFTER THE MEDICI

As we saw in Chapter 2, in the early seventeenth century the Medici had purchased from Giambologna's heir his collection of models that had been left inside his *studio* when he died in 1608. These models, along with the large-scale models both Giambologna and Pietro Tacca had made for public sculpture, became the nucleus of a collection of Florentine sculptural models that were preserved in the Borgo Pinti complex. When Sir Joshua Reynolds visited Borgo Pinti in 1752, Tacca's gesso slaves, a model for the *Rape of the Sabines*, and gessoes "after figures in the Gallery" were still there.[32] But in the 1740s, many models and moulds made by Florentine court sculptors were collected by the Florentine patrician Carlo Ginori for his porcelain factory, Doccia.

In ways similar to Anna Maria Luisa's actions to safeguard Medicean patrimony for the Florentine public, Ginori assembled a collection of sculptural models in order to allow for their reproduction in porcelain as well as to assemble a *galleria* of his own.[33] He did so first by buying models and moulds. Starting in the 1740s, Ginori made regular payments to Vincenzo Foggini, the son of the late Grand Ducal Sculptor Giovanni

[31] Archivio Storico delle Gallerie Fiorentine, 1738-1768, filzie 65-66. I want to thank Sheila Barker for suggesting I look at this archive.
[32] Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Italian* Sketchbook, British Museum, 1859,0514.305, f. 14. "At a sculptor's shop which was formerly that of John de Bologna is a Gess of one of the slave[s] belong[ing] to Pedestal at Leghorn, that done by John de Bolognia [The four slaves in bronze at Leghorn are by Pietro Tacca], and Models for two of the figures belonging to the fountain in the Boboli—admirable—and a Model for the Rape of the Sabines besides other admirable Gesses in fine [word illegible] after figures in the Gallery."
[33] For more on Ginori's political motives in reproducing statues in porcelain, see H. Kinney "Transcribing Material Values in Doccia's *Medici Venus*," in *Creating Nothing New: Perspectives on the Faithful Copy: 1300-1900,* edited by A. Putzger, M. Heisterberg, S. Müller-Bechtel (Berlin, 2018), pp. 71-92.

Battista, who had died in 1725, for making plaster moulds and wax models of his father's designs.[34] By doing so, Vincenzo was essentially controlling the reproducibility of his father's designs by keeping the original models that could serve to produce more models and moulds. When Massimiliano Soldani Benzi died in 1740, his posthumous inventory included his four moulds "of the large statues of the Galleria" as well as that for the *Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter.*[35] In 1744, Ferdinando Soldani Benzi was paid 100 *ducati* for the gesso moulds of his father's works.[36] All of the "Greek Statues" were later reproduced in Doccia porcelain. (Figure 4.12)

Soldani's artistic heir, Lorenzo Maria Weber, must have recognized the value in amassing a collection of moulds and models of well-known Florentine sculpture in the 1730s. According to his autobiography, he and his brother compiled a larger collection than anyone else of "good models and plaster casts and made the moulds of them."[37] Their collection included all of Soldani's plaster casts, including those of the *Medici Venus, Dancing Faun*, *Knife Grinder*, the *Wrestlers,* and Michelangelo's *Bacchus*, as well as Soldani's waxes of sculptures by the "Fiammingo," the Italian name for François Duquesnoy, and Algardi, which Soldani had tried to sell to the Prince of Liechtenstein decades earlier.[38] Weber also claimed that he had purchased from Tacca's heirs Giambologna's models including two rivers, including "one missing a leg and a finger,"

[34] According to a 1727 letter by Soldani, Zamboni was trying to buy all of Foggini's bronzes after his death. "Ho sentito che Lei sia per fare una compra di tutti i lavori di bronzo lasciati dal Foggini, e può essere, che goda qualche vantaggio ma non so gia se vi troverà tutto il suo piacere, perche il travaglio ma non è fatto di gusto, come vi conoscera se ferma il partito." Bod., *Rawl. Ms*. 132, 24 April 1727 fol. 281v.
[35] Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* doc. 351, p. 284, *Nota di tutte le forme, che sono restate nella casa in Borgo S. Croce di Soldani*.
[36] "[...] forme di gesso rappresentanti bassorilievi, gruppi e altri lavori del fu Massimiliano suo padre." Archivio Ginori Lisci, *Conti e ricevute*, 1741-1746 transcribed in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* doc. 353, p. 284.
[37] "Dagli'Eredi del Tacca molti modelli di Gio. Bologna, e fra questi l'arrontino del Bonarrotti, il quale era mancante d'un braccio, come anco un fiume di Gio. Bologna gli mancava l'istesso, et un altro Fiume gli mancava una gamba e dita: il tutto restaurati da me, che dagl'intenti furon stimati dell'istessa maniera, che per brevità nominerò solo il Conca. Abbiamo fatto di mano raccolta non piccola di Modelli buoni, e gessi, e fattone le forme, che credo non ci sia nessuno che n'abbia tanti." Transcribed in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 52, p. 244. Translation by author.
[38] For the correspondence relating to the figures by the Duquesnoy and Algardi, see Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* docs. 637, 639, 642, 646, pp. 327-329.

which he had to restore due to their state of disrepair.[39] The parallels with the models of Rivers described in the inventory of Foggini's ascension to grand-ducal sculptor, "two larger-than-life clay models representing Rivers, one missing a leg," reveals that sometime in the eighteenth century these models had left Medicean possession.[40] Weber recounted that from his collection he made "many dies, models and moulds" for Ginori.[41] One must assume that he continued to produce other models and moulds from his collection for the Grand Tour market.

While the role of *formatore* in catering to a Grand Tour market was not unique to Florence, the way in which both Ginori and Weber amassed their collections appears to result from the ambiguous state of "ownership" of the city's patrimony. Proof of this is that when, in 1753, Ginori tried to assemble a collection of moulds from Rome, and specifically of moulds made off of the statues in the Capitoline Museum, he was impeded because the Pope had already made an agreement to split the cost of a moulding campaign with the Venetian Filippo Farsetti. [42] Ownership of the original in Rome, then, continued to control reproduction in ways it did not in Florence.

A NEW MARKET FOR COPIES

As the Medici lost their political power in the early eighteenth century, the political value of copies of their objects decreased. This was not only because of the family's diminishing political power, but also because their control of the production of copies was not as tightly regulated. Both of these factors coincided with the rise of the Grand Tour, which ushered in a new market for copies. The type of copy the Grand

[39] Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik,* doc. 52, p. 244. For the text see above, note 37.
[40] For a discussion of this inventory and the Italian text, see Chapter 2.
[41] "[...] a Sua Eccellenza il Sig.re Senator Ginori molti punzoni, Modelli e forme." Transcribed in Lankheit, *Florentinische Barockplastik*, doc. 52, p. 244. Translation by author.
[42] H. Kinney, "Transcribing Material Values in Doccia's *Medici Venus*" in A. Putzger, M. Heisterberg, S. Müller-Bechtel (ed.), *Creating Nothing New: Perspectives on the Faithful Copy, 1300-1900* (Berlin, 2018).

Tourist frequently desired was not necessarily one that was "exact," but one that fit the setting in which it would be placed.[43] Made in a variety of scales and media, these copies were not considered a form of the original itself, or *ritratti*, but instead objects that more precisely related to the period definition of *copie.*

Baldinucci's *Vocabulario Toscano dell'arte del disegno* defined *copia* as "that work that is not made of true (*propria*) *invenzione,* but one that is drawn exactly from another, whether it is bigger, smaller, or of the same dimension as the original."[44] The lack of *invenzione* that defined a copy was thus similar the lack of *fantasìa* contained in a *ritratto*. But a *copia*, unlike a *ritratto*, could be made in convergent media or dimensions from the original. To copy, according to the *Crusca,* meant to "make something resembling something already made."[45] The *Crusca's* definition of *copia* included specific reference to practices of painting and sculpture. The person who made such copies was known as a *copista* or *copiatore.*[46] But there was also a term that signaled the difference between these modes of copying.

The term *formatore* first appears in the third edition of the *Crusca* where it was defined as "one who makes" or in Latin *fictor, opifex*; but by the fourth edition, published between 1729 and 1738, *formatore* took on additional meaning. While the definition remained the same, the example given was "an expert and talented *formatore* of the most celebrated bronzes, and distinguished marbles from the most illustrious

[43] For example, see Viccy Coltman's discussion about how copies of sculpture were displayed in V. Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago, 2005), pp. 123-163.
[44] "Fra' nostri Artefici, dicesi quella opera che non si fa di propria invenzione, ma si ricava per l'appunto da un'altra, o sia maggiore, o minore, o eguale dell'originale." "Copia" in F. Baldinucci, *Vocabulario*, <http://baldinucci.sns.it/html/_s_ric_lem.html>. Translation by author.
[45] "Far copia, ricavare dall'originale, far cosa simigliante a cosa fatta." "Copia in *Lessografica della Crusca in rete* <http://www.lessicografia.it/>
[46] In the same edition, the word *copista* appeared to describe a person who copies. In the first, second and third editions of the Crusca, *copista* and *copiatore* were defined within the entry for *copiare* as the person who copied or transcribed, while by the fourth edition the two terms were removed from the entry. Both terms appear independently in the third edition. http://www.lessicografia.it/

galleries."[47] This shift exposes the extent to which moulding directly from famous marbles had become a common practice. It is perhaps not surprising then that Pietro Cipriani signed his copies of the *Medici Venus* and *Dancing Faun,* PIETRO CIPRIANI FORMAVIT ET FVDIT, thereby emphasizing his role in (supposedly) taking moulds off of the famed original marbles. (Figure 5.4)

In the eighteenth century, the desire to possess and display the experience of Italy, and all of its historic and cultural connotations, became materially embodied in the endless array of souvenirs that came to fill palaces and grand dwellings throughout Europe, especially, British country houses.[48] Through this nascent form of commercialization, sedentary sculptures, like those displayed in the Tribuna, became cultural commodities that circulated in diverse media across Europe. Most prevalent were console-sized bronzes and porcelain figures made after famous works, which by the second half of the eighteenth century were even advertised in catalogues by the Roman sculptors Giovanni Zoffoli and Francesco Righetti.[49]

The copies of sculpture displayed in England are often mentioned in tourist guidebooks and diaries when the author described the original in an Italian collection. Such publications contained few, if any, illustrations. Referencing a copy known in England would therefore have allowed the reader's audience to imagine the original by comparison. For example, Jonathan Richardson the younger wrote of his encounter with a cast of the *Medici Venus* before his trip to Italy in 1720-1721:

> I confess before I saw this Statue, I had some prejudice against it, from what I had observ'd in the Casts; and it has some faults; but it has [...] such a Fleshy

[47] "Un formatore sperto e valente da più celebri bronzi, e insigni marmi delle più belle illustri gallerie." "Formatore" in Accademia della Crusca, *Lessicografico della Crusca in Rete,* http://www.lessicografia.it/
[48] A. Pinelli, *Souvenir: l'industria dell'antico e il Grand Tour a Roma* (Rome, 2010).
[49] Copies of Zoffoli and Righetti's pricelists, sent by the dealer Charles Heathcote Tatham from Rome between 1794 and 1796 to Henry Holland, are held by the Victoria and Albert Museum (VAM Print Room, D.1479-1898). Further research could be done on the relationship between those sculptures first reproduced by Florentine sculptors that later became part of a Roman repertoire.

> Softness, one would think it would yield to the Touch. It has such a Beauty, and Delicacy; such a Lightness.[50]

Richardson's comparison between original and copy highlights the complex relationship between them. While the cast had given Richardson an indication of what he could expect in Florence, the imperfections of the cast influenced his ideas about the quality of the original. It was not until he saw the marble *Medici Venus* in the Tribuna, and its "fleshy softness," that he could fully comprehend its beauty, which overpowered the other faults that he saw even in the original. We should pause to consider that Richardson thus saw a distinct difference between the original and copy. The original held for him a distinctive allure that could only be understood in the Tribuna, in front of the original. His appreciation of the original was therefore dependent upon his encounter with the copy and the comparison between them.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the original became increasingly the indescribable focus of an aesthetic experience. For example, throughout his descriptions of the antiquities of the Tribuna, Edward Wright intermixed poems, Latin epigrams with English translations, historic information, and references to copies and prints to capture the experience of the original marbles' impact. While he believed that "to attempt a description of this Miracle of Sculpture [the *Medici Venus*], would be to injure it", a few lines later Wright included a poem that, he suggested, could give a more lively account of the *Venus*' perfections than even the casts that he assumed his readers knew. [51] Other guidebooks also mention the inexpressible beauty of the *Venus*, but what is interesting is that Wright used not only words but also the reader's assumed encounters with copies to capture the statue's enigmatic beauty.[52]

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[50] Richardson and Richardson, *An Account of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs*, p. 56.
[51] E. Wright, *Some Observations,* pp. 406-408.
[52] J. Addison, *Remarks*, p. 324, G. Bianchi, *Ragguaglio delle antichità e rarità che si conservano nella Galleria Mediceo-Imperiale di Firenze* (Florence, 1759), p. 192.

A close reading of how tourist guidebooks and diaries describe Italian collections through copies clearly reveals that much of a Grand Tourist's knowledge of the iconography and aesthetic qualities of famous antiquities, and thus the desire to see the originals, came through copies that they had encountered in their home countries.[53] In his *Italian Journey*, written between 1786-1788, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe poetically recorded his arrival in Rome by reflecting on the imaginary city he had carried with him in his mind. "Everything I have known for so long through paintings, drawings, etchings, woodcuts, plaster casts and cork models is now assembled before me. Wherever I walk I come upon familiar objects in an unfamiliar world; everything is just as I imagined it, yet everything is new."[54] Like Goethe, Richardson's comparison between original and copy highlights the complex relationship that they perceived between them.

The copy was no longer a form of the original but instead an object of study, one stop on the path towards experiencing the original. The passages quoted above emphasize that while period beholders believed some types of knowledge could be gained through copies, there was increasingly becoming an inexpressible value in seeing *the original*. The fact that so many writers stress the indescribable power of the original thus gave greater value to the act of viewing it. Throughout the eighteenth century, the idea of experiencing the original became evermore important. It seems that some of these nascent ideas about the power of the original began to germinate in the tightly regulated atmosphere of the Grand Duke's Gallery, which emphasized the importance of the surface of the marble as a gateway to its potency.

To aid in his description of the *Medici Venus* in his 1725 manuscript, A.C. Ducarel went beyond Wright's literary devices in describing with precision and included

[53] Kinney, "Antique Sculpture, Copies, and the Language of Value."
[54] J.W. Goethe, *Italian Journey* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 129.

a measurement of the Venus' wrist and small of the leg.[55] (Figure 5.5) One can imagine that the writer hoped that his readers would imagine him tightly wrapping a string around the contours of the fetishized marble in order to extract such an exacting measurement. This act of touch, recorded with pride and precision, must have demonstrated to period readers a form of access to the original similar to what seventeenth-century owners of exact copies thought was made possible through moulds.

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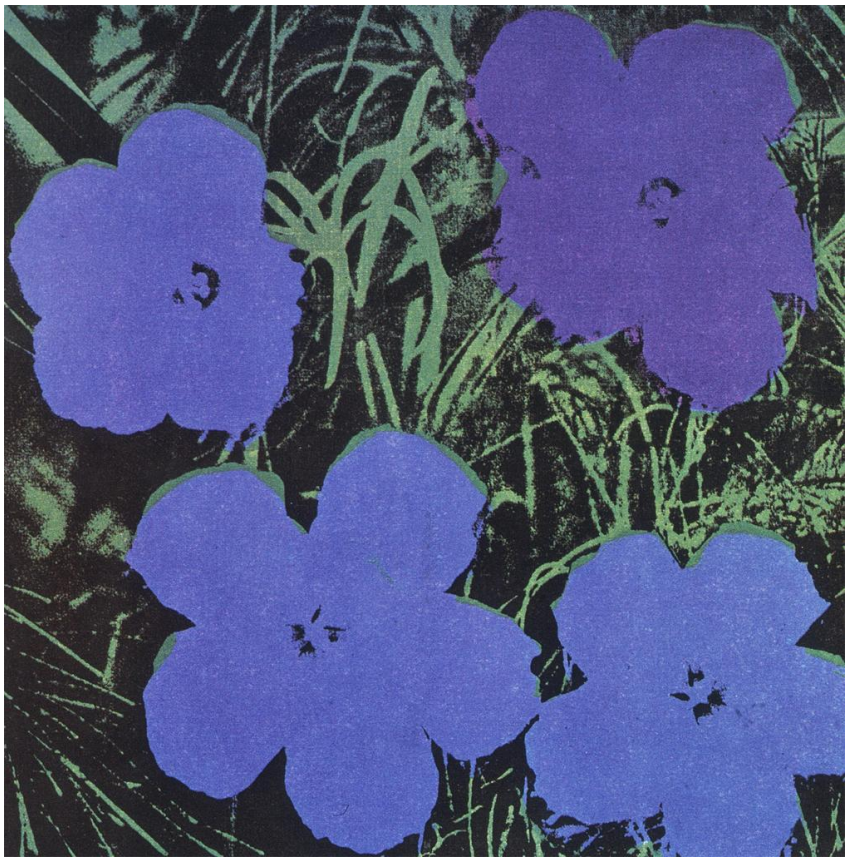


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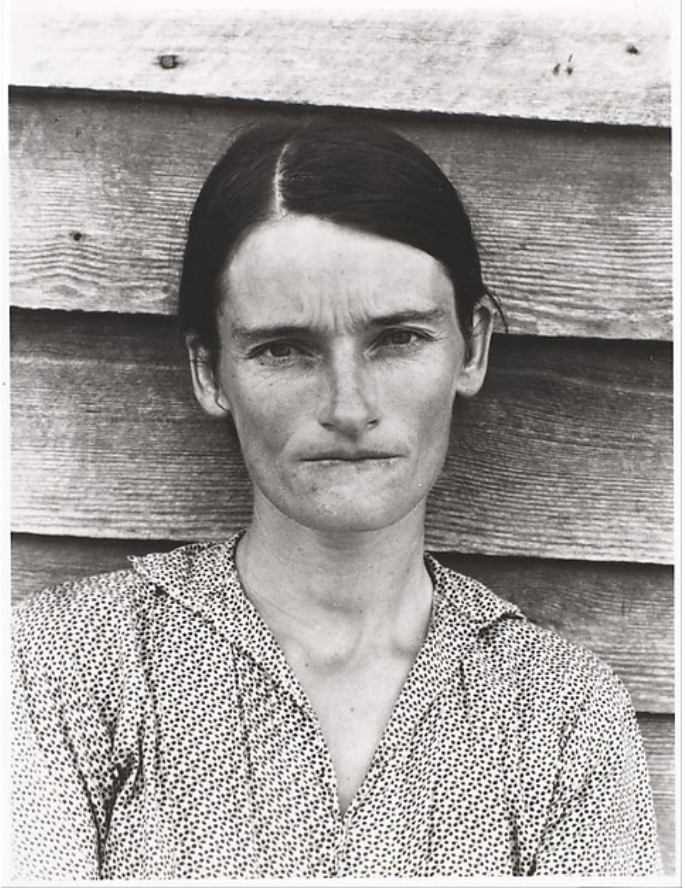


Figure 0.7: Sherrie Levine, *After Walker Evans: 4*, 1981, gelatin silver print, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1995.266.4).

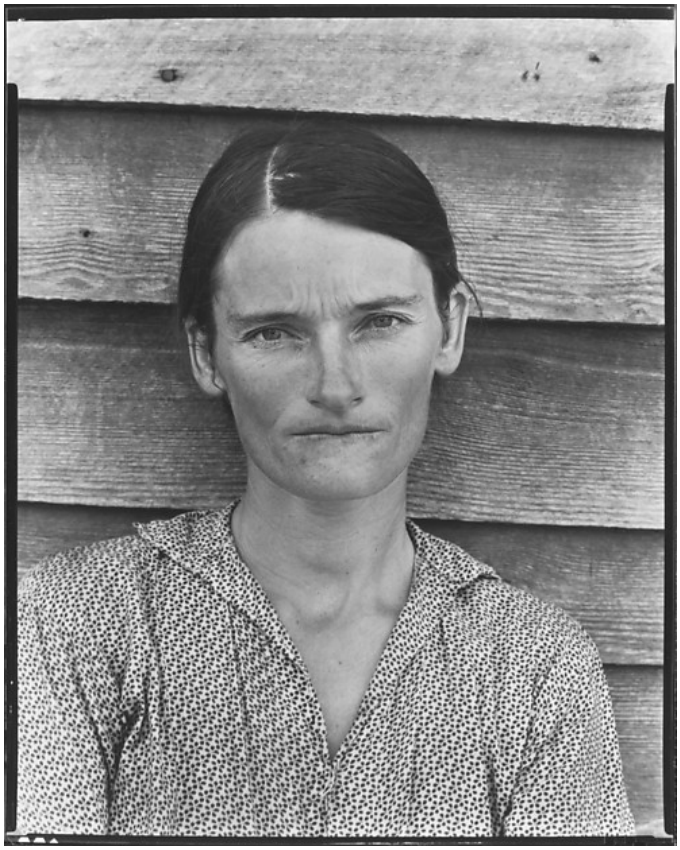


Figure 0.8: Walker Evans, *Alabama Tenant Farmer Wife*, 1936, gelatin silver print, Metropolitan Museum of Art (2001.415).



Figure 0.9: Pietro Tacca, *Wild Boar*, bronze, completed 1640, Museo Stefano Bardini (Florence).



Figure 0.10: *Wild Boar,* marble, 1st century AD, Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence).



Figure 0.11: Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, *Medici Venus*, 1699/1702, bronze, Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, Vaduz–Vienna (SK537).

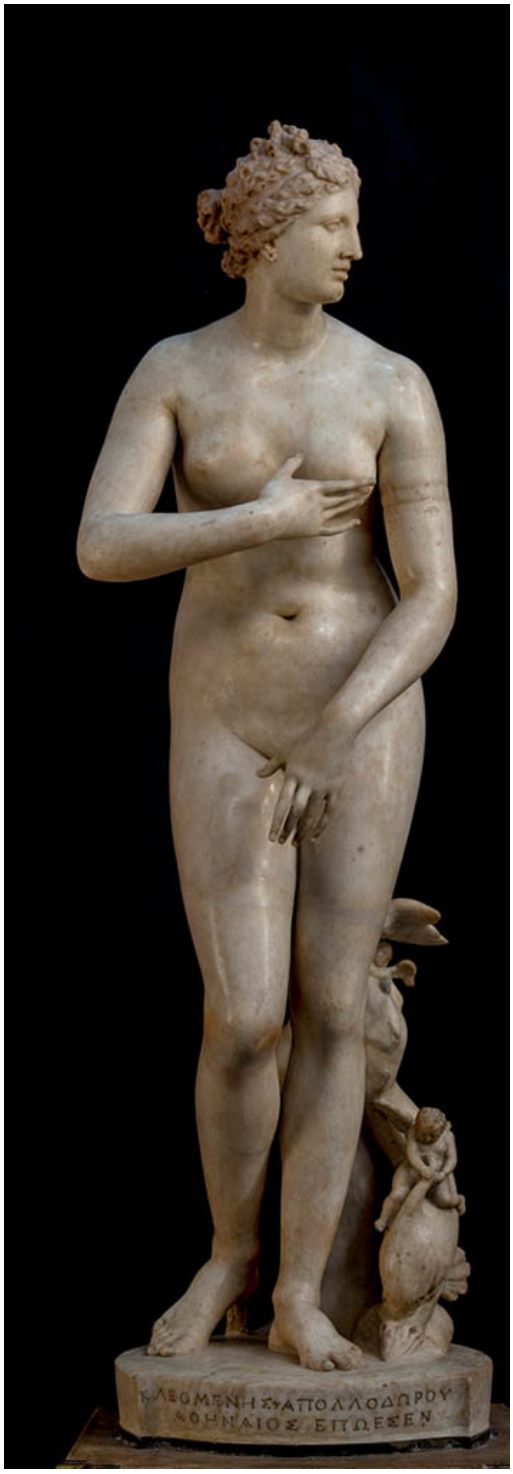


Figure 0.12: *Medici Venus*, 1st century BC, marble, Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence).

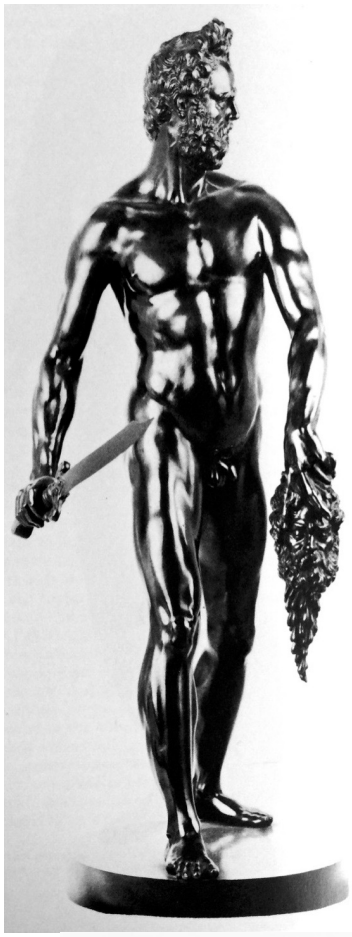


Figure 1.1: Giambologna, *Mars,* c. 1587, Private Collection. Inscribed on right foot: I.B.

Figure 1.2: Giambologna, model for a *River God*, c. 1580, terracotta, Victoria and Albert Museum (250 1876).



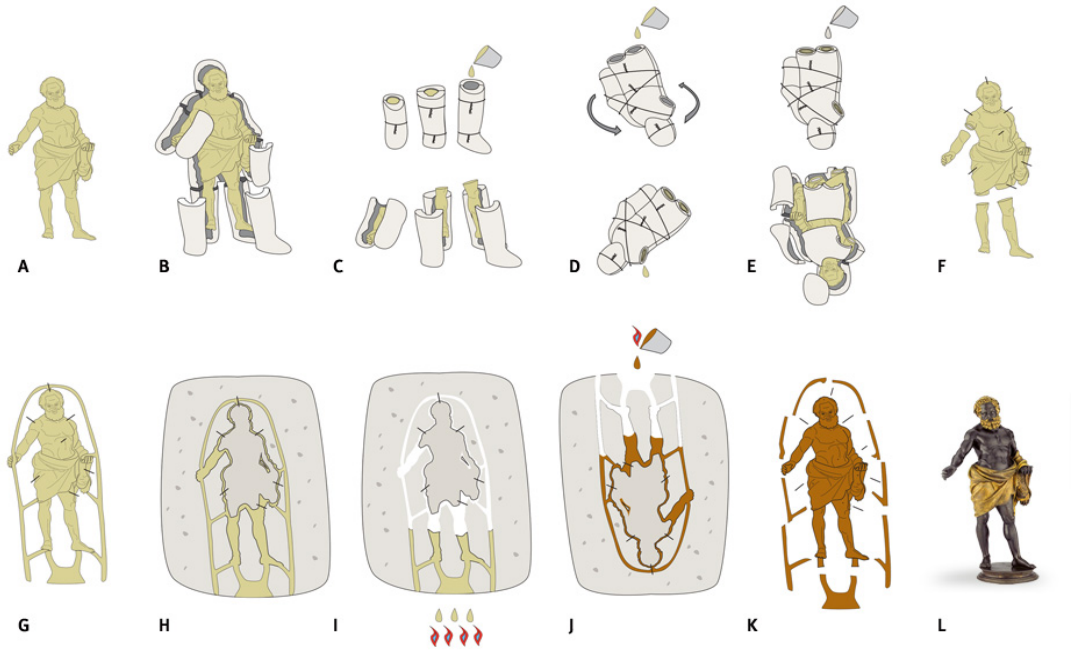
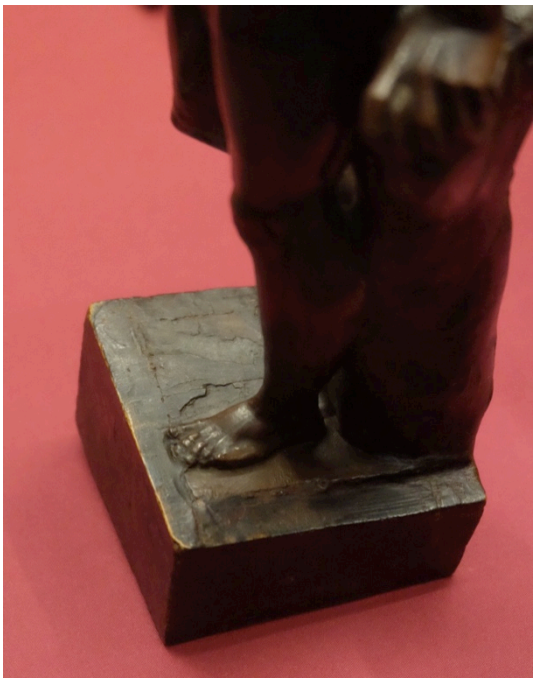


Figure 1.3: Diagram of the process of piece-moulding.

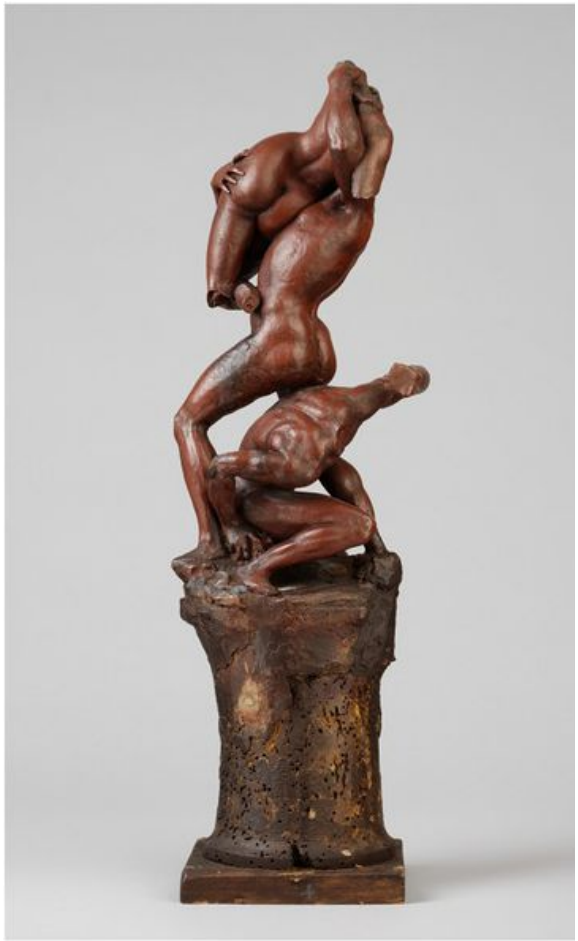
Figure 1.4.: Giambologna, *model of a colossal statue of Ferdinando I,* bronze, Museo degli Argenti, Florence (Inv. Sculture N. 1066).







Figures 1.5 and 1.6:
details of Giambologna, *model of a colossal statue of Ferdinando I,* bronze, Museo degli Argenti, Florence (Inv. Sculture, N.1066).



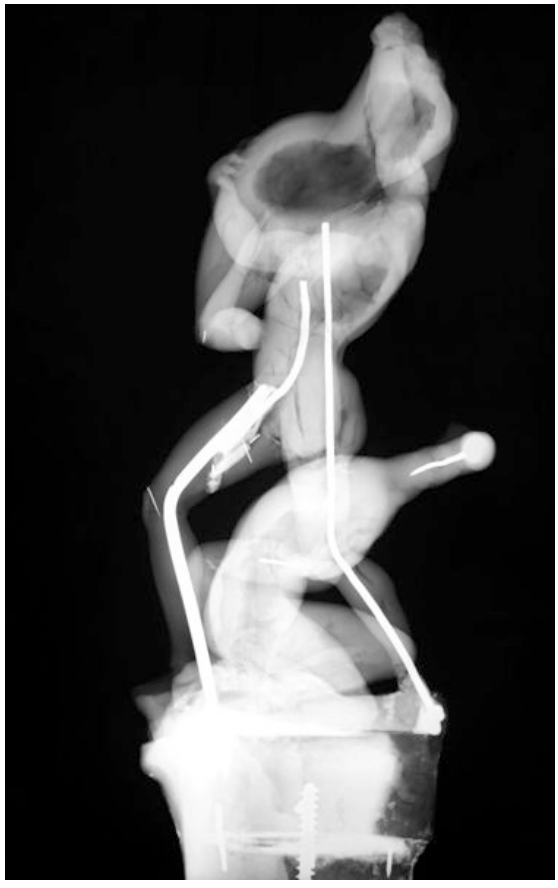


Figure 1.7: Giambologna, wax model for the *Rape of the Sabines*, 1579-1580, Victoria and Albert Museum (1092-1854). **Figure 1.8:** X-radiograph of Giambologna, wax model for the *Rape of the Sabines*, 1579-1580, Victoria and Albert Museum (1092-1854).



Figure 1.9: Giambologna and workshop, *Cosimo I de' Medici,* bronze, completed 1593, Piazza Signoria (Florence).



Figure 1.10: Giambologna and workshop, *Ferdinando I de' Medici*, bronze, completed in 1608, Piazza Santissima Annunziata (Florence).



Figure 1.11: Giambologna, Pietro Tacca, and workshop, *Henry IV of France*, completed 1612 (now destroyed) as depicted in Jean-Baptiste Lallemand, *La monnaie, le Pont Royal et le Louvre, vus du Pont-Neuf*, oil on canvas, c. 1775, Musée Carnavalet (Paris).



Figure 1.12:
Giambologna, Pietro Tacca, and workshop, *Philip III of Spain*, bronze, completed in 1616, signed: PETRUS TACA FECIT FLORENTIAE, Plaza Mayor (Madrid).



Figure 1.13: Pietro Tacca and workshop, *Philip IV of Spain*, bronze, completed in 1640, signed: PETRUS TACCA FECIT FLORENTIAE ANNO SALUTIS MDCXXXX , Plaza de Oriente (Madrid).



Figure 1.14: Giambologna, *Nessus and Deianiera*, c. 1576, bronze, cm. 42.10 Louvre (OA 11896). Signed: IOA BOLONGIE.





Figure 1.15: detail of x-radiograph of Antonio Susini, *Nessus and Deianira*, c. 1600, bronze, Robert H. Smith Collection. **Figure 1.16:** Antonio Susini, *Nessus and Deianiera*, 1600, bronze, 43 cm., Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, Vaduz–Vienna (SK914).



Figure 1.17: "Grand Duke on Horseback" recreated by Strada in Chianti for the exhibition *Dolci trionfi e finissime piegature. Sculture in zucchero e tovaglioli per le nozze fiorentine di Maria de' Medici* at the Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti (Florence), 2015.



Figure 1.18: *Marcus Aurelius*, gilded bronze, c. 173-176 CE, Capitoline Museum (Rome).



Figure 1.19: *Farnese Bull*, Roman, marble Museo Archeologico (Naples). **Figure 1.20:** Antonio Susini, *Farnese Bull,* 1613, bronze, signed ANT^{O} SUSINI FLORE OPUS / AD MDCXIII, Galleria Borghese (Rome). **Figure 1.21:** Gianfrancesco Susini, *Farnese Bull,* Bronze with red-gold lacquer patina, height 42 cm, width 38 cm, depth 37 cm, Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, Vaduz–Vienna (SK551).







Figure 2.1: Antonio Susini, *Virgin and Child*, 1580-1600, bronze, 38.6 cm, Museum of Fine Arts Houston (44.586).
Figure 2.2: Antonio Susini, *Pacing Horse*, ca. 1600, bronze, 29.5 cm without base, Victoria and Albert Museum (A.11-1924). Signed: ANT: SUSINII FLOR: FE.





Figure 2.3: Giambologna and Pietro Francavilla, *Ferdinando I,* 1595, Piazza del Duomo (Arezzo). Signed: JOANNES BONONIA I PETRUS FRANCAVILLA BELGA F.



Figure 2.4: Cosimo Cenni, *Canone di San Paolo*, 1638, Museo Nazionle del Bargello (Florence). **Figure 2.5:** detail of signature of Cosimo Cenni, *Canone di San Paolo*.



Figure 2.6: Antonio Susini, *Lion Attacking a Bull,* c. 1580, bronze, 21 cm., Louvre (OA 6062). Signed: ANT SUSIN/NI.F.



Figure 2.7: Antonio Susini, *Lion Attacking a Horse,* ca. 1580-1590, bronze, 24.5 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts (25.20). Signed: ANT. SUSINI OPUS

Figure 2.8: *Lion Attacking a Horse*, 325-300 BC, marble, Capitoline Museum (Rome).









Figure 2.9: *Annunciation,* fresco, c. 1350, Church of the Santissima Annunziata (Florence). **Figure 2.10:** *Annunciation,* fresco, 1371, San Marco (Florence). **Figure 2.11:** Alessandro Allori, Copy of the *SS. Annunziata*, 1579-80, Milan Cathedral.







Figure 2.12: Filippo Lippi, *Adoration of the Christ Child with St. Bernard and the Baptist*, c. 1459, Gemaldegalerie (Berlin). **Figure 2.13:** Lippi and Pesellino Imitator, *Adoration of the Christ Child,* c. 1460-70, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (Florence). **Figure 2.14:** Lippi and Pesellino Imitator, *Virgin and Child with Angels,* tempera with gold on panel, c. 1460, Cleveland Museum of Art (1916.802).



Figure 3.1: Moses Grotto, seventeenth-century, Palazzo Pitti (Florence). **Figures 3.2 and 3.3:** Pietro Tacca (design) and Giampetron of Carrara (carving), *Drowing Putti,* marble in the *Moses Grotto*.









Figure 3.4: Pietro Tacca, *I Quattro Mori*, bronze, completed 1626, Piazza Micheli (Livorno). **Figure 3.5**: Pietro Tacca, *Sea Monster Fountains*, bronze, installed 1641, Piazza Santissima Annunziata, (Florence).



Figure 3.6: detail of *Sea Monster Fountains,* bronze, installed 1641, Piazza Santissima Annunziata (Florence).



Figure 3.7: Federico Zuccaro, *Portrait of Giambologna,* black and red chalk on paper, National Museum of Scotland (D 1851).



Figure 3.8: Pietro Tacca, model for restoration of *Menelaus supporting the body of Patroclus,* wax, second decade of the 17th century, Casa Buonarotti (Florence).





Figure 3.9: attributed to Pietro Tacca, model for the *Quattro Mori*, cast gesso, Museo Civico Giovanni Fattori (Livorno). **Figure 3.10:** detail of model for the *Quattro Mori.*



Figure 3.11: Ludovico Cigoli, *Equestrian Monument to Henri IV, King of France*, Pen and brown ink with blue wash and touches of (oxidized) white, early 17th century, Ashmolean Museum (WA.B.I.438).

Figure 3.12: Isreal Sylvestre le Jeune, *La Statue de Henri IV et de l'Isle du Palais* 17th century, Musée national du château de Pau (P.988).





Figures 3.13 and 3.14: details of Giambologna, Pietro Tacca, and workshop, *Philip III of Spain*, bronze, completed in 1616, signed: PETRUS TACA FECIT FLORENTIAE, Plaza Mayor (Madrid).





Figure 3.15: School of Peter Paul Rubens, *Equestrian Portrait of the King of Spain, Philip IV of Hapsburg*, Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence).
Figure 3.16: Pietro Tacca, *Rearing horse*, bronze, 1615-1618, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (Florence), (inv. 141 B). **Figure 3.17:** Pietro Tacca, *Portrait equestrian of Carlo Emanuele I, Duke of Savoy*, 1621-1622, Kasel Museumlandscaft Hessen Kassel (inv. GK III 34 89), PETRUS.TACCA.F.







Figure 3.18: detail of Pietro Tacca and workshop, Equestrian Monument to Philip IV, completed in 1640, signed: PETRUS TACCA FECIT FLORENTIAE ANNO SALUTIS MDCXXXX, Plaza de Oriente (Madrid). **Figure 3.19:** Obelisk in Piazza Santa Maria Novella (Florence), erected 1608.





Figure 3.20: Pietro Tacca, *Turtle*, bronze, 1608, Piazza Santa Maria Novella, (Florence).



Figure 3.21: detail of Pietro Tacca, *Morgiano*, from the *Quattro Mori,* bronze, completed 1626, Piazza Micheli (Livorno).



Figure 3.22: Francesco Carradori, *Tavola VI Nella quale vien dimostrato il metodo da tenersi per far le Forme di Gesso, tanto alle Sculture di terra modellate, come in Marmo, e suoi Strumenti necessari*, etching, 1802.



Figure 3.23: detail of Pietro Tacca, *Wild Boar*, bronze, completed 1640, Museo Stefano Bardini (Florence).



Figure 3.24: detail of Pietro Tacca, *Wild Boar*, bronze, completed 1640, Museo Stefano Bardini (Florence).



Figure 3.25: base of Pietro Tacca, *Wild Boar*, bronze, completed 1640, Museo Stefano Bardini (Florence).





Figures 3.26 and 3.27: details of base of Pietro Tacca, *Wild Boar*, bronze, completed 1640, Museo Stefano Bardini (Florence).

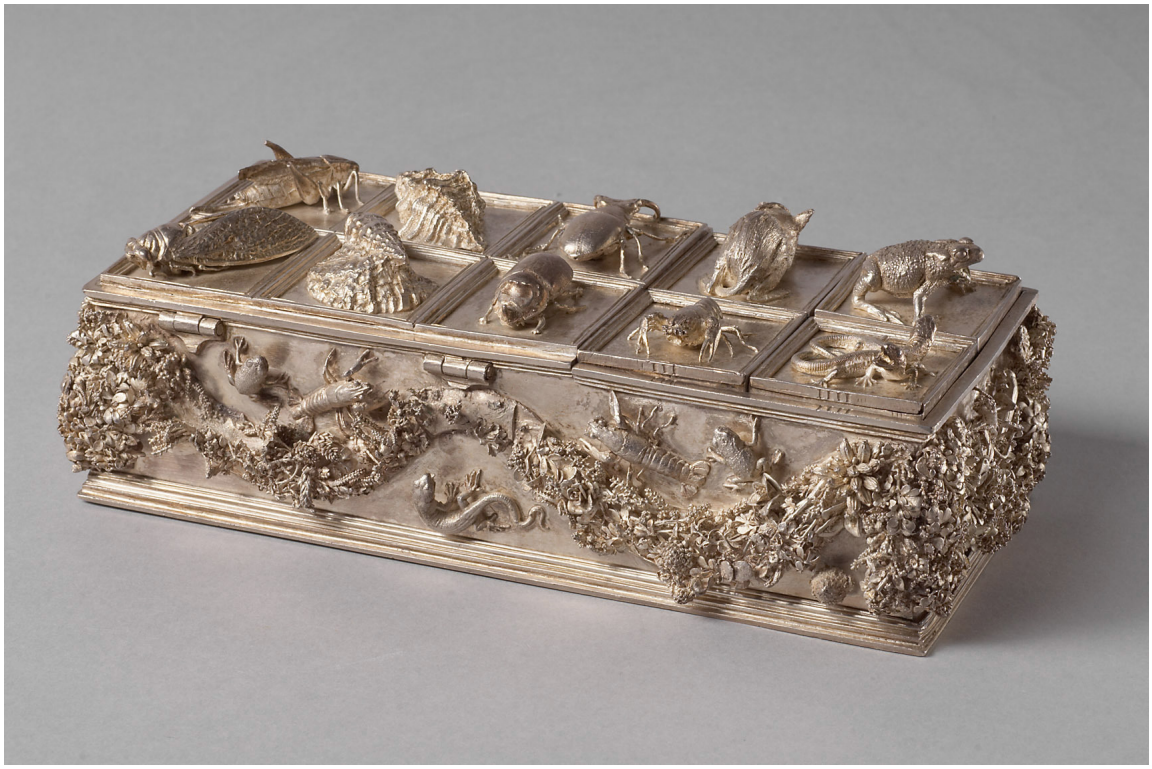


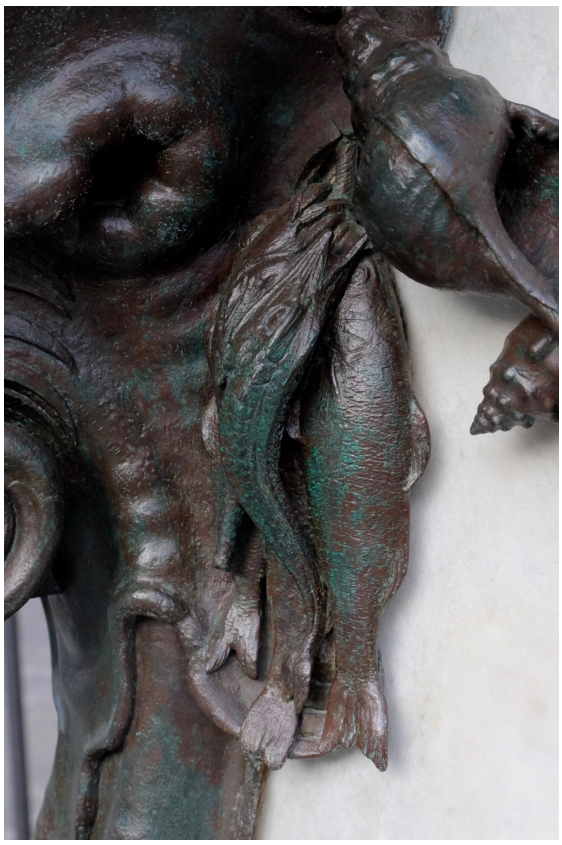
Figure 3.28: Wenzel Jamnitzer, Inkstand, silver, 1560s, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna).





Figure 3.29: detail of Pietro Tacca, *Wild Boar*, bronze, completed 1640, Museo Stefano Bardini (Florence).
Figure 3.30: Paduan, Box in the Form of a Crab, early 16th century, National Gallery of Art Washington (1957.14.86).







Figures 3.31-3.33: details of Pietro Tacca, *Sea Monster Fountains,* bronze, installed 1641, Piazza Santissima Annunziata (Florence).



Figure 3.34: Giambologna, *Turkey*, bronze, 1560s, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (Florence).







Figure 3.35: Pietro Tacca, *Cosimo II de' Medici*, gilded bronze, completed 1633, Cappella dei Principi (Florence). **Figure 3.36:** diagram of the pieces of *Cosimo II*. **Figure 3.37:** detail of Pietro Tacca, *Cosimo II de' Medici*, gilded bronze, completed 1633, Cappella dei Principi (Florence).

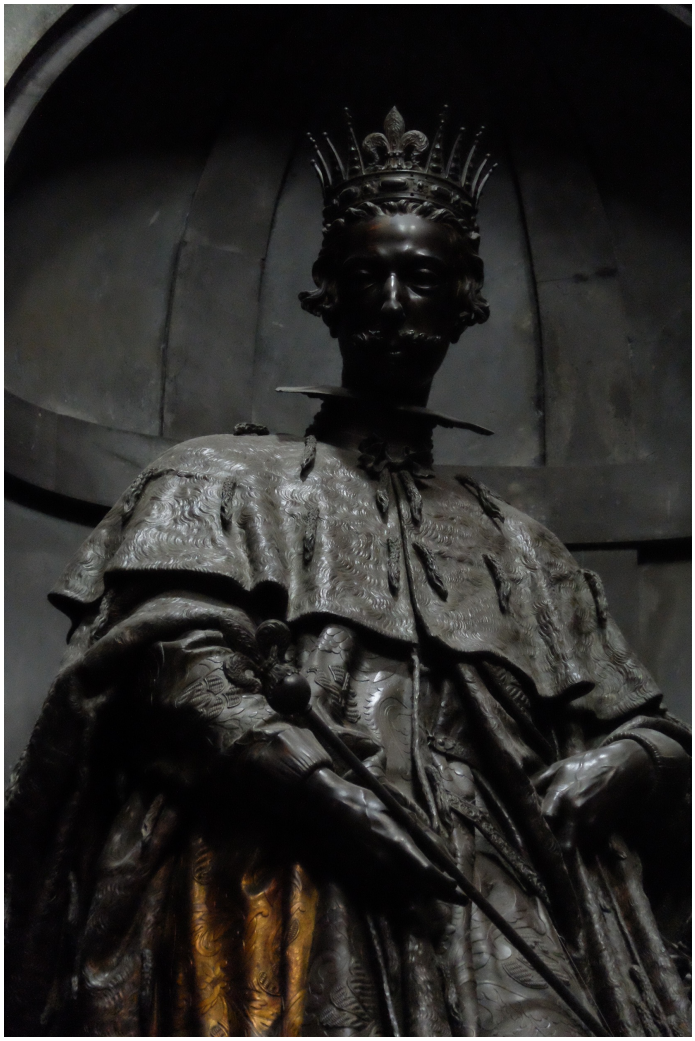


Figure 3.38: detail of Pietro Tacca, *Cosimo II de' Medici*, gilded bronze, completed 1633, Cappella dei Principi (Florence)



Figure 4.1: *Knife Grinder*, 2nd c. AD, marble, 1.05 m., Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence).



Figure 4.2: *Wrestlers,* 1st century BC, marble, .89 m, Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence).







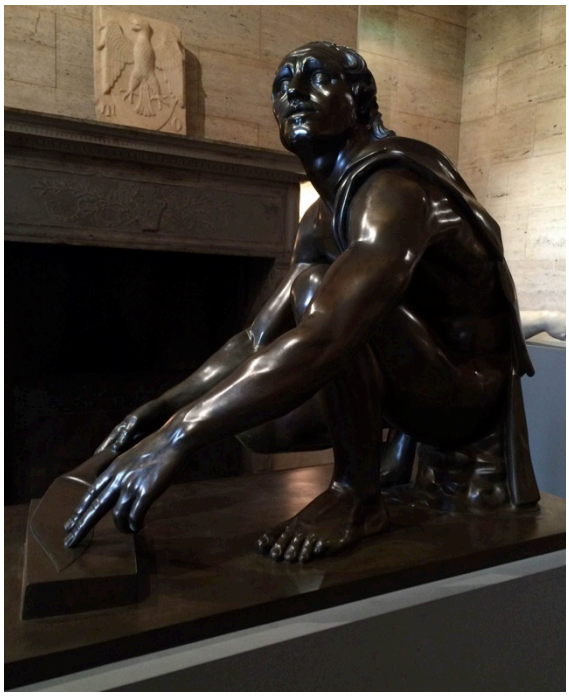


Figure 4.3: *Medici Venus* (Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire) **Figure 4.4:** *Dancing Faun* (Blenheim Palace) **Figure 4.5:** *Wrestlers* (Galerie J. Kugel, Paris formerly Blenheim Palace) **Figure 4.6:** *Knife Grinder* (Galerie J. Kugel, Paris, formerly Blenheim Palace) All bronze and signed: MAXIMILIANVS SOLDANI BENZI FLORENTIAE 1711



Figure 4.7: Pietro Cipirani, *Medici Venus*, 1722-1724, bronze, 1.43 m (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2008.41.2). Signed: PIETRO CIPRIANI FORMAVIT ET FVDIT FLORENTIÆ AS MDCCXXIV.





Figure 4.8: Pietro Cipriani, *Dancing Faun*, 1722-1724, bronze, 1.55 m (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2008.41.1). Signed: PIETRO CIPRIANI FORMAVIT ET FVDIT FLORENTIÆ AS MDCCXXIV. **Figure 4.9:** Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, *Dancing Faun*, 1695/1697, bronze, 1.39 m (Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, Vaduz–Vienna, (SK541). **Figure 4.10:** *Dancing Faun*, 3rd century AD, marble, 1.43 m Galleria degli Uffizi (Florence).







Figure 4.11: Giovanni Battista Foggini, *Knife Grinder,* marble, 1684, Musèe du Louvre (Paris), (MR1853). **Figure 4.12:** Giovanni Battista Foggini, *Wild Boar,* marble, 1684, Musèe du Louvre (Paris), (MR 2779).



Figure 4.13: Illustration of the "Order of the Statues & Busts as They Stand in the Great Duke's Gallery of Florence," in Wright, *Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy &c.* (London, 1730).





Figure 4.14: Doccia Porcelain Manufactory, *Medici Venus*, 1745-1750, porcelain, ex-Museo Richard Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia (Sesto Fiorentino). **Figure 4.15:** detail of Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, *Medici Venus,* bronze, 1711, Blenheim Palace (Oxfordshire).





Figure 4.16: Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Bacchus*, 1497, marble, 2.03 m, Museo Nazionale del Bargello (Florence).
Figure 4.17: Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, *Bacchus*, 1699/1701, bronze, 1.98 m Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, Vaduz–Vienna, (SK573).

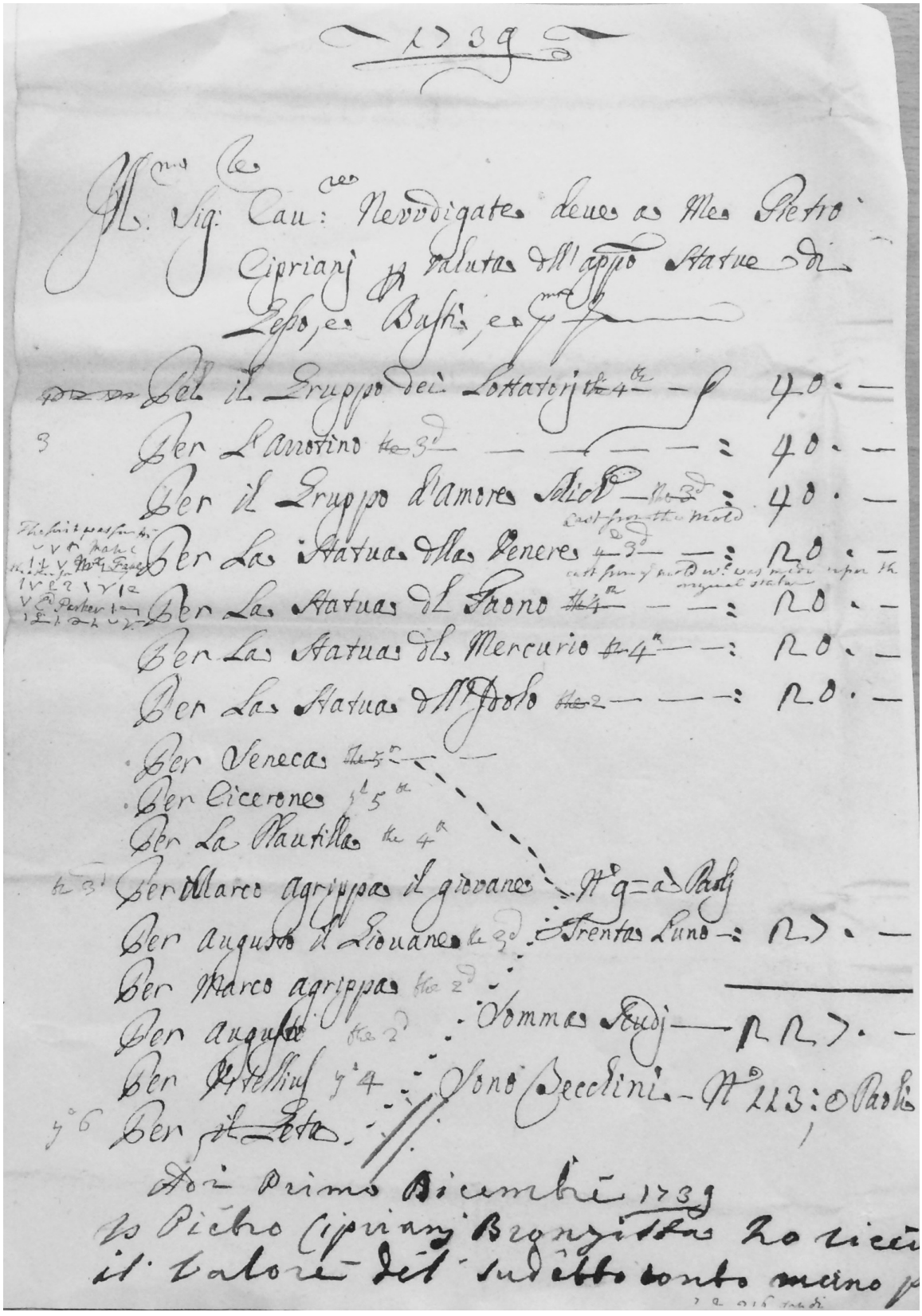


Figure 4.18: Receipt of payment from Pietro Cipriani to Sir Rodger Newdigate with notations by Newdigate, signed 1 December 1739, (Warwickshire County Archives, CR136/B3520).



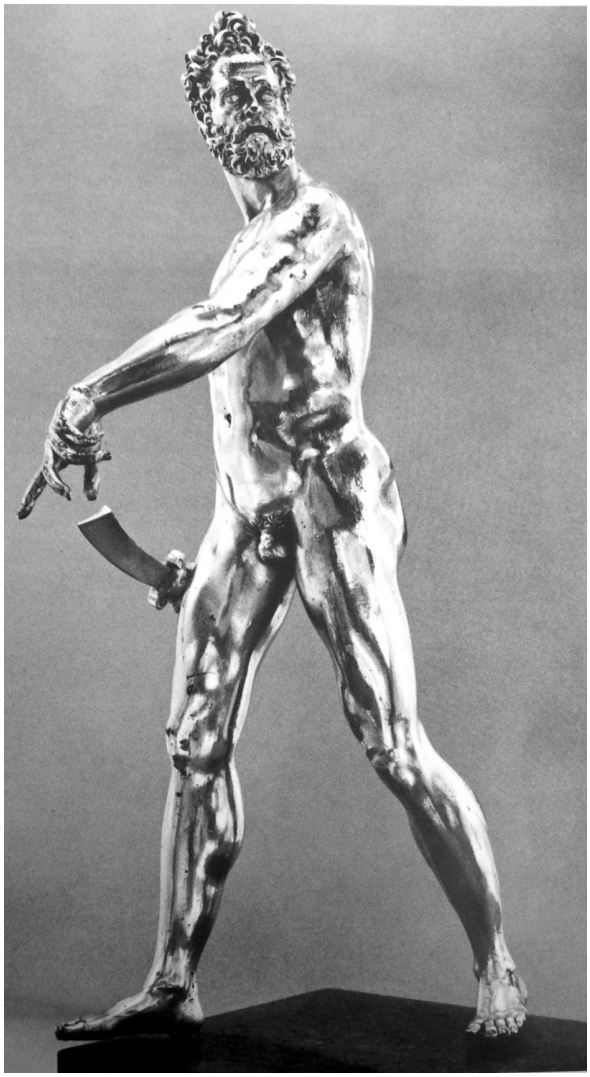


Figure 5.1: Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, after Giambologna, *Virtue over Vice,* bronze, early eighteenth century, The Frick Collection (New York) (1916.2.50). **Figure 5.2:** Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, after Giambologna, *Executioner with the head of St. John the Baptist,* c. 1732, bronze, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (no. 8122).



Figure 5.3: Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, *The Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter,* cast 1730-1735, bronze, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1985.238).



Figure 5.4: detail of Pietro Cipriani, *Medici Venus*, 1724, bronze, The J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles).

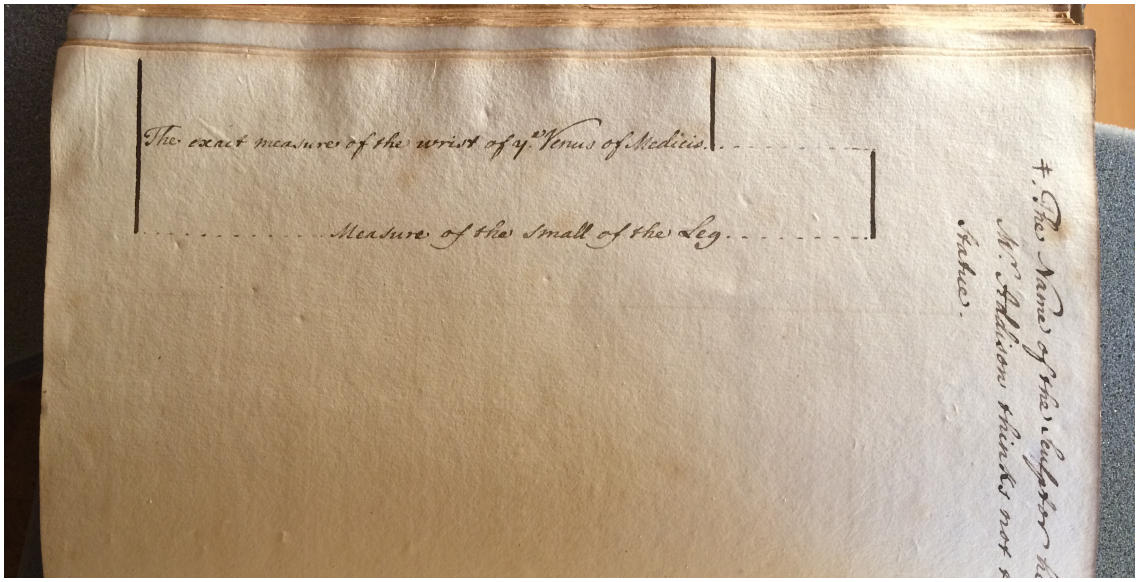


Figure 5.5: A.C. Ducarel, diagram of 'The exact measure of the wrist of ye Venus of Medicis", 1725, Bodelain Library Manuscript, MS Gough MIS ANTIQ 3, unpaginated.

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535
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Fabbriche Medicee
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Fabbriche Lorenesi
1928
1930
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Practica Segreta
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1329
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