

The «*Gran Scuola*» of Guglielmo della Porta, the Rise of the «*Aurifex Inventor*», and the Education of Stefano Maderno*

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One of the great mysteries surrounding the sculptor Stefano Maderno (1575-1636) is how he managed to summon the talent to sculpt his celebrated statue of *Santa Cecilia* (FIG. 1) in the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome. This work, completed in 1600, thus when Maderno was about twenty-five-years-old, seems to come out of practically nowhere in his career. Before this commission, he was presumably like so many young sculptors in Rome, content to move from one odd marble carving job to the next in hopes that a real commission might one day be forthcoming. Certainly, by the late 1590s, Maderno had secured two or three minor commissions.¹ But nothing adequately prepares us for the extraordinary results that he achieved at S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Even Maderno himself could not have possibly foreseen the great critical respect that this statue would earn him. Today, the *Santa Cecilia* is routinely cited as one of the most innovative sculptures to be executed in Rome between the death of Michelangelo (1474-1564) and the rise of Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680).² Maderno depicted the martyred saint lying face down on her side, the position in which her corpse was reportedly found during excavations beneath the church in 1599.³ Not only does the statue look breathtakingly real, but also sensuously elegant - a rare combination for

sculpture at that time in Rome. So consummate is the design and execution of the *Santa Cecilia* that one assumes that Maderno produced many other masterpieces during his long career. But the truth is that he never came close to that alluring *Saint* again. His imagination seems to have dried up, which invites the original question: how had he, by the age of twenty-five, developed sufficient talent to design and execute the *Santa Cecilia*?

One part of the answer unquestionably involves the peculiar circumstances of the commission, a subject recently explored by Tobias Kämpf.⁴ As Kämpf makes clear, Maderno was working for a patron, Cardinal Paolo Camillo Sfondrati (1560-1618), who had very strong views about how his titular church (especially the altar area) should be decorated. Maderno almost certainly received explicit instructions from Sfondrati that his statue of *santa Cecilia* be recumbent, as large as life, and look like a miraculously preserved corpse. Given these prescriptions, Maderno had very little choice, it would seem, but to develop an exceptionally naturalistic design, and it begs to wonder if he would have made the same choice without Sfondrati's influence. In other words, could Maderno have created the same sculpture under different circumstances, or was he almost entirely indebted to Sfondrati for his sculpture's innovatory, *ad vivum* appearance?

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Even if we are tempted to give the majority of credit to Sfondrati, it is hard to ignore how successfully Maderno has realized his patron's wishes. If Maderno was uncomfortable with, or new to, the naturalism of the *Santa Cecilia*, there is no indication of it in the finished statue. The composition is totally resolved, and the carving is exquisite. Clearly, by the time of the *Cecilia*, Maderno had become an artist of genuine talent, and this article will propose that part of his talent is owed to an unexpected source: goldsmiths.

That a goldsmith could offer valuable artistic training may not seem a very novel concept considering earlier Italian art. The *métier* of goldsmith provided the launching pad for many of the most important artists of the Renaissance, especially during the Quattrocento. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), Donatello (1386-1466), Antonio del Pollaiuolo (1429/33-1496), and Andrea Verrocchio (ca. 1435-88) are just a few of the many artists of the fifteenth century who trained as goldsmiths before going on to flourishing careers as painters, sculptors, or architects.⁵ The prime example for the Cinquecento is Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571).⁶ As several recent studies have shown, being a goldsmith in the first half of the Renaissance carried a special aura.⁷ The profession could be highly lucrative, and because gold was associated with the sacred, goldsmiths were often accorded a high degree of respect in society.⁸ Young goldsmiths enjoyed additional benefits. In performing the standard duties of a goldsmith's apprentice, they acquired not only a slew of important technical skills but also a broad education in the art of design, or *disegno*.⁹ If these lessons were properly absorbed, they were easily adequate to propel the most ambitious trainees to successful careers in painting, sculpture, or architecture.

The situation had changed markedly by the first decades of the sixteenth century. The Renaissance had redefined what it meant to be an artist, and goldsmiths often found themselves on lower ground relative to painters, sculptors, and architects.¹⁰ The debate was couched in deeply theoretical terms but pivoted on the idea that

painting, sculpture, and architecture were disciplines of the mind, whereas goldsmithery, as a decorative art, was a manual profession, or a craft. As the "high" arts gained more and more prestige during the Cinquecento, goldsmiths became less and less recognized as capable figurative artists - this despite the plaintive protests of Cellini, who continued to insist that goldsmithery was the fourth of the "high" arts.¹¹ Other goldsmiths undoubtedly shared his view.¹² But they did not exist in sufficient numbers to keep their profession from undergoing at least one significant change. Whereas goldsmiths in the Quattrocento tended to operate workshops that were centers of design in addition to execution (the classic example is Maso Finiguerra [1426-1464]), goldsmiths in the Cinquecento tended to divide the two activities, relinquishing the responsibility of design to accomplished painters and sculptors.¹³ From at least 1500 onward, there was a general recognition on the part of all parties (including patrons) that painters and sculptors were better practiced at design and that goldsmiths should concentrate on the manual, or craft, side of their art.

If some goldsmiths felt slighted by this new segmented system, the majority of painters and sculptors was only too happy to abide by it. Not only did it promise a new source of income, but also a new avenue for showcasing their artistic talents. These rewards appear to have been sufficiently great that at least a few painters and sculptors during the sixteenth century developed profitable side careers as goldsmith-designers. A prominent example is Guglielmo della Porta (ca. 1500-77). As the leading sculptor in Rome from the early 1550s until his death in 1577, he was a natural source for goldsmiths' designs, a role that he accepted and pursued well beyond drawings. First, he built a large and successful foundry operation that gave him exceptional control over the goldsmiths' items that he designed. His other major innovation was his enlightened approach to the goldsmiths in his circle. Della Porta took the extraordinary step of instituting a sort of arts academy for the goldsmiths who worked for him - what one

early seventeenth-century writer called his «*Gran Scuola*».¹⁴ This appears to have been a place where a traditional goldsmith (an *aurifex* in Latin) could not only improve his technical skills but also learn elements of design and thus become - to borrow the self-descriptive label of one of the most famous goldsmiths to have collaborated with Guglielmo on a regular basis, Antonio Gentile da Faenza (1519-1609) - an «*Aurifex Inventor*» (a goldsmith inventor). In the end, Guglielmo's unique and attentive approach to goldsmiths sparked a minor revolution in goldsmith's practice, one that was still being felt in Rome as late as the first decade of the seventeenth century. This article will analyze this change and argue that, at least for a short while, it gave rise to a small class of highly creative goldsmiths, artists who, to judge by their works, stood to influence mainstream sculptors in vital ways - and Stefano Maderno presents one of the most illuminating cases.

Some explanation is first necessary regarding the term "goldsmith" (*orefice*) and how it will be applied in the following pages. Technically, throughout early modern times, what separated goldsmiths from other sorts of metal sculptors in Rome was that they were authorized to assay gold. This license was automatic with membership in Rome's goldsmith's guild, the Università degli Orefici, Argentieri, e Gioiellieri.¹⁵ As this name implies, silversmiths (as well as jewelers) also belonged to the goldsmith's guild, underscoring the fact that there must have been many silversmiths who also practiced as goldsmiths and vice versa. How else the term "goldsmith" can be confusing is that an artist could specialize in making models for precious objects but not be sanctioned to work in gold and thus not be, strictly speaking, a goldsmith. In consideration of all these reasons, I will use the term "goldsmith" in a more expansive sense to refer to any artist who earned his living by producing small, finely-wrought objects in metal. This would include cast figures, our principal concern. As Cellini emphasizes throughout his treatise on goldsmithing, a fundamental requirement of being a master goldsmith in the Renaissance

was the ability to make small models (usually in wax) for casting.¹⁶ For reasons that will become apparent below, those goldsmiths who excelled as modelers were frequently the most innovative ones.

The Tabernacle *Prophets*

To measure the creative capacity of the best goldsmiths working in Rome during the late sixteenth century, the essential starting place is the group of four gilt-bronze seated figures (FIGS. 3-6), described as «*profeti*» in a document of 1602, that survive in the church of S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. Their importance was first recognized by Jennifer Montagu, who described them as adding «not just further examples to the history of late Cinquecento sculpture, but a new chapter».¹⁷ Her opinion of them is not too high, but before I demonstrate why, it is important to review their history.

The four *Prophets* originally accompanied a large gilt-bronze tabernacle (FIG. 2) that was commissioned by Cardinal Matthieu Cointerel (1519-85) (or Contarelli in Italian) for his private chapel in S. Luigi dei Francesi, the same chapel that Caravaggio (1574-1610) would later make famous with his first public works. Complex legal proceedings resulted in the eventual placement of this tabernacle in the fourth chapel on the left, which remains its current location. Since the *Prophets* are too large to have been affixed to the tabernacle itself, they were presumably designed for some type of marble plinth that was to be placed beneath the tabernacle. According to documents, the *Prophets* were joined on this base (or perhaps on the altar table itself) by six lamp-bearing angels, also in gilt-bronze.¹⁸ These angels are now lost, while the *Prophets*, stolen and repatriated during the 1970s, are kept under lock and key in the rectory of the church.

Although there is no record of the *Prophets* before 1602, there is reliable evidence that they were made just prior to Contarelli's death in 1585. Following his death, the tabernacle passed, along with a quantity of coins presumably

for its gilding, to Virgilio Crescenzi (*d.* 1592), Contarelli's nephew, heir, and executor.¹⁹ Since the tabernacle was still ungilded at the time of Crescenzi's death, he had presumably made no improvements to it while it was in his possession.²⁰ This suggests that all parts of the tabernacle (including the *Prophets*) were in existence by 1585. The precise completion date may actually fall very close to that year, as Contarelli is unlikely to have earmarked a supply of coins for the tabernacle's gilding unless he was fairly certain that these coins were about to be melted down for this purpose. A more difficult problem is the *terminus post quem*. A diligent goldsmith could probably have completed the commission in several years. Allowing for delays, he may have undertaken the commission about 1580. It is hard to imagine, however, that the *Prophets* were the first items that he executed, which pushes their date closer to 1585.

The other principal reason to favor a later date for the *Prophets* is that they are much more ambitious in design than the four Apostle figures on the drum of the tabernacle (FIG. 2). These *Apostles* - like so many sculptures produced in Rome during the late Renaissance - assume simple, *contrapposto* stances and wear heavy draperies that flow in routine patterns.²¹ A more overt naturalism characterizes the *Prophets*. For the purposes of this discussion, it is useful to divide the *Prophets* into two groups according to their poses. The companion to the *Moses* (FIG. 5), easily recognizable by his tablet of the laws, is the one *Prophet* whose identity is unknown (FIG. 6) (marked in paint with «B»). Like the *Moses*, he is bearded, wears a hooded cloak, and sits with his feet almost crossed. The second pair consists of *David* (FIG. 4), the beardless youth holding a rock, and *Saint Louis* (FIG. 3), identifiable by his crown and fur-lined mantle. These last two bronzes demonstrate what a misnomer it is to label the entire group prophets, but I will continue to abide by this nomenclature for the sake of expediency.

Of the four *Prophets*, the *Moses* and the *Prophet* «B» (FIG. 6) are the most conservative in design. They sit compactly and move much less

vigorously than the *David* and the *Saint Louis*. They twist gently at their waists while their heads cock lazily to the opposite side. The one element that disrupts their graceful bearing is their draperies, which feature several, highly exciting passages, like the great swag of fabric that descends from the proper right shoulder of the *Prophet* «B». It charts a seamless course that approximates a rollercoaster journey for the viewer's eyes with its sharp initial descent, abrupt turn at the waist, and culminating loop around the figure's right knee. The draperies of the *David* and the *Saint Louis* strike an even more dramatic chord, mainly a function of their more open compositions. With the *David*, his arms rise up from his sides as he prepares for his encounter with Goliath. His garments, therefore, instead of falling directly to the ground, take a more meandering course, and the sculptor has responded to this practicality with several extraordinary furls of cloth, including the great, billowing cavity that envelops *David's* left arm. Insofar as Roman sculpture is concerned, there are few parallels before Bernini.

The lower halves of the *David* and the *Saint Louis* are not to be neglected at the expense of the upper. They are calculated to respect the motions of the arms and help to insure that each composition is visually balanced and believable. Thus, with the *Saint Louis*, his feet are spread apart, which serves to counteract the wide distance between his arms. Indeed, for the figure to perform whatever lunging maneuver he is engaged in, this wide stance is essential, or he might topple over. Ever since photographs of the *David* and the *Saint Louis* were first published by Montagu, there has been some confusion as to whether the two figures were meant to be seen as dancing on their tip-toes, their stance in her book. In truth, they were originally seated with their torsos more upright.²² The power of the figures is such, however, that even if seated, they give no impression of being sedentary. Their actions are more legible and, by extension, more persuasive, and it is easy to imagine them perched on the corners of a marble plinth like the one that is thought to have supported Contarelli's tabernacle.

Aside from drapery and pose, there is a final element that contributes to the naturalistic character of the *Prophets*: their carefully studied details. An extraordinary example concerns the cloaks, whose surfaces are minutely textured with a pattern of short, variegated strokes that provides the illusion of woven fabric. Such descriptive refinement extends to the physiognomies of the four figures, where a credible suggestion of age has been given to each one of them. The *David* has a thin, boyish face, while the *Saint Louis* looks appropriately venerable, sporting a carefully groomed moustache and beard. Most sculptures produced in Rome during the last quarter of the Cinquecento show a more generic approach to natural appearance. This even applies to some of the major sculptures produced at the end of this period, like the series of Old Testament figures decorating the Altar of the Sacrament in S. Giovanni in Laterano (ca. 1598-1600).²³ Even if these statues were part of a highly prestigious refurbishment program to celebrate the Jubilee of 1600, their poses, expressions, and musculature hardly rise to the occasion, being formulaic and utterly lifeless. The situation varies little if we look elsewhere during these years, and it is only very rarely that we find a sculptor who has made any real effort to create a figure that conveys credible motion, as with the *David* and the *Saint Louis*. In terms of style, the *Prophets* stood outside the mainstream. Montagu puts it most succinctly: «In the context of the history of art, they ought not to exist».²⁴ But they clearly do, and to be able to explain their existence, we must first try to identify their author.

Jacob Cobaert

In her analysis of the *Prophets*, Montagu argues convincingly that there is only one practical candidate for the attribution, the Flemish sculptor Jacob Cobaert (ca. 1535-1615), known as Coppe Fiammingo in Italian.²⁵ He fits all the essential criteria: he worked for Cardinal Contarelli; he excelled at making small sculptures in metal; his style is a virtual mystery owing to the fact

that he produced very few sculptures that can be traced;²⁶ and he was eccentric. The great irony is that his only documented work is a life-size marble, a statue of *Saint Matthew* (FIG. 7) that was intended for the high altar of the Contarelli chapel. (It was eventually moved to the church of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, Rome, for reasons to be discussed below). Despite the *Matthew*'s obvious differences from the *Prophets*, its history intersects theirs in several revealing ways.

The *Saint Matthew* was commissioned in 1587 from the same Virgilio Crescenzi who, just two years earlier, had inherited the *Prophets* from Cardinal Contarelli. In awarding this fabulous opportunity to Cobaert, Crescenzi likely realized that Cobaert had previously worked for Contarelli and succeeded in winning the Cardinal's favor. At trial in 1609, Cobaert testified that around 1577, he had moved to Contarelli's neighborhood in Rome, the parish of St. Peter's, and begun to serve Contarelli's household.²⁷ Presumably, he was like any court-appointed goldsmith, charged with keeping his patron well supplied with decorative items and gilded bronzes. He must have performed his duties well, or Crescenzi is unlikely to have considered Cobaert qualified to execute a statue as large and important as the *Saint Matthew*. In fact, it could well have been the *Prophets*, made for Contarelli and in Crescenzi's possession by 1587, that convinced Crescenzi to choose Cobaert for the job. Whatever the case, he was misled. Cobaert proved a tedious carver and spent the next fifteen years trying to complete the statue. In 1602, it was tested *in situ* without its angel, which was only finished after Cobaert's death by Pompeo Ferrucci (1566-1637), and judged unsatisfactory.²⁸ It was removed from the church, and Caravaggio was invited to paint his masterful *Inspiration of Saint Matthew*, the second version of which still hangs over the altar.²⁹ In spite of the chilly reception faced by Cobaert over his *Saint Matthew*, the sculpture cannot be judged a complete failure. It shows spectacular passages of carving, like the deep, intricate folds that envelop *Saint Matthew*'s right foot, and, from the point of view of style, is perfectly in line with central Italian standards. The least

satisfying aspect is the *Saint's* left arm, which is lanky and overly long. The sharp edge of cloth that hangs beneath this limb only accentuates this problem. The *Prophets*, by contrast, show none of the same stickiness in their draperies. Another major difference is that the *Saint Matthew* is less normatively proportioned. This is not to deny, however, the several areas of stylistic similarity shared by the sculptures, like the windswept character of their draperies. But even here, the treatment is not identical - it tends to be more angular in the marble - and cannot be construed as secure grounds for attributing the *Prophets* to Cobaert. Furthermore, the *Prophets* appear to have come from a distinctly innovative mind, whereas Cobaert, if judged by his *Saint Matthew*, was a highly conventional - if not slightly old-fashioned - sculptor.³⁰

There are reasons to believe, however, that the *Saint Matthew* belies Cobaert's true colors as an artist. We know that he was an extremely odd character. As Baglione writes, Cobaert, by the end of his life, had become solitary, melancholy, and suspicious. He would not admit any visitors to his house where he lived «*come una bestia*» and, when ill, would drop a basket on a rope from his window that he would have a neighbor fill with supplies.³¹ While the failure of the *Saint Matthew* could have only fueled his paranoia, his eccentric personality must date from considerably earlier or he would probably have been more sympathetic to advice while attempting to carve this, his first major work in marble.³²

That Cobaert was an eccentric individual does not mean, of course, that his sculptures were bizarre. It only suggests that he was willing to go against convention. What may be more telling about his approach to sculpture is that he trained in an environment where unorthodox thinking was often given currency. As he testified at trial, he had been «*allevato*» in the house of Guglielmo della Porta, a reference to the most important sculptural workshop to be operative in Rome between the 1550s and the 1570s.³³ Practically nothing is known about Cobaert's career before this apprenticeship.

Baglione mentions that Cobaert was a talented ivory carver, and since he was born in Flanders, a region with a strong tradition in ivory carving, it is possible that Cobaert came to Rome with the expectation that he would be able to devote himself to this art.³⁴ If so, his plans obviously changed, and he wound up acquiring enough metal-working experience to make himself an attractive addition to Della Porta's workshop. According to various sources, Cobaert served this master as a goldsmith, executing a number of precious works in metal, including a roundel with Jupiter and the Gods (lost),³⁵ a *Descent from the Cross* (lost),³⁶ and a series of plaquettes depicting scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (numerous collections).³⁷ The obvious presumption is that each of these sculptures followed Guglielmo's designs, although it is unclear whether Cobaert was working from drawings or clay or wax models prepared by his master. We will return to this question of shop procedure momentarily, but it is first important to sketch Guglielmo's career.

Guglielmo della Porta

Born around 1515 in the village of Porlezza on the eastern shore of Lake Lugano in northern Italy, Guglielmo spent his formative years first in Milan then in Genoa.³⁸ This second city proved especially important for his career, as it was the place where he met Perino del Vaga (1501-47), the artist who would provide his entrée to the papal court in Rome.³⁹ Guglielmo followed Perino to Rome in the late 1530s, and as Perino's career gained momentum, so too the younger Guglielmo's.⁴⁰ Their golden moment came around 1540 when Perino received his first commission from Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-89), the nephew of the reigning pope, Paul III (*r.* 1534-49).⁴¹ It was only a short matter of time, it appears, before Guglielmo had capitalized on his master's ascent, becoming a favorite of the Farnese himself. Vasari mentions that Michelangelo and Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547) also provided crucial boosts.⁴²

Whatever the precise mechanics of his rise, there are numerous documents suggesting that by the mid-1540s, Guglielmo had become a member of the Farnese household. He was their principal restorer of antique marbles and also given the privilege in 1546 of carving the official portrait bust of Paul III.⁴³ It appears to have been at precisely the same time that his activities began to range into bronze. His first documented work in bronze is the tomb of Francesco de Solis, commissioned by Alessandro Farnese around 1547 (the base survives in Spain).⁴⁴ It would also be the Cardinal who, in that same year, appointed Guglielmo *Custode del piombo* (keeper of the papal seals).⁴⁵ Although largely a sinecure, this office was charged with overseeing the design and execution of all papal coins and medals and may be when Guglielmo originally took an interest in designing plaquettes and other kinds of small sculptures in bronze. Whatever his new pursuits, he remained temporarily focused on bigger and more sophisticated sculptures. From the late 1540s through the 1550s, his artistic energies were almost entirely consumed by the tomb of Paul III, destined for St. Peter's.⁴⁶ This, Guglielmo's best-known work was probably underway by the Pope's death in 1549. It would proceed at a snail's pace, however, not being completed until the mid-1570s. Sadly, the pressure put on the artist to produce this masterpiece seems to have been overwhelming, and halfway through the project, he apparently lost his resolve to complete any other major sculptures during the remainder of his life.⁴⁷ Luckily, his imagination found a productive outlet in drawings and small models, two activities that appear to have had a related purpose: the creation of prized designs for lavish goldsmiths' items. There are numerous sources that suggest that Guglielmo ran one of the busier foundry operations in the city of Rome. Although it is never described precisely in this way in contemporary documents, he is routinely called a *«fonditore»*, and we can be certain that he managed something much larger than a one-man workshop.⁴⁸ In several documents, his followers call their place of employment his *«casa»*, while Baglione uses

the revealing term *«Gran Scuola»*, a choice of phrase to which we will return.⁴⁹ The reference to *«casa»* is unsurprising, as artists in early modern times typically established their workshops adjacent to or within their homes. Guglielmo lived on the Via Giulia, and we know that his house included a separate space at back that was probably used as a workshop, a place devoted to preparing designs and cleaning and tooling bronzes.⁵⁰ For the physical casting of his sculptures, he likely conducted that operation off-site; foundry equipment took up space and posed an immense risk for fire. As *Piombatore*, Guglielmo was fortunate to have access to the Papal Mint, or *Zecca*, and it is likely that he used its facilities (or even those at the Vatican) for casting. It bears mentioning that the *Zecca* was conveniently located a short walk from Guglielmo's house. While much about the location and size of Guglielmo's workshop must remain speculative, we are better informed about the personnel he employed and the duties these personnel were hired to perform. Court documents tell time and again about specialists like Cobaert who were charged with the critical task of translating Guglielmo's designs into precious materials like gilded bronze.⁵¹ Additional light is thrown on the process by Guglielmo's correspondence and estate inventory, where we learn that Guglielmo was in the habit of making wax or clay models that he would give to these assistants to cast and finish.⁵² There are also scores of drawings from Guglielmo's hand that clearly served as the basis for plaquettes and small bronzes. A famous example is the group of plaquettes depicting scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, like the bronze *Banquet of the Gods* in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. They were reportedly executed by Cobaert following models and drawings prepared by Guglielmo.⁵³ They exist in numerous versions, both in octagonal and oval formats, and since many of the scenes (including the one mentioned above) correspond almost precisely to surviving drawings by Guglielmo - like his pen-and-brown ink *Banquet of the Gods* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York - there can be virtually no doubt

that Guglielmo designed the entire series, leaving it to Cobaert to render his designs in metal.⁵⁴

From *Ingegno* to *Disegno*: Goldsmiths, Designers, and Their Patrons

By organizing his foundry operation in this hierarchal fashion, Guglielmo was following common practice for the Cinquecento in Italy. Since the start of the century, which saw a revolution in how the various arts were perceived, goldsmiths had become increasingly subordinate to painters and sculptors, who enjoyed new status as the true *maestri del disegno*.⁵⁵ This change in mentality - and concomitant change in working practice - is exemplified by the *Farnese Casket* (FIG. 9) (Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte), arguably the most intricate and lavish piece of goldsmithery to have been produced in Rome during the second third of the sixteenth century.⁵⁶ While the physical execution of the casket was entrusted to the Florentine goldsmith Manno Sbarri (*fl.* 1536-76), the design almost certainly came from Manno's old friend, the painter Francesco Salviati (1510-63).⁵⁷ Just at the moment of the commission, Salviati happened to be working for the patron of the casket, Alessandro Farnese, and would have been the natural choice for the design.⁵⁸ Few artists in Italy enjoyed better reputations during the Cinquecento in the field of goldsmith-design than Salviati, a talent that can be traced to his youth, when he spent a period of time as a goldsmith's apprentice.⁵⁹ While painting quickly became Salviati's true calling, it seems that he never forgot his tutelage in the art of goldsmithery, providing designs for precious metalwork whenever his clients demanded it. His graphic *œuvre* testifies to this point, being exceptionally rich in drawings for decorative arts objects - richer perhaps than that of any other artist of the Italian Cinquecento. Although no preparatory drawings survive for the *Farnese Casket*, there is a sheet widely attributed to Salviati in the Uffizi that indicates that he was at one time engaged on a very similar item (perhaps for Pier

Luigi Farnese [1503-47]).⁶⁰ It shares many features with the casket, including openings for oval crystals, pairs of seated *ignudi*, and garlands suspended from its lid. Given these similarities, Salviati's renown as a decorative objects designer, his friendship with Manno, and his ties to the Farnese, there is every reason to assume that it was Salviati - not Manno - who provided the casket's design. In this context, it is revealing that Vasari, in commenting on the casket, words his praise for Manno exclusively in terms of execution: «[Manno] *fece le figure d'argento e gli ornamenti tondi con tanta diligenza, che non fu mai fatta altra opera con tanta e simile perfezione*».⁶¹ Had Manno broken with tradition and been like Cellini, an accomplished artist as well as a goldsmith, Vasari would almost certainly have alerted his readers to this fact.⁶² Here, a word of caution is in order. When we say that Salviati designed the *Farnese Casket*, we do not necessarily mean that he created a drawn plan that was so specific in its details that Manno had no room to maneuver. Rather, by the verb "design", we mean something broader, more comparable to the Renaissance term *disegno*.⁶³ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, *disegno* carried multiple meanings, all interrelated. In different contexts, it could refer to drawings on paper, to the physical act of drawing, or to the thing that drawing was intended to facilitate: artistic creation. When Cardinal Farnese asked Salviati to design his casket, he undoubtedly assumed that drawings would be involved. But he also likely expected that Salviati would go beyond drawings and lend his expertise in a more dynamic fashion, as the creative overseer of the project.⁶⁴ This implies a degree of collaboration with Manno, and it must be stressed that Manno - like all great goldsmiths of the Renaissance - had some capacity as an inventor. He was not a simpleminded craftsman but an artist who was accustomed to using his imagination to fill the inevitable gaps left in the drawings (or verbal instructions) given to him by famous *disegnatori* like Salviati. Consider the *Farnese Casket* and a single element like the crowning sculpture of Hercules, Salviati may

have specified the placement and identity of this figure through a drawing or in a conversation, but it is hard to imagine that Manno was ever given such a precise rendering of it that he had no choice but to be a slavish copyist. In the actual forming of the figure - how he was to sit, the character of his musculature - Manno was very much on his own, and this raises a crucial point. Although it is tempting to assume that goldsmiths always worked from drawings, a more useful characterization is that they worked from ideas. Drawings connote something fixed and visual, whereas ideas are subject to interpretation and can be transmitted through a variety of means. This distinction better accords with the likely reality that designers were not so much dictating goldsmiths' activities as directing them. This is not to go too far in the opposite direction, however, and to imply that the flow of ideas was completely two-way. *Disegnatori* like Salviati were in the creative driver's seat with goldsmiths like Manno serving as their mouthpieces.

A major omission from the hierarchy described above is the patron. He or she set the tenor for the entire creative process by communicating the level of *ingegno* that he or she expected from his or her finished product. *Ingegno* is another term from the Renaissance and can be thought of as the intelligence or discernment that an artist brings to the act of creation - the intangible quality that makes a design not only attractive but also serious and refined.⁶⁵ In order for a work of goldsmithery to attain any level of *ingegno*, a certain foundation had to be laid, and it usually fell to the patron to put this foundation in order. The first and most critical part was the designer. The patron had to locate an artist who could produce a design that embodied the right level of *ingegno*. Next came the problem of finding a goldsmith who could execute this design. If the design could not be accurately translated, what was the point of it in the first place? Effective patrons understood this reality and worked hard to make sure that they or their *disegnatori* selected the right executive goldsmiths for their projects.⁶⁶ From beginning to end, therefore, the operation was

fraught with delicate moments and could put immense demands on the patron's own judgment, itself a form of *ingegno*. Nevertheless, for those patrons who knew how to manage the reigns of design, the rewards could be great. As Luke Syson and Dora Thornton have shown, an object like the *Farnese Casket* was as much intended to express the patron's *ingegno* as the artist's.⁶⁷ It hardly requires saying that few goldsmiths ever worked at the level where *ingegno* became a real factor in their art. Items like the *Farnese Casket* were the exception not the rule in the sixteenth century. So too were patrons like Alessandro Farnese, patrons who enjoyed the challenge of commissioning complex decorative art's objects like the *Farnese Casket* and had the means to summon great *disegnatori* like Salviati. Most goldsmiths catered to a more open market, albeit one that was exceptionally rich, especially in the case of Rome. The aristocracy and the high clergy had an enormous appetite for gold and silver wares, although these wares tended to be rather utilitarian: chalices, crucifixes, reliquaries, perfume burners, ornaments for clothes, ceremonial dishes, utensils for eating, and candlesticks. As a result, most goldsmiths were not required to be fabulously inventive and, in any event, could always compensate for their shortcomings in design by referring to a wide range of two-dimensional design sources. In terms of scope, this material ran the gamut, from simple decorative motifs to designs for entire objects.⁶⁸ It also took a variety of forms, including albums of drawings, printed model books, and single sheets of prints and drawings.⁶⁹ An exquisite example of this last type is Cherubino Alberti's print after a pair of knife handles designed by Francesco Salviati.⁷⁰

As easy as it may be to document these sources, it is much more difficult to know how goldsmiths actually used them. For starters, goldsmiths may not have been the intended audience for many of them. Ornament prints, for example, like the superb sheets of fantastic *all'antica* vases produced by Enea Vico (1525-67), were almost certainly directed at erudite collectors and patrons, who would have viewed them as

lavish exempla of great *ingegno*.⁷¹ This suggests that goldsmiths were often dependent on their patrons for access to many of their design sources, and it is possible that when commissioning objects, patrons specified what they wanted by referring to prints or drawings in their collections that goldsmiths were then allowed to copy. This is one avenue by which source material may have reached goldsmiths' workshops, and it is presumable that as the Cinquecento progressed, more and more goldsmiths assembled small libraries of these designs. But the question still looms: how closely did goldsmiths follow these sources - if at all? Unfortunately, the answer may never be known because we have no way of comparing these designs to any of the works they may have inspired. The great frustration with studying the history of Renaissance goldsmithery is that virtually all the productions are destroyed, a direct consequence of their intrinsic worth. Gold and silver productions were frequently melted down and converted into bullion during times of need. Periods of war were equally calamitous, with greedy troops becoming eager thieves. (The French invasion of 1798-99 was especially disastrous for Rome's gold and silver treasures).⁷² The most we can say, therefore, is that prints and drawings offered a way for goldsmiths to compensate for their general lack of design experience - especially for those goldsmiths who had no greater ambitions than to supply the rich of Rome with attractive, everyday wares. This, of course, constituted the vast majority of goldsmiths.

At present, the average goldsmith is a murky character, a situation that is unlikely to change owing to the fact that he left few paper trails. Fortunately, we are concerned with the extraordinary, not the ordinary, and for this kind of goldsmith's work, there is a good supply of documentation as well as a handful of examples. We have already encountered one sixteenth-century goldsmith who produced objects of this caliber, Manno Sbarri. But as he served to underscore, even goldsmiths of his talent and fame were not always given the responsibility of designing the objects that they were commissioned

to produce, especially when these objects were intended to incorporate ambitious figurative elements like the *Farnese Casket*. As happened more and more frequently during the Cinquecento, painters and sculptors (especially the most celebrated ones) were asked to provide the designs for those works of goldsmithery that were expected to rise above the everyday. Virtually all the major goldsmiths of the Cinquecento worked according to this arrangement at various moments during their careers, including Valerio Belli (1468-1546), Giovanni Bernardi da Castel Bolognese (1496-1553), and Antonio Gentile da Faenza.⁷³ It is also revealing how many painters and sculptors of the Cinquecento can be attributed with goldsmiths' designs. Among the most notable are Michelangelo, Raphael (1483-1520), and Giulio Romano (ca. 1499-1546).⁷⁴ Given these patterns, it is hardly surprising that once Guglielmo della Porta had established himself as one of the most inventive artists working in Rome, he was approached to make goldsmiths' designs and that once he had begun to deliver these designs, he became a magnet for many of the best goldsmiths. He was happy to oblige, knowing that the relationship could be symbiotic. He received publicity by having his designs replicated in durable form, while these craftsmen gained recognition - and added income - by executing stylish wares.

The Death of Guglielmo

On 6 January 1577 this system broke down in a significant way when Guglielmo died. His death created a void in Rome at the top levels of design. All the painters and sculptors who had sidelined as decorative objects designers during the middle decades of the sixteenth century were either dead or moved back to Florence. Making matters worse, Michelangelo, who had exercised a measurable influence on the decorative arts with his drawings and models, did not leave at his death an operational workshop, meaning that there was not a large cadre of goldsmiths or *bronzisti* who had trained

beneath him and might propagate his manner.⁷⁵ Only one bronze-caster, in fact, was truly allied with Michelangelo during his final years, Giacomo del Duca (1520-1604).⁷⁶ For a short period after Michelangelo's death, Giacomo pursued the art of sculpture with notable diligence, producing two major works in bronze: a tabernacle for the church of S. Lorenzo, Padula (ca. 1565-72/74);⁷⁷ and the tomb of Elena Savelli in S. Giovanni in Laterano (ca. 1571) (FIG. 10).⁷⁸ For the former, he relied on Michelangelo, deriving its figurative reliefs from drawings by the master. For the Savelli tomb, however, he was its sole designer, showing great inventiveness with the bronze figure of the deceased, whose hand-clasped pose is deeply pious. Despite such shows of promise, Giacomo abandoned sculpture during the early 1570s, choosing to dedicate himself to architecture. Meanwhile, his younger brother, Ludovico (*fl.* 1551-1601), continued the Del Duca tradition of bronze-casting.⁷⁹ His most significant commission was the Sistine tabernacle in S. Maria Maggiore (1587-89). But as this work makes clear, he was not a very ambitious sculptor. Its main figurative elements, the reliefs, were cast from the same molds used by his brother for the Padula tabernacle.⁸⁰

With no one from Michelangelo's circles prepared to take over Della Porta's foundry operations, the responsibility fell in large part to Guglielmo's assistants, and they continued to be among the dominant players on Rome's goldsmith's scene. Their principal competition came from the Vanni and the Spagna families, led, respectively, by Curzio Vanni (*d.* 1614) and Pietro Spagna (1561-1621).⁸¹ Curzio was the papal goldsmith for six successive popes, from Sixtus V (*r.* 1585-90) to Paul V (*r.* 1605-21), while Pietro was the personal goldsmith to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571-1621). These were plum positions and prove that both men were talented, although there is very little in their biographies to indicate that this talent was founded on their ingenuity as figurative artists. Almost surely, if they had distinguished themselves in this field, Baglione would have dedicated lives to them in

his *Vite*. But as it stands, Spagna appears nowhere in the text, and Vanni is mentioned only once, in relation to his casting of a gilt-bronze relief designed, at least in part, by the sculptor Ambrogio Bonvicino (*d.* 1622).⁸² All the more telling, then, is how many of Guglielmo's former associates were given their own biographies: Jacob Cobaert, Antonio Gentile da Faenza, Tommaso della Porta (*d.* 1618), Giovanni Battista della Porta (*d.* 1597), and Sebastiano Torrigiani (*d.* 1596).⁸³ Admittedly, of this group, only Cobaert, Antonio Gentile, and Torrigiani can be considered dedicated goldsmiths. But this does not change the fact that in the eyes of Baglione, they were the far superior artists to Vanni and Spagna. Where Vanni's and Spagna's chief talent seems to have lay was in their industriousness. They managed large and well-organized workshops that could respond to frequent orders from their wealthy patrons. But this advantage, at least to judge by Baglione, came at a price: an *œuvre* of attractive but perfectly standard works. No matter how greatly Baglione may have esteemed the artistic abilities of Cobaert, Antonio Gentile, and Torrigiani, there were numerous times during their careers when they behaved no more imaginatively than their competition, choosing the dependable path of copying. Thanks to their close ties to Guglielmo, many of his studio effects - including his models - became available to them at his death, and the opportunity to re-use them appears to have proven irresistible - at least occasionally.⁸⁴ Why be inventive, they seem to have reasoned, when Guglielmo's old designs could be re-cast and sold at a nice profit. Just how far they sometimes took this logic is revealed in trial records. In 1609, Teodoro della Porta (1567-1638), Guglielmo's son, charged several Roman goldsmiths, including Antonio Gentile, with having stolen and reproduced illegally models left to him by his father.⁸⁵ If these designs were still so valuable in 1609 that they provoked this complicated lawsuit, then one can only imagine how precious they must have been during the 1580s, when they were newer and more stylistically current.

If talented designers grew in short supply over the 1580s, there is no evidence that goldsmiths faced a parallel decline in demand for their products. By all indications, the wealthy of Rome continued to buy goldsmiths' items just as prodigiously, even if they may have found it slightly more difficult to procure the sort of refined, or *ingegnoso*, works they had come to expect earlier in the century. Cardinal Sfondrati appears to have taken a rather practical approach to the problem. Between 1599 and 1618, he acquired no fewer than forty-six precious reliquaries for his church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere.⁸⁶ The collection survives in its entirety in the Museo Sacro at the Vatican and provides an unprecedented look at one patron's tastes.

The first surprise is that Sfondrati was able to meet his reliquary needs without practically any involvement from local goldsmiths. While a few of the reliquaries in the collection may have been produced in Rome, the vast majority originated in Nuremberg, Augsburg, Antwerp, Paris, and Genoa.⁸⁷ The other peculiarity is that few of these reliquaries were direct commissions. Most date from the middle of the sixteenth century and were probably brought to Rome by foreign cardinals and merchants.⁸⁸ Many are masterpieces, although we can be certain that Sfondrati did not choose his reliquaries on the basis of their aesthetics or style. In his collecting, he was motivated by the sacredness of the relics inside the reliquaries. He must have only viewed it as a happy coincidence that the oldest and most venerated relics tended to be the ones incased in the most lavish and expensive reliquaries.

On at least one occasion, however, Sfondrati was forced to turn to the local talent pool and to commission a reliquary *ex novo*. This was no ordinary reliquary, but the large metal casket that was to house S. Cecilia's sacred remains. In 1599, Sfondrati awarded this commission to Curzio Vanni, and the result, considering the supreme sacredness of the relic, is surprisingly modest in terms of design.⁸⁹ Although the casket was last seen in 1900, its design is recorded in a print, and this print shows that the casket was no more than a simple box with seraphim on its

corners and fronted by a cartouche.⁹⁰ There are several explanations for this design choice. Sfondrati may have recognized that, because the casket was to be concealed under the high altar, it was not worth paying for an elaborate design. He may have felt that by commissioning the casket in pure silver, he was doing full justice to the relic. Another option is that the reliquary reflects his conservative tastes, a topic that will be addressed shortly. A final possibility is that Sfondrati actually wished for a truly magnificent casket but was beholden to Vanni's creative abilities, which were adequate but hardly as impressive as those of some of the northern European goldsmiths already represented in his reliquary collection. While each of these factors undoubtedly played a role in the final design, this last one is particularly intriguing for what it suggests about the state of goldsmithing in Rome around 1600. It is probably inaccurate to conclude that Sfondrati was disappointed by Vanni, but it is possible that the Cardinal entered the commission with his expectations already lowered. However he truly felt, if Sfondrati ever turned to Vanni again, it was not for a major work, and there are no records of any other local goldsmiths working for him on any of his other reliquaries.⁹¹ He remained committed to the principal that great reliquaries were about the relics inside of them, a philosophy that was very much in keeping with his purist views on religion. Still, it seems worthwhile to ask if he might have been more sympathetic to new reliquaries - especially in the case of those relics recently discovered in his church - if there were better prospects in Rome for masterful productions.

Unfortunately, it cannot be said for sure if Sfondrati's actions indicate that great decorative arts designers grew particularly scarce in Rome following Guglielmo's death. What seems a more secure measure, however, is that for the exact same period, 1577 to the early 1610s, there is almost a total dearth of surviving preparatory drawings for goldsmith's work whose origins can be confidently ascribed to Rome. The several exceptions are to be attributed to the famed

painter Annibale Carracci (1560-1609).⁹² Around 1595, he was asked by Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573-1626) to design a large silver *tazza* featuring Silenus.⁹³ This dish, the so-called *Tazza Farnese*, survives in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, while Annibale's studies for this project are numerous and can be found in various collections in Europe and the United States.⁹⁴

The *Tazza Farnese*, produced between 1595 and 1600, coincides with one of the most significant revolutions in the art of painting to happen in Rome since Julius II's papacy (r. 1503-13). Painters from all over Europe (not just Italy) descended on Rome, and the city became a crucible for new styles. While the surge in the talent pool inevitably diverted some designing opportunities away from goldsmiths, there continued to be a small faction of goldsmiths who were just as ambitious in design as brilliant at modeling. What is more, most of these goldsmith-artists can be associated with Guglielmo della Porta, which returns us to the main thrust of this section. In the several decades after his death, some of his former associates managed to add design-work to their curriculum vitae, becoming talented sculptors in their own right.

If my reading of the situation is correct, it should be possible to identify instances when a goldsmith who had trained under Guglielmo della Porta succeeded in designing an innovatory work of cast sculpture. While the *Prophets* in S. Luigi dei Francesi are a secure case of this, other examples are more difficult to pinpoint, even though there is abundant evidence that Guglielmo's former associates continued to be a highly productive group after his passing. As we have seen, few goldsmith's items survive from this period. Furthermore, many objects lack documentation, and if we cannot prove whether an object dates after 1577, the possibility is strong that Della Porta was its designer. One of the thorniest of these cases is a pair of gilt-bronze figures in the Vatican treasury representing *Saints Peter and Paul* (FIGS. 11-12). Both are inscribed 1692 on their bases. Yet, according to the usually reliable Gaetano Moroni, writing in 1841,

they date considerably earlier, from the papacy of Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85).⁹⁵ A later author, again not citing his sources, claimed a similar story, that they were executed in 1585 by Sebastiano Torrigiani, one of Guglielmo's ablest associates.⁹⁶ What makes it particularly difficult to resolve this attribution is that if we consider Torrigiani's documented *œuvre*, even if replete with exquisite works of goldsmithery, it contains no items that compare closely to the *Saints Peter and Paul*. He is known mostly as a founder, and his two documented gilt-bronze figures, both corpuses, copy models by Guglielmo.⁹⁷ Still, there is nothing to say that Torrigiani was incapable of conceiving and executing this pair. It at least seems certain that they date from the 1580s, as they bear strong compositional affinities with two nearly contemporaneous works, the large bronze figures of *Saints Peter and Paul* that crown, respectively, Trajan's Column in Rome and the Column of Marcus Aurelius.⁹⁸ What is more, Torrigiani is known to have cast these two bronzes from models provided to him by Leonardo Sormani and Tommaso della Porta. If we follow James Draper's lead and accept the attribution, it is clear that Torrigiani, when circumstances were right, could pull off incredibly sumptuous sculptures, ones that invite comparison with the *Prophets* for their monumentality and naturalism.⁹⁹ The standard approach, however, is to ignore the *Saints Peter and Paul* when discussing late sixteenth-century sculpture. The tendency, perhaps, is to view them as out-of-character or too "advanced" for the period.¹⁰⁰ Of course, if they belonged to a later time, they can only have been produced by a thoroughly old-fashioned goldsmith, as they show none of the influence of Bernini.

Antonio Gentile da Faenza

Issues of authorship also plague the *œuvre* of Antonio Gentile da Faenza (1519-1609), reputedly the most talented goldsmith to have regularly collaborated with Guglielmo della Porta.¹⁰¹ A fair indication of his fame is that he was asked to finish (or perhaps create *ex novo*) the large

altarservice (FIG. 13) donated in 1582 by Alessandro Farnese to the high altar of St. Peter's.¹⁰² No more a prestigious spot could an artist have hoped for his efforts in Rome, and it seems that Antonio deserved this honor, being, in Baglione's words, a «*valente Oreficie grossiere, e modellava da scultore eccellentemente*».¹⁰³ Baglione goes on to write that in the field of forming figures, «*non ritrovassi pari, che in quel genio l'uguagliasse*».¹⁰⁴ Regrettably, we have very few works by which to verify Antonio Gentile's design abilities.¹⁰⁵ Not even the St. Peter's altarservice is reliable in this capacity, for there is no way to establish which parts of it Antonio actually made or designed. The history of the commission is protracted and seems to involve at least two other artists. Gentile inherited the project from Manno Sbarri, who died in 1576 before it was completed.¹⁰⁶ This information is revealed in Cardinal Farnese's last will and testament, dated 1574, where the cross and two candlesticks are described as «*alquantulum imperfecta*» (slightly unfinished).¹⁰⁷ This document identifies Sbarri as their author and St. Peter's as their destination, which seems to rule out the possibility that we are dealing with two separate altarservices. Other sources indicate that Manno Sbarri had begun work on this altarservice during the late 1560s, and in 1568, he was paid over 800 *scudi* for his efforts.¹⁰⁸ This sum may represent several years' back wages, for there is graphic evidence that the altarservice had been conceptualized before 1563, the year in which Francesco Salviati died. In the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin, there survives a drawing by Salviati that relates closely to the finished altarservice (FIG. 14).¹⁰⁹ This suggests that Salviati and Sbarri had begun to collaborate on the altarservice while the great painter was still alive. Whoever's fault it was that it took over twenty years for this commission to be realized need not detain us here. The important thing is that by 1578, the year in which Gentile was asked to finish the altarservice, he appears to have been presented with a work that was substantially designed, if not also substantially completed. To reiterate, the cross and two candlesticks are unlikely to

have figured in Cardinal Farnese's testament of 1574 if they were not fairly well advanced by that time.¹¹⁰ One might argue that the altarservice mentioned in the document is not the one in St. Peter's by Antonio. But there is no way to prove this either. The drawing by Salviati suggests, at the very least, that Gentile was working from an earlier design. Given the puzzling nature of the evidence, and the fact that Antonio's style is not clear from his documented works, it seems best to err on the side of caution and to accept that we may never be able to answer whether Antonio Gentile was as gifted an artist as Baglione indicates.¹¹¹

What is most curious about Antonio Gentile is that even if we cannot prove his genius by his surviving works, he had apparently convinced himself that he was not a goldsmith in the craftsman sense of the word but a true liberal artist capable of serious *invenzione*. On 1 June 1587, Antonio commissioned the painter Bernardino Passarotti, presumably a relative of the more famous Bolognese painter Bartolomeo Passarotti (1529-92), to produce an engraving of his *St. Peter's Crucifix* (FIG. 15).¹¹² Exactly when this print was issued is not known, but it certainly postdates Alessandro Farnese's death in 1589, as can be inferred from the caption on the engraving.¹¹³ My reason for highlighting this masterful print concerns the text appearing immediately to the right of the crucifix's base. It reads: «*Antonius Gentiles faentinus Aurifex Inventor sculpsit anno sue aetatis LI*». Three points are clear from this inscription. First, Antonio was a goldsmith. Secondly, he was from Faenza. And thirdly, he was fifty-one-years-old when the *Crucifix* was carved. Regarding this last sentence, while it might be possible to construe «*sculpsit*» as referring to the engraving, we can be certain Gentile intends the *Crucifix*, as he was much older than fifty-one-years-old when the engraving was carved.¹¹⁴ As for the remaining word, «*Inventor*», being a noun and capitalized like «*Aurifex*», it unquestionably describes Antonio, implying that he not only sculpted the *St. Peter's Crucifix* but also invented it.¹¹⁵ Despite my doubts as expressed

in the last paragraph that Antonio designed the *St. Peter's Crucifix* completely on his own, it is clear from the way he worded his by-line on this print that he wanted the public to see him as the brains - not so much the hands - behind this, Rome's most exquisite work of goldsmithery.¹¹⁶ The true degree to which Antonio considered himself a liberal artist - an *Aurifex Inventor* - may be gauged from the comments he made during an early session of the Accademia di S. Luca. In 1594, the founder of the Academy, Federico Zuccaro (ca. 1542-1609), called a conference to discuss proposals for the Academy's emblem. According to Romano Alberti, our principal source for the Academy's first years, Antonio Gentile was one of the artists who had cogitated on this matter deeply, suggesting a device of three drawing implements, symbolizing *disegno*, from which a bright light would shine forth illuminating the arts.¹¹⁷ We never learn how his proposal was received, but even if its influence was negligible, what is clear is that Antonio Gentile was conversant on important art theoretical issues and considered himself the intellectual equal of any painter, sculptor, or architect in the room.

Guglielmo's *Gran Scuola*

Why it should come as no surprise that Antonio Gentile was capable of liberal thought is because he had been a close friend and frequent collaborator of Guglielmo della Porta.¹¹⁸ Although a peculiar artist, Guglielmo appears to have pondered on art theoretical problems frequently and seriously. This point is clearest from his correspondence. In one extraordinary letter addressed to Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-92), perhaps written in the winter of 1569, Guglielmo glides between the major art topics of his day with consummate ease and sophistication.¹¹⁹ As a sampling of this letter's content, he discusses the Florentine Academy, proclaims Rome the «*vero ma[e]stro*» of art, quotes Michelangelo, and touches on the *paragone*. The depth of his views far exceeds that of any casual correspondence,

and he must have intended this letter to circulate widely and be interpreted as a compendium of his views on art. One point that he constantly stresses is that Rome has always held primacy over Florence in the visual arts. This can only be interpreted as a direct challenge to Vasari, whose entire *Vite* was calculated to assert the opposite, that Florence was predominant. That Della Porta chose to wage this battle provides additional proof that he saw himself as much more than a craftsman-sculptor but as an academician-sculptor, and it is not surprising in this light that he makes mention in the very same letter that he ran a «*scuola*» for young sculptors. Just as Baglione seems to have imagined it, therefore, Della Porta's foundry operation doubled as an arts academy, and while there might not have been formal classes *per se*, we can easily imagine that during the course of everyday working, he routinely held informal conversations with his assistants on timely artistic and cultural issues.

That Guglielmo's workshop was a place of humanistic thought - a *scuola* in the liberal arts sense - does not automatically mean, however, that his productions were artistically innovative. In fact, as Montagu has commented, his sculptures are perfectly normal by style.¹²⁰ Less conventional, though, are his drawings, a point confirmed by his two sketchbooks in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.¹²¹ A representative example is folio 82 in the second volume (FIG. 16), which shows five versions of *Christ at the Column*.¹²² Guglielmo has rendered these forms in a restless, flickering manner, which goes to make the sheet a maelström of energy. Intensifying this effect is the severe elongation of the figures, whose extremities create powerful axes that crisscross the composition and form abstract patterns. While drawing quick sketches was a normal part of artistic practice during the Renaissance, no graphic *œuvre* by an Italian sculptor between Michelangelo and Bernini exhibits the same degree of tireless imagination as Guglielmo's. An important effect that Della Porta's approach to drawing may have had on the goldsmiths and sculptors in his circle is that they were encouraged

to give voice to their own creative impulses. This emphasis on creation, or *invenzione*, may have pushed some of them, like Cobaert, to develop abilities as designers. We may at least be certain that Guglielmo's workshop was more conducive to creativity than the large and impersonal antiquities yards where most sculptors in Rome trained, a subject to which we will return. Here, mention should be made of Tommaso della Porta, a relative of Guglielmo who had reputedly learned the art of sculpture in Guglielmo's «*Gran Scuola*», to quote Baglione again.¹²³ Although Tommaso was primarily an antiquities dealer, he clearly exited Guglielmo's *Gran Scuola* with an unorthodox approach to art. Of the few works he is known to have executed, the one that is most shocking in terms of style is his marble *Deposition from the Cross* in the oratory of SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso, Rome (FIG. 17) (ca. 1586-96).¹²⁴ Comprised of five figures, all carved from the same block of stone, it was clearly meant as a commentary on the ancient topos of *ex uno lapide*.¹²⁵ While it is surely significant that Tommaso chose to engage this theme, the sculpture itself manifests severe oddities in design. "Eccentric" and "unconventional" are some of the adjectives that have been used to describe it.¹²⁶ A more perceptive critique is offered by Sylvia Pressouyre, who notes Christ's precarious position, his tortured pose, and the strange quietude shown by his attendees, especially by Mary.¹²⁷ But of all parts of the sculpture, the one that really defies expectations is the angel. In terms of iconography, it is an «*assoluta novità*», to quote Pasquale Rotondi.¹²⁸ As Rotondi also pointed out, no previous artist had depicted Christ being lowered from the cross by an angel.¹²⁹ That Tommaso decided to leap this iconographical hurdle in the medium of free-standing marble makes his innovation all the more amazing. One's initial reaction upon viewing the statue is that the floating angel must have been executed in a lightweight medium like clay or wax - anything but heavy marble. The secret to the illusion are two marble struts, largely invisible from the front, that connect the

angel to the cross. While the *Deposition* is bound to have drawn astonished looks when it was first unveiled, its influence on Roman sculpture remained largely negligible. It perhaps strayed too far from mainstream tastes to be taken seriously.¹³⁰ Its main help lies in showing that Guglielmo's pupils were equipped to think about old artistic problems in new and highly thought-provoking ways.

The *Saints* in S. Cecilia in Trastevere

So far, this article has demonstrated that between 1577 and 1600, conditions had perfectly developed in Rome where a former assistant of Guglielmo della Porta might easily produce a work of metal sculpture as imaginative and stylistically innovative as the *Prophets* in S. Luigi dei Francesi. Ulrich Middeldorf first shone light on this phenomenon in 1977 with an article entitled *In the Wake of Guglielmo della Porta*.¹³¹ Although he did not know the *Prophets*, Middeldorf reasoned on the basis of other objects (some to be discussed below) that even after Guglielmo's death, the sculptor continued to exercise a measurable influence on the Roman goldsmith's scene through his many assistants and followers. In the preceding pages, we have given fuller scope to this "wake", analyzing its character and origins. The remainder of this article will build on these foundations and consider how Guglielmo's "wake" may have impacted another constituency in Rome, the marble carvers. If Guglielmo truly inspired a new, more liberal mentality among certain goldsmiths in Rome, it stands to reason that contact with these goldsmiths could prove immensely rewarding for a young sculptor like Stefano Maderno, and Maderno will be our test case. Not only his early career scattered with documentable links to goldsmiths, but also he had mastered one of the staples of the goldsmith's art by his mid-twenties: the ability to prepare fine models for casting. I shall introduce this topic with an examination of the only gilt-bronze figures routinely associated with him: the six gilt-

bronze *Saints*, all in low relief, that flank his famed statue of *Santa Cecilia* (FIGS. 18 and 20). These *Saints*, divided three per side, adorn two panels of polished black marble imbedded in the two low walls that extend out from the niche containing the *Santa Cecilia*. A fictive ledge, made of white marble, runs beneath both sets of *Saints*, carrying identifying inscriptions. On the left panel (moving left to right) are *Saints Lucius, Urban, and Maximus* (FIG. 18); the right panel contains *Saints Valerian, Cecilia, and Tiburtius* (FIG. 20).

The *Saints* are particularly useful because they can be dated with relative accuracy through documents. Antonia Nava Cellini has published payments running between December 1600 and February 1602 to the founders Orazio Censore, Domenico Ferrerio, and Giacomo Laurenziano for unspecified bronze-work in the church's newly renovated choir.¹³² In the absence of any other documents from the early seventeenth century that could be construed as referring to the *Saints*, it seems a safe assumption that among the payments cited by Nava Cellini are those for the six figures.¹³³ Another important factor is that the account books for the ornamentation of the choir were closed in 1604, which provides a secure *terminus ante quem* for their production.¹³⁴

What help the archives provide in dating the *Saints*, other means are necessary to settle their attribution. The first step is to remove as practical candidates the three founders named in the payment receipts cited above. Nothing suggests that Censore, Ferrerio, or Laurenziano ever attained any level of sophistication as sculptors.¹³⁵ Traditionally, the *Saints* have been ascribed to Maderno for reasons of style and in consideration of the fact that Maderno was closely affiliated with the renovation of the choir through his *Santa Cecilia*.¹³⁶ While this claim merits serious consideration, so too does one recently put forward by Oreste Ferrari and Serenita Papaldo that the *Saints* are by two different hands.¹³⁷ The *Saints* on the left panel (*Saints Lucius, Urban, and Maximus*) have highly individualized faces, while the *Saints* on the other panel bear more

generalized physiognomies. They have smoother, rounder cheeks; their faces show no underlying bone structure; and their eyes are blank and uniformly almond-shaped. By contrast, the *Saints* on the left panel have sharp cheek bones, and their eye sockets are deep and vary in size. Given these differences, Ferrari and Papaldo seem right to surmise that the commission was carried out by two different artists, although we should probably assume that all six figures were produced in nearby workshops owing to their manifestly identical aesthetics. Both sets of figures display similar grace and balance, and their draperies emphasize this aspect, flowing nimbly over their body parts, while maintaining a decidedly downward, stabilizing trajectory. Also arguing in favor of the same workshop is the fact that the two *Saints* depicted in motion, *Saints Tiburtius and Maximus*, both on the far right of their respective panels, are composed almost identically, stepping to their right and pushing off with their left feet. As they twist, their skirts linger behind them as if affected by actual air resistance.

Altogether, the six *Saints* proclaim their originality by having simple, elegant designs. Like Maderno's masterful *Santa Cecilia*, they turn their backs on the complex vocabularies of late sixteenth-century art and vow a return to the simple language of the High Renaissance. As Kämpf has recently shown, the patron of the *Santa Cecilia* - as well as of the six *Saints* - was someone who actively promoted this sort of purer, more traditional art, Cardinal Sfondrati, the great collector of reliquaries whom we previously met. His tastes reflect numerous factors, but none more strongly than his appreciation for the culture of early Christian antiquity, a passion he shared with his fellow cardinals Cesare Baronio (1538-1607) and Carlo Borromeo (1538-84). Sfondrati, as he was called at the papal court, belonged to a group of erudite clerics who were fascinated by early Christian culture and antiquities. These ecclesiastic historians took a particular interest in early Christian devotional practices and, to promote research in this field, sponsored excavations at early Christian

monuments all around the city. In this era of the Counter-Reformation, Sfondrati and his friends came to realize that early Christian art and architecture offered excellent models for contemporary church decoration, helping to remind Catholics of the Church's great antiquity.¹³⁸ This was clearly Sfondrati's mindset when, having discovered Cecilia's body, he resolved to commission a statue of her and have it placed in a dark chamber under the high altar. The setting is meant to evoke a *loculus*, the specific kind of early Christian burial site where her corpse had been found.

Returning to the gilt-bronze *Saints*, we are forced to ask if Sfondrati did not also influence their creation. The answer seems an unqualified yes, and the proof lies in the compositional source used for the figure who stands in the middle of the right panel, the *Santa Cecilia*. She is based on Raphael's famous painting *The Vision of Santa Cecilia* (FIG. 19), which, in the late sixteenth century, remained in its original location, the church of S. Giovanni in Monte, Bologna (now Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale).¹³⁹ Maderno has made only minor adjustments to his source, shifting Cecilia's head slightly downward and altering several of her pleats, including the furl where her dress splits at her right.¹⁴⁰ How this painting, which had always been in Bologna, came to be the model for this relief is easily explained. A first-rate copy was available for study in Rome by the end of 1600.¹⁴¹ In fact, it was a commission of Sfondrati and may have first been displayed in no other place than S. Cecilia in Trastevere.¹⁴² (It only moved to its final resting spot, the high altar of the Polet chapel in S. Luigi dei Francesi, around 1614). Sfondrati clearly believed that Raphael's style, with its combination of ideal forms and geometric beauty, was especially congenial to early Christian antiquarianism.¹⁴³ As proof of his abiding affection for this aesthetic, when commissioning pictures for the Cappella del Bagno, the under-ground space where Cecilia was believed to have been martyred, Sfondrati selected from artists with proven sympathies for Raphael's art, enlisting Guido Reni (1575-

1642), Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566-1643), and the Siennese painter Francesco Vanni (1563-1610).¹⁴⁴ It is into this artistic milieu that the sculptors who modeled our gilt-bronze *Saints* must be inserted. They have acknowledged Sfondrati's tastes by creating figures that are laced with the same qualities of naturalism, formal simplicity, and restrained expression that characterize the Raphaelesque pictures in the Cappella del Bagno. If anything, the gilt-bronze medium strengthened this affinity. In the right light, the figures glisten as though painted in the radiant manner of Raphael himself.¹⁴⁵

Understanding the cultural milieu that bore these sculptures returns us to the question of who modeled them. As mentioned, Stefano Maderno is a likely candidate given that he was working for Sfondrati at approximately the same time the gilt-bronze reliefs were made.¹⁴⁶ Regarding the left panel (*Saints Lucius, Urban, and Maximus*), the attribution seems virtually incontrovertible given the close resemblance between these three *Saints* and the gilt-bronze figures in Maderno's *Pope Liberius Tracing in the Snow the Perimeter of S. Maria Maggiore* (FIG. 21). This much larger relief, located in the Pauline chapel, was modeled by Maderno during the first half of 1610, but not cast, it seems, until 1612, when the last payment for it is recorded, dated 21 December.¹⁴⁷ Its central character, Liberius, has the same high cheekbones as *Saint Urban*, and this attention to physiognomic detail carries through all the figures, establishing a clear point of correspondence between Maderno's style and the three reliefs under review. The main difference concerns the draperies. The fabrics in the *Liberius* relief tend to be more broadly modeled, while the *Saints* (especially *Saints Lucius* and *Urban*) are notable for their tightly spaced pleats that come to sharp edges. This discrepancy is slight enough, however, that it could be attributable to the roughly ten years separating the two commissions. It is also worth noting that there is only one figure in the relief who is presented frontally, the man holding a cross just right of center, and his drapery, with its parallel creases, recalls the mantles worn by

Saints Lucius and Urban. While it is hard to imagine that Maderno was directly responsible for the *Saints* on the right panel, he almost certainly modeled the other three.

Goldsmiths and the Art of Modeling

In the previous paragraph, a basic assumption is drawn, that Maderno could model, meaning that he was adept at forming small figures in pliable materials like clay and wax. For centuries, sculptors had been using clay and wax for a wide range of purposes: for models for casting, for study models, and for independent works of sculpture (as with terracotta).¹⁴⁸ It is no exaggeration that modeling was one of the most essential tools in the sculptor's arsenal, even for sculptors whose primary medium was marble. Michelangelo and Bernini, unquestionably the two greatest marble carvers in Italian art, were indefatigable modelers, and were it not for their devotion to modeling, we can be sure that their art would show much less imagination. Sculptors model in the same way that painters sketch. Like sketching, modeling permits the rapid visualization of ideas and, for this reason, can be considered a tool of *disegno*. To be a more skillful modeler, therefore, is to be a more skillful designer. If a sculptor can record his ideas accurately and effortlessly in sketch-models, he is more likely to realize successful and imaginative designs. Experimentation generates innovation. A sculptor who labors at experimentation will also labor at innovation.

Because modeling, as a tool of *disegno*, carried academic associations, its importance was especially stressed in cities with arts academies. Thus, Florence, the first city in Italy with a state-sponsored arts academy, also claimed many of the greatest modelers of the late Renaissance, including Giambologna (1529-1608).¹⁴⁹ Rome could not make the same boast - at least not until the early seventeenth century - and there are two likely culprits: Rome's arts academy was still fledgling at the end of the sixteenth century,¹⁵⁰ and, in contrast to other

places, its sculptors typically learned their art by restoring antiquities, a point recently discussed by Peter Lukehart¹⁵¹ and underscored by Baglione: «*In questa città [Rome] tutti i Signori cominciarono a restaurare molte cose antiche*».¹⁵² While young restorers would have known how to model in a limited sense, few ever attained real distinction as modelers during their later careers as independent sculptors.¹⁵³ Modeling could be useful in antiquities restoration but was hardly integral to it. Only the most complex jobs - like the *Laocoon* - demanded preparatory models, and these jobs were normally reserved for senior sculptors.¹⁵⁴ This is not to say that Rome was completely devoid of great modelers around 1600, just that to find them, it is important to look in fields other than restoration. There were Florentines like Taddeo Landini (ca. 1558-96) who clearly understood the value of modeling thanks to their academic upbringings in Florence.¹⁵⁵ There were also stuccoists like Camillo Mariani (1565/67-1611) who, owing to their craft, were uniquely sensitive to the aesthetic advantages that modeled materials held over carved ones.¹⁵⁶ A third pocket were the goldsmiths. As indicated at the beginning of this essay, goldsmiths were often excellent modelers owing to the fact that they were frequently called upon to produce small cast items and, necessarily, fine models. These models were usually in wax but also sometimes in clay. Goldsmiths were thus in a natural position to be proficient modelers and, if they had trained in a humanistic workshop like Guglielmo della Porta's, to recognize how modeling could benefit the creative process. All this goes to suggest that the right goldsmith could offer a sculptor like Maderno important lessons in modeling, lessons that could spell the difference between an imaginative design like the *Santa Cecilia's* and so many of the banal ones that characterize sculpture in Rome during the late Cinquecento.

Whether goldsmiths were really pivotal for Maderno's art demands that we investigate his upbringing. Maderno was almost certainly born close to Rome, if not in Rome itself, around

1575.¹⁵⁷ According to Baglione, he spent his formative years in the most expected of ways, as a restorer of antiquities.¹⁵⁸ This is also suggested by the *Santa Cecilia*. Restoration would have been practically the only way a twenty-something sculptor like Maderno could have gained sufficient experience with a chisel to have carved as accomplished a work of marble as it. What restoration does not explain, however, is the innovatory design of the *Santa Cecilia*. This prompts the question of might there have been another dimension to his training.

Casting a different and possibly brighter light on Maderno's artistic development is our earliest document for the sculptor, dated 4 September 1597.¹⁵⁹ It represents a contract between Maderno and the Sienese goldsmith Alessandro Turchi for a marble bas-relief of the *Crucifixion* that was to include Christ, an armed soldier, and Saints Barbara and Mary Magdalen. While the document furnishes many interesting details about Maderno's earlier career, its main usefulness lies in the person it identifies as his first known client: a goldsmith. Regrettably, very little is known about Alessandro Turchi. He is recorded in Siena in 1575 but had obviously settled in Rome by 1597, the year of his transaction with Maderno.¹⁶⁰ Between 1600 and 1604, he was living and working on the Via del Pellegrino (a street famous for its goldsmiths' shops), and his name is recorded in the registers of the Università degli Orefici between 1604 and 1606.¹⁶¹ His death date is unknown but may have happened soon after 1606, as there are no other known documents for him. The main benefit in reviewing Turchi's short biography is that it provides confirmation that he was a practicing goldsmith. Not only was he tied to his profession's most important institution, the Università degli Orefici, but also he was among the numerous goldsmiths living and working on the Via del Pellegrino. Sadly, Turchi's special abilities as a goldsmith must remain a mystery. No works by him are known. Nor is it clear why he would have wanted a marble bas-relief of the *Crucifixion* or chosen Maderno to execute it. Regarding this last point, though, part of the

answer may lie in the fact that during the late 1590s, Maderno and Turchi were somewhat connected through their physical geographies. Maderno, living in 1597 on the Via Giulia, was practically right around the corner from the Via del Pellegrino, where Turchi was perhaps already dwelling (certainly working) by this time.

Not all of Maderno's goldsmith-neighbors were as comparatively minor as Turchi. Census records show that living in the very same neighborhood was the vastly more talented Antonio Gentile da Faenza. His earliest workshop in Rome is recorded on the Via del Pellegrino in 1565, and he would never move far from this street. Sometime before 1592, he relocated to a house on the Via Giulia, and it was on the Via Giulia, in the church of S. Biagio, where he was buried.¹⁶² Establishing that Maderno had relations with at least one goldsmith, Turchi, and lived in the same zone as many others, including Antonio Gentile, greatly increases the chances that he had some exposure to the goldsmith's art prior to executing his *Santa Cecilia*. I do not mean to suggest that Maderno received formal training as a goldsmith. But the power of casual exposure cannot be discounted. He must have had repeated, if not daily, encounters with goldsmiths and observed frequently how they went about their work, including how they modeled. In this rather informal way, Maderno was possibly alerted to the importance of modeling and given some of his first - and likely best - instruction in this crucial art.

The most categorical proof, however, that modeling was a technique at which Maderno had come to excel by his late twenties are two small terracottas, signed and dated 1605, that portray *Nicodemus with the Dead Christ*. The one in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, is in the format of a rectangular bas-relief (FIG. 22),¹⁶³ while the other, in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, is a fully three-dimensional group, approximately thirteen centimeters higher than the Berlin specimen is long (FIG. 23).¹⁶⁴ Both objects take as their source Michelangelo's Florentine *Pietà* (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo).¹⁶⁵ But in contrast to Michelangelo, Maderno has softened

the personality of his *Christ* by ridding him of any contortions. In the Hermitage group, Christ's left arm falls naturally before him, whereas in Michelangelo's sculpture, this limb rotates to such a painful extreme that Christ's left palm becomes visible to the viewer. We have observed a similar tempering approach in his gilt-bronze *Saints*.

Aside from style, the two terracottas can be related to the *Saints* in another important way. In several key respects, they resemble models for casting. With the relief, the connection is rather obvious since the object is in the format of a devotional plaquette, even having the right measurements for this genre. It is also carefully tooled like a small bronze. For this reason, too, the Hermitage group can be easily imagined in metal. It is also finished in back and would not be too big for placement on a table, altar, or shelf. Even the way Maderno has formed the raised platform on which Christ sets his right foot suggests that when he was modeling this object, he was thinking about the procedures for bronze-casting. Had the statue been cast, this knob would have helped to create a secure conduit between foot and base for the molten bronze to pass through. If this knob was any smaller, cracks are likely to have developed in this zone during cooling. In spite of these features, neither terracotta appears to have been cast. Their purpose is problematic and best discussed in another context. Their immediate importance lies in the light they shine on Maderno's training as a modeler. Given their refined character, small size, and suitability for casting, they again point to the idea that Maderno must have spent some portion of his adolescence modeling near goldsmiths.

Learning Design from Goldsmiths

Throughout this essay, beginning with the *Prophets* in S. Luigi dei Francesi, I have demonstrated that innovative art was coming from the hands of certain goldsmiths in Rome throughout the late Cinquecento. This suggests that a sculptor like Maderno, in addition to learning how to

model from goldsmiths, could also have gained valuable instruction from them in the field of design. In other words, some of the sculptures being produced by goldsmiths around 1600 stood to exert a positive influence on Maderno and to steer his art toward the sublime naturalism of the *Santa Cecilia*. The most effective way to demonstrate this idea is with the actual works that may have inspired Maderno, and I will concentrate in this last section on three of the most powerfully naturalistic that survive. My choice is also guided by the fact that each of these three sculptures can be reliably dated around 1600 and attributed to goldsmiths who were active in Rome. Not much is known about these goldsmiths, however, other than that they frequently derived aspects of their art - even entire compositions - from Guglielmo della Porta. This suggests that they were followers of his, and considering that their borrowings were sometimes very specific, it is conceivable that many of them had served Della Porta while he was still alive. Granted, this hypothesis cannot be proved without better documentation. But it remains a highly tempting theory that even as late as the early Seicento, when speaking about the most innovative goldsmiths in Rome, we must continue to speak about goldsmiths who, for the most part, had descended from Guglielmo's *Gran Scuola*. This bears important implications for Maderno. If he was indebted to goldsmiths for any part of his naturalism, it is very likely to have been goldsmiths who had formerly served Della Porta.

One goldsmith's sculpture that the young Maderno could well have found inspirational for his art is a Madonna and Child figure known in several versions, including a particularly fine one in silver in the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia (FIG. 24).¹⁶⁶ While Maderno would have been most fascinated by the figure itself, we should not ignore the richly ornamented base, whose design strongly reflects Guglielmo della Porta's style. The female terms on each of the four corners resemble the harpy-like figures on claw feet that appear throughout his sketches.¹⁶⁷ The motif can also be located on the back of a

gilt-bronze *pax* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, that, owing to the scene on the front, is unquestionably by a goldsmith closely affiliated with Guglielmo - if not by Guglielmo himself, as Stephanie Walker has argued.¹⁶⁸ Unlike this *pax*, however, our *Madonna and Child* is no ordinary, Guglielmo-esque production. Despite the base, which is solidly rooted in the Cinquecento for its debt to Guglielmo, the figure itself presages the future, displaying a more credible naturalism than was normal for this master.¹⁶⁹ The Madonna, with her elegant, *contrapposto* stance, exudes an air of serenity, even if she must contend with the squirming child in her arms. The overall pose finds strong echoes in Michelangelo's *Medici Madonna* (Florence, S. Lorenzo), and it is not entirely surprising that a follower of Della Porta might take a work by Michelangelo as his source, as Guglielmo himself relied on the Florentine master routinely.¹⁷⁰ This is also the case with Antonio Gentile's candelabras in St. Peter's, which are adorned with numerous figures that are drawn directly from Michelangelo's famous sculptures in the Medici Chapel and on the tomb of Pope Julius II. Granted, as indicated earlier, Antonio's role in the candelabras' design is uncertain, but the observation still furnishes an interesting link between Guglielmo's circle and our *Madonna and Child*. For all the ways this figure can be associated with Guglielmo, however, its main importance lies in the ways it departs from the master. The goldsmith who modeled our group has been purposeful in dispensing with the over-attenuated body parts and jolting movements that run through Guglielmo's art. The child moves credibly, as though studied from life, and the Madonna is balanced and beautifully still - in a way, in fact, that recalls Maderno's *Santa Cecilia*. In weighing these qualities, Charles Avery, the one scholar who has discussed this composition at any length, concludes, I think rightly, that the bronze must have been produced within several years of 1600.¹⁷¹ The second work to be analyzed is a gilded terracotta relief of the *Deposition of Christ* in the Galleria Spada, Rome (FIG. 25). Although it

is not in metal, it is every bit like a goldsmith's work for its precious size and detail. In fact, it may well be an elaborate goldsmith's model that was never cast and only later gilded for display purposes. Whatever its intended function, its main relevance for us is that it is analogous to the afore-mentioned *Madonna and Child* in its use of a proto-Baroque vocabulary tinged with subtle accents of Della Porta.¹⁷² Unlike the bronze, however, we can be certain when the relief was produced. The year 1602 is inscribed on its base.¹⁷³ Admittedly, we are now at a far chronological distance from Guglielmo, but his presence is still palpable in the basic structure of the composition, which is closely allied to many of his surviving drawings of the *Deposition*.¹⁷⁴ A characteristic example is folio 36 of the second volume (FIG. 26), where we find a similar compressing of bodies along the front plane.¹⁷⁵ Another similarity is the drapery style. Many figures, such as the soldier on the far right of the terracotta, are surrounded by broad ribbons of cloth, some practically sails. While this treatment adds a measure of artificiality to the relief, the effect is less emphatic than in the drawings. Another departure, and one that is more obvious, is the greater calm and sense of order that prevails in the relief. Gone are the staccato rhythms and frenzied energy that characterize the drawings. These differences point to an artist who may have trained with Guglielmo but who recognized that his master's style was out of sync with contemporary art and needed certain naturalistic updates. His figures attain a more credible weightiness; their interactions are more emphatic and poignant; and there is a heightened sense of realism in the attention paid to surface details, from the vegetation in the foreground rockery to the clasp worn by the Magdalene. Something of the same approach was taken by the goldsmith Cesare Targone (*fl.* 1577-85) in his signed, *repoussé* gold relief of the *Virgin Mourning the Dead Christ* at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (FIG. 27).¹⁷⁶ Targone, a Venetian by birth, is often described as one of the most brilliant followers of Guglielmo, although it cannot be concluded so easily how

close a follower he actually was.¹⁷⁷ Very little is known about his time in Rome other than that he had arrived from Venice by 1575 and would remain in the city, it is believed, through 1582.¹⁷⁸ Even if his exposure to Guglielmo was limited to just a couple of years, some influence seems to have rubbed off - at least to judge by his one signed work, the Getty relief.¹⁷⁹ In the general arrangement of the figures, Targone appears to have known Guglielmo's drawings of the *Lamentation*, and there is also a reflection of the master in the sinuous curves that cradle Christ's body as well as help to form it.¹⁸⁰ In most other respects, however, the relief marks a sharp break with Guglielmo's style and shows that Targone was a younger, more forward-looking artist. Importantly, he has employed much the same *formula* as the sculptor of the Spada *Deposition*: an emphasis on mass, a concern for delicate, lively surfaces (particularly evident in the shimmering, faceted drapery of the Madonna), and a great attentiveness to the psychologies of his figures. All things considered, the Getty relief might seem the more appropriate object on which to focus this section. But the complicating factor is that the Getty relief predates the Spada *Deposition* by at least seventeen years. It was almost certainly in existence before 1585 and is generally dated a year or two earlier; Bertrand Jestaz has proposed the considerably earlier date of 1577.¹⁸¹ There is also the problem that Targone cannot be confirmed as alive during Maderno's formative years. His documentary trail stops abruptly in Florence in 1585.¹⁸² Fortunately for us, that we cannot prove whether Maderno ever met Targone is made less problematic by the Spada *Deposition*, which echoes Targone's style but was unquestionably produced by a sculptor active in Rome during the precise years it would have mattered to Maderno.

To conclude this section, it seems appropriate to stress that there were some goldsmiths' objects made in Rome around 1600 that, while displaying the same innovatory spirit as the Spada *Deposition*, reveal no obvious connections to Guglielmo's style, making it impossible to prove if their authors were somehow descended

from his *Gran Scuola*. This should not be unexpected, however, as over twenty years had elapsed since Guglielmo's death, which was plenty of time for an entire generation of goldsmiths to be born and reach maturity. Surely, at least one of these goldsmiths was talented enough to produce the final object I shall highlight, an unpublished gilt-bronze plaque of Saint Blaise in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (FIG. 29).¹⁸³ For its refined monumentality and cool naturalism, it recalls the gilt-bronze *Saints* in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, and the inscription on its reverse indicates that it could well have been made about the same time, perhaps even as early as 1593.¹⁸⁴ Still, even if the plaque may have been produced during Maderno's earlier career, we can be fairly certain that Maderno is not its author. The pleats are conceived too broadly for him, and he is likely to have had better success at integrating the proper right arm into the composition. This appendage is implausibly long and lacks any convincing articulation at its wrist. This is not to deny, however, the several passages of very effective naturalism, including the face, with the crooked nose, and the hands. If the plaque cannot be ascribed to Maderno, then to whom? The answer is most likely a goldsmith with no securely documented works like Antonio Gentile's son, Pietro (1563-1623).¹⁸⁵ The tooling is certainly beyond the capabilities of an ordinary sculptor and must be assigned to a goldsmith; the engraved floral pattern on the mantle is especially virtuoso. With no sculptor readily suggesting himself as the modeler, the presumption must be that the same goldsmith who tooled the *Saint Blaise* also modeled it. He was likely a talented artist, especially considering that his patron for the *Saint Blaise* was the prominent cardinal Giovanni Savelli (1575-1628), information that is revealed in the dedicatory inscription on the plaque's reverse.¹⁸⁶ The Savelli were among the most serious art collectors in Rome during the early Baroque, and it is hard to imagine that one of their more discerning members would have found the *Saint Blaise* acceptable if it did not show moderate originality.¹⁸⁷

This suggests that the *Saint Blaise* probably dates before 1610. Admittedly, at this late date, the *Saint Blaise* would not have seemed very impressive to Maderno. But there are still chances that it was produced somewhat earlier, chances that greatly increase if we ignore the traditional view that goldsmiths were minor artists, always following stylistic trends rather than being trendsetters themselves. Given the climate of goldsmithing in Rome around 1600, why should the *Saint Blaise* not anticipate Maderno?

After the *Santa Cecilia*

As stated at the beginning, the *Santa Cecilia* came very early in Maderno's career and, to his undoubted chagrin, represented its climax. He never approached the same level of artistry again. This suggests that something special happened to Maderno during the years leading up to the *Santa Cecilia*, and part of that something seems connected to goldsmiths. Goldsmiths had the power not only to direct Maderno's style toward greater naturalism but also to teach him how to model, or how to create. While it is true that the *Santa Cecilia* presented Maderno with a set of highly unusual circumstances and that these circumstances may have dictated important parts of his design, it seems equally true that he would not have been able to handle these circumstances without prior exposure to some of the skills and artistic ideas that some goldsmiths in Rome were almost uniquely qualified to offer - especially those goldsmiths who had once worked with Guglielmo della Porta.

Throughout the decade following the *Santa Cecilia*, Maderno enjoyed moderate success as a sculptor. He received the highly prestigious commission to model the large relief of *Pope Liberius Tracing in the Snow the Perimeter of S. Maria Maggiore* (ca. 1610-12) (FIG. 21) in the Pauline chapel in S. Maria Maggiore.¹⁸⁸ But like all his later works, it shows none of the innovatory flashes that characterize the *Santa Cecilia*.¹⁸⁹ The true depths of his conventionalism is demonstrated by the pair of marble angels

(ca. 1629-30) (FIG. 28) that flank the main altar in S. Maria di Loreto, Rome. All the qualities that give life and elegance to the *Santa Cecilia* - its soft corporeality, textural refinement, and credible posturing - are missing from these statues, and they look highly artificial. If goldsmiths had once played a role in shaping Maderno's imagination, they were apparently absent now - not that this should be unexpected. The sculptural landscape of Rome had changed markedly in the approximately thirty years between the *Santa Cecilia* and these *Angels*. First, virtually all the goldsmiths with direct links to Guglielmo, including Cobaert and Antonio Gentile, had died. Secondly, with the rise of Bernini and other talented sculptors like Alessandro Algardi (1598-1654) and François Duquesnoy (1597-1643), the familiar dynamic of sculptor-as-goldsmith-designer reasserted itself. The Baroque goldsmith was as much a craftsman as his Renaissance predecessor.¹⁹⁰ This is not to suggest, however, that Maderno completely divorced himself of goldsmith practice. In fact, he remained heavily indebted to one of its key aspects, modeling. Even as his imagination may have been atrophying, he grew increasingly more skillful as a modeler. This is amply documented by his signed and dated terracotta figurines, all classically themed, that span the years 1617 to 1630.¹⁹¹ These are the same years as Bernini's miraculous rise, and while Maderno's terracottas show only nominal engagement with Bernini's revolutionary art, they are notable for their exquisite modeling, which is without parallel in Rome before the late 1620s.¹⁹² Baglione suggests that Maderno produced these terracottas as models for bronzes and that Maderno took up this genre because, having gained a lucrative position at the main customs house on the Tiber River, he could now afford to practice sculpture as an amateur.¹⁹³ While the story about the sinecure may be true, there are good reasons to question Maderno's true motives for making these terracottas. This is a complex subject that deserves full treatment in a separate article.¹⁹⁴ I merely draw attention to the terracottas because they seem to hearken back to Maderno's pre-

Santa Cecilia days when he was likely modeling at the side of goldsmiths.

If Maderno offers one final lesson, it is the power of a “minor” art like goldsmithery to influence a “major” art like marble carving. Too often the “minor” arts are neglected in the history of Italian sculpture, which continues to be influenced by the Vasarian view that great sculpture must be large-scale and in marble or bronze. But as we have seen, throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, goldsmiths were important players on the arts scene, even if their role as designers may have experienced periodic fluctuations. One of these fluctuations happened in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century and can be credited to Guglielmo della Porta, who had the foresight and humanistic mindset to inspire some of the goldsmiths in his *Gran Scuola* to shoulder

the mantle of goldsmith-designer, the *Aurifex Inventor*. This thrust them into a position where they stood to offer real artistic advice to those sculptors in Rome who worked in other media and at larger scales. This give-and-take between genres underscores how much the sculpture produced in the Eternal City around 1600 - for that matter, of any period - is like a tapestry, where each thread constitutes a single influence. To remove one thread may not diminish our appreciation for the total design of the tapestry, but we begin to recognize that even if two threads may seem very distant, they can actually be quite tightly bound. Such appears the relationship between goldsmiths, Guglielmo della Porta, and Stefano Maderno, all three of whom, it pays to remember, were part of the sculptural fabric that no less a force than Bernini was cut from.

Note:

¹ For one of these commissions, a marble relief of the *Crucifixion*, see pp. 40-41 below. The same document that names this *Crucifixion* also indicates that Maderno had previously completed a marble *Saint Sebastian*. It is not known, however, if this was a commissioned work. Nevertheless, this statue has been convincingly identified with a marble *Saint Sebastian* now in the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere. It was bequeathed to the church by Cardinal Camillo Sfondrati, suggesting that he may have commissioned it from Maderno. See H. Economopolous, *La pietà con l'arte con la pietà: collezionismo e committenza del Cardinale Paolo Emilio Sfondrati*, in Marco Gallo (ed.), *I cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa: collezionisti e mecenati*, III, Rome 2002, p. 34.

² For a sampling of the critical praise, see A. Muñoz, *Stefano Maderno: contributo allo studio della scultura barocca prima del Bernini*, Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di S. Luca, III, 1913-14, pp. 1-23 (esp. pp. 1-2); R. Wittkower, *Ein Werk des Stefano Maderno in Dresden*, Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, LXII, 1928-29, p. 28; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, X, 3, Milan 1937, pp. 611-14; A. Nava Cellini, *Stefano Maderno* (Maestri della scultura, no. 60), Milan 1966, *passim*; A. Nava Cellini, *Maderno, Vanni e Reni a S. Cecilia*, Paragone Arte, CXXVII, 1969, p. 18; S. Pressouyre, *Nicolas Cordier, recherches sur la sculpture à Rome autour de 1600*, II, Rome 1984, p. 145; C. Fruhan, *Trends in Roman Sculpture circa 1600*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1986, p. 214; J. Pope-Hennessy,

Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture, London 1996, p. 288; R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750*, J. Connors and J. Montagu (eds.), I, New Haven and London 1999, p. 90.

³ The circumstances of her unearthing have been greatly clarified by T. Montanari, *Una nuova fonte per l'invenzione del corpo di santa Cecilia: testimoni oculari, immagini e dubbi*, Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft, XXXII, 2005, pp. 149-65.

⁴ T. Kämpf, *Framing Cecilia's Sacred Body: Cardinal Camillo Sfondrati and the Language of Revelation*, Sculpture Journal, VI, 2001, pp. 10-20.

⁵ A particularly good discussion is A. Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers: The Arts of Florence and Rome*, New Haven and London 2005, pp. 25-35. See also L. Syson and D. Thornton, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy*, London 2004, pp. 143-53. For the artists named here, see A. Manetti, *Vita di Filippo Brunelleschi*, C. Perrone, ed., Rome 1992, p. 67; L. Gai, *Per la cronologia di Donatello: un documento inedito di 1401*, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, XVIII, 1974, pp. 355-57; Wright, *cit.*, 25-58; and A. Butterfield, *The Sculpture of Andrea del Verrocchio*, New Haven and London 1997, pp. 3-4.

⁶ For Cellini's training, see the standard account by J. Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini*, New York 1985, pp. 23-41.

⁷ See esp. M. Cole, *Cellini and the Principles of Sculpture*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 15-20; and Wright, *cit.*, pp. 25-27.

⁸ The economic and social benefits of goldsmithing in

the Quattrocento are addressed in S. J. A. Churchill and C. G. E. Blunt, *The Goldsmiths of Italy*, London 1926, pp. 34-37; and A. Guidotti (ed.), *Gli orafi e l'oreficeria a Firenze dalle origini al XV secolo attraverso i documenti d'archivio: posizione sociale ed economica, organizzazione del mestiere*, in M. G. Ciardi Duprè (ed.), *L'oreficeria nella Firenze del Quattrocento*, exhib. cat., Florence 1977, pp. 139-42, 152-53, 164-70.

⁹ See esp. Cole, *cit.*, pp. 15-20; and Wright, *cit.*, 29-33.

¹⁰ On the changing fortunes of Italian artists in the Renaissance, see esp. R. M. Comanducci, "Buona artista della sua arte": Il concetto di "artista" e la pratica di lavoro nella bottega quattrocentesca, in F. Franceschi and G. Foss (eds.), *Arti fiorentine: la grande storia dell'artigianato, Il Quattrocento*, II, Florence 1998-99, pp. 149-65; M. Kemp, *Behind the Picture: Art and Evidence in the Italian Renaissance*, New Haven and London 1997, *passim*; and S. Rossi, *Dalle Botteghe alle accademie: Realtà sociale e teorie artistiche a Firenze dal XIV al XV secolo*, Milan 1980.

¹¹ See P. Calamandrei, *Scritti e inediti celliniani*, C. Cordiè, ed., Florence 1971, p. 167.

¹² Syson and Thornton (*cit.*, p. 180) characterize the changes that Giovanni Bernardi made to Michelangelo's *Phaeton* drawings as perhaps «a last-ditch attempt by a goldsmith-technician to regain the lost status of goldsmith-designer».

¹³ The best account of this development is Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, pp. 135-81. On Finiguerra, see esp. the comments by G. Vasari, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, G. Milanesi (ed.), III, Florence 1906, p. 287. For a more general discussion of his reputation as a goldsmith-designer, see L. Melli, *Maso Finiguerra: I disegni*, Florence 1995, pp. 17-18; and Wright, *cit.*, pp. 33-35.

¹⁴ G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, Rome 1642, pp. 152, 323.

¹⁵ For the history of the guild and an analysis of its regulations, see esp. E. Rodocanachi, *Les corporations ouvrières à Rome depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain*, Paris 1894, p. 190; Churchill and Blunt, *cit.*, pp. 1-12; M. M. Lumbroso and A. Martini, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*, Rome 1963, p. 142; A. Martini, *Arti, mestiere e fede nella Roma dei Papi*, Rome 1965, pp. 190-92; J. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, I, New Haven and London 1985, pp. 182-204; P. Peccolo, *Gioielli e reliquie, argenti ed altari: la bottega degli orafi ed argentieri Vanni nella Roma dei papi tra Sisto V e Paolo V*, in V. Martinelli and D. Gallavotti Cavallero, eds., *Marmorari e argentieri a Roma e nel Lazio tra Cinquecento e Seicento: i committenti, i documenti, le opere*, Rome 1994, p. 160; V. Gazzaniga, *La vita e le opere di Fantino Taglietti argentiere e altri protagonisti della produzione argenteria a Roma tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, in *Marmorari e argentieri a*

Roma, cit., pp. 225-26; and A. Kolega, *Il collegio degli orefici ed argentieri di Roma ed il controllo sulla produzione orafa tra Cinque e Seicento*, Roma moderna e contemporanea, II, 1994, pp. 467-89.

¹⁶ B. Cellini, *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, C. R. Ashbee, trans., New York 1967. See esp. ch. 25, pp. 91-95, where Cellini discusses clay and wax models in relation to the casting of silver figures.

¹⁷ J. Montagu, *Gold, Silver and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, Princeton 1996, p. 46.

¹⁸ The document describing the angels is reprinted in Montagu, *cit.*, p. 220, n. 60. See also L. Spezzaferro, *Caravaggio rifiutato? I. Il problema della prima versione del "San Matteo"*, Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte, X, 1980, p. 57.

¹⁹ The history of the tabernacle - including of the *Prophets* - is fully elucidated by Montagu, *cit.*, pp. 35-46. The relevant documents are conveniently reprinted in M. Marini, *Io Michelangelo da Cara-vaggio*, Rome 1974, pp. 482-92. Montagu (*cit.*, p. 220, n. 57) also draws attention to Contarelli's death inventory of 2 December 1585: Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), *Notai della Reverenda Camera Apostolica, Pontus Seva*, vol. 1852, ff. 435-52v, where mentions is made of the tabernacle and the coins (f. 449v). Similar information is given in Archives des Pieux Etablissements de France, S. Luigi dei Francesi, Liasse 13, int. 2.

²⁰ According to the description of the tabernacle prepared in 1602 (Archivio Storico Capitolino [ASC], *Archivium Urbis*, Sezione 1, vol. 476, Vincentius Monaldus, ff. 191-8v). See Montagu, *cit.*, p. 220, n. 60.

²¹ An indication of their non-descript style is that related versions have been attributed to artists as diverse as Jacopo Sansovino and Ludovico del Duca. For the attribution to Sansovino, see B. Paolozzi Strozi, ed., *Bronzetti da XV al XVII secolo (Museo Nazionale del Bargello; Itinerari, 3)*, Florence 1989, p. 30. For Ludovico del Duca, see P. Cannata, *Elia e Moise*, in M. L. Madonna (ed.), *Roma di Sisto V: le arti e la cultura*, Rome 1993, p. 436-37.

²² In their current display, the *Prophets* sit on wooden boxes, which corrects this problem.

²³ For the Lateran sculptures, see J. Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600: Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome*, New York 1995, pp. 306-9.

²⁴ Montagu, *cit.*, p. 42.

²⁵ The most important source for Cobaert's life is Baglione, *Le Vite, cit.*, p. 94. See also L. Ficacci, *Cobaert, Jacob Cornelisz*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XXVI, Rome 1982, pp. 424-26 (with additional bibliography).

²⁶ A recent addition to his *œuvre* is the group of gilt-bronze *Apostles* on the large ebony tabernacle acquired

by the Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, in 2005. These employ (or adapt from) the same models as Cobaert's *Apostles* on his tabernacle in S. Luigi dei Francesi and are thought to be autograph casts. The possibility must remain open, however, that they are later. These models were enormously popular, and there is at least one part of the tabernacle that unquestionably postdates Cobaert, the *Corpus*, which reflects a model by Bernini. See Jean-Luc Baroni Ltd., *Master Paintings and Sculpture*, exhib. cat., Adam Williams Fine Art Ltd., New York, 2003, cat. no. 7; and H. Millon (ed.), *The Triumph of the Baroque: Architecture in Europe, 1600-1750*, exhib. cat., Palazzina di Caccia di Stupinigi, The Montreal Museum of Art, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and the Centre de la Vieille Charité, Marseille, 2000-1, pp. 595-93, cat. no. 616.

²⁷ The account of this trial, which is also discussed below (see p. 23), was published by A. Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma*, II, Milan 1881, pp. 120-61. There, Cobaert is described as «[...] *degens in urbe ad sanctum Petrum [...]*» (p. 138). Later, he testifies that «[...] *doppo la morte del d.to. sig.r Guglielmo [...] io lavoravo con il datario del Papa [Contarelli] [...]*» (p. 148). Cobaert had been living near St. Peter's since at least 1587. See Marini, *cit.*, p. [1974], 483. He would also die in this parish. See G. J. Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent nederlandsche Kunstenaars en Geleerden*, II, The Hague 1913, p. 253.

²⁸ See n. x. The statue is listed among Francesco Contarelli's belongings in his estate inventory of 1625. See Montagu, *cit.*, p. 221, n. 80, citing ASC, *Archivium Urbis*, Sezione 1, vol. 335, Demofonte Ferrino, *Instrumenti*, fol. 740r.

²⁹ For Caravaggio's replacement, see Spezzaferro, *cit.*, pp. 49-64.

³⁰ J. Hess (*The Chronology of the Contarelli Chapel*, *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1951, p. 190) calls the statue «the very incarnation of Mannerism».

³¹ Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 100: «*Quest'huomo non se la faceva con veruno, vivea come una bestia, nè voleva, che in casa sua v'entrasse huomo, o donna. E quando per avventura stava malato calava per la finestra una cordicella, e chiamava qualche vicina, che gli comperasse ciò, che egli voleva; e dentro d'un canestrello alla corda attaccato poi a se ritirava quella roba; e così gran tempo, nemico de' ragionamenti, e dell'humana conversatione se la passò.!*»

³² Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 100: «*Copè vi dimorò a far questa statua tutto il tempo di sua vita, non lasciandola mai veder a persona veruna, nè sapendone cavar le mani, come quegli che non havea pratica del marmo, e non volea pigliar consiglio, o aiuto da alcuno.*»

³³ Bertolotti, *cit.*, II, p. 138.

³⁴ See Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 100. One ivory routinely attributed to Cobaert is the *Nicodemus and Christ with the Madonna* in the Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome. See M. G. Barberini, *Cope scultore fiammingo ed un avorio di casa Patrizi*, in T. Calvano and M. Cristofani (eds.), *Per Carla Guglielmi: scritti di allievi*, Rome 1989, pp. 17-25; and S. Lombardi, *Madonna e Christo sorretto da Nicodemo*, in *Roma di Sisto V*, *cit.*, p. 438. This ivory was acquired from the Patrizi family in 1987 with a long tradition of it being by Cobaert.

³⁵ Bertolotti, *cit.*, II, p. 140.

³⁶ *Ivi.*

³⁷ The Ovid reliefs feature throughout the trial testimony. See Bertolotti, *cit.*, II, pp. 140-1, 143. Baglione (*Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 100) provides additional information: «[Cobaert] operò alcune historiette, o favolette delle metamorfose d'Ovidio in forma ovate, ed alcune ottangole composte per gettare in oro o in argento, e servivano per adornare un ricchissimo tavolino li quali modelli vanno in volta gettati di cera molto vaghi». There are four collections with sizeable holdings of these reliefs: (1) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, (eight oval and eight octagonal in bronze); (2) Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (six oval in bronze); (3) London, Victoria and Albert Museum (two oval in terracotta); and (4) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (one oval in gold on lapis lazuli, one square in bronze signed FIDIA.f, three octagonal in bronze, and three oval in bronze). About these reliefs, see esp. J. G. Philips, *Guglielmo della Porta - His Ovid Reliefs*, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXIV, 1939, pp. 148-51; W. Gramberg, *Guglielmo della Porta, Coppe Fiammingo, und Antonio Gentile da Faenza: Bermerkungen zu sechs Bronzereliefs mit Szenen aus Ovids Metamorphosen im Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg*, *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstlammlungen*, X, 1960, pp. 31-52; W. Gramberg, *Vier Zeichnungen des Guglielmo della Porta zu seiner Serie mythologischer Reliefs*, *Jahrbuch der Hamburg Kunstsammlungen*, XXIII, 1968, pp. 69-94; and Montagu, *cit.*, p. 221, n. 76.

³⁸ Guglielmo della Porta has yet to be the subject of a monographic study. The best source for his early career remains H.-W. Kruft and A. Roth, *The Della Porta Workshop in Genoa*, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, III, 1973, pp. 893-954.

³⁹ For Perino in Genoa, see esp. E. Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga: L'anello mancante*, Genoa 1986, pp. 73-152. Regarding Perino's ties to Guglielmo, see Vasari, *cit.*, V, p. 36; VII, p. 545.

⁴⁰ Vasari (*cit.*, VII, p. 545) states that Guglielmo transferred to Rome in 1537. This arrival date is also suggested by Guglielmo's reputed involvement in the

decorations of the Massimi chapel in S. Trinità in Monti. See Vasari, *cit.*, VII, p. 423; and Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 151. These decorations were completed between 1538 and early 1539. See J. A. Gere, *Two Late Fresco Cycles by Perino del Vaga: The Massimi Chapel and the Sala Paolina*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, p. 10, n. 8. Despite this evidence, Guglielmo is not documented in Rome until 1546. See C. D'Onofrio, *Castel S. Angelo e Borgo tra Roma e Papato*, Rome 1978, p. 316 (at 14 April 1546). The problem of when Guglielmo arrived in Rome is also touched on by F. Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, V, Genoa 1877, p. 207-8.

⁴¹ This was the commission for a series of drawings that were to serve as designs for rock-crystals by Giovanni Bernardi (1494-1553). See C. Robertson, "*Il Gran Cardinale*": *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*, New Haven and London 1992, pp. 35-38.

⁴² Vasari, *cit.*, VII, p. 545-46. See also H.-W. Krufft, *Della Porta, Guglielmo*, in J. Turner (ed.), *Dictionary of Art*, XXV, New York 1996, pp. 255-56.

⁴³ The most famous antiquity that Guglielmo restored for the Farnese was the *Hercules Farnese* (Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte). See Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 151. Regarding his other restorations for this family, see Vasari, *cit.*, VII, p. 186; E. Gaudioso, *I lavori farnesiani in Castel Sant'Angelo*, *Bollettino d'arte*, LXI, 1976, pp. 25-26; and D'Onofrio, *cit.*, p. 316 (at 14 April 1546). With respect to portraiture, Guglielmo executed two busts of Paul III in 1546, one in marble and one in metal. See D'Onofrio, *cit.*, p. 316. The bust in metal is presumably lost, while the bust in marble survives in two versions in the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (inv. nos. AM 1870, n. 10514 and AM 1870, n. 10521). The various small bronze busts of Paul III (like the one in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, originally published by W. Gramberg, *Die Hamburger Bronzestatuette Paul III. Farnese von Guglielmo della Porta*, in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer*, Hamburg 1959, pp. 160-72) are now accepted as nineteenth- or early twentieth-century products. See L. Glinsman, *The Application of X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometry to the Study of Museum Objects*, Antwerp 2004, pp. 71-94.

⁴⁴ The tomb of Francesco de Solis was never installed as planned. Paul III bought its base and used it for his own tomb, while the effigy was shipped to Malaga and became part of a monument to Bishop Luis de Torres. About the tomb, see Vasari, *cit.*, VII, p. 423; W. Gramberg, *Guglielmo della Porta's Grabmal für Paul III Farnese in S. Pietro in Vaticano*, *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXI, 1984, p. 360; and R. C. Martínez and A. M. Dominquez, *Importaciones italianas en España en el s. 16: el sepulcro de D. Luis de Torres*,

arzobispo di Salerno, en la catedral de Malaga, *Boletín de arte*, Universidad de Malaga, Departamento de historia del arte, VI, 1985, pp. 93-111.

⁴⁵ He succeeded Sebastiano del Piombo (d. 21 June 1547) in this position. The responsibilities of the post have been recently clarified by C. Barbieri, *Fishing for Offices: Sebastiano del Piombo as Piombatore*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CL, 2008, pp. 35-36.

⁴⁶ For the most complete account of the tomb, see Gramberg, *cit.*, 1984, pp. 253-364.

⁴⁷ See Vasari's comment (*cit.*, VII, pp. 548-49), where he implies that Guglielmo could afford to be lazy because of his well-paying position as Piombatore. Among the major projects Guglielmo planned but never saw to completion are: (1) an equestrian monument for Charles V (see W. Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, I, Berlin, 1964, pp. 118-120, cat. nos. 223, 224); (2) a cycle of bronze prophets for the niches in the crossing of St. Peter's (see W. Gramberg, *Guglielmo della Porta's verlorene Prophetenstatuen für S. Pietro in Vaticano*, in *Festschrift Walter Friedlaender*, Berlin 1965, pp. 79-84); and (3) a series of large reliefs depicting the episodes of the Passion (see Gramberg, *cit.*, 1964, I, pp. 54-56, cat. no. 59; and C. Valone, *Paul IV, Guglielmo della Porta and the Rebuilding of S. Silvestro al Quirinale*, *Master Drawings*, XV, 1977, pp. 243-45). There are also three tombs attributed to Guglielmo: (1) that of Gregorio Magalotti in S. Maria in Trastevere (see W. Gramberg, *Die Liegestatue des Gregorio Magalotti - Ein römisches Frühwerk des Guglielmo della Porta. Bemerkungen zur Gruppe der Demi-gisants in der römischen Grabplastik des Cinquecento*, *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, XVII, 1972, pp. 43-52); (2) that of Bernardino Elvino in S. Maria del Popolo (see Gramberg, *cit.*, 1972, pp. 50-52); and (3) those of Paolo and Federigo Cesi in S. Maria Maggiore (see G. Baglione, *Le nove chiese di Roma*, Rome 1639, pp. 171-72; and Venturi, *cit.*, X, 3, pp. 555-59).

⁴⁸ For «fonditore», see Bertolotti, *cit.*, II, pp. 123, 126, 138.

⁴⁹ For the use of «casa» in reference to Guglielmo's workshop, see the trial records published by Bertolotti, *cit.*, II, pp. 120-161. Baglione (*Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 74) also describes his workshop as «casa». For Baglione's use of «Gran Scuola», see *Le Vite*, *cit.*, pp. 152, 323.

⁵⁰ A basic sense of the configuration of the complex is afforded by a notarial record published by G. L. Masetti Zannini (*Notizie Biografiche di Guglielmo della Porta in documenti notarili romani*, *Commentari*, XXIII, 1972, p. 300, citing ASR, *Notai Capitolini*, Ufficio I, Atti Graziano, vol. 19, pt. 2, fol. 14r). See also L. Salerno, L. Spezzaferro, M. Tafuri, *Via Giulia: una utopia urbanistica del 500*, Rome 1972, 424-30.

⁵¹ Bertolotti, *cit.*, II, p. 140.

- ⁵² The inventory is reprinted in Masetti Zannini, *cit.*, pp. 303-5. For the relevant correspondence, see Werner, *cit.*, 1964, III, pp. 107-8, 109-110, 125-26.
- ⁵³ See n. x above.
- ⁵⁴ Inv. no. 63.103.3 (12.2 x 16.8 cm). See J. Bean and F. Stampfle, *Drawings from New York Collections: The Italian Renaissance*, New York 1965, p. 67, cat. 111; and Gramberg, *cit.*, 1968, pp. 74-77. The corresponding plaquettes are found in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. See Gramberg, *cit.*, 1960, pp. 45-47.
- ⁵⁵ One indication of this change is the way Vasari characterizes the design abilities of goldsmiths. Although he routinely indicates that many of the greatest artists of the Quattrocento trained as goldsmiths (*cit.*, II, pp. 223, 264, 330; III, pp. 254-5, 290-92), he nevertheless implies that goldsmiths are generally ignorant of design. His Cinquecento views of goldsmithing seem to have colored the Quattrocento reality of goldsmithing. See esp. Cole, *cit.*, p. 16.
- ⁵⁶ For the most extensive accounts of the history of the casket, see Robertson, *cit.*, pp. 38-48; and C. Riebesell, *La Cassetta Farnese*, in L. Fornari Schianchi, ed., *I Farnese: arte e collezionismo: studi*, Milan 1995, pp. 58-69.
- ⁵⁷ Vasari (*cit.*, VII, p. 42) describes Salviati as Manno's «grandissimo amico».
- ⁵⁸ Vasari (*cit.*, VII, pp. 30-31) writes that Salviati arrived in Rome in the autumn of 1548 to begin work on Alessandro's chapel in the Cancelleria.
- ⁵⁹ See Vasari, *cit.*, VII, p. 10, for Salviati's youthful stint as a goldsmith's apprentice. For his activities in the field of goldsmith-design, see S. Prospero Valenti Rodinò, «Officina Farnesiana»: *disegni per oreficerie*, in C. Monbeig Goguel, P. Costamagna, and M. Hochmann (eds.), *Francesco Salviati et la bella maniera: Actes des colloques de Rome et de Paris*, Rome 2001, pp. 405-28; C. Monbeig Goguel (ed.), *Francesco Salviati (1510-1563) o La bella maniera*, exhib. cat., Villa Medici, Rome; Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1998, pp. 244-77; G. Dillon, *Novità su Francesco Salviati, disegnatore per orafi*, *Antichità Viva*, XXVIII, 1989, pp. 45-49; and J. F. Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmith and the Triumph of Mannerism, 1540-1620*, London 1976, pp. 143-45.
- ⁶⁰ Inv. no. 1577E, pen and brown ink with black wash and traces of black charcoal (16.2 x 30.3 cm). See E. Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneidekunst in der Italienischen Renaissance*, II, Vienna 1929, pp. 65-66, 167, pl. 249; I. H. Cheney, *Francesco Salviati (1510-1563)*, Ph.D. thesis, New York University, II, 1963, pp. 516-17; Robertson, *cit.*, pp. 39-40; C. Riebesell, «Progetto per cassetta con medaglioni ovali», in Monbeig Goguel, *cit.*, pp. 248-49, cat. no. 95; and Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, p. 179.
- ⁶¹ Vasari, *cit.*, V, p. 373.
- ⁶² For Vasari's characterisation of Cellini, see Vasari, *cit.*, VII, p. 621-22.
- ⁶³ A good discussion is provided by B. Holman, *Disegno: Italian Renaissance Designs for the Decorative Arts*, exhib. cat., Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, New York, 1997, pp. 4-13.
- ⁶⁴ Giulio Romano was especially hands-on as a goldsmith-designer. See the letter quoted by Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, p. 164.
- ⁶⁵ For a useful discussion of Renaissance *ingegno*, see Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, pp. 135-38.
- ⁶⁶ Giulio Romano is one *disegnatore* who was often responsible for hiring goldsmiths. See Syson and Thornton, pp. 165-66.
- ⁶⁷ Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, pp. 135-38.
- ⁶⁸ A useful introduction to the kinds of source material that were available is Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, 164-70.
- ⁶⁹ For examples of drawings and albums of drawings, see J.F. Hayward, *Ottavio da Strada and the Goldsmiths' Designs of Giulio Romano*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII, 1970, pp. 10-14; J.F. Hayward, *Roman Drawings for Goldsmith's Work in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, *The Burlington Magazine* CXIX, 1977, pp. 412-20; L. Fairbairn, *Italian Renaissance Drawings from the Collection of Sir John Soane's Museum*, I, London 1998, cat. nos. 31, 35; and Monbeig Goguel, *cit.*, pp. 244-77. For examples of prints and albums of prints, see G. B. Costantini, *Modelli per orafi*, Rome 1622; A. Omodeo (ed.), *Grafica per orafi: modelli del Cinque e Seicento: mostra di incisioni da collezioni italiane*, exhib. cat., Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Rome, 1975; Holman, *cit.*, pp. 19-30; E. Miller, *16th-Century Italian Ornament Prints in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 1999, esp. pp. 214-54; and Prospero Valenti Rodinò, *cit.*, p. 406-7.
- ⁷⁰ Miller, *cit.*, pp. 223-5, cat. no. 63a.
- ⁷¹ For Vico and his prints, see Miller, *cit.*, pp. 236-43. About "ornament prints" more generally, see Miller, *cit.*, pp. 8-22.
- ⁷² Numerous incidents of destruction are recorded by G. A. Sala, *Diario romano, scritti varij*, I-IV, Rome 1882-8. One of the more notable incidents is the melting down of the *Last Supper* relief in S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. See Freiberg, *cit.*, p. 308, citing Sala, *cit.*, I, pp. 76, 258.
- ⁷³ For Belli, see D. Gasparotto, *Ha fatto con l'occhio e con la mano miracoli stupendissimi*, in H. Burns, M. Collareta, D. Gasparotto (eds.), *Valerio Belli Vicentino 1468c.-1546*, Vicenza 2000, pp. 79-93. For Bernardi, see Vasari, *cit.*, V, p. 371; V. Donati and G. Bernardi, *Pietre dure e medaglie del Rinascimento: Giovanni da Castel Bolognese*, Ferrara 1989; and Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, pp. 175-181. For Antonio Gentile, see pp. 27-30 below.
- ⁷⁴ Examples for all these artists abound, and I provide

just a sampling of the relevant bibliography. For Raphael, see Sotheby's, London, 6 July 2004, lot 23; and Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, pp. 160-62. For Michelangelo, see n. 74 below. For Giulio Romano, see U. Bazzotti, «Disegni per argenterie», in *Giulio Romano*, exhib. cat., Palazzo del Te and Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, 1989, pp. 454-65.

⁷⁵ For Michelangelo's involvement with goldsmiths and activities as a decorative arts designer, see J. G. Philips, *A Crucifixion Group after Michelangelo*, Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, XXXII, 1937, pp. 210-14; J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum: Michelangelo and his Studio*, London 1953, p. 55, cat. no. 66; Montagu, *cit.*, p. 24; J. O'Grody, "Un semplice modello": *Michelangelo and His Three-Dimensional Preparatory Works*, Ph.D. thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1999, pp. 322 (at 4 July 1537), 339 (at 15 March 1565), 339-40 (at 21-23 August 1567); T. Clifford, *A Candelabrum by Michelangelo: A Discovery at the Cooper Hewitt National Design Museum in New York*, Apollo, CLVI, 2002, pp. 30-40; and Syson and Thornton, *cit.*, pp. 173-181.

⁷⁶ On Giacomo del Duca, see S. Benedetti, *Del Duca, Giacomo*, in DBI, XXXVI, Rome 1988, pp. 483-88 (with additional bibliography). Concerning Giacomo's ties to Michelangelo, see Vasari, *cit.*, VII, p. 261: «[...] maestro Jacopo Ciciliano eccellente gettatore di bronzi, che fa che vengano le cose sottilissimamente senza bave, che con poca fatica si rinettano; che in questo genere è raro maestro, e molto piaceva a Michelangelo».

⁷⁷ For the Padula tabernacle, see A. Schiavo, *Il michelangiolesco tabernacolo di Jacopo del Duca*, Studi romani, XXI, 1973, pp. 215-20; S. Angelucci, *Il Ciborio bronzeo della Certosa di Padula*, Dialoghi di storia dell'arte, VIII-IX, 1999, pp. 188-97; and Montagu, *cit.*, pp. 21-28.

⁷⁸ The history of this tomb has been recently clarified by D. Frascarelli and L. Testa, *Per la tomba di Elena Savelli: due lettere inedite di Jacopo del Duca*, Bollettino d'arte, LXXVII, 1991, pp. 123-28. There is now documentary evidence that the tomb was finished by 1571.

⁷⁹ For the life and career of Ludovico, see Madonna, *cit.*, p. 555; and B. Hernad, *Del Duca, Lodovico*, in DBI, XXXVI, Rome 1988, XXXVI, pp. 489-91 (with additional bibliography).

⁸⁰ See Montagu, *cit.*, pp. 21-28.

⁸¹ For Curzio Vanni, see esp. P. Peccolo, *cit.*, pp. 159-219. The best account of Pietro Spagna's career is X. Salomon, *The Goldsmith Pietro Spagna (1561-1627): "Argentiere" to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571-1621)*, Papers of the British School at Rome, LXXIV, 2006, pp. 339-70.

⁸² See Peccolo, *cit.*, pp. 176-77, who also transcribes

payments receipts to Bonvicino for part of the model (p. 205). Freiberg (*cit.*, pp. 307-9) mentions nothing about a modeler, giving the relief entirely to Vanni.

⁸³ This list could be slightly expanded if one were to accept that Domenico Ferrerio and Orazio Censore were connected to Guglielmo through their teacher, Torrigiani. See Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, pp. 323-27.

⁸⁴ An idea of the variety of models left by Guglielmo at his death is provided by his death inventory. See Masetti Zannini, *cit.*, pp. 303-5. While Guglielmo's legal heirs were his two sons, Teodoro and Fidia, Torrigiani was appointed their legal guardians at his death and thereby granted unique access to Guglielmo's studio effects - at least until Teodoro and Fidia came of age. Antonio Gentile no doubt benefited from this arrangement as a friend of Torrigiani. Evidence of their friendship is that Antonio served as a witness for Torrigiani during the proceedings leading to Torrigiani's appointment as Teodoro's and Fidia's guardian. See Masetti Zannini, *cit.*, p. 301.

⁸⁵ For the most complete transcription of the trial records, see Bertolotti, *cit.*, II, pp. 120-63.

⁸⁶ For the history of the collection, see M. Mimbenet-Privat and A. Kugel, *La collection d'orfèvrerie du Cardinal Sfondrati au Musée Chrétien de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, The Vatican 1998.

⁸⁷ Kugel and Mimbenet-Privat (*cit.*, pp. 162-71, 176-79) catalogue three of the reliquaries as from the end of the sixteenth century and by an unknown goldsmith working in Italy (cat. nos. 38-41). The only reliquary they suggest might be by a Roman goldsmith working in the second half of the sixteenth century is the basin of Cat. no. 45. This entire reliquary has been attributed to Curzio Vanni by Peccolo, *cit.*, 166-67, although the cover is certainly Genoese; it is impressed with a Genoese goldsmith's stamp.

⁸⁸ Cardinal François de Joyeuse (1562-1615) may have been a conduit for some of the French reliquaries in Sfondrati's collection. See Kugel and Mimbenet-Privat, *cit.*, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁹ See I. Toesca, *La cassa argentea delle reliquie di santa Cecilia*, Paragone Arte, XLIII, 1968, 223, pp. 71-74; and Peccolo, *cit.*, 165-66. The casket was certified as complete on 28 November 1599. See Toesca, *cit.*, p. 72, n. 1.

⁹⁰ For this illustration, see A. Bosio, *Historia passionis b. Caeciliae virginis*, Rome 1600.

⁹¹ He did employ local goldsmiths on site-specific projects, as with the gilt-bronze figures decorating the altar area of S. Cecilia in Trastevere. See pp. 33-37.

⁹² Annibale Carracci also provided the design, although perhaps unknowingly, for Curzio Vanni's silver *Pietà* plaque on the front face of the tabernacle on the Altar of the Sacrament in S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome. It is based on Annibale's painting of

the *Pietà* in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. See Freiberg, *cit.*, p. 306; and Peccolo, *cit.*, pp. 173-74. About the painting, which is generally dated between 1598 and 1600, see D. Posner, *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, II, London 1971, p. 52, cat. no. 119. It was reproduced often, but no print seem to predate Vanni's relief.

⁹³ About the commission, see D. De Grazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family*, Washington, D. C., 1979, pp. 456-64.

⁹⁴ These preparatory drawings are: (1) Paris, Musée du Louvre (inv. no. 7192); (2) London, British Museum (inv. no. 3-20); (3) England, private collection; and (4) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 1972.133.44).

⁹⁵ G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Venice, LXII, 1840-61, p. 70.

⁹⁶ G. Cascioli, *Guida al Tesoro di S. Pietro*, Rome 1925, p. 22. That Torrigiani was a former student of Guglielmo is noted by Baglione (*Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 323). The connection with Guglielmo is further strengthened by the fact that Torrigiani ended up marrying Guglielmo's widow and inheriting many of his studio effects, including most likely the casket of eighteen metal crucifixes listed in Guglielmo's death inventory. See Bertolotti, *cit.*, I, p. 142.

⁹⁷ On Torrigiani, see Baglione (*Le Vite*, *cit.*, pp. 323-25), who praises him for having invented a particularly expeditious way to cast sculptures. See also P. Petrarola, *Sebastiano Torrigiani*, in *Roma di Sisto V*, *cit.*, p. 565. For the two corpuses cast by Torrigiani, see A. Bacchi and S. Tumidei (eds.), *Il Michelangelo incognito: Alessandro Megnangi e le arti di Bologna nell'età della Controriforma*, Ferrara 2002, pp. 228-236; and F. S. Orlando, *Il tesoro di S. Pietro*, Milan 1958, p. 92. These corpuses adorn altarservices located in the sacristy of S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna, and the treasury of St. Peter's.

⁹⁸ See Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 152 (for Trajan's Column) and S. Lombardi, *Colonna di Marco Aurelio*, in *Roma di Sisto V*, *cit.*, p. 407 (for Column of Marcus Aurelius).

⁹⁹ James Draper, *Saint Peter and Saint Paul*, in *The Vatican Collections: the Papacy and Art*, exhib. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Art Institute of Chicago; and Fine Arts Museum, San Francisco, 1983-84, pp. 70-71.

¹⁰⁰ For instance, in his otherwise excellent summary of Torrigiani's activities, Petrarola (*cit.*, p. 565) makes no mention of these figures. The attribution has been endorsed by G. D. Filippi (*San Pietro: la sagrestia, il tesoro, le sacre grotte, la cupola, la necropolis*, Rome 1991, p. 22) and Orlando (*cit.*, pp. 90-91), who notes the powerful proto-Baroque character of these figures.

¹⁰¹ As reported at trial in 1609, Antonio and Guglielmo were «amicissimi grandi». See Bertolotti, *cit.*, II, p. 145. That Antonio Gentile was a close collaborator of Guglielmo is also shown by his frequent use of the master's designs. He is first documented as working from Guglielmo's designs in 1570 on a series of reliquary busts for Pope Pius V (r. 1566-72). See C. Grigioni, *Antonio Gentile detto Antonio da Faenza*, Romagna arte e storia, XXIII, 1988, p. 101, n. 18, citing ASR, *Tribunale Criminale del Governatorato di Roma*, vol. 6213, fol. 714r. For additional examples, see Gramberg, *cit.*, 1960, pp. 31-52; and W. Gramberg, *Das Kalvarienberg-Relief des Guglielmo della Porta und seine Silber-Gold-Ausführung von Antonio Gentile da Faenza*, in *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft: Festschrift für Hanns Swarzenski*, Berlin 1973, pp. 449-60; and Gramberg, *cit.*, 1960, pp. 31-52.

¹⁰² An avviso dated 2 June 1582 reports: «Il Cardinale Alessandro Farnese, nipote del fu Paolo III, vescovo di Ostia, vice cancelliere di S. Romana Chiesa e arciprete della basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano, dona alla Basilica, nelle mani del canonico Aurelio Coperchio, la Croce e i due Candelabri eseguiti dal Gentile, che nel rogito vengano descritti con molti particolari ed esaltati per l'arte mirabile. Fatta la cerimonia della consegna nel palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica e precisamente nello studio del Cardinale, i tre capolavori vengono portati nella Basilica e collocati sull'altare papale [...]». See C. G. Bulgari, *Argentieri, gemmari e orafi d'Italia*, I, Rome 1958, p. 509.

¹⁰³ Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁴ Ivi, p. 109.

¹⁰⁵ There are two drawings routinely attributed to Antonio Gentile. One relates to his St. Peter's altarservice and is in the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, New York (inv. no. 1938-88-6982). See Holman, *cit.*, pp. 50-54 (with complete bibliography). The second sheet records two designs for a fork and spoon and is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 47.52.4). See Holman, *cit.*, pp. 85-88 (with complete bibliography). The first drawing is now catalogued, I think rightly, as from the early 1670s and possibly by Carlo Spagna. The second drawing is more likely to be sixteenth-century, but the attribution to Antonio Gentile cannot be certified, even if the sheet bears a later inscription with his name. There is too great a chance that the drawing represents a *ricordo* of finished objects produced by Antonio.

¹⁰⁶ Manno was reported dead on 22 January 1576. See Bulgari, *cit.*, I, p. 383.

¹⁰⁷ «Reliquit Basilicae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe et in dictae basilicae perpetuo retinenda duo candelabra

et crucem argentea permagistrum manum auricem cum cristalij una cum pace elaborata licet alquantulum imperfecta quae si tempore mortis testatoris perfect non fuerint, perficiantur sumptibus haereditatis; et etiam eidem basilicae reliquit calcem auream cum patena et ampulis auri [...]». See W. Lotz, *Antonio Gentile or Manno Sbarri?*, *Art Bulletin*, XXXIII, 1951, p. 262. A. B. Chadour (*Antonio Gentile und der Altarsatz von Saint Peter*; Ph. D. thesis, Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, 1980, p. 32) denies that Antonio Gentile finished this altarservice. She believes that he created one *ex novo* and that the altarservice listed in this document is not the one donated by Cardinal Farnese to St. Peter's. She contends that if it was, it would have stayed with Manno Sbarri until his death, not passed into the Cardinal's possession. In my view, Chadour overlooks a number of reasons why Alessandro Farnese might have taken it from Sbarri before he had completed it: had the prelate grown tired of the slow progress being made on the work? Might he have sensed that Sbarri's talent was on the decline? See also Chadour, *cit.*, 1982, pp. 133-193, where Manno is not mentioned once. What seems a more reasonable interpretation of the documentary evidence is Lotz, *cit.*, pp. 260-62.

¹⁰⁸ Robertson, *cit.*, p. 48. Manno's heirs were still owed an additional 665 *scudi* in 1579. See Robertson, *cit.*, p. 251, n. 196.

¹⁰⁹ Pen and ink with brush and brown wash (56.0 x 32.2 cm). See Dillon, *cit.*, p. 49.

¹¹⁰ According to a document cited by L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, IX, Freiburg, 1955-60, p. 800, Antonio worked on the altarservice continuously for four years, suggesting that he was given the commission in 1578. This document is Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Urbinati Latini*, fasc. 1050, f. 201.

¹¹¹ The most splendid work that can be reliably attributed to Antonio in its entirety (from design to execution) is the cover of the *Farnese Hours* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library). He is first named as its artist in the 1653 inventory of the Farnese collection in Parma. See Boyce and Harrsen, *cit.*, cat. no. 102. His other works are less imaginative: (1) the mount on an ancient bust in the Museo degli Argenti, Florence; (2) the fountain in the Piazza del Duomo, Ronciglione; and (3) a set of eating utensils in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. For (1), see *Palazzo Vecchio: committenza e collezionismo medicei, 1537-1610*, exhib. cat., Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1980, cat. no. 436; and A. B. Chadour, *Der Altarsatz des Antonio Gentili in Saint Peter*, *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 1982, p. 175. For (2), see Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 109; G. Sangiorgi, *Opere di Antonio orefice faentino*, *Bollettino d'arte*, XXVI, 1932, pp. 220-29; and

Chadour, *cit.*, p. 176. For (3), see Sangiorgi, *cit.*, p. 224; C. L. Avery, *Sculptured Silver of the Renaissance*, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, V, 1946-47, pp. 252-54; and Chadour, *cit.*, p. 178. Finally, a work whose authorship is unresolved but that stands a legitimate chance of being by Antonio is the large reliquary with Farnese coat-of-arms in the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago. See U. Middeldorf, *Sculptures from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: European Schools, XIV-XIX Century*, London 1976, pp. 79-80; I. Wardropper, *Italian Renaissance Decorative Arts in Chicago Collections*, *Apollo*, CXXV, 1987, pp. 202-4; and M. Pereira, *Farnese Reliquary*, in *The Place of Antiquity in Early Modern Europe*, I. Rowland (ed.), Chicago 1999, pp. 53-56.

¹¹² For what little that is known about Bernardo Passarotti, see *Passarotti, Bernardo*, in U. Thieme and F. Becker (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XXVI, Leipzig 1935, p. 280.

¹¹³ The caption reads in full: «*Il Cardinale Alessandro Farnese, nipote del fu Paolo III, vescovo di Ostia, vice-cancelliere di S. Romana Chiesa e arciprete della Basilica, nelle mani del canonico Aurelio Coperchio, la Croce e i due Candelabri eseguiti dal Gentile, che nel rogito vengono descritti con molti particolari ed esaltati per l'arte mirabile. Fatta la cerimonia della consegna nel palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica e precisamente nello studio del Cardinale, i tre capolavori vengono portati nella Basilica e collocati sull'altare papale, vi si ripete l'atto di donazione e il divieto di alienarli, davanti a vescovi, canonici, referendari e un gran numero di altre oneste persone*».

¹¹⁴ It is interesting to note that Antonio Gentile did practice engraving. See Bulgari, *cit.*, I, p. 509, citing an undisclosed document in the ASR. Bulgari maintains that from 1570 to 1572, Antonio worked with the miniaturist Lorenzo Tozzoli to produce 181 engravings after the reliefs on Trajan's Column.

¹¹⁵ Among sculptors during the Renaissance, a more common way to designate invention was to add the Latin word "*opus*" to a signature. See esp. M. Cambareri, «*Virgin Mourning the Dead Christ*», in P. Fogelman and P. Fusco with M. Cambareri, *Italian and Spanish Sculpture: Catalogue of the J. Paul Getty Museum Collection*, Los Angeles 2002, p. 115, n. 21.

¹¹⁶ Interestingly, on the tenon join of the crucifix, Antonio does not assert his authorship of the design. The inscription reads simply ANTONIO GENTILI FAENTINO F.

¹¹⁷ R. Alberti, *Origine et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno, de Pittori, Sculturi, & Architetti di Roma*, Pavia 1604, p. 31.

¹¹⁸ For evidence of this association, see n. 101 above.

¹¹⁹ This letter (preserved in Düsseldorf) is reprinted in Gramberg, *cit.*, 1964, I, pp. 122-28, cat. no. 228.

¹²⁰ Montagu, *cit.*, p. 45. For similar views, see Venturi, *cit.*, X, 3, pp. 532-62; Pope-Hennessy, *cit.*, 1996, p. 277; and C. Strinati, *La scultura a Roma nel Cinquecento*, in D. Gallavotti, F. d'Amica, and C. Strinati (eds.), *L'arte in Roma nel secolo XVI*, II, Bologna 1992, pp. 369-70, 376.

¹²¹ J. Pope-Hennessy (*Review of Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, by W. Gramberg, Master Drawings, III, 1965, p. 281) writes revealingly that «[...] we are constantly in doubt as to how far they should be regarded as studies for projected works and how far they should be looked upon as records of private fantasy [...]».

¹²² Gramberg, *cit.*, 1964, I, p. 69, cat. no. 109.

¹²³ Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 152.

¹²⁴ For the history of the statue, see G. Panofsky, *Tommaso della Porta's "Castles in the Air"*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LVI, 1993, pp. 137-38. She dates the statue to the period 1584-96. The statue does not appear in Tommaso's first testament of 1583, while it is listed as complete in his testament of 1604.

¹²⁵ For the significance of *ex uno lapide*, see I. Lavin, *Ex uno lapide: The Renaissance Sculptor's Tour de Force*, in M. Winner, B. Andreae, and C. Pietrangeli (eds.), *Il Cortile delle Statue: der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan: Akten des Internationalen Kongresses zu Ehren von Richard Krautheimer (Rome, 21-23 October 1992)*, Mainz am Rhein 1992, pp. 191-201.

¹²⁶ Montagu (*cit.*, p. 221, n. 79) describes it as «a sculpture so bizarre, and so contrary to all expectations of Cinquecento sculpture, that one feels it ought not to have happened».

¹²⁷ Pressouyre, *cit.*, I, p. 211.

¹²⁸ P. Rotondi, *Tommaso della Porta nella scultura romana della Controriforma*, *Bollettino del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, VI, 1933, p. 36.

¹²⁹ Ivi, p. 36. See also Panofsky, *cit.*, pp. 137-42.

¹³⁰ Tellingly, in the margin next to Baglione's description of the *Deposition* (*Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 152), the seventeenth-century art critic Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1616-90) has penned: «Opera molto fredda e di cattivo gusto sebbene di gran fatica». For a facsimile copy with these annotations, see G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, V. Mariani (ed.), Rome 1935.

¹³¹ U. Middeldorf, *In the Wake of Guglielmo della Porta*, *Connoisseur*, CXCIV, 1977, pp. 75-79.

¹³² Nava Cellini, *cit.*, 1969, p. 39, n. 15.

¹³³ Additionally, the pair of gilt-bronze angels above the niche and the four seraphim around it were certainly in existence before 1601, as proven by a print of that year by Cornelis Galle (1576-1650). See A. Stix and L. Fröhlich-Bum, *Beschreibender Katalog der*

Handzeichnungen in der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina, Die Zeichnungen der toskanischen, umbrischen und römischen Schulen, Vienna 1932, p. 50, no. 424. The date of this print is recorded erroneously as 1599 in F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings and Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, VII, Amsterdam 1949, p. 58, no. 269.

¹³⁴ Nava Cellini, *cit.*, 1969, p. 19. For the history of the entire altar complex, see Pastor, *cit.*, XXIV, pp. 520-27; Kämpf, *cit.*, pp. 10-20; and M. Smith O'Neil, *Stefano Maderno's Saint Cecilia: A Seventeenth-Century Roman Sculpture Remeasured*, *Antologia di belle arti*, XXV, 1985, pp. 9-21.

¹³⁵ In virtually every known instance, Censore, Ferrerio, and Laurenziano served as founders when engaged on figurative sculpture. The following *œuvre* lists are derived from O. Ferrari and S. Papaldo, *Le sculture del Seicento a Roma*, Rome 1999. The names in parentheses indicate the modelers (when known) of the sculptures in question. For Censore: (1) the *Madonna and Child* on the column in front of S. Maria Maggiore (Guglielmo Berthelot); (2) the relief of *Pope Liberius Tracing the Perimeter of S. Maria Maggiore in the Snow* (Rome, S. Maria Maggiore) (Stefano Maderno); (3) the *Luce Grande* (Rome, S. Maria Maggiore) (Camillo Mariani); (4) a pair of candleholders (Rome, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini); and (5) the gate beneath the high altar in St. Peter's (Nicolas Cordier). For Ferrerio: (1) the *Madonna and Child* on the column in front of S. Maria Maggiore (Guglielmo Berthelot); (2) the relief *Pope Liberius Tracing the Perimeter of S. Maria Maggiore in the Snow* (Rome, S. Maria Maggiore) (Stefano Maderno); and (3) the *Luce Grande* (Rome, S. Maria Maggiore) (Camillo Mariani). For Laurenziano: (1) the tomb of Lucrezia Tomacelli (Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano) (Teodoro della Porta); and (2) the *Madonna and Child* on the column in front of S. Maria Maggiore (Guglielmo Berthelot).

¹³⁶ For instance, G. Matthiae, *S. Cecilia* (Le chiese di Roma illustrate, no. 113), Rome 1970, p. 79.

¹³⁷ Ferrari and Papaldo, *cit.*, p. 72.

¹³⁸ Kämpf, *cit.*, pp. 10-20. The key figure in this group of clerics was Cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538-1607). See esp. *Baronio e l'arte: atti internazionale di studi (Sora, 10-30 ottobre 1984)*, Sora 1985, *passim*; and A. Zuccari, *La politica culturale dell'Oratorio Romano nelle imprese artistiche promosse da Cesare Baronio*, *Storia dell'arte*, XLII, 1981, pp. 171-93. Other helpful sources include C. Ginzburg, *Baronio, Cesare*, in DBI, VI, Rome 1964, pp. 470-78; and A. Herz, *Cardinal Cesare Baronio's Restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de'Appia*, *Art Bulletin*, LXX, 1988, pp. 590-620.

¹³⁹ For the painting, see J. Meyer zur Capellen,

Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings, The Roman Religious Paintings, ca. 1508-1520, II, Münster 2005, pp. 124-32.

¹⁴⁰ It is important to note that the relief is based on Raphael's painting not MarcAntonio Raimondi's engraving of the painting.

¹⁴¹ The copy was probably sent to Rome before December 1600, since Giovanni Baglione appears to have drawn inspiration from it for his painting of *Saints Peter and Paul* in S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Baglione received final payment for this painting on 16 December 1600. See S. Pepper, *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works with an Introductory Text*, Oxford 1984, p. 212; and V. Martinelli, *L'Amor divino "tutto ignudo" di Giovanni Baglione e la cronologia dell'intermezzo caravaggesco*, *Arte antica e moderna*, II, 1959, p. 89. For the payment to Baglione, see Martinelli, *cit.*, p. 96, n. 30.

¹⁴² If the painting did not go directly to S. Cecilia in Trastevere, it may have spent a short time in Sfondrati's residence. Giulio Mancini records in his notes, which are thought to have been written between 1614 and 1619, that the painting was on view in S. Cecilia in Trastevere. See G. Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, A. Marucchi (ed.), I, Rome 1956-7, p. 82. About the date of these notes, see Mancini, *cit.*, I, pp. XXIII-IV. All later guidebooks (see G. Celio, *Memoria delli nomi dell'artefici delle pitture che sono in alcune chiese, facciate, e palazzi di Roma*, Rome 1638, p. 19) locate the painting in S. Luigi dei Francesi on the altar of the Polet chapel.

¹⁴³ Sfondrati also owned Raphael's now lost *Madonna di Loreto*. See Pepper, *cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁴⁴ For the paintings in the Cappella del Bagno and the other paintings that Sfondrati commissioned for the church, see esp. S. Pepper, *Baglione, Vanni and Cardinal Sfondrati*, *Paragone*, XXVIII, 1967, pp. 70-71; S. Pepper, *Guido Reni's Activity in Rome and Bologna, 1595-1614*, Ph. D. thesis, Columbia University, 1969, pp. 76, 81-82, 97, 100-1; Nava Cellini, *cit.*, 1969, pp. 30-33; and Pepper, *cit.*, 1984, pp. 212-213.

¹⁴⁵ Pepper, *cit.*, 1969, p. 99.

¹⁴⁶ Maderno received final payment for the *Santa Cecilia* on 16 December 1600. See Nava Cellini, *cit.*, 1969, p. 39, n. 16.

¹⁴⁷ For these payments, see M. C. Dorati, *Gli scultori della Cappella Paolina di S. Maria Maggiore*, *Commentari*, XVIII, 1967, pp. 256-57, docs. 77-79, 81-82. The founders Domenico Ferrerio and Orazio Censore were responsible for the casting of the relief. See Ferrari and Papaldo, *cit.*, p. 245.

¹⁴⁸ See esp. B. Boucher, *Italian Renaissance Terracotta: Artistic Revival or Technological Innovation?* in B. Boucher (ed.), *Earth and Fire: Italian Terracotta*

Sculpture from Donatello to Canova, exhib. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; and Victoria and Albert Museum, London 2002, pp. 1-32.

¹⁴⁹ The best and most recent source for the history of the Florentine Academy is Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of Disegno*, Cambridge 2000.

¹⁵⁰ The Accademia di S. Luca was not established until 1593, a full thirty years after Florence's Accademia del Disegno. I have discussed the academic situation in Rome in my Ph.D. thesis: C.D. Dickerson, *Bernini and Before: Modeled Sculpture in Rome, ca. 1600-25*, Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2006, pp. 59-64.

¹⁵¹ P. Lukehart, *Carving Out Lives: The Role of Sculptors in the Early History of the Accademia di S. Luca*, in N. Penny and E. Schmidt (eds.), *Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe* *Studies in the History of Art*, LXX, 2008, pp. 185-218. Lukehart sheds particular light on the re-incorporation of the medieval sculptors' guild, the Arte dei Marmorari, in 1597. As he convincingly argues, the fact that most sculptors seem to have abided by its regulations suggests that they were not yet willing to embrace a more enlightened view of their profession.

¹⁵² Baglione, *Le Vite ... cit.*, p. 69. There is no truly adequate way to measure the percentage of sculptors who trained as restorers. Nevertheless, it seems telling that of the twenty-three marble carvers to which he dedicates biographies, fifteen, according to him, practiced restoration. Appropriately enough, of the eight sculptors whom he does not connect with restoration, all but two had trained outside of Rome. His two exceptions, Pietro Paolo Olivieri (1551-1599) and Ippolito Buzzi (*d.* 1634), are documented as restorers elsewhere and thus seem to be mistakes. See Dickerson, *cit.*, p. 28, n. 18.

¹⁵³ Orfeo Boselli (1597-1667) was defiant that restoration was a sublime art form. See P. D. Weil, *Contributions toward a History of Sculpture Techniques. I: Orfeo Boselli on the Restoration of Antique Sculpture*, *Studies in Conservation*, XII, 1967, pp. 86-7, translating and transcribing O. Boselli, *Osservazioni della Scoltura Antica*, bk. 5, ch. 13, ff. 171v-72v. The creative aspects of restoration are also emphasized by J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*, New Haven and London 1989, pp. 151-72.

¹⁵⁴ Vasari (*cit.*, VII, p. 489) describes a competition for who would restore the *Laocöon*. The winner was supposedly selected on the basis of his wax model for the completed group.

¹⁵⁵ On Landini, see esp. C. Benocci, *Taddeo Landini e la Fontana delle Tartarughe in Piazza Mattei*, *Storia*

dell'arte, XVI, 1984, pp. 187-203; and T. Eser, *Der "Schildkrötenbrunnen" des Taddeo Landini*, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XXVII-XVIII, 1991-92, pp. 201-82.

¹⁵⁶ On Mariani, see esp. Dickerson, *cit.*, pp. 88-174; and S. Ostrow, *Mariani, Camillo*, *Dictionary of Art*, *cit.*, XX, pp. 412-13.

¹⁵⁷ There has been some confusion over Maderno's origins. Baglione (*Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 247) writes that he was from Lombardy, perhaps assuming that he was related to the Lombard architect Carlo Maderno (1529-1608). His death certificate seems to offer more credible information, that he was born in Palestrina. See Donati, *cit.*, p. 13, n. 4. He is also described as Roman in various places: on his marriage contract (see Pressouyre, *cit.*, p. 210), on his relief of *Rudolf II of Hungary Attacking the Turks* in S. Maria Maggiore, and on a contract notarized in Rome in 1597 (see Economopolous, *cit.*, p. 53). Regarding his year of birth, it is based on his death certificate, which gives his age as sixty-one. See Donati, *cit.*, p. 13, n. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 345.

¹⁵⁹ See Economopolous, *cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁶⁰ See C. Bulgari, *Argentieri, gemmari, e orafi d'Italia*, *Roma*, Rome 1959, II, 1, p. 487 (without indicating his source).

¹⁶¹ See *ivi*, II, 1, p. 487, for Turchi's time on the Via del Pellegrino (based on documents from the Archivio del Vicariato for the parish of S. Lorenzo in Damaso). Turchi shared a house near (or on) the Vicolo di Sora with Giovanni Battista Simonelli. See *ivi*, II, 1, p. 287, for Turchi's participation in the Università degli Orefici (based on documents from the guild's archives in S. Eligio). For a general discussion of the Via del Pellegrino as the principal street for goldsmiths, see P. Pecchiai, *Roma nel Cinquecento*, Bologna 1948, pp. 354-55; A. de Simone, *S. Eligio degli Orefici. Fascino e memorie*, Rome 1984, pp. 15-16; and Peccolo, *cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁶² For his ties to this zone and various movements about it, see Bulgari, *cit.*, II, 1, pp. 509-10.

¹⁶³ Inv. no. 2326 (30.1 x 16.7 cm). See U. Schlegel, *Die italienischen Bildwerke des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1978, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶⁴ Inv. no. 560 (43.0 cm). See I. Wardropper (ed.), *Bernini's Rome: Italian Baroque Terracottas from the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg*, exhib. cat., The Art Institute of Chicago; Philadelphia Museum of Art; National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C. 1998-99, p. 44.

¹⁶⁵ This relationship is noted by P. Fehl, *Observations on the Pietà in Florence and the Rondanini Pietà*, *Artibus et Historiae*, XLV, 2002, pp. 23-24. It should be remembered that the *Pietà* was available for study in Rome throughout Maderno's life. For its later transfer to Florence, see R. Benucci, *La Pietà di Michelangelo*

da Roma a Firenze e Maria Isabella Accoramboni: Inventario e documenti, Studi romani, XLVIII, 2000, pp. 322-25.

¹⁶⁶ The other versions are as follows: (1) a bronze in the Chrysler Museum of Art (inv. no. 71.2966); (2) a gilt-bronze example in a private collection in the United States; and (3) another gilt-bronze example (composition reversed) sold by Danny Katz, Ltd., in the 1990s. For the silver version in La Spezia, see C. Avery, *Madonna che allata il Bambino*, in M. Ratti and A. Marmorini (eds.), *La Spezia: Museo Civico Amedeo Lia: sculture e oggetti d'arte*, Cinisello Balsamo 1999, pp. 260-61. A version of the base in gilded bronze appeared for sale at Trinity Fine Arts, New York, in April 2002.

¹⁶⁷ See Gramberg, *cit.*, 1964, I, cat. nos. 29, 34, 45, 61, 62, 63, 81.

¹⁶⁸ S. Walker, *A pax by Guglielmo della Porta*, *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, XXVI, 1991, pp. 167-76.

¹⁶⁹ See for comparison Guglielmo's several known drawings of a similar Madonna and Child composition. See Gramberg, *cit.*, 1964, I, pp. 33-36, cat. nos. 6, 12.

¹⁷⁰ As pointed out by Avery, *Madonna che allata il Bambino*, *cit.*, p. 261. The stylistic affinities between Guglielmo's and Michelangelo's sculptures has been discussed by, among others, Venturi, *cit.*, X, 3, 536-37, 547; Pope-Hennessy, *cit.*, 1996, pp. 273-77; Kruft and Roth, *cit.*, p. 936; and Kruft, *Della Porta, Guglielmo*, *cit.*, p. 256.

¹⁷¹ Avery, *Madonna che allata il Bambino*, *cit.*, pp. 260-61.

¹⁷² See Middeldorf, *cit.*, pp. 75-79; R. Cannatà, *Il collezionismo del Cardinale Bernardino Spada*, in R. Cannatà and M. L. Vicini (eds.), *La Galleria di Palazzo Spada: genesi e storia di una collezione*, Rome 1999, p. 32; and M. G. Massafra, *La Deposizione Spada*, MCM: Storia delle cose, XIX, 1993, pp. 9-10.

¹⁷³ There is also an indecipherable monogram next to the year. Middeldorf, *cit.*, pp. 75-79, interpreted this monogram as Teodoro della Porta's.

¹⁷⁴ See Gramberg, *cit.*, 1964, I, cat. nos. 44, 74-75, 77-79, 80, 85-88, 92, 96, 152, 163. It must be acknowledged that there could be other sources for the relief besides the drawings. This includes a *Deposition*, known in bronze, marble, and cartapesta versions, that was evidently popular in northern Italy during the last quarter of the Cinquecento. A census of these versions is provided by C. Avery, *Giuseppe de Levis of Verona - A Bronze Founder and Sculptor of the Late Sixteenth Century; 2 - Figure Style*, *Connoisseur*, CLXXXII, 1973, p. 77. For stylistic reasons, however, the Spada relief is unlikely to have come from anyplace but Rome. There are no good candidates for its authorship beyond artists in Guglielmo's circle. A final point is the old Roman provenance of the relief. The relief was in

Rome in the Spada collection before 1635. Bernardino Spada paid for the gilding of the relief in that year. See Cannatà, *cit.*, 1999, p. 32.

¹⁷⁵ This folio has been separated from the Düsseldorf notebooks and is now preserved in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (inv. no. 2567).

¹⁷⁶ See esp. Cambareri, *cit.*, pp. 108-115; and B. Jestaz, *Pietà*, in L. Fornari Schianchi and N. Spinosa (eds.), *I Farnese: Arte e collezionismo*, exhib. cat., Palazzo Ducale di Colorno, Parma 1995, pp. 376-78.

¹⁷⁷ For a sampling of this characterization, see Cambareri, *cit.*, p. 108; Jestaz, *cit.*, pp. 377-78; and Middeldorf, *cit.*, pp. 75-76. Although there is no documented trace of Targone in Venice, he is frequently referred to as Venetian in early sources. See, for instance, Baglione, *Le Vite*, *cit.*, p. 329.

¹⁷⁸ The earliest document placing Targone in Rome is a letter from Niccolò Gaddi to Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici dated 27 May 1575. See M. McCrory, *An Antique Cameo of Francesco I de' Medici*, in *Le Arti del Principato Mediceo*, Florence 1980, p. 305, n. 21. Furthermore, Cesare's son, Targone, was born in Rome on 12 October 1575. According to Thieme-Becker, *cit.*, XXII, p. 445, the last year Cesare can be documented in Rome is 1582, when he became a member of the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon. This information, however, is not reflected in J. A. F. Orbaan, *Virtuosi al Pantheon*, Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, XVII, 1915, pp. 17-52.

¹⁷⁹ This inscription reads OPVS.CAESARIS.TAR. / VENETI.

¹⁸⁰ For these drawings, see Gramberg, *cit.*, 1964, II, cat. no. 44; III, cat. nos. 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 85, 88, 96, 152.

¹⁸¹ The *terminus ante quem* for the relief is presumably furnished by a documented replica of it in the church of S. Maria presso S. Celso, Milan. This replica was bought for the church in 1585. The relevant documents are partly published in F. Maggi, *S. Celso e la sua Madonna*, Milan 1951, p. 201. Middeldorf (*cit.*, p. 84, n. 18) cites other unpublished documents. There is no indication in the documents that Targone executed the Milan relief, and it has been variously attributed to Giovanni Battista Busca and Annibale Fontana. For the ascription to Busca, see Maggi, *cit.*, 202. For Fontana, see *Notizie storiche intorno alla miracolosa immagine ed insigne tempio della Beata Vergine Maria presso S. Celso*, Milan 1765, unpaginated.

¹⁸² This document is dated 18 May 1585 and concerns Targone's work on the gold repoussé reliefs decorating the Tempietto of Francesco I de' Medici. See D. Heikamp, *Zur Geschichte der Uffizien-Tribuna und der Kunstschanke in Florenz und Deutschland*, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, XVI, 1963, p. 247, no. 14.

¹⁸³ Inv. no. M.91.277 (21.9 x 12.6 cm). I thank Mary

Levkoff (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) for bringing this object to my attention.

¹⁸⁴ The relief, in gilded bronze, has been applied to a gilt-copper base, and it is this base that bears the inscription, which I reprint in full: «*Joannes Savellus urbis et Romane Curie Ecclesieqz / Marescallus Palumbarie Regular, Castri Gandulfi / Dux etc. Peniale, Planeta, cum Stola et manipulo, / Paliumqz sericati albi insignibus Sabelloz insignisiti / S. Blasio maxime infirmus, os circa, Sponte vovit / et bene Sanus libertiss.me reddidit*». The inscription affords useful *termini quem* for the object. It refers to Giovanni Savelli as Maresciallo di Santa Romana Chiesa, an honor that was bestowed on him on 26 May 1593. See N. Del Re, *Il Maresciallo di Santa Romana Chiesa: custode del conclave*, Rome 1962, p. 98. The *terminus ante quem* is 1628, the year Giovanni died.

¹⁸⁵ On Pietro Gentile, see M. Cipriani, *Gentile, Antonio*, in DBI, LIII, Rome 1999, pp. 181-82; S. V. Rocca, *Gli argenti di S. Maria Maggiore: reliquari di Pietro Gentili, Benedetto Cacciatore, Santi Lotti e delle bottega di Vincenzo I Belli*, Storia dell'arte XLVIII, 1983, pp. 118-21; and Bulgari, *cit.*, I, 1, p. 510. Sadly, no objects can be reliably attributed to him. The most contentious attribution concerns the silver reliquary head of santa Bibiana preserved in the sacristy of S. Maria Maggiore. I have suggested that it may be eighteenth- or nineteenth-century in Dickerson, *cit.*, pp. 404-5. Nevertheless, that Pietro was highly regarded seems indisputable, and new evidence can be introduced. An unpublished letter in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Milan (G. 223 bis., index 185, f. 367), written by Pietro to Federico Borromeo on 5 November 1616, alludes to past commissions that Pietro and his father had carried out for Borromeo. See Dickerson, *cit.*, p. 396.

¹⁸⁶ About Giovanni Savelli, see Del Re, *cit.*, pp. 98.

¹⁸⁷ For an indication of Savelli art patronage during the Baroque, see L. Testa, *Presenze caravaggesche nella collezione Savelli*, Storia dell'arte, XCIII-XCIV, 1998, pp. 348-52; and L. Spezzaferro, *Un imprenditore del primo Seicento: Giovanni Battista Crescenzi*, Ricerche di Storia dell'arte, XXVI, 1985, pp. 71-73.

¹⁸⁸ See n. 10 above.

¹⁸⁹ For the period after 1610, Maderno was responsible for at least eight commissions in marble, all in Rome or at the Vatican: (1) the *Peace and Justice* in the Rivaldi chapel in S. Maria della Pace (p. 296); (2) the *Four Angels with a Scroll* in S. Maria Maggiore (p. 255); (3) the *Saint Charles Borromeo* in S. Lorenzo in Damaso (p. 182); (4) the *Saint Peter* over the main portal of the Palazzo del Quirinale (p. 430); (5) the *Triton with a Putto* in the gardens of the Vatican (p. 587); (6) the two *Angels* adjacent to the main altar of S. Maria di Loreto

(pp. 226-27); (7) the *Saints Thomas of Aquinas and Peter Martyr* on the façade of SS. Domenico e Sisto (p. 78); and (8) the *Jacob and the Angel* in the Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj (p. 491). All references are to Ferrari and Papaldo, *cit.*

¹⁹⁰ About goldsmiths during the height of the Baroque, see Montagu, *cit.*, 1996, pp.1-18; Gazzinga, *cit.*, 223-86; Peccolo, *cit.*, 159-222; and S. Prospero Valenti Rodinò, *Ferri, Ciro*, in *Dictionary of Art, cit.*, XI, pp. 22-25 (with additional bibliography).

¹⁹¹ There are nine terracottas that bear his signature,

excluding the two of *Nicodemus and Christ* of 1605 that have already been discussed. For a complete census, see Dickerson, *cit.*, pp. 409-15. For the basic bibliography, see S. Androsov, *Works by Stefano Maderno, Bernini and Rusconi from the Farsetti collection in the Ca' d'Oro and the Hermitage*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXI, 1991, pp. 292-97.

¹⁹² I discuss the question of Bernini's earliest models in Dickerson, *cit.*, pp. 16, 301-80.

¹⁹³ Baglione, *Le Vite, cit.*, pp. 345-6.

¹⁹⁴ See my discussion in Dickerson, *cit.*, pp. 240-300.

COMPENDIO

La novità rappresentata dal naturalismo morbido e sensuale della *Santa Cecilia* che Stefano Maderno appena venticinquenne, nell'anno 1600, sollecita una serie di interrogativi che l'autore risolve ricostruendo il panorama artistico romano intorno a quella data. In questo quadro il ruolo degli orefici assume un significato di rilievo grazie all'attività dello scultore Guglielmo della Porta che istituisce una scuola, la «*Gran Scuola*» che è una vera e propria Accademia d'Arte, nel senso più esteso del significato di Arti Liberali, una scuola dove gli orefici sono sollecitati ad esercitarsi sul "disegno d'invenzione". L'autore ritiene che in questa Accademia, dove si formano i più raffinati orefici del momento, il Maderno abbia avuto il suo apprendistato. Il naturalismo elegante della *Santa Cecilia* si spiega dunque attraverso la pratica del "disegno d'invenzione" su cui insisteva appunto la "Scuola" di Guglielmo.



FIG. 1 S. Maderno, *St. Cecilia*, 1599/1600. Rome, Sta. Maria in Trastevere

FIG. 2 J. Cobaert (attributed to), *Tabernacle*, ca. 1580/85. Rome. S. Luigi dei Francesi

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FIG. 3 J. Cobaert (attributed to), *St. Louis*, ca. 1580/85. Rome. S. Luigi dei Francesi

FIG. 4 J. Cobaert (attributed to), *David*, ca. 1580/85. Rome. S. Luigi dei Francesi

FIG. 5 J. Cobaert (attributed to), *Moses*, ca. 1580/85. Rome. S. Luigi dei Francesi

FIG. 6 J. Cobaert (attributed to), *Unidentified 'Prophet'*, ca. 1580/85. Rome. S. Luigi dei Francesi







FIG. 8 G. della Porta (model by), *Banquet of the Gods*, late 16th century. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

FIG. 9 M. Sbarri and G. Bernardi, *Farnese Casket* (after a design by F. Salviati), 1543-61. Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte



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FIG. 7 J. Cobaert, *St. Matthew* (with later *Angel* by P. Ferrucci), 1587/1602. Rome, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini

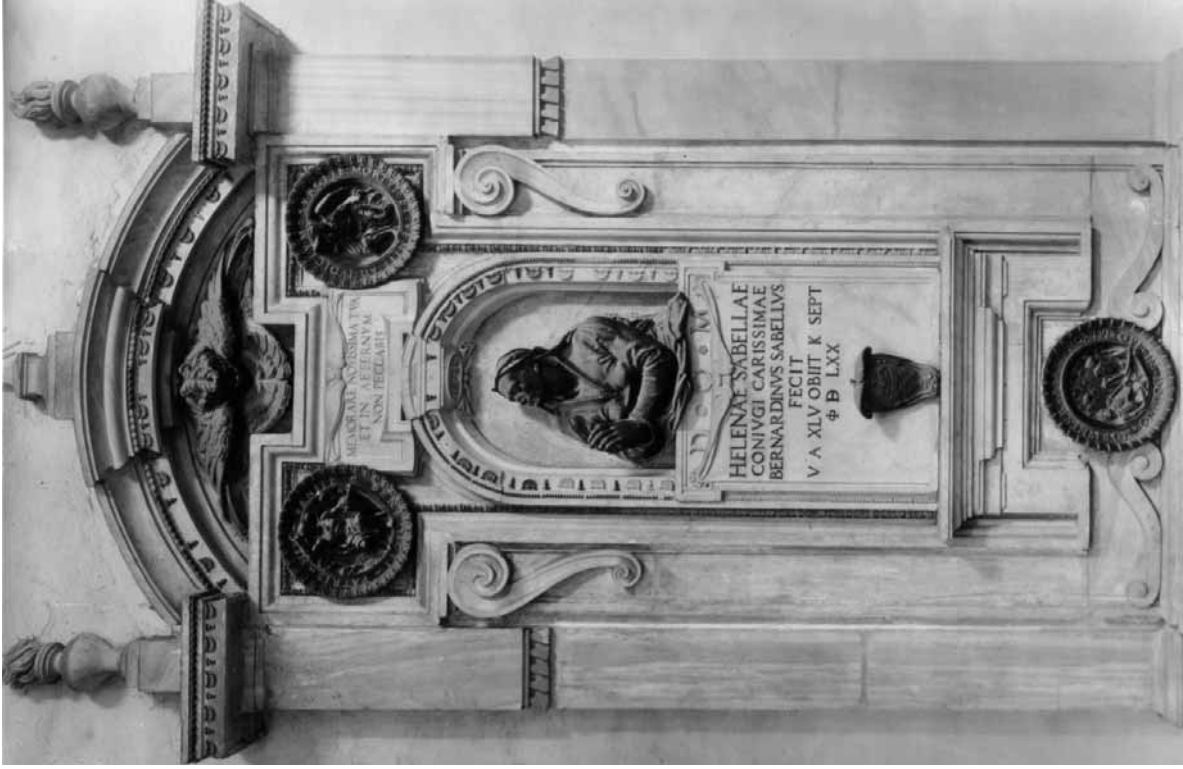


FIG. 10 J. Del Duca, *Tomb of Elena Savelli*, 1571. Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano



FIG. 11 S. Torrigiani (attributed to), *St. Peter*, ca. 1585. Vatican Treasury



FIG. 12 S. Torrigiani (attributed to), *St. Paul*, ca. 1585. Vatican Treasury

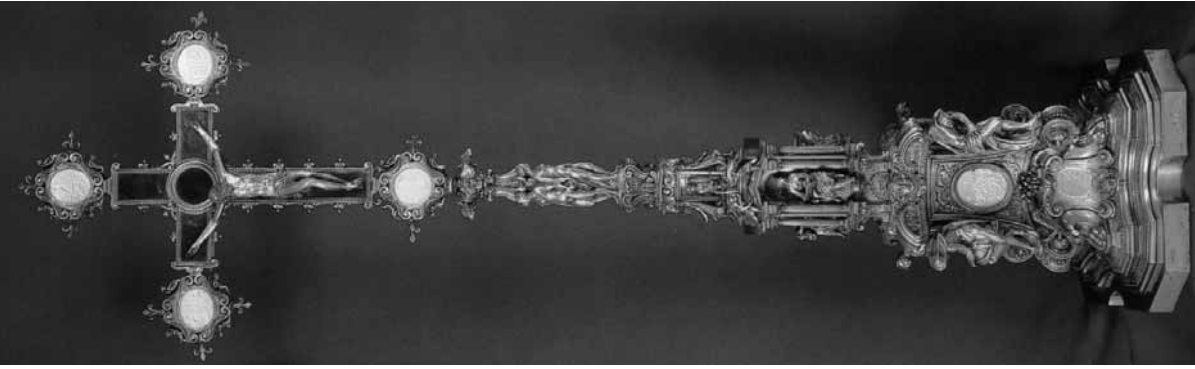


FIG. 13 A. Gentile da Faenza and M. Sbarri, *Altarservice* (with crucifix and the two candlesticks), ca. 1560/82. Vatican, St. Peter's



FIG. 14 F. Salviati, *Design for a Candelabra*, ca. 1560. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale

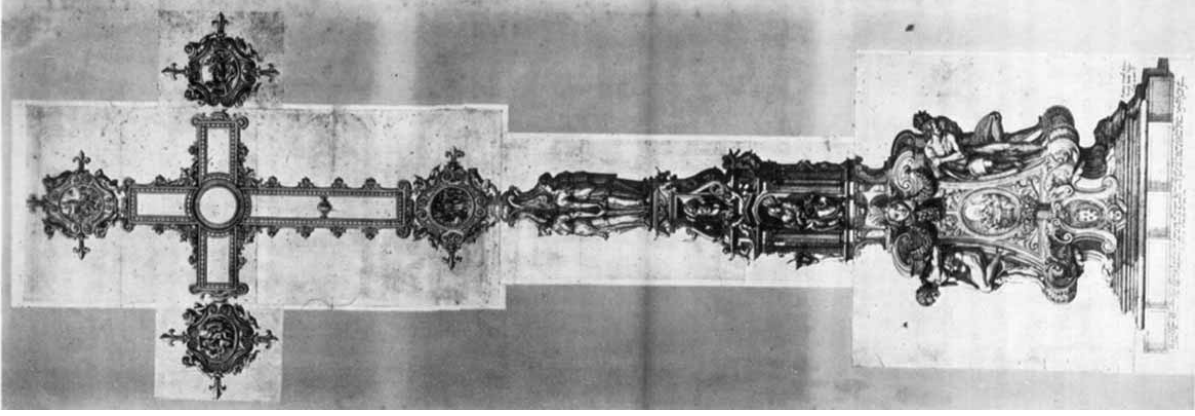
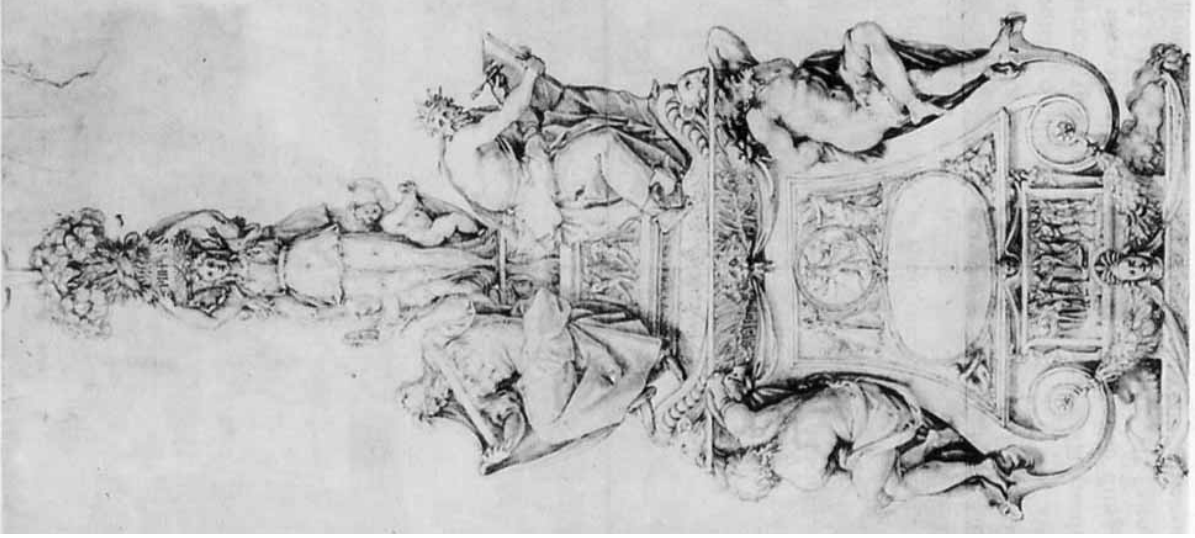


FIG. 15 B. Passarotti, *Engraving of St. Peter's Crucifix*, ca. 1587/90. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I



FIG. 16 G. Della Porta, *Five Drawings of Christ at the Column*, 1560s or 1570s. Dusseldorf, Kunstmuseum
 FIG. 17 T. Della Porta, *Deposition from the Cross*, ca. 1586/96. Rome, SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso
 FIG. 18 S. Maderno (here attributed to), *St. Lucius, Urban, and Maximus*, ca. 1600/2. Rome, Sta. Maria in Trastevere



FIG. 19 Raphael, *The Vision of St. Cecilia*, ca. 1512. Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale
FIG. 20 Anon., *Sts. Valerian, Cecilia, and Tiburtius*, ca. 1600/2. Rome, Sta. Maria in Trastevere





FIG. 21 S. Maderno, *Pope Liberius Tracing in the Snow the Perimeter of Sta. Maria*, 1610/12. Rome, Sta. Maria Maggiore



FIG. 22 S. Maderno, *Nicodemus and Christ*, 1604. Berlin, Staatliche Museen

FIG. 23 S. Maderno, *Nicodemus and Christ*, 1604. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

FIG. 24 Anon.,
Madonna and Child,
ca. 1600. La Spezia,
Museo Civico
Amedeo Lia



FIG. 25 Anon.,
Deposition of Christ,
1602. Rome, Galleria
Spada

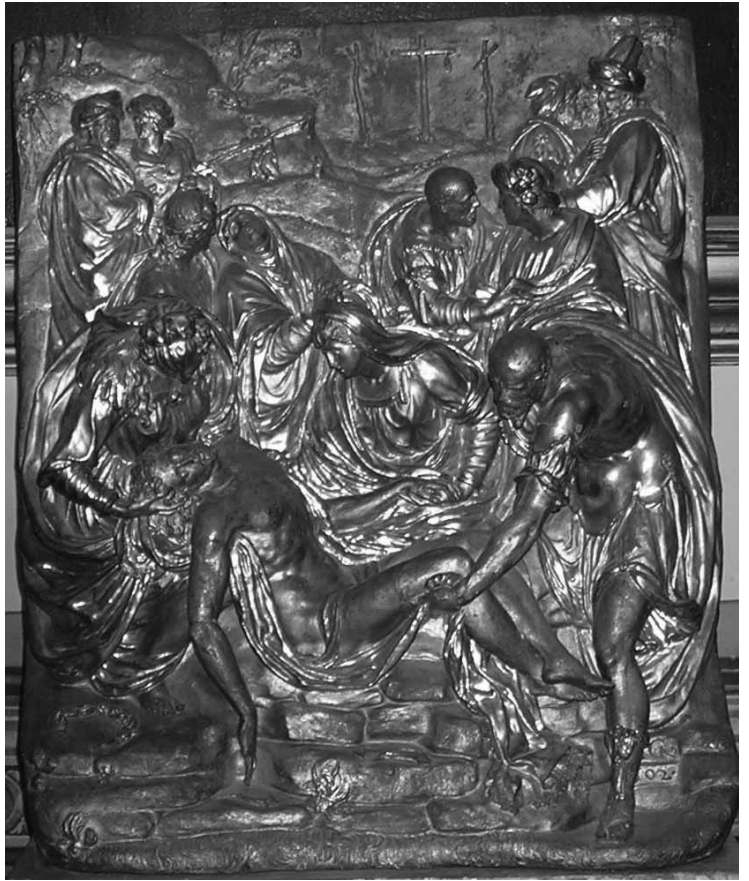


FIG. 26 G. Della
Porta, *Deposition of
Christ*, 1560s or
1570s. Munich,
Staatliche Graphische
Sammlung

FIG. 27 C. Targone,
*Virgin Mourning the
Dead Christ*, ca.
1582-3. Los Angeles,
J. Paul Getty Museum

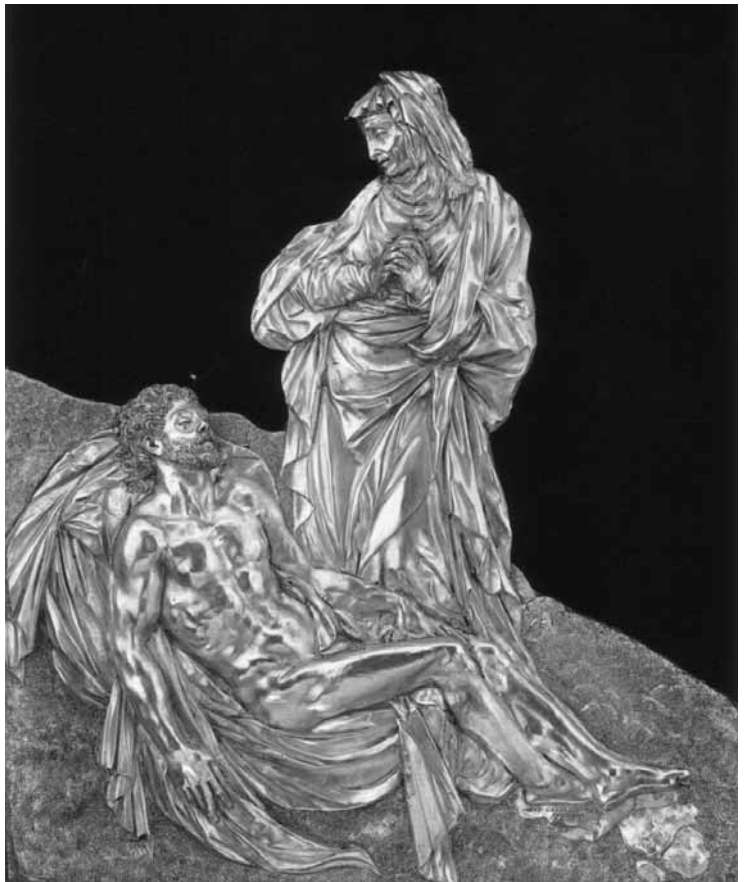




FIG. 28 S. Maderno, *Angel*, ca. 1629/30. Rome, Sta. Maria di Loreto
 FIG. 29 Anon., *St. Blaise*, recto e verso, ca. 1600. Los Angeles
 County Museum of Art



Joannes Sabellus orbis et Romane Curie Cardinalis
 Maroccanus Palumbarius Regulus Castri Candulij
 Dux et Penale Planeta cum scola et manipulo
 Palrumq; sericari albi in signis Sabellor; insignis
 S. Blasio maxime infirmus os circa Spontz uouit
 et bene sanus libentis ^{me} reddidit.