

Bronze, Boxwood, and Ivory
in the
Robert H. Smith Collection
of Renaissance Sculpture

A second supplement to the catalogue volume
Art of the Renaissance Bronze 1500–1650





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EIKE D. SCHMIDT, DYLAN SMITH, ALISON LUCHS,
SHELLEY STURMAN, KAREN SERRES, EMILY PEGUES,
KATHERINE MAY, JUDY OZONE & SIMONA CRISTANETTI

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Art of the Renaissance Bronze 1500–1650

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Leonhard Kern

Lust (cat. 75)

Inside front cover:

Gérard van Opstal

Detail of *Bacchanalian Frieze* (cat. 79)

Inside back cover:

Francesco Fanelli

Detail of *Turk on Horseback Attacked by a Lion* (cat. 72)

Back cover illustration:

Nicolò Roccatagliata

Cleopatra (cat. 69)

Photography by Lee Ewing

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Emily Pegues, Katherine May, Judy Ozone, Simona Cristanetti

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Detail of *Doorknocker with Mask, Monsters and Putto* (cat.68)

INTRODUCTION

This, the second supplement to the catalogue of the Robert H. Smith collection of Renaissance sculpture, could not begin more fittingly. In 1978, Mr. Smith acquired his first bronze, Antonio Susini's *Nessus and Deianara* (cat. 26), but it was a different sculpture that first inspired him to become a serious collector. Earlier that year, as he later described, he had had an encounter with "a sensuous Renaissance bronze of a negress holding a mirror displayed in a solitary glass case," then on view at the Kunsthhaus in Zurich, part of a private collection. He was instantly smitten. Although that particular statuette eluded him, he patiently waited until 2006, when the bronze that opens this supplement – *African Bather* (cat. 66) – a fine version of the "negress" he had seen in Zurich – appeared on the market. He wasted no time in acquiring it, thrilled to fulfill a dream born nearly three decades earlier.

African Bather is the sixty-sixth of the eighty sculptures that now constitute the world-class collection Mr. Smith formed during his lifetime. The first thirty of his bronzes were catalogued by Anthony Radcliffe in 1994. A second edition, co-authored by Radcliffe and Nicholas Penny, appeared in 2004 and includes twenty-four new entries, as well as a technical essay by Shelley Sturman. The next ten acquisitions were published in 2007 as a supplement to *The Burlington Magazine*. In 2008, Mr. Smith celebrated his collection by announcing plans for it to become an eventual gift to the National Gallery of Art and putting an extensive selection of it on temporary display there, recorded in an illustrated booklet by Karen Serres, the former Robert H. Smith Research Curator, and Dylan Smith, who remains the Robert H. Smith Research Conservator. Meanwhile, Mr. Smith continued to add to his already formidable collection with seven more bronze sculptures, for a total of seventy-two.

Along with these seven bronzes, this supplement also publishes a less well-known aspect of Mr. Smith's collecting: the small but distinguished group of boxwoods and ivories that he began acquiring in 1996. He owned five boxwoods, all by the German master Leonhard Kern, who is also represented in the collection with a bronze (cat. 65) and an ivory from his circle (cat. 78). These form the strongest collection of Kern's work outside Europe. The remaining two ivories are equally superb and both by Netherlanders: Gérard van Opstal (cat. 79) and Artus Quellinus the Elder (cat. 80).

In combining art historical analysis with technical examination, this supplement follows the first, with each entry written jointly by a curator and a conservator. Mr. Smith was an ardent proponent of such collaborations, funding curatorial and conservation positions at his cherished National Gallery of Art, where he served on the Board of Trustees between 1985 and 2003. Since Mr. Smith's death in 2009, his family – particularly his wife, Clarice, and daughter, Michelle – has kept his legacy alive with a generous gift to the Gallery that has permitted numerous initiatives in the field of technical art history. This supplement, like the last one, embodies the close working relationship that the departments of sculpture and object conservation enjoy at the Gallery, a relationship that owes so much to Mr. Smith and his ceaseless yearning to know everything he could about his sculptures.

In addition to the colleagues thanked individually in the notes, we are grateful to Debra Pincus for invaluable editorial counsel; to Chris Hall at *The Burlington Magazine* for his good-humored and patient labor on layouts; and to Emily Pegues for heroic work on coordinating the complex contributions of multiple authors. Nicholas Penny has remained, with our gratitude, a guiding spirit throughout.

C. D. Dickerson III and Shelley Sturman

AFRICAN BATHER ('BLACK VENUS')

probably workshop of Johann Gregor van der Scharlt (1530–c.1581)

Modeled probably Nuremberg c. 1570–1575; cast Nuremberg or Antwerp?, c. 1581–1620?

Height: 29.8 cm

Copper alloy

PROVENANCE

Lempertz, Cologne, 20–21 November 1975, lot 1771; Private collection, Paris;
Edward and Kiyi Pflüger Collection, New York; sold Christie's, New York, 20 October 2006, lot 45; Blumka Gallery,
New York, from which acquired October 2007

EXHIBITED

Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 14 October 2012 –
21 January 2013; Princeton University Art Museum, 16 February – 9 June 2013, p. 128, cat. 40

The slender, nude African woman, her elongated arms extended, gazes pensively toward her raised right hand in which she holds the handle for a mirror.¹ Her lowered left hand clutches a bunched cloth and her finely coiled hair is wrapped in a turban. This model, often referred to as the "*Black Venus*," has been termed "one of the best known and best loved small bronzes of the Renaissance."² It is certainly one of the most mysterious. Over time, origins in Florence, Venice, Germany, the Netherlands, France and even antiquity have been proposed.³

While an African identity seems essential to the invention, the intended reading of this exceptional image remains unclear. To a Renaissance European, her facial features together with the hyper-refined proportions and simplified anatomy must have represented an enticingly alien form of ideal beauty.⁴ In an early seventeenth-century love poem, the author declares himself in thrall to the beauty of a black woman, while referring to her as "*bella schiava*" (beautiful slave), and during that period an African woman in Europe would usually be identified in this role.⁵ Yet the openness and elegance of the model justify Lorenz Seelig's description as "probably the earliest sculptural representation of a black African outside of a functional context, and not portrayed as a prisoner or a slave."⁶ The number of surviving examples attests to the popularity of the design.⁷

The statuette could simply be meant as a bather, an exotic variant of genre figures of European female nudes.⁸ Hans Weihrauch pointed out similarities to a drawing by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) of a turbaned Caucasian nude in a similar pose, though with heavier proportions, holding a mirror and a cloth.⁹ The figure could also be an allegory of Vanity, as the mirror might suggest, or the continent of Africa or a time of day, sometimes represented by female figures with African features in art of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹⁰ The model was inventoried generically as a "Venus" by 1750, but called a "Black Venus" only in later art-historical literature, beginning with Julius von Schlosser in 1910.¹¹ The glance toward a mirror is characteristic of Venus, the Greco-Roman goddess of love and beauty.¹² Here, as sometimes noted, the classical reference may fuse with a Judeo-Christian one in the Song of Songs (1:5 in the King James Version), "I am black but comely."

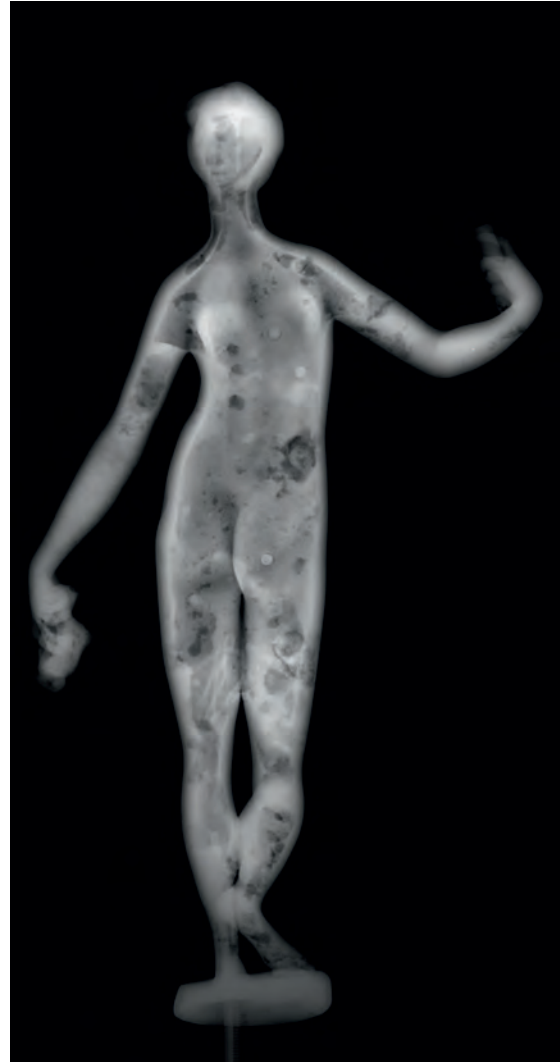


The earliest documented example was inventoried c. 1637–1639 by Abraham Van der Doort (d. 1640) in the “King’s Cabinet” of Charles I of England (1600–1649) at Whitehall; its current location is unknown.¹³ In that collection, the figure is described as “a standing blackamore woeman houlding her left hand downwards, and her right hand upwards like as if shee were to hold some drapery” with a height of 11½ inches (29 centimeters). The cast apparently lacked a mirror and the interpretation of her pose may have been influenced by an example of Giambologna’s *Fortuna* that appears in the same inventory.¹⁴ In the margin is noted “Given to your Majesty by my lord Cottington, said to bee an Antiquity,” indicating that at this early date knowledge of the statuette’s authorship had already been lost. Francis Cottington (1578?–1652) served the king in diplomatic posts beginning in 1622 and acquired works of art for him as well as making gifts to him.¹⁵

The fourteen examples of *African Bather* known today vary significantly in the handling of details, the form of the base, the alloy, casting technique and patination.¹⁶ Three identifiable statuettes can be documented prior to the nineteenth century. One in Braunschweig, lacking a mirror and without African features, was acquired for Duke Augustus II (1579–1666) in 1647 and, like the version belonging to Charles I, presumed to be an antique.¹⁷ Another, now in Vienna, was recorded in the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662) in 1659, interestingly without any reference to its African features.¹⁸ This example also never had a complete mirror.¹⁹ The cast now in Dresden, inventoried in the Grünes Gewölbe in 1726 as a “Mohrin mit Spiegel,” is the earliest example recorded with a mirror.²⁰ That statuette is uniquely ornamented with a beaded necklace and an armband, although the latter may have been added later to conceal a repair to the right arm. Of the remaining examples, only three have complete mirrors; these all differ somewhat and it is possible that some were replaced or added over time.²¹ The absence of mirrors from the majority of casts suggests that in the Renaissance this attribute was not essential to the interpretation or appreciation of the statuette.²²

African Bather was long attributed to sculptors active in Italy. In 1986, however, Manfred Leithe-Jasper, while cautiously maintaining an Italian attribution, pointed out two new paths for research.²³ Considering other modelers of elegant nudes of exaggerated slenderness, he speculated on creation by a Netherlander active in Italy such as Elias de Witte, called Candido, or by the mysterious “Master of the Genre Figures,” now usually identified as Barthélemy Prieur.²⁴ Maraike Bückling developed the Prieur hypothesis in her 1991 book on the Liebieghaus example.²⁵ The Netherlandish idea was championed by Ursel Berger in 1994 and 1995, with strong arguments for Johan Gregor van der Schardt in Nuremberg as creator of the original model, which she considered most faithfully rendered in the Vienna example.²⁶ In 2002 Regina Seelig-Teuwen, also discussing the Vienna version, rejected both names but assembled arguments for a southern Netherlandish origin for the model around 1580.²⁷

Leithe-Jasper was the first to propose that the figure in the painting *Minerva as Bellona*, by the Antwerp mannerist Jacob de Backer (c. 1555 – c. 1585), depended upon a view of the back of *African Bather*.²⁸ Subsequently, Berger noted that certain details of the painted figure also correspond to Van der Schardt’s statuette of *Minerva* now in the Robert H. Smith Collection (cat. 23).²⁹ A second version of *Minerva as Bellona* was sold in 2011 accompanied by a pendant painting depicting the goddess *Juno* from the front.³⁰ Although the goddess is Caucasian and holds different attributes – a golden vessel in her right hand and a moneybag in the left – her pose and elongated form bear a strong resemblance to the *African Bather*. Together, these paintings offer provocative evidence that models or bronzes of van der Schardt’s *Minerva* and the *African Bather* were already accessible to the Antwerp painter by around 1580. The pairing of these particular figures suggests that de Backer knew them from a common source, the workshop of van der Schardt. If de Backer traveled to Nuremberg in the 1570s, when van der Schardt was working there,



he could have seen the *Minerva* and perhaps a model or a bronze of the *Bather*.³¹ Alternatively, a member of van der Schardt's workshop, or one of the many Netherlandish artists working in Nuremberg at that time, could have carried clay or wax models to Antwerp.³² Frits Scholten has suggested that other models by van der Schardt were in Antwerp by 1570 that inspired bronzes by Jacques Jongelinck.³³ Terracotta models as well as bronzes by van der Schardt were collected and perhaps circulated; examples appear in the inventory of Paulus Praun (1548 – 1616).³⁴

The Smith *African Bather* stands on a base whose distinctive shape – a thick, sloping oval with a rounded upper edge – strikingly recalls the bases of the van der Schardt *Mercury* statuettes in Vienna and Stuttgart.³⁵ The Vienna *Bather* stands on a tall, regular oval; Berger noted that an oval base, otherwise uncommon, recurs in works by the artist.³⁶ The base of the Dresden cast is a larger oval, more oblong, with a grass-like texture, and set at an unusual angle to the figure.³⁷ The most common type is an oval disc, sometimes with indications of texture on the top as in the Frankfurt example.

The Smith *African Bather* was cast from a tertiary alloy with more tin (5%) than zinc (3%); some lead is present, and trace elements are consistent with a historical object.³⁸ The internal features suggest

the use of a pre-formed core technique – an alternative to traditional indirect lost wax casting that is well suited to the production of multiple variants.³⁹ This method appears to have been used widely in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and is well represented in statuettes by Barthelemy Prieur and Nicolò Roccatagliata.⁴⁰ Bronzes produced by this technique have the same scale and general pose, but can differ significantly in details. The pronounced variations observed among casts of the *African Bather* likely reflect not only the use of this method, but also perhaps execution in different workshops.

To cast the Smith *African Bather*, a mold was first created to form the core of the head and torso. The external features were then freely modeled in wax over this core, resulting in a rather variable wall thickness, visible by x-radiography. The arms and legs were separately fabricated in wax and attached. The arms were cast solid from just below the shoulder. The features of the legs are somewhat obscured by internal casting defects; however, the left leg was probably hollow to the ankle, while the right seems to have been solid from the knee down. After casting, holes left by the extraction of the core pins or armature were patched using regularly sized threaded plugs; these can be seen in the radiograph, but are invisible on the exterior. The metal was then given a coarse wire brush finish that may have helped the original coatings bond to the surface. Traces of a dark red varnish appear in the recesses of the face, legs and drapery.⁴¹ At some point the ankles were broken and repaired with pins.

The alloys of two other casts of the *African Bather* have been identified: Vienna is a medium zinc (12%) brass with lead (4%) and some tin (3%), while Frankfurt is a medium zinc brass (15%) with less lead and tin.⁴² While radiography was not available to compare casting techniques, the type of flaws present and the level of finish appear generally similar on most casts. Wire brushing in a circular pattern is noted on many examples, sometimes coarser or finer than on the Smith statuette. The Vienna example is exceptional for its comparatively rough finish including rather coarse rectangular patches that were left clearly visible. The brown coating on that cast contained linseed oil with traces of colophony, which is common on Renaissance bronzes.⁴³

The three analyzed versions of the *African Bather* differ in technique not only from each other, but also from statuettes securely ascribed to van der Schardt. The Smith *Minerva*, Stuttgart *Mercury*, Vienna *Mercury*, and gilded Vienna *Autumn* (and presumably its three companions) are all medium zinc brass (12%) with a significant amount of tin (5%).⁴⁴ The similarity of these alloys reflects that all were probably cast during a short period in Nuremberg c.1570–1575 possibly by the same founder, George Labenwolf (? – 1585).⁴⁵ Unlike the *African Bather*, the *Minerva* is hollow throughout and has a fine wire armature, as revealed in x-radiography.⁴⁶ The wall thickness, however, is somewhat variable and a pre-formed core could have been used. While the *Mercury* statuettes in Vienna and Stuttgart appear to be replicas, Leithe-Jasper has pointed out that they differ in certain details and measurements, such as the stride of the figure.⁴⁷

Two other statuettes attributed to van der Schardt appear technically distinct from the documented Nuremberg group and show greater affinities to the *African Bather*. The Vienna *Luna* is cast from a tertiary alloy with more tin than zinc, similar to the Smith *Bather*.⁴⁸ The Amsterdam *Sol* has a similar alloy, but more highly leaded, and has solid cast limbs with no apparent armature.⁴⁹ The *Luna* and *Sol* both have rectangular patches that resemble those on the Vienna *Bather*, which appears with the *Luna* in the 1659 inventory of Leopold Wilhelm.⁵⁰ Scholten has proposed that the *Sol* and *Luna* preserve models by van der Schardt produced in association with a scheme for the fountain for Emperor Maximilian II that was abandoned.⁵¹

The Vienna *Bather* could have been cast to preserve a valued model; both Berger and Seelig-Teuwen have argued for the primacy of this version with its comparatively rough finish.⁵² Subsequent casts, including that in the Smith Collection, would have been produced with a refinement better suited to works

destined for a *kunstkammer*. If the Vienna bronze does record a model, its purpose was different from that of the *Sol* and *Luna*, which are significantly larger and more refined, as are all the Nuremberg statuettes by van der Schardt.⁵³ Possibly more relevant is a half-figure of Prudence gazing into a mirror atop a gilded silver goblet by Hanz Petzol, created in Nuremberg and now in Budapest.⁵⁴ The model has been attributed to van der Schardt and has some similarities to the *African Bather* in scale, subject and pose.⁵⁵

It is difficult to assign any cast of the *African Bather* to the hand of van der Schardt. As Berger and Seelig-Teuwen observed, the surviving versions lack the anatomical definition demonstrated by the artist even in his most attenuated figures. The model may be the creation of a close collaborator in the workshop, perhaps based on a drawing or wax study by the master. Certain examples, particularly the one in Vienna, may have been cast in Nuremberg. Technical differences from the more secure statuettes by van der Schardt, however, suggest execution by a different founder, perhaps after 1575 and without the artist's intervention. Casts may have also been produced elsewhere, especially in Antwerp, since the *African Bather* was apparently known there by the 1580s. The use of threaded plugs in the Smith statuette suggests a date no earlier than the 1580s, when this practice appeared in Giambologna's workshop in Florence.⁵⁶ Many casts evidently existed by the middle of the seventeenth century, when examples are found in inventories across Europe; the description of some as antiquities suggests that considerable time had passed since their creation.

AL & DS

¹ The mirror she now holds is a painted epoxy restoration based upon mirrors extant on other casts. It was made by Dylan Smith in 2008 at the request of Robert H. Smith.

² *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, p. 108. On issues raised by reference to the subject's race in the title see Anna Greve, *Farbe – Macht – Körper: Kritische Weisheitsforschung in der europäischen Kunstgeschichte*, Karlsruhe, 2013, pp. 134–138.

³ For the attribution history through 1991 see Manfred Leithe-Jasper, *Renaissance Master Bronzes*, catalogue of the exhibition, Washington (National Gallery of Art), 1986, pp. 150–152, and Maraike Bückling, *Die Negervenus*, Frankfurt, 1991, pp. 56–57, note 11.

⁴ On images of Africans, both stereotyped and individual, in European Renaissance art see preceding note; *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 3, pt.1 (Artists of the Renaissance and Baroque), 2010, and Joaneath Spicer, ed., *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe*, catalogue of the exhibition, Baltimore (Walters Art Museum), 2012 and Princeton (Princeton University Museum of Art), 2013; discussion of this statuette on pp. 51–52 and 128, cat. 40.

⁵ Translation from Giambattista Marino (1569–1625), cited by Bückling 1971, pp. 53–55. 67, n. 68: “Compared to you the dawn is dark; ivory and purple fade beside your ebony... There where you burn most brightly, O Sun, solely to shame you a sun is born; a sun with the night in her lovely face, and in her eyes the day.”

⁶ Lorenz Seelig, “Christoph Jamnitzer’s ‘Moor’s Head’: a late Renaissance drinking vessel,” in T. F. Earle and Kate Lowe, eds., *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 181–209.

⁷ Bückling 1991, pp. 28–40, lists thirteen casts. The Smith example is cat. 11. Cat. 12 was sold at Sotheby’s, Paris, 16 October 2007, lot 16. A fourteenth example was sold at Christie’s, Paris,

25 February 2009, lot 563, from the collection of Yves Saint-Laurent and Pierre Bergé. Two more, apparently later variants, were sold at Christie’s, New York, 24–27 July 2013, lot 315, and Sotheby’s, Paris, 26 March 2013, lot 195. Six examples are illustrated in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, pp. 109–113, 325. For an overview of the history of multiples during the sixteenth century, see Claudia Kryza-Gersch, “The Production of Multiple Small Bronze in the Renaissance: When, Where and Why (II),” *Ricche Minere*, 3, 2015, pp. 2–23.

⁸ Spicer 2012, p. 52. She points out that genre figures of bathers, without mythological attributes, appear in bronzes by Giambologna and Barthélemy Prieur, and that nude female attendants could be seen at public baths.

⁹ Weihrauch, 1967, p. 146, on the Dürer drawing formerly in the Lubomirski Museum, Lemberg (Lvov); by 1995 in a private collection in Clarendon, Wiltshire. See Bückling 1991, pp. 50, fig. 34, and 65–66, note 56, and Berger in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, p. 324. Berger and Krahn (1994, p. 233, note 21) noted that at least one other work attributed to van der Schardt seems indebted to a Dürer drawing from the Lubomirski collection, the *Sol* statuette now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, pendant to the *Luna* in Vienna. Berger observed (*Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, p. 326) that at least two of van der Schardt’s patrons in Nuremberg, Willibald Imhoff and Paulus Praun, owned Dürer drawings.

¹⁰ For Vanity, see Berger in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, p. 326. For an early (1570) representation of the continent Africa, see Elisabeth Neumann, “Imagining European Community on the title page of Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*,” *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 25, no. 4, pp. 427–444. Nicholas Penny speculated in 2008 that the model could originally have been conceived for a figure in silver, perhaps for a series of continents meant for display in or on a cabinet

- (personal communication). A nude woman with African features symbolizing Night appears in a print by Jan Muller after a drawing by Hendrick Goltzius, c. 1589, depicting the first day of creation. Intriguingly this figure also appears to make reference to Giambologna's *Fortuna*, mentioned by Leithe-Jasper as a forerunner of the pose (though not the exaggerated proportions and abstraction) of the *African Bather*. See discussion in Spicer 2012, pp. 34–38.
- ¹¹ In the 1750 inventory of the imperial collection the Vienna example is called simply a standing Venus (cited in Leithe-Jasper 1986, p. 150). “Negervenus” appears to have been first used by Julius von Schlosser, *Werke der Kleinplastik in der Skulpturensammlung des A. H. Kaiserhauses*, Vienna, 1910, vol. I, p. 12 and pl. XXXIV. Wilhelm Bode, *Italianische Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1907, I:43, pl. LXXXIII and II: 36, mentions several examples without reference to race; illustrating the generically European-looking Braunschweig example, he captions it simply as northern Italian, “Nackte Frau, Toilette machend.”
- ¹² See for instance the painting by Andrea del Brescianino, c. 1525, of an elongated Venus in a similar pose, gazing into a shell as if it were a mirror, in the Galleria Borghese, Rome; Bückling 1991, pp. 50–51; Franca Falletti and Jonathan Katz Nelson, eds., *Venere e Amore. Venus and Love. Michelangelo e la nuova bellezza ideale*, catalogue of the exhibition, Florence (Gallerie dell’Accademia), 2002, pp. 162–163, cat. 11. Another ancient goddess, Diana, is occasionally represented in the Renaissance with African features. *The Image of the Black*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 2010, pp. 103, 131–134. In a fresco by Giovanni Maria Falconetto in the Palazzo d’Arca in Mantua such a depiction appears in a cycle of astrological figures.
- ¹³ See Millar, 1960, p. 93; on the King’s *African Bather* see David Howarth, “Charles I, Sculpture and Sculptors,” in Arthur MacGregor, ed., *The Late King’s Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, London and Oxford, 1989, pp. 73–113, esp. 101; research on this example was pursued by Karen Serres and Lindsay Dupertuis.
- ¹⁴ “The King’s Collection of Statues,” No. 3, “a standing woman, with her left hand over her head, and the other down to hold a fortune’s veil.” Millar, 1960, p. 92; Watson and Avery, 1973, pp. 501–506.
- ¹⁵ See Fiona Donovan, *Rubens and England*, New Haven, 2004, pp. 60, 61–65. Fiona Pogson in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, January 2008, accessed by Lindsay Dupertuis 15 July 2015; and Francis Haskell, “Charles I’s Collection of Pictures” in MacGregor 1989, p. 206.
- ¹⁶ See note 7. The authors are grateful to Karen Serres for extensive contributions to assembling, organizing and interpreting information on the many examples.
- ¹⁷ Berger and Krahn, 1994, pp. 230–233, cat. 193. The 1753 inventory, cited on p. 230, described the Braunschweig statuette holding a mirror, presumably inferred based on the presence of the handle.
- ¹⁸ Leithe-Jasper 1986, p. 150. In the 1659 inventory “Nr. 64 Ein kleine Bild von Metal einer nackenden Frawen gantzer Postur, hat in der rechten Hand ein Stuckh von einem Staab und in der linckhen ein Trüchel.”
- ¹⁹ The status of the mirror is discussed in Berger and Krahn, 1994, p. 230.
- ²⁰ Grünes Gewölbe Skulptureninventar 1726, fol. 16, Nr. 135, cited in Greve 2013, p. 136. Krahn 1995, p. 110; Bückling 1991, pp. 34–38, 71; Antje Scherner and Dirk Syndram, eds., *Princely splendor: the Dresden court, 1580–1620*, catalogue of the exhibition, Hamburg (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe), New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) and Rome (Fondazione Memmo, Palazzo Ruspoli), 2004–2005, Milan, 2004, p. 279. Herman Pollig, ed., *Exotische Welten, europäische Phantasien*, catalogue of the exhibition, Stuttgart (Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen), 1987, p. 310, cat. 1.37. Many thanks to Richter Rainer and Michael Wagner at Dresden for providing additional images of this bronze. Further examination may clarify whether the mirror is separate and attached.
- ²¹ Frankfurt, New York and former collection of Marquis de Ganay. See Bückling 1991, pp. 9, 19–20, 40.
- ²² In *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, p. 108, Krahn has pointed out that the angle of certain handles seems incorrect for a mirror. Examples in Vienna, Braunschweig and New York (which has a mirror) are mentioned. The mirror on the Liebieghaus example is a distinct alloy from the figure, which is somewhat surprising if the two parts were fabricated at once. See note 42. Berger (Berger and Krahn, 1994, p. 230) observes that such small attributes are frequently lost, overlooked or misunderstood as a model is reproduced.
- ²³ Leithe-Jasper 1986, pp. 150–152.
- ²⁴ Leithe-Jasper (as above) notes that the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, the first known owner of the Vienna example, was governor of the Habsburg Netherlands from 1646–1656.
- ²⁵ Bückling 1991, pp. 56–57, note 11.
- ²⁶ Berger in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, cat. 98. For these arguments in greater detail see Berger and Krahn, 1994, pp. 230–233, cat. 193. The Braunschweig example is there discussed as a cast c. 1600 adapted from an original of c. 1570/80 by van der Schardt. For Berger’s later views, see Ursel Berger, “Die Negervenus, eine Statuette von Johann Gregor van der Schardt?” in Volker Krahn, ed., *Von allen Seiten schön. Rückblicke auf Ausstellung und Kolloquium. 1, Dokumentation zu Ausstellung und Kolloquium*, Cologne, 1996, pp. 59–67. On van der Schardt, without reference to the *African Bather* statuette, see recently Frits Scholten, “Johan Gregor van der Schardt in Nuremberg” in Motture, et al., 2013, pp. 134–147.
- ²⁷ Seelig-Teuwen in Renate Eikermann, ed., *Der Mohrenkopfpokal von Christoph Jamnitzer*, catalogue of the exhibition, Munich (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum), 2002, pp. 284–286, cat. 65.
- ²⁸ Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. no. 3216. Leithe-Jasper 1986, p. 152. On de Backer, see J. Müller-Hofstede, “Jacques de Backer: ein Vertreter der florentinisch-roömischen maniera in Antwerpen,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 1973, pp. 242, 246; Carl van de Velde: “Backer, Jacob de [Jacques],” *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 16 May 2007.
- ²⁹ See Berger and Krahn, 1994, p. 232. For the Smith *Minerva*, see Radcliffe and Penny, 2004, pp. 142–147, cat. 23.
- ³⁰ Christie’s, Amsterdam, 1 November 2011, lot 87.
- ³¹ The extent of de Backer’s travels are unclear. Berger and Krahn, (1994, p. 232) note connections between Antwerp and Nuremberg in this period. Although the cast in Vienna is first recorded in Prague in 1659, it is possible that it came from Nuremberg with the Vienna gilded allegorical fountain figures of the *Four Seasons* (Berger in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, pp. 320–323, cats. 94–97) and the *Luna* in Vienna, whose pendant is the *Sol* in Amsterdam. This grouping is discussed, with reference to the van der Schardt attributions of the models for the *Seasons*, *Luna* and *Sol*, in Scholten in Motture, et al., 2013, pp. 135–136, and *From Vulcan’s Forge*, 2005, pp. 112–115.

- ³² Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Netherlandish Artists and Art in Renaissance Nuremberg," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 20, no. 2/3, 1990–1991, pp. 153–167.
- ³³ Scholten in Motture, et al., 2013, p. 115, models for the *Sol*, *Luna* and *Mercury* are mentioned. See also Bert Meijer, "The re-emergence of a Sculptor: eight lifesize bronzes by Jacques Jonghelinck," *Oud Holland*, 93, no. 2, 1979, pp. 116–135.
- ³⁴ Christophe Théophile de Murr, *Description du cabinet de Monsieur Paul de Praun à Nuremberg*, Nuremberg, 1797, pp. 230–240. Katrin Achilles-Syndram, ed., *Die Kunstsammlung des Paulus Praun: die Inventare von 1616 und 1719 / herausgegeben vom Stadtarchiv Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1994.
- ³⁵ For the Vienna *Mercury* see Leithe-Jasper 1986, cat. 49, pp. 188–190; for the Stuttgart *Mercury*, a pendant to the Smith *Minerva* made in Nuremberg, see *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, cat. 92, pp. 326–329. The modeling of the wide open eyes in the Smith *African Bather*, with irises raised in relief and hollowed at the centers, seems a smaller and looser version of the treatment in the Stuttgart *Mercury*, whose parted lips and pensively tilted head also correspond to those of the statuette.
- ³⁶ Berger in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, p. 324. A similar base is found on the Christie's, Paris, 25 February 2009 cast, and perhaps also on that in Grenoble.
- ³⁷ The wooden base that now accompanies this figure compensates for the angle, allowing the *Bather* to stand vertically.
- ³⁸ For a full report of the alloy, see the table on p. 76.
- ³⁹ Pre-formed cores were first described in reference to certain "Ricciesque" statuettes; see Richard Stone, "Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting in Italy at the End of the Quattrocento," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 16, 1981, pp. 87–116, pp. 113–115, and *Burlington*, 2007, pp. 20–26.
- ⁴⁰ For Roccatagliata, see *Cleopatra*, cat. 69; Shelley Sturman, "Replication and variation: Roccatagliata and the female nude," in Saunders, et al., 2013, pp. 20–28, and *Burlington*, 2007, pp. 35–39. For Prieur, see Regina Seelig-Teuwen, David Bourgarit and Francesca Bewer, "Barthélemy Prieur fondeur, son atelier, ses méthodes de travail," in David Bourgarit, Jane Bassett, Francesca Bewer, Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Philippe Malgouryes and Guilhem Scherf, eds., *French bronze sculpture: materials and techniques 16th-18th century*, London, 2014, p. 33; also *Renaissance and Baroque bronzes*, 2002, pp. 276–282. Prieur statuettes typically lack screw plugs and have core supports of iron wire that are absent from the Smith *African Bather*.
- ⁴¹ In 2006, at the request of Robert H. Smith, the statuette received an overall tinted synthetic resin coating intended to tone areas of worn patina.
- ⁴² The Vienna example is a leaded brass with 11.7% zinc, 4.1% lead and significant tin 2.5%. The Frankfurt version is a brass with 14.8% zinc, only 1.5% tin, and less than 1% lead, the separately cast mirror has a very different alloy with about 2% of zinc, tin and lead. Analysis by Dylan Smith with a Bruker Tracer III-V (Vienna) and a Bruker Tracer III-SD (Frankfurt), for methods see the table on p. 76.
- ⁴³ Václav Pitthard, Sabine Stanek, Martina Griesser, Helene Hanzer, and Claudia Kryza-Gersch, "Comprehensive Investigation of the 'Organic Patina' on Renaissance and Baroque Indoor Bronze Sculptures from the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna," in Joyce Townsend, Luciano Toniolo, and Francesca Cappitelli, eds., *Conservation Science*, Milan, 2008, pp. 49–55.
- ⁴⁴ Analysis of Smith *Minerva* analyzed by Lisha Glinsman, Conservation Scientist, with a Kevex 0750A; for method see the table on p. 76. Analysis of Stuttgart *Mercury* and Vienna *Mercury* and *Autumn* reported in Josef Riederer, "Metallanalysen Nuernberger Statuetten aus der Zeit der Labenwolf-Werkstatt," *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie*, 7, 1982, pp. 94–100.
- ⁴⁵ *From Vulcan's Forge*, 2005, pp. 112–115, and Scholten in Motture, et al., 2013, pp. 135–136.
- ⁴⁶ Radcliffe and Penny, 2004, p. 146. Radiography of additional statuettes is needed to more firmly establish the technique used by van der Schardt.
- ⁴⁷ Leithe-Jasper 1986, p. 190.
- ⁴⁸ The alloy contains 3.6% zinc, 7.6% tin, and 3.6% lead. Analysis by Dylan Smith with a Bruker III-V, for method, see the table on p. 76. Thanks to Claudia Kryza-Gersch for making this analysis possible.
- ⁴⁹ *From Vulcan's Forge*, 2005, pp. 112–115, 164–165. The alloy contains 3% zinc, 10.2% tin and 9.5% lead. Many thanks to Arie Pappot, Junior Conservator of Metals, Rijksmuseum, for performing this additional x-ray fluorescence analysis (personal communication, 11 September 2015).
- ⁵⁰ Hanne Honnens de Lichtenberg, *Johan Gregor van der Schardt*, Copenhagen, 1991, pp. 104–111.
- ⁵¹ Scholten in Motture, et al., 2013, pp. 134–136.
- ⁵² Berger in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, p. 324. Seelig-Teuwen 2002, p. 284.
- ⁵³ Vienna *Luna*: 51 cm, Amsterdam *Sol*: 45.7 cm, Smith *Minerva*: 52.9 cm, Vienna *Mercury*: 53 cm, Stuttgart *Mercury*: 53 cm, Vienna gilded allegorical figures: 71.2 cm. Two casts of *Mercury* in Los Angeles and Stockholm are even larger: 114 cm.
- ⁵⁴ Iparművészeti Museum, Budapest, inv. E 60.15, see András Szilágyi, ed., *Die Esterházy-Schatzkammer: Kunstwerke aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, Budapest, 2006, p. 70, cat. 13.
- ⁵⁵ Scholten in Motture, et al., 2013, p. 136 and note 13. For Berger, the goblet suggests van der Schardt's influence in the next generation (Berger 1996, as in note 26). She proposes that the lost original model of the *African Bather*, probably by the artist, may have been made for a work in silver, a rotating automaton.
- ⁵⁶ For discussion of this technique, see Stone, 2010, p. 114.

NEPTUNE ON A DOLPHIN

Hubert Gerhard, c.1550–1620

Augsburg or Munich, modeled probably 1584/1589; cast possibly 1590/1600?

Height: 36.7 cm

Copper alloy

PROVENANCE

Collection of the Margraves and Grand Dukes of Baden, by 1883; Inventory Koelitz 1883, inv. 3621;¹
 Zähringermuseum Baden-Baden; sold Sotheby's, Baden-Baden, 5 October 1995, *Die Sammlung der*
Markgrafen und Grossherzöge von Baden, vol. II, *Kunstammer*, lot 317; bought by Cyril Humphris, London,
 from whom purchased January 2008

EXHIBITED

Bayern - Kunst und Kultur, Münchner Stadtmuseum, 9 June – 15 October 1972, cat. 769;
Bella Figura. Europäische Bronzekunst in Süddeutschland um 1600, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum,
 6 February – 25 May 2015, cat. 24

The lanky, laurel-crowned sea god balances above a plunging dolphin. Planting his left foot on the creature's cheek, he leans back to grip the tail in his left hand and fixes his gaze on his raised right hand, which must once have held a trident.² Although Hubert Gerhard often portrayed gods looking up toward their attribute, the commanding pose and expression here call to mind a passage in Virgil's *Aeneid* (1:135) that inspired many Renaissance and Baroque artists, the famous unfinished sentence "Quos ego... (Whom I...)," expressing Neptune's rage at the disobedient and rebellious winds and waves.³

Attributed to Gerhard by Hans Weihrauch in 1967, with later confirmation from Dorothea Diemer,⁴ the *Neptune* testifies to Gerhard's Italian experience and in particular to the influence of Giambologna, with whom Gerhard probably worked before 1580.⁵ Comparisons can be made for instance with the pose of Giambologna's *Neptune* on the fountain in Bologna, and the small bronze *modello* for it of 1563 (Museo Civico, Bologna), as well as the imperious face and steep crown of Giambologna's *Mars* (model probably 1570s).⁶ Venetian precedents for the composition include the marble statue by Jacopo Sansovino at the top of the Scala dei Giganti at the Doge's Palace, and a terracotta statuette by Alessandro Vittoria in the British Museum.⁷ The Smith statuette also suggests Gerhard's training in his Dutch homeland; the schematically knobby torso calls to mind the *Hercules and a Centaur* by Willem van Tetrode of c. 1573, also in the Smith Collection (cat. 21).⁸

Weihrauch, dating the statuette to c. 1590, noted similarities to Gerhard's statues of Vulcan and Neptune, made as allegories of fire and water for the Wittelsbach Fountain (1586–1587), originally installed in the public square in front of the Munich palace of its patron, Ferdinand of Bavaria (1550–1608). The younger brother of Duke Wilhelm V (1548–1626), Ferdinand was an enthusiastic promoter of the art of bronze-casting who had befriended Giambologna in Florence.⁹ The *Neptune* is certainly associated with the design of a fountain. The interlocking positions of the figure and dolphin, with the god's left hand and foot connecting with the creature and its tail fin covering his lower buttocks, seem devised to accommodate



pipes. One can imagine water spilling from the dolphin's mouth and spouting from the god's raised trident as happened in the large Neptune on the Wittelsbach Fountain.¹⁰ An origin has also been proposed for a domestic table fountain of the kind made for patrons from court circles in Augsburg or Munich.¹¹ However, the Smith bronze lacks openings for water and could never itself have functioned in this way.

Several features suggest that the *Neptune* preserves an original wax model by Gerhard, rather than a design for a miniature fountain or an independent small bronze, a genre not characteristic of the artist's oeuvre.¹² The free handling of hair and anatomy would be consistent with an origin as a preliminary study.¹³ So would its production as a mostly solid cast (except for the dolphin and some upper parts of the figure), as revealed by x-radiography. By the sixteenth century, statuettes intended as finished works – except for the smallest – would typically have been made hollow to save metal and improve the quality of the cast.¹⁴

This model could represent an early conception for the large *Neptune* on the Wittelsbach Fountain, perhaps made during the planning stages (c. 1584). If so, that conception was replaced by a different one in the bulkier and more relaxed Neptune statue (149 cm. high), finally produced for the fountain in Munich. The statuette's daring pose, however, with muscular legs and arms cutting through the air as the figure leans backward and arches forward, found large-scale realization in the statues of Vulcan and Ceres on the same fountain.

The Smith Gerhard *Neptune* might also have figured in early designs for the center of a monumental fountain, a purpose suggested by its triumphant "Quos Ego" references.¹⁵ The Augustus Fountain of 1589–1593 in Augsburg, for instance, shows many similarities in composition to Giambologna's Neptune Fountain in Bologna, including strikingly similar putti grasping dolphins, and female herms.¹⁶ The present figure could conceivably stem from an unrecorded plan for a Neptune fountain for Augsburg, superseded by the decision for a structure dedicated to the city's namesake, Emperor Augustus. As the cast of a preliminary model for the central figure on a civic fountain, the Gerhard sea god would be an intriguing northern counterpart to Baccio Bandinelli's bronze *Neptune* of c. 1560, also in the Smith Collection (cat. 20),¹⁷ as well as Giambologna's model for the *Neptune* in Bologna.¹⁸

Even if no relevant monumental fountain project came to fruition for Gerhard, the appealing Neptune model could have been kept in his workshop and eventually cast in bronze to preserve it. Such a history would account for its survival as a unique cast, and for the existence of two slightly larger variants, one at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and one offered at Sotheby's, London, 3 December 2014, each a somewhat later free copy rather than a cast replica, and each apparently made for a table fountain.¹⁹

Examination and x-radiography of the bronze shed light on the way Gerhard prepared his models. The irregular interior of the base suggests he began with a wooden block, as also observed on one of the statuettes from the Fugger altar.²⁰ A calcium-rich clay was used to create the essential form of the dolphin, which was mounted to serve as a foundation for the rest of the model.²¹ A thick layer of wax was then applied that allowed Gerhard to create the final appearance of the dolphin. Most of the figure of Neptune was freely modeled in solid wax. The upper chest and head of the sea god are hollow and were either prepared with a core originally or it was added prior to casting. Remnants of iron wires of various thicknesses remain embedded in the bronze. The particular configuration suggests that the armature was added ad hoc during the modeling process, rather than systematically introduced as might be expected in a wax explicitly intended for casting into bronze.

To be adapted as a cabinet piece, Gerhard's model would have required the addition of details and decoration to the wax, as well as to the metal surface after casting.²² The final bronze retains passages of free modeling in the hair and wreath alongside crisper details more characteristic of the level of finish found in Gerhard's larger bronzes. Flaws were carefully repaired, including a large hole in the top of the



head, probably from an armature, that was filled with a large screw plug and concealed by tooling.²³ Circular plugs appear elsewhere on the surface as slightly reddish circles. The figure's musculature was carefully burnished and polished, and the dolphin enriched with a pattern of deeply outlined scales incised into the tail of the wax model, enhanced after casting with smaller semi-circular scales, crisply created with a ring punch struck at an angle. A distinct texture of circular punching also appears around the dolphin's head. The leafy pattern and small snake on the base may have been added to the wax model to further elaborate the design. Two holes were made in the base of the model to allow the bronze to be mounted. Traces of a dark coating remain in recessed areas of the surface, suggesting the application of a colored varnish, another practice likely learned from Giambologna.²⁴

The Smith *Neptune* is cast from a dark golden brown copper alloy containing 11% zinc with little tin or lead, and trace elements consistent with this period.²⁵ In Gerhard's larger sculptures, bronze and quaternary alloys are typical; only the four river gods from the Augustus Fountain, cast in Augsburg between 1590–1591, are brass, containing approximately 15% zinc.²⁶ Two sculptures of medium scale, *River God* at the Liechtenstein Collections and *Flying Mercury* from the Bayerisches Museum, have mixed alloys that generally follow the artist's preferences for larger sculptures.²⁷ For his small-scale works, however, Gerhard appears to have used brass alloys throughout his career.²⁸ It is interesting to note that although Gerhard's style and many of his sculptural practices were influenced by his time in Florence, his selection of alloys apparently was not.²⁹

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- ¹ Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, p. 252 and vol. 2, cat. G 23, p. 162, p. 220, pl. 36 (color plate) and 346, pl. 162a (back view), with a dating c. 1585/1599.
- ² A removable trident with a brass shaft and cast epoxy tines was made for the statuette in 2008 by Dylan Smith at the request of Robert H. Smith. This was based in part on a 1613 drawing of the Wittelsbach fountain as well as the trident held by Giambologna's *Neptune* in Bologna.
- ³ For the "Quos Ego" theme and its dissemination through a Marcantonio Raimondi print after Raphael see recently Christian K. Kleinbub, "Raphael's *Quos Ego*: forgotten document of the Renaissance *paragone*," *Word and Image*, 28, no. 3, 2012, pp. 287–301, with bibliography in note 1. Many thanks to Nicholas Penny for calling attention to this interpretation, and for his contributions to the research and writing of this entry.
- ⁴ Weihrauch, 1967, pp. 345 (fig. 422), 349–350. Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 252 and vol. 2, cat. G 23, pp. 162, 220, pl. 36; Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, p. 222, with a dating c. 1585/1599.
- ⁵ For evidence that Gerhard lived in Florence and worked with Giambologna before 1581 see Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 23–33, and Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 22–27.
- ⁶ For Giambologna's Neptune Fountain and the bronze cast of its *modello*, 78.6 cm high, see Avery, 1987, pp. 130–131, 261, fig. 131; Rudolf Preimesberger in *Giambologna*, 2006, pp. 161–162, cat. 3; and Richard Tuttle, with Nadja Aksamija and Francesco Ceccarelli, *The Neptune Fountain in Bologna. Bronze, Marble and Water in the Making of a Papal City*, London and Turnhout, 2015. For the origins of the Mars model in the late 1570s see Manfred Leithe-Jasper in *Giambologna*, 2006, p. 209. On various examples of the Mars see also Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Giambologna: Triumph des Körpers*, catalogue of the exhibition, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum), 2006, pp. 218–225.
- ⁷ Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, p. 222.
- ⁸ Radcliffe and Penny, 2004, pp. 130–135, cat. 21. Tetrode had also been active in Italy.
- ⁹ Returning victorious from battle in 1584, Ferdinand commissioned the fountain, which was produced by 1586 and installed in the summer of 1587. After 1609 it was moved to the Munich Residenz, where most of its sculptures are preserved. See Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 194–206 and vol. 2, cat. G 6, pp. 146–147, pl. 18–20, 107–127 and *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 333–345, cat. 62 A–F.
- ¹⁰ For a drawing of c. 1609/1613 showing the Wittelsbach Fountain in action see Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, p. 197 fig. 147, p. 201 fig. 149; vol. 2, p. 298, pl. 114, and in *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 346–347, cat. 63.
- ¹¹ Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, p. 252, and appendix 4C, fol. 144v, transcribed in vol. 2, p. 135. She cited a 1603 inventory description of "a fountain with figures, all of brass," in a summer house at the palace of Duke Ferdinand in Munich. See also Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, p. 338. In the 2015 exhibition the Neptune is classed with bronzes for private collectors, and proposed as an invention for a table fountain.
- ¹² One possible exception, the *Hebe* or *Water Nymph* in the Detroit Institute of Arts, is larger (h. 62.5 cm.) and differs from the Neptune both in detail treatment and in its indirect casting technique, with thin walls. See Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 248–252 and ill. 182–184, and vol. 2, pp. 162–163, cat. G 24 and 24a, pls. 36, 37, and Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 224–225, cat. 25 (arguing that the Detroit statuette may be cast from a pre-existing figure or negative mold in Gerhard's workshop). For evidence that Gerhard himself produced wax models of various sizes see Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 146–147, 344–345.
- ¹³ The different character of a highly finished presentation model by Gerhard, executed in wax and wood, can be seen in a *River God* acquired by the Louvre in 2006. See Dorothea Diemer, "Un dieu-fleuve pour la Munich maniériste: La découverte d'un modèle en cire pour une sculpture ornant une fontaine d'Hubert Gerhard," *La revue des musées de France: revue du Louvre*, 61, no. 5, 2011, pp. 57–62, kindly called to our attention by Karen Serres.
- ¹⁴ Gerhard's earliest known statuettes, produced as part of the Fugger altarpiece of 1581 (Victoria & Albert Museum, London), are hollow throughout, although somewhat thick-walled. Thanks are due to Peta Motture for making these objects and radiographs available for study. The Fugger statuettes are direct casts. For the altar in general see Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 73–82; vol. 2, pp. 141–142 (observations by Francesca Bewer), cat. G 1, pls. 1, 2, 65–71a.; Michael Baxandall, "Hubert Gerhard and the Altar of Christoph Fugger," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildende Kunst* 17, 1966, pp. 127–144; idem., "A Masterpiece by Hubert Gerhard," *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, 1, no. 2, 1965, pp. 1–17; Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 258–261, cat. 35A–B; also pp. 22 (fig. 3), 26.
- ¹⁵ See note 3. Weihrauch speculated that the *Neptune* and "*Hebe*" might reflect plans for the monumental fountain by Gerhard, cast c. 1590–95 for the Fugger palace at Kirchheim and dispersed in the nineteenth century. For that fountain see Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 206–220, vol. 2, pp. 147–148, and in *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 352–366, cat. 65–70. No designs for figures resembling the *Neptune* and *Hebe* are recorded.
- ¹⁶ On the Augsburg fountain see Michael Kühenthal, et al., *Die Augustusbrunnen in Augsburg*, Munich, 2003, and Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 35–36, 368–373, cats. 71 and 72; for Giambologna's Neptune Fountain see note 6.
- ¹⁷ For the Bandinelli statuette, see Radcliffe and Penny, 2004, pp. 124–129, cat. 20, with technical notes by Shelley Sturman, pp. 301–309. On the Bandinelli models see Volker Krahn in *Baccio Bandinelli*, 2014, pp. 380–384. Earlier Krahn speculated that this statuette might be an aftercast of the documented Palazzo Venezia version (Volker Krahn, "Bandinelli's Modello for the 'Neptune' in Piazza della Signoria, Florence," *The Burlington Magazine* 155, November 2013, pp. 763–768). A more probable origin as an alternative original model is discussed in Claudia Kryza-Gersch, "The Production of Multiple Small Bronzes in the Italian Renaissance: When, Where and Why II," *Ricche Minere*, 3, 2015, pp. 2–23.
- ¹⁸ For a recent discussion see Preimesberger in *Giambologna*, 2006, pp. 161–162.
- ¹⁹ The Metropolitan Museum *Neptune*, 22.60.31, is briefly noted in the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 17, May 1922, p. 110; called German, possibly Nuremberg, c. 1650, h. 40.6 cm. Its integral base is adorned with waves, lizards, snails and shells. Thanks are due to James Draper and Denny Stone for this information. A second free variant, piped as a fountain, was offered at Sotheby's, London, 3 December 2014, lot 71, as "Italian, Venice, 17th century, Table Fountain with Neptune and a Dolphin," h. 38.5 cm.
- ²⁰ Similar indications of a block were observed inside the base of the *Moses* from the Fugger altar.
- ²¹ Scanning electron microscopy/energy dispersive spectroscopy by Michael Palmer, Conservation Scientist.
- ²² Although sculptors' models had begun to interest collectors in Italy by the late sixteenth century, there is no indication that



such a taste had developed at the Bavarian court. For Giambologna's models, see Avery, 1987, pp. 63–71; Volker Krahn, "I Bozzetti del Giambologna" in *Giambologna*, 2006, pp. 45–61; Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, p. 145.

²³ Similar plugged repairs can be seen in the x-rays of Gerhard's figures from the Fugger altar. Diemer, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 141–142, cat. G1, pls. 1, 2, 65–71a.

²⁴ Examination of the statuette of the *Equestrian Monument to Maximilian III* revealed a similar coating overall, but more reddish. See also Diemer, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 156–157, cat. G 14, pls. 50, 206–210a. Brita von Götz-Mohr, ed., *Liebieghaus – Museum Alter Plastik, Nachantike Kleinplastische Bildwerke, v. III (Die Deutschsprachigen Länder 1500–1800)*, Frankfurt, 1989, cat. 141, pp. 294–298.

²⁵ For full report of the alloy see the table on p. 76.

²⁶ For analyses of individual works and references, see Diemer 2004, v. 2, pp. 141–166. In the Augustus Fountain, the central figure is bronze; the herms are leaded bronze; and the putti are quaternary alloys. For the most complete reporting, see Helmut Friedel, *Bronze-Bildmonumente in Augsburg 1589–1606*, Augsburg, 1974, p. 33, and note 25.

²⁷ *River God*, inv. SK 1530, 34.5 cm; the figure would be approximately 60 cm if standing. See *Bella Figura*, pp. 348–351, cat.

64. Fe: 0.2, Ni: 0.11, Cu: 88.5, Zn: 2.5, As: 0.17, Pb: 2.4, Ag: 0.10, Sn: 6.2, Sb: 0.18. Analysis by Dylan Smith with a Bruker Tracer III-V, for method see the table on p. 76. *Flying Mercury*, 92 cm. Analysis by Josef Riederer and Joachim Kreutner. Reported in *Bella Figura*, 2015, p. 170, cat. 9.

²⁸ For alloy analyses of individual works and references, see Diemer 2004, vol. 2, pp. 141–166. The *Resurrection* relief from the Fugger altar of 1584 for Augsburg, Gerhard's earliest known work, is brass with 18% zinc. The associated statuettes may be similar alloys but have not been analyzed. *Mars, Venus and Cupid* at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, is brass with 15% zinc. The *Equestrian Statuette of Maximilian III* at the Liebieghaus: horse, Fe: 0.8, Ni: 0.3, Cu: 82.4, Zn: 14.7, As: 0.1, Pb: 1.1, Ag: pr, Sn: 0.2, Sb: pr; rider, Fe: 0.6, Ni: 0.3, Cu: 81.1, Zn: 15.4, As: 0.1, Pb: 1.2, Ag: pr, Sn: 1.1, Sb: 0.1. Analysis by Dylan Smith with a Bruker Tracer III-SD, for method see the table on p. 76. Thanks to Harald Theiss, Petra Bausch and Maraike Bückling for their assistance with this examination.

²⁹ In this regard Gerhard differs from his contemporary Adriaen de Vries, who used primarily bronze, following the practice of Giambologna (and antiquity). Jane Bassett, *The Craftsman Revealed: Adriaen de Vries, Sculptor in Bronze*, Los Angeles, 2008, pp. 21–33.

DOORKNOCKER WITH MASK, MONSTERS AND PUTTO

Circle of Hubert Gerhard (c. 1550 – 1620)

German, probably Augsburg, c. 1590–1600

Height: 28 cm (lower portion only: 20 cm), width: 13 cm, depth: 7.5 cm

Copper alloy

PROVENANCE

Interior door of a Fugger house in Augsburg, probably the one on Zeugplatz, before 1881; collection of Princes Fugger-Babenhhausen by 1881;¹ Fugger-Museum, Augsburg, by 1909 – before 1953;² Babenhhausen, Rechbergschloss, by 1970;³ acquired October 2008 through Alexander Rudigier, Munich

EXHIBITED

Welt im Umbruch. Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock, City of Augsburg in collaboration with the Evangelisch-Lutherischen Landeskirche in Bayern on the occasion of the 450th Jubilee of the Confessio Augustana under the patronage of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), Augsburg, Rathaus, 28 June – 28 September 1980, vol. 2, pp. 170–171, cat. 530, as Hubert Gerhard

A diademed satyr mask with hooked nose, flared nostrils and broad lips dominates the composition. Bushy brows arch above baggy eyes, the deeply excavated pupils staring forward in icy malevolence. As if emanating from the satyr's will, a ring gripped in his closed mouth devolves into snapping monsters with weasel-like bodies. Their human-looking hind legs stand on acanthus leaves sprouting up from the base, while their forelegs interlock across the back of a curly-haired putto, clutching and ensnared by vines, who struggles to climb out.

Nicholas Penny described this as “unquestionably the work of a major artist . . . a remarkably energetic but elegant tangle of a putto, vegetation and monsters, more three dimensional than is usual and more carefully finished than is normal in Venetian examples.”⁴ It was ascribed to an anonymous Munich master in 1881⁵ and in 1909 to “the hand of one of the most important Florentine masters of the late Renaissance.”⁶ In the 1920s A. E. Brinckmann proposed an attribution to Hubert Gerhard, assuming the doorknocker was among the commissions by Hans Fugger (1531–1598) for his castle at Kirchheim in the 1580s and 1590s.⁷ The attribution reflected earlier speculation by Georg Lill, the high quality of the object, and Gerhard's frequent employment by the Fuggers, that immensely wealthy family of merchants and international bankers whose Augsburg members had long owned this object.⁸

The bronze door fittings that can actually be traced to Kirchheim, including some with grotesque masks in a more generalized and humorous style, were proposed by Dorothea Diemer as possible imports from Venice, a source for many furnishings of other kinds ordered by Hans Fugger for his houses. She argues that the efforts of a leading court sculptor like Gerhard would not have been required for such fittings.⁹ Its intricate design, precise execution and penetrating expression, however, distinguish the Smith object from the Kirchheim door-fittings. The facial features, sharply individualized and menacingly caricatured, suggest



a German artist – plausibly someone in Gerhard’s circle, who would have been familiar especially with the style of his Augustus Fountain in Augsburg (1588–1593). The fleshy face and wide-open eyes circumscribed by sharp-edged curving lids with well-defined tear ducts, upward-drifting irises and deeply excavated pupils recall the Augustus statue, river gods and certain masks.¹⁰ Similar features are found in Gerhard’s *Ideal Bust of a Roman Emperor* at the Munich Residenz,¹¹ which appears finished with a type of linear burnishing also observed on the knocker. Other aspects, such as the baleful expression, relatively schematic loops of hair layered around the faces and the stiffened arcs of the brows on the mask have no close counterparts in Gerhard’s sculpture, nor does his secure oeuvre include other objects of this kind.

Many aspects suggest the designer, like Gerhard, had spent time in Italy. A diademed grotesque mask, while a staple of late sixteenth-century ornamental arts, owed particular debts to architectural decoration in Florence, where Gerhard had worked, and where Hans Fugger (1531–1598) had close connections with the Medici rulers. Examples visible in the streets of Florence include masks in the frieze of the Palazzo Grifoni in Florence by Bartolomeo Ammanati, descendents of more celebrated models in Michelangelo’s Medici Chapel at San Lorenzo.¹² As for the putto, it recalls figures beset by snakes in Italian sculpture: the marble group of Laocoon and his sons and, for the gesture of one hand clutching at his hair in distress while the other grips a serpentine form, a small bronze Cleopatra by Bandinelli, disseminated in later versions by Severo da Ravenna.¹³

While a few doorknockers with comparable masks can be found in Florence, related bronze doorknockers were more abundant in the Veneto.¹⁴ The type that may have inspired this object includes an example with an angry diademed mask between belligerent dolphins entwined by snakes, called early seventeenth-century Venetian or Brescian, in the Victoria & Albert Museum;¹⁵ and a late sixteenth-century Venetian doorknocker with a monstrous mask and snakes writhing across the center, known in examples in Berlin and Cleveland.¹⁶ These and others of their kind are larger, heavier and more roughly executed than the Smith example.¹⁷

The structure, with sinuous plant and tail forms that wind through the air or encircle the figures, fuses Italian experience with a reminiscence of northern late Gothic tracery. Forerunners can be found in a pair of overdoor decorations of c. 1495 above portals on a former Fugger house in Augsburg, with rampant, twisting lions entangled by vines as they proffer the family arms.¹⁸ The form also recalls a different, older kind of door fitting, produced in many European countries but particularly in Germany from the Middle Ages through the sixteenth century: the door-pull with a ring through the mouth of a mask.¹⁹

The doorknocker apparently saw some use, as indicated by wear on the central projecting leaf at the back and damage to the corresponding leaf on the front. But the high level of finish on the reverse, in contrast with the generally unfinished backs of more functional Italian doorknockers,²⁰ points to a context other than an exterior door. The profusion of slender forms, intertwined in an openwork design, with outer contours broken by yapping heads and curling leaves, are all exceptional for a doorknocker. Its refinement and comparatively small size suggest less a utilitarian object than a showpiece, to be admiringly examined by anyone who lifted the movable section. It probably decorated the door of an interior room.²¹

The alloys of the mask and the knocker are nearly identical; both are brass with about 12% zinc and contain trace elements consistent with a historic object.²² Similar alloys are found in sculptures associated with Gerhard, including the *Neptune on a Dolphin* in the Smith Collection (cat. 67). The use of brass, while not conclusive, supports German rather than Venetian production of the knocker. Five knockers at the Bode Museum, attributed to late sixteenth-century Venice, are leaded bronze or mixed alloys.²³ A study of Venetian andiron figures, a type of object that would have been produced in the same foundries as knockers, found no brasses.²⁴ Among the knockers and pulls that have been associated with Gerhard, alloy analysis

suggests a distinction between the ones associated with Kirchheim and those probably from a Zeugplatz house. The former are bronzes and quaternary alloys, thus reasonably associated with Venice; the latter are brasses, corresponding closely to the alloy of the Smith knocker, suggesting German origins.²⁵

Unlike the hinged Italian knockers, which could be cast in two parts and then pinned together, the ring here is permanently bound within the mouth of the satyr. The mask was probably cast around the ring, which would have required skillful preparation of the mold. The mask was prepared with a clay core and cast hollow, but the generalized form of the interior suggests that, like the solid lower section, the direct method was used.²⁶ Embedded across the back is an irregularly shaped, rather corroded iron plate that appears to have been in place when the mask was cast. Although modern bolts for mounting are now threaded into this plate, a similar arrangement may have been used for attaching the knocker to a wooden door.

The complex, solid form of the lower portion of the knocker, including the ring, could only be cast directly.²⁷ This approach allowed the artist complete freedom in designing the interwoven forms of the figures and vegetal decoration. Given the thickness of the cast, the design was remarkably well rendered – narrow tubes such as the tendrils have a tendency to trap bubbles during the pour, resulting in flaws and lacunae. In his autobiography of 1568, Benvenuto Cellini mentions that certain Germans (and Frenchmen) are said to cast bronzes so well that they do not require finishing, a claim he rejects.²⁸ This cast is not perfect – some fine cracks are present due to shrinkage of the cooling metal – and the surface was carefully finished after casting. However, comparison to the method of manufacture and quality of contemporary Venetian knockers – admittedly often designed for production as multiples – further supports a German origin for the expertly executed and unique Smith example.²⁹

Extensive tooling of the cast includes peening to produce a harder, more compact surface and to close up any porosity. Many areas show indications of linear burnishing, particularly notable on the satyr's cheeks, resulting in a slightly faceted effect. Certain details, such as the tendril winding around the putto's thigh, or the sharp edges of the eyes and lips on the mask, were enhanced by chasing to render crisp lines with remarkable precision. The fine surface preparation, the expert casting, and intricate design suggest that the sculptor of the doorknocker might have been active as a goldsmith.³⁰

AL & DS

¹ August Ortwein, *Deutsche Renaissance. Eine Sammlung von Gegenständen der Architektur, Decoration und Kunstgewerbe in Original-Aufnahmen*, Leipzig, undated, vol. 1, part II (Augsburg und Kreis Schwaben), zweite Lieferung, Blatt 15, plate dated 1881; according to the text it was "seinerzeit an einer Saalthüre im Fuggerhause zu Augsburg angebracht und wurde von einem Münchner Giesserei gegossen, dessen Name unbekannt." On the Zeugplatz house, acquired in 1764 by the Babenhausen branch of the Fugger family, see Bernt von Hagen and Angelika Wegener-Hüssen, *Stadt Augsburg: Ensembles, Baudenkmäler, archäologische Denkmäler (Denkmäler in Bayern vol. VII.83)*, Munich, 1994, pp. 478–480. The Zeugplatz provenance was affirmed in *Welt im Umbruch* (see Exhibited) and Diemer, 2004, pp. 400–402.

² *Fugger-Museum Augsburg, Katalog 1909*, Munich, 1909, p. 14, no. 227, repro. opposite p. 14, without provenance information. The doorknocker was displayed in case 2 in the center of the main room which looked out on Zeugplatz. The museum was

extensively damaged during World War II, but the doorknocker is still recorded in Augsburg in 1953, see Adolf Feulner and Theodor Müller, *Geschichte der deutschen Plastik*, Munich, 1953, p. 466, fig. 379.

³ Georg Kaufmann, *Propylaen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 8, Berlin, 1970, p. 306, no. 294, pl. 294.

⁴ E-mail message to Ellen Healey for Robert H. Smith, 11 March 2008. Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, p. 402, discussed this object admirably, though without illustrating or attributing it.

⁵ Ortwein 1881.

⁶ *Fugger-Museum 1909*, p. 14.

⁷ A. E. Brinckmann, "Deutsche Kleinbronzen um 1600," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 42, 1921, pp. 147–160, esp. 148–150 (repro.). He associated it with Gerhard's *Mars and Venus* fountain of c. 1590–1595 for the Fugger Palace at Kirchheim, whose central group is now at the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. On the fountain see Dorothea Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 352–366, cat. 65–70.

- ⁸ See Georg Lill, *Hans Fugger (1531–1598) und die Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 119–120 and pl. VII, fig. 10. On Fugger patronage, with a focus on Italian connections and taste, see *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 20–22 (Dorothea Diemer) and 109–115 (Sylvia Wölffle) and literature cited there.
- ⁹ For the Kirchheim door fittings, most of them now in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, see *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, pp. 468–471, cats. 166–167h. The Gerhard attribution, traditional since their sale in 1873, was challenged on historical and stylistic grounds by Dorothea Diemer, “Small Bronzes by Hubert Gerhard: A Review of Recent Scholarship,” in Pincus, 2001, pp. 195–209, esp. 198–199, and Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 400–405.
- ¹⁰ See Michael Kühlenthal et al., *Der Augustusbrunnen in Augsburg*, Munich, 2003, illustrations on pp. 12, 47, 145, 192.
- ¹¹ For the bust see Diemer in *Bella Figura*, 2015, pp. 308–309, cat. 53, as made in Munich c. 1585–90.
- ¹² See Marco Calafati, *I Palazzi Grifoni e Giugni. La nuova architettura dei palazzi fiorentini del second cinquecento*, Florence, 2011, pp. 190–191; pl. 42, 47–50, for Michelangelo details, pp. 71–72. For a selection of publicly visible grotesque masks in various Italian cities see Carlo Cresti and Matteo Cosimo Cresti, *Mostri e altri prodigi di fantasia nelle architetture del Manierismo e del Modernismo*, Florence, 1998.
- ¹³ See discussion in *Cleopatra*, cat. 69. The doorknocker putto is actually clutching a seed pod with serpentine proportions and curves. A distraught child in a similar pose, with one hand buried in his hair, appears in a bronze *Caritas* group executed by Gerhard’s collaborator Carlo di Cesare del Palagio in Freiberg in 1591–1592; Diemer, 2004, pp. 454–456, pl. 270–273. Carlo’s style, however, is not consistent with the doorknocker figures.
- ¹⁴ See Robin Wyshak, *What Knockers! Italian Bronze Doorknockers: mainly Renaissance. A Study in Functional Sculpture*. Ph.D. dissertation, 2000 (Ann Arbor, University of California, Santa Barbara), pp. 103–105, cat. 52–56, pl. 22–23: via Ghibellina 87, Piazza Pitti 18, Casa di Giovanni da Verrazzano (via Ghibellina 89) and Via del Proconsolo 5 and 11.
- ¹⁵ Inv. 588–1853. See Wyshak 2000, cat. 65, pp. 109–110, 244, pl. 27, fig. 42.
- ¹⁶ Wyshak 2000, pp. 80, cat. 20 (Berlin) and 95–96, cat. 41 (Cleveland); pl. 10.
- ¹⁷ No similar knocker appears among the Italian examples catalogued by Wyshak 2000 or Gaetano Marchetti, *Antichi ferri e bronzi d’arte nelle porte degli edifici di Bologna*, Bologna, 1969. Venetian doorknockers in the Bode Museum range in size from 25 to 35 cm for the movable lower portion alone, compared with an overall height of 28 cm for the Smith object. See Volker Krahn, *Bronzetti Veneziani – die Kleinbronzen der Renaissance aus dem Bode-Museum Berlin*, Berlin, 2003, pp. 248–258, cats. 77–81.
- ¹⁸ For these decorations, on what is now the Kröll & Nill-Haus at Annastrasse 19 and Philippine-Welser-Strasse 16, see von Hagen and Wegener-Hüssen 1994, pp. 68–69, 357; clearer illustrations in Martin Kluger, *Die Fugger in Augsburg: Kaufherrn, Montanunternehmer, Bankiers und Stifter*, Augsburg, 2013, pp. 134–135.
- ¹⁹ See Ursula Mende, *Die Türzieher des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1981; for an example see a south German door pull with a lion’s head mask, c. 1500, acc. 1993.42.1 in the National Gallery of Art. Two Florentine knockers cited by Wyshak 2000, cat. 55, at via del Proconsolo 5, also have a ring through the mouth of the mask. She notes (p. 28) that the lyre-shape favored for Renaissance doorknockers “derives from the ring handle which was used first as a door pull but eventually developed into an elaborate doorknocker with the elongation of the form, and the addition of various elements.”
- ²⁰ Wyshak 2000, p. 27.
- ²¹ Compare the installation of the doorknocker formerly attributed to Gerhard, more probably Venetian (Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, fig. 262), on an interior door in the dining room at Kirchheim, in Lill 1908, pl. VII, fig. 10.
- ²² For full report of the alloy, see the table on p. 76.
- ²³ Krahn 2003, pp. 248–258, cats. 77–81.
- ²⁴ Peta Motture, “The Production of Firedogs in Renaissance Venice” in Motture, ed., *Large Bronzes in the Renaissance*, New Haven, 2003, pp. 276–307, see pp. 287, 300–301.
- ²⁵ Diemer, 2004 vol. 1, pp. 400–402 and, vol. 2, pp. 176–178; *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, p. 470, cat. 167g and h, analyses by Josef Riederer, Rathgen Forschungslabor. Diemer and Krahn discuss two doorpulls with helmeted heads of girls atop long, giraffe-like necks, in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, that reportedly come from the Fugger house on the Zeugplatz in Augsburg, like the Smith doorknocker. The presence of another “giraffe-neck” example on the gate of the chapel of St. Benedict, the funerary chapel of Octavianus Secundus Fugger (d. 1600), in the church of Sts. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg, though of uncertain date, may suggest that the Fuggers employed local talent at least for these serial productions.
- ²⁶ Scanning electron microscopy/energy dispersive spectroscopy of the core performed by Michael Palmer, Conservation Scientist.
- ²⁷ Wyshak 2000, p. 27, reports that Italian doorknockers were partially hollowed to reduce their weight and the amount of metal used. Venetian examples at the Bode Museum are mostly hollowed and have iron strikes embedded in the bronze to make them more durable. See Krahn 2003, pp. 248–258, cats. nos. 77–81.
- ²⁸ Benvenuto Cellini, *La Vita*, edited by Guido Davico Bonino, Turin, 1973, p. 383. See discussion in Robert van Langh, *Technical Studies of Renaissance Bronzes*, University of Delft, 2012, p. 77.
- ²⁹ On the strong tradition of metalworking in all forms in South Germany by the sixteenth century see Langh 2012, p. 77.
- ³⁰ For goldsmiths engaged to chase bronzes for the Gerhard fountains at Kirchheim and Augsburg, see Diemer, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 231–232.

CLEOPATRA

Nicolò Roccatagliata, c. 1560 – by 1636

Venice, cast c. 1600–1615

Height: 22.4 cm, including integral circular base plate

Copper alloy

PROVENANCE

Collection of Sylvia Adams; sold Bonham's, London, 23 May 1996, Part V, lot 38; German private collection;
Galerie Rudigier, Munich, from whom purchased August 2008

EXHIBITED

Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 14 October 2012 –
21 January 2013, Princeton University Art Museum, 16 February – 9 June 2013, p. 123, cat. 22

A nude female figure stands in *contrapposto*, leaning slightly to her left. Her bent right arm holds a snake to her left breast, and she grasps two more in her left hand as they coil around her arm and onto the triangular top of an urn-like pedestal. This gesture has led to her identification as the Egyptian queen Cleopatra, who according to early sources committed suicide with the bite of an asp.¹ She wears neither an Egyptian wig nor a *uraeus*, the symbol of Egyptian royalty,² but possesses the same heavily lidded, downward gazing eyes and the parted, upswept coiffure as Roccatagliata's other female nudes. The side surfaces of the pedestal bear striated, stippled decoration framed by volutes that echo the coils of the snakes. The pocked surface of the largest snake curiously resembles the zig-zag dorsal pattern of light and dark markings along the flanks of the European asp, *Vipera aspis*.³

Remembered for her love affairs and alliances with Roman generals Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, along with her beauty and intelligence, Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt, has fascinated generations since her suicide in 30 BCE.⁴ Her actual appearance can only be surmised from coin portraits. A Roman Hadrianic copy of a Hellenistic sculpture of *The Sleeping Ariadne* from the second century BCE (Vatican Museums), originally identified as Cleopatra because of a snake bracelet on her upper left arm, was purchased by Pope Julius II in 1512 and placed in the Belvedere Courtyard with other prized antiquities.⁵ In the next decades of the sixteenth century, Medici Popes Leo X and Clement VII contributed to a revival of Egyptian themes in Rome that spread throughout the country.⁶ Though the manner of Cleopatra's death has been debated for millennia, many ancient sources suggest she was bitten on the arm. Medieval and Renaissance portrayals, however, most often depicted her with a snake at her breast.⁷ Within a decade of her death, Roman writers began referring to bites by two asps, reportedly hidden in a basket of figs or a vase.⁸ The subject appealed to Renaissance artists and the tradition was furthered by Shakespeare who cited two snakes: "Here on her breast/ There is a vent of blood, and something blown [swollen]./ The like is on her arm."⁹

The theme of a standing Cleopatra was popular in sixteenth century sculpture, paintings¹⁰ and prints including an influential engraving, dated 1515, *Suicide of Cleopatra* by Agostino Veneziano after an earlier design by the Florentine sculptor, Baccio Bandinelli.¹¹ A bronze statuette of *Cleopatra* also by Bandinelli, modeled c. 1530 and cast by 1554,¹² was in turn copied in the workshop of Severo da Ravenna; the

numerous examples differ especially in the disposition of the snake.¹³ Other contemporary sculptures include *The Death of Cleopatra*, a high-relief marble, c. 1510–1520 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes)¹⁴ by Gianmaria Mosca who had been active in Venice; the heroine appears with her head thrown back and eyes gazing upward, the coiled snake on her right wrist poised to bite. Severo created his own model of a small bronze standing *Cleopatra* around the same time.¹⁵ Roccatagliata perhaps knew the marble statuette of a standing, twisting *Cleopatra*, now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, signed by the Venetian sculptor Alessandro Vittoria probably before 1553.¹⁶ A larger bronze *Cleopatra*, ascribed to Augsburg, c. 1560–70, has closer affinities to the Smith bronze in terms of body, pose and attributes, though these appear in reverse.¹⁷ Antico's bronze *Bust of Cleopatra*, c. 1519–22, with tilted head and downward, contemplative gaze, is important for the category of antique portrait heads, but belongs to another level of conception.¹⁸

A historical subject of this kind, rare among Roccatagliata's statuettes, may have been a collector's special commission.¹⁹ Certainly the sculptor saw in Cleopatra the opportunity to represent an idealized and generic female nude at a moment of high drama. He may besides have enjoyed creating a Venetian response to an invention by the famous Florentine sculptor Bandinelli, whose first name is inscribed on the engraving of *Cleopatra* by Agostino Veneziano that seems to have influenced his composition.

Cleopatra exhibits features strikingly similar to other statuettes by Roccatagliata, including allegories of *Astronomy*, *Poetry*, and *Music* in the Smith Collection (cats. 17, 60, and 61). All these female figures have curvaceous bodies, long necks, small heads and an exaggerated *contrapposto*, created by the placement of the left foot on a small, slanting block.²⁰ Radiography confirms that *Cleopatra*, like Roccatagliata's other female nudes of this type, was created using a nearly identical pre-formed core to which the solid wax arms and legs were attached in varying positions. This technique allowed Roccatagliata to explore slight variations based upon a single model, which he provided with a historical, allegorical, or mythological identification by the addition of various attributes in his figures although he seldom repeated them exactly.²¹ Volker Krahn first likened the body type to a sixteenth-century bronze torso in the Museo del Castello, Trent,²² and to drawings by Francesco Morandini, of an ancient torso of the Venus Pudica type that Roccatagliata would have known.²³ Further, as revealed by radiography of the bronze, the limbless ancient marble is nearly identical to the shape of the inner core over which Roccatagliata created his female figures.²⁴

The *Cleopatra* was cast in a medium tin (6–7%) bronze with added lead (5–7%), very similar to the alloys identified with the artist's related female figures.²⁵ Characteristic of all these statuettes is vivacious modeling, rough casting and minimal surface finish. The present bronze, however, is somewhat more refined, displaying a smoother metallic surface and considerable tooled detail.

KS, AL & SS

¹ Strabo, *Geography*, XVII, 10; Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII 696–697; Horace, *Odes*, I 37; Sextus Propertius, *Elegies*, III 11; Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, II 21; Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, II, 87; Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 79.6 and 85.4–6 and Plutarch, *Parallel Lives*, LXXXV 2–3.

² See for example, *Black basalt statue of Cleopatra VII*, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. 3936. Sally-Ann Ashton suggests that the figure represents Cleopatra VII rather than Arsinoë II based on the triple uraeus, see Susan Walker and Peter Higgs, eds., *Cleopatra of Egypt from History to Myth*, catalogue of the exhibition, London (British Museum), 2001, pp. 160–161, cat. 160. (The snake forming the Pharaoh's uraeus is referred to as a cobra, often considered an African asp.)

³ For images of *Vipera aspis* see www.viborasdelapeninsulaiberica.com/description-asp-viper-1.html (accessed 14 July 2015).

⁴ Joaneath Spicer suggests that this *Cleopatra* “leans into the asp’s embrace, the dramatic undulations of the poisonous snake underscoring her destructive sexuality by referencing Eve’s fall,” see J. Spicer, ed., *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe*, catalogue of the exhibition, Baltimore (Walters Art Museum), 2012, p. 10.

⁵ *Cleopatra*, Musei Vaticani, Rome; see Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 184–187, cat. 24.

⁶ Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: the afterlife of ancient Egypt in early modern Italy*, Chicago, 2007, pp. 13, 189–225.

⁷ “Rehabilitating Cleopatra,” in *Smithsonian Magazine*, December





2010 (Adapted from *Cleopatra: A Biography*, by Stacy Schiff, © 2010.) See also www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/europe/06/30/cleopatra.suicide/ (accessed 12 July 2015).

⁸ See note 1.

⁹ Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, V, ii, 418–420.

¹⁰ See for instance *Death of Cleopatra*, c. 1515–25, by the Lombard painter, Giovanni Pietro Rizzoli, “Giampietrino,” Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. RF 2282. The Bolognese painter, Guido Reni created numerous representations of *Cleopatra with the Asp*, c. 1628 (Royal Collection, Windsor and elsewhere).

¹¹ The engraving is discussed by Michela Zurla in Baccio Bandinelli, 2014, pp. 386–387, cat. 36. For the example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 49.97.73, see www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/342842 (accessed 14 July 2015). The inscription on the block under Cleopatra’s right foot reads: “BACIO FIORENTINO I[N] VENTOR.”

¹² Bandinelli’s *Cleopatra* of which the best example is in the Bargello, Florence, inv. B. 354, was modeled around 1530 and cast by 1544 (Vasari considered that it was produced around 1529 when Bandinelli was in Rome working for Clement VII), see Volker Krahn in Baccio Bandinelli, 2014, pp. 376–378, cat. 33.

¹³ For Severo workshop versions see Laura Camins, *Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Abbott Guggenheim Collection*, catalogue of the exhibition, San Francisco (M. H. DeYoung Memorial Museum), 1988, pp. 20–22, no. 3; Penny, 1992, pp. 10–11, no. 9; sale Sotheby’s, New York, 27 January 2012, lot 404, and Smith 2008, pp. 61–62, 77, notes 75–77.

¹⁴ Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, inv. 794.1.524, see Marc Bormand, “La morte di Cleopatra,” in Andrea Bacchi and Luciana Giacomelli, eds., *Rinascimento e Passione per l’Antico: Andrea Riccio e il suo tempo*, catalogue of the exhibition, Trent (Museo del Castello di Buonconsiglio), 2008, pp. 498–500, cat. 112.

¹⁵ For two versions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 64.101.1433 and 10.9.2, see Richard Stone, “Severo da Ravenna and the indirectly cast bronze,” *The Burlington Magazine* 148 (December 2006), figs. 5, 6, and www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/203926, and, /191263; see also Dylan Smith, “I bronzi di Severo da Ravenna: un approccio

tecnologico per la cronologia,” in Matteo Ceriana and Victoria Avery, eds., *L’industria artistica del bronzo rinascimento a Venezia e nell’Italia settentrionale* (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 23–24 October 2007), Verona, 2008, pp. 60–61 and 77, note 65.

¹⁶ See Manfred Leithe-Jasper in “*La bellissima maniera*”: *Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, catalogue of the exhibition, Trent (Museo del Castello di Buonconsiglio), 1999, pp. 312–313, and cover, cat. 65. The figure is more than three times the size of the Smith *Cleopatra*, at a height of 76 cm.

¹⁷ The bronze from the Campe’sche historische Kunststiftung, inv. 1954.2, is reproduced in *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Bildführer II Ausgewählend der Jahre 1948–1961*, Hamburg, 1964, cat. 63. This Augsburg bronze and Roccatagliata’s statuette may be indebted to the engraving after Bandinelli cited in note 11.

¹⁸ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Frances Warden Fund, inv. 64.2174. See also Marietta Cambareri, “Busto di Cleopatra,” in Filippo Trevisani and Davide Gasparotto, eds., *Bonacolsi l’Antico*, catalogue of the exhibition, Mantua (Palazzo Ducale), 2008, pp. 262–263.

¹⁹ Leithe-Jasper suggested this with reference to the statuette’s execution, comparatively refined for Roccatagliata. See Manfred Leithe-Jasper and Francesca de Gramatica, *Baglioni d’Antico. Bronzetti al Castello di Buonconsiglio*, Trent, 2013, p. 128.

²⁰ Shelley Sturman, “Replication and variation: Roccatagliata and the female nude,” in Saunders, et al., 2013, pp. 20–28; Karen Serres and Shelley Sturman in *Burlington*, 2007, cats. 60–61, pp. 35–39; Shelley Sturman, “Technical Report on *Venus*,” in *Quentin*, 2004, p. 310.

²¹ A smaller bronze variant of Roccatagliata’s *Cleopatra*, with left foot resting on an overturned pitcher of water from which a snake emerges, and a snake in each hand biting a breast is published by Weihrauch, 1967, p. 238, fig. 289, with an attribution to Guglielmo della Porta, Munich, private collection. The stance, circular base, general body type and coiffure suggest that this figure could be by a follower of Roccatagliata or a contemporary such as Girolamo Campagna. A miniature (14 cm), solid-cast bronze, *Venus holding an apple*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. BK. 16942, is considered a variant of the Weihrauch *Cleopatra* and ascribed to Roccatagliata, by Frits Scholten in *From Vulcan’s Forge*, 2005, pp. 72–73, 161. Both differ from Roccatagliata’s female figures discussed above in size, method of manufacture, metallic composition, and finish.

²² For the latest references on this torso see Leithe-Jasper 2013, pp. 112–113, as in note 19; see also Irene Favaretto, “Di un torsetto femminile della raccolta Mantova Benavides e del gusto per l’antico nella cultura artistica veneta del XVI secolo,” in Matteo Ceriana, ed., *Tullio Lombardo Scultore e Architetto nella Venezia del Rinascimento*, Verona, 2007, pp. 369–376.

²³ Volker Krahn, “Kleinbronzen als Medium archäologischer Rekonstruktion,” in Max Kunze and Axel Rügler, eds., “*Wiedererstandene Antik*”: *Ergänzungen antiker Kunstwerke seit der Renaissance*, [Cyriacus bd. 1: *Studien zur Rezeption der Antike*, acts of the conference, Worlitz, 1999], Munich, 2003, pp. 53–60, figs. 49–51; and Sturman in Saunders, et al., 2013, p. 22, fig. 2.

²⁴ For radiographs of other Roccatagliata female figures see Serres and Sturman in *Burlington*, 2007, p. 38.

²⁵ For full report of the alloy, see the table on p. 76; see also Serres and Sturman in *Burlington*, 2007, p. 60; and Sturman in Saunders, et al., 2013, p. 25.

SEATED BAGPIPER

Giovanni Francesco Susini, 1585–1653
after a model by Giovanni Bologna, 1529–1608

Florence, modeled possibly 1550–1560s; cast 1626–1640

Height: 10.3 cm (top of hat); 12.5 cm (top of pipe)

Copper alloy

PROVENANCE

Christie's, London, 7 July 2005, lot 437; Altomani & Sons, Milan, from whom purchased May 2008

A young boy, wearing a wide-brimmed hat and the loose tunic of a shepherd, sits absorbed in the act of drawing music from a bagpipe pressed tightly against his chest. With a concentrated expression, his cheeks puff out as he fingers the chanter. His intense involvement in the music-making is indicated by his movement, bending forward with a twist at the waist. The folds of the garments create a faceted and abstract interplay of forms. Delicately filed lines highlight the form of the figure, contrasting with the stippled texture of the trunk.

The earliest reference to a music-making shepherd, “uno Pastore che suona la Piva,” appears in 1612 among the small bronzes ordered by Grand Duke Cosimo II to be presented to Prince Henry of Wales.¹ Although the author is not specified, the gift is known to have consisted largely of designs by Giambologna that were cast by Pietro Tacca from bronzes in the collection of the Florentine Salviati family.² A bronze “pastorino,” possibly a bagpiper, identified as by Giambologna appears in the 1609 inventory of the collection of his close friend and the executor of his will, Benedetto Gondi (1539–1616).³ The musician may also appear in 1601 as a “pastore,” one of four silver figurines requested on loan by Antonio Susini from the Medici collection, most likely for the purpose of casting bronze reproductions.⁴ The creator of the silver figurines, not named, was probably Giambologna.⁵

Giambologna's interest in depicting rural life and genre scenes makes him a likely candidate to have designed the *Bagpiper*. By 1589, he had created a genre figure in silver for the Medici, the *Birdcatcher*, represented by a bronze in the Smith Collection (cat. 25).⁶ A fondness for this type of subject is also seen in the work of another Northern artist attached to the Medicean court, the painter Jan van der Straet (Johannes Stradanus).⁷ While the choice is often ascribed to their Flemish roots, both artists were catering to a contemporary Florentine interest in pastoral subjects, and bagpipers can be found populating bucolic Italian scenes.⁸

A gilt bronze now in the Bargello, Florence, is the earliest extant cast of the *Seated Bagpiper*, coming out of the Grand Ducal collections and described in a 1623 inventory as “di mano del Sossina,” thus executed by Antonio Susini.⁹ A cast in the Galleria Colonna, Rome, was commissioned around 1632 by Jacopo di Lorenzo Salviati from Giovanni Francesco Susini, who had taken over the workshop after his uncle Antonio's death.¹⁰ It was fixed atop an ebony cabinet in the late seventeenth century, paired with a *Kneeling Bather* (see cat. 71), also by Gianfrancesco, as well as several bronzes by Antonio.¹¹ The Smith bronze may have been originally intended for such presentation, which has also been suggested for the

silver figurine once in the Medici collection and the gilt bronze in the Bargello.¹²

The subject enjoyed great popularity throughout the seventeenth century.¹³ Casts that compare closely to the Smith example are at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London,¹⁴ and formerly in the Michael Hall Collection, New York.¹⁵ Further versions that appear to be cast from the same model are found in Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome;¹⁶ in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein;¹⁷ and five that have appeared on the art market.¹⁸ Four casts with greater differences in design and a less refined appearance could stem from a distinct model, such as the one created by Tacca in 1612.¹⁹ Notably smaller versions in Oxford and Rotterdam could represent another new model created by Francesco Fanelli, presumably after the bronze by Tacca sent to England.²⁰ Two casts following Giambologna's design, but twice as high and with the addition of a dog to the base, are in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig.²¹

A number of characteristics of the Smith *Seated Bagpiper* point to the hand of Gianfrancesco Susini. The vibrant folds and finicky details, such as the delicately-tied shoelaces, suggest Gianfrancesco's intervention. The slightly smaller eyes, pinched nose and more developed brow ridges resemble those of the sculptor's documented musician at the Galleria Colonna. Similar characteristics at a very different scale may be recognized in Gianfrancesco's *David and the Head of Goliath*, also in the Smith Collection (cat. 49).

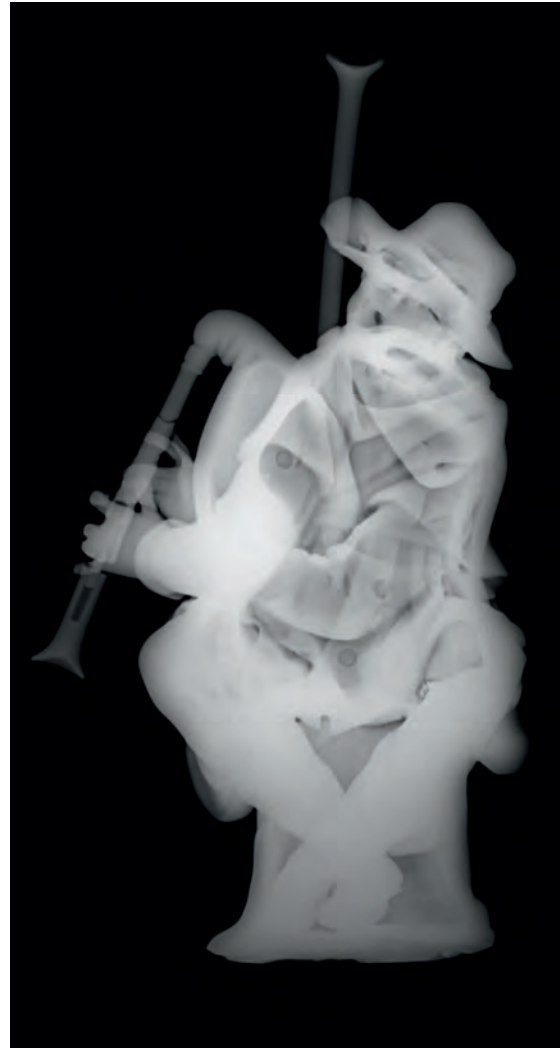
The Smith *Seated Bagpiper* was cast from a highly leaded medium tin bronze, an alloy that has been identified in documented statuettes by Gianfrancesco and in several attributed bronzes in the Smith Collection.²² Gianfrancesco used other alloys as well; the documented *Bagpiper* from the Galleria Colonna was cast from bronze with a more moderate lead content.²³ The Smith example was indirectly cast using the techniques employed by Giambologna and his followers.²⁴ One distinction is that, instead of being thin-walled throughout, as is typical, the calves and the left forearm of this small figure are solid cast. Such a change may have allowed the limbs to be more easily adjusted in the wax intermodel to reproduce the complex pose (see also *Kneeling Bather*, cat. 71). Small modifications of the wax model introduced many of the variations observed among the known casts, notably in the shape of the base and the stippled texture of the stump. The Smith statuette was cast in a single pour, while the flat disk base of the Colonna *Bagpiper* was cast on in a separate step; both methods are observed in bronzes by Gianfrancesco.²⁵

Regularly-sized screw plugs, clearly visible in the radiograph of the Smith *Bagpiper*, were used to repair flaws in the surface, as was typical in Giambologna's workshop.²⁶ One small flaw remains unrepaired, a crack on the right side of the bottom edge. The metal surface was finely filed to emphasize contours and careful modeling, a practice likely introduced by Antonio Susini and emulated by his nephew. A translucent reddish-brown coating applied overall has been worn and darkened over time.²⁷ Small repairs include restoration of the drone pipe and the bell of the chanter, including one finger, as well as the left side of the hat.²⁸

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- ¹ Watson and Avery, 1973, pp. 502 and 505. The authors point out that the *Bagpiper* is not listed in later royal inventories and “must have been given away or lost between 1612 and 1640.” See Millar, 1960, p. 94. Appearing in the same bill of lading is a “Pastore che s'appoggia a uno bastone e à una barletta,” identified with the *Peasant Leaning on his Staff*, a model that is often paired with the *Bagpiper*. Although similar in height (*Bagpiper*: 12 cm with intact pipes; *Peasant*, 12.7 cm), the figures are rendered at difference scales, raising doubts about whether they were intended as direct pendants. They appear together in the Palazzo Venezia; see Pietro Cannata, *Museo Nazionale Palazzo di Venezia e le sue collezioni di scultura*, vol. 3, *Sculture in bronzo*, Rome, 2011, pp. 76–78; Christie's, London, 11 April 1990, lot 123; and Christie's, London, 2 December 2014, lots 18 and 19.
- ² Although the *Bagpiper* was not mentioned in the request from the Salviati, nor in their inventory of 1609, it seems reasonable that a cast by Antonio Susini was in their possession, alongside many other designs by Giambologna. Watson and Avery (1973, p. 498) suggest that this omission might indicate that Giambologna did not invent the composition, and propose Pietro Tacca as the possible designer. This was later refuted in *Giambologna*, 1978, p. 165.
- ³ Corti, 1976, p. 633. A cast of the *Kneeling Bather* (see cat. 71) is listed in the same inventory entry.
- ⁴ A.S.F. *Guardaroba Medicea*, vol. 208: *Memoriale di Manifattori di Guardaroba*, Sept. 1598 – 1601, c. 152. Communication by James Holderbaum cited in *Giambologna*, 1978, p. 165. This possibility is reinforced by the presence in the group of silver figurines of the *Peasant Leaning on his Staff*, a “villano co[n] Capello co[n] bastoncino che s'appoggia il su il bastone.”
- ⁵ See *Giambologna*, 1978, p. 165.
- ⁶ Dimitrios Zikos in *Giambologna*, 2006, p. 239, cat. 42. Radcliffe and Penny, 2004, pp. 156–163, cat. 25.
- ⁷ See Alessandra Baroni and Manfred Sellink, eds., *Stradanus, 1523–1605: court artist of the Medici*, Turnhout, 2012.
- ⁸ Most evident in Francesco de' Medici's designs for his gardens at Pratolino. Barbara Bertelli in *Giambologna*, 2006, p. 240. Bagpipers are also found in religious representations, such as the Adoration of the Magi, or mythological scenes, most notably the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas. A bagpiper appears as part of a pastoral scene on the walls of the Sistine Chapel in Perugino's *The Journey of Moses into Egypt*. See, for example, Pier Maurizio Della Porta and Ezio Genovesi, “The figure of the shepherd-musician from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance: some iconographical examples from Central Italy,” *Imago Musicae*, VII, 1990, pp. 25–39.
- ⁹ Inv. 464. The slightly greater height of this example, 12 cm, reflects its preserved vertical pipe. Bertelli in *Giambologna*, 2006, p. 240, cat. 43. The inventory description does not necessarily indicate that Bargello *Bagpiper* is Antonio Susini's design. In the Salviati inventory of 1609, works described as “di mano di Antonio Susini” were cast after Giambologna's model, while other objects are designated as “di mano di Antonio Susini e sua inventione.” Watson and Avery, 1973, p. 504. See differences in inv. nos. 954, 974 and 1015.
- ¹⁰ Herbert Keutner in Filippo Carinci, ed., *Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma. Sculture*, Rome, 1990, pp. 299–300.
- ¹¹ The alloys of these casts of the *Kneeling Bather* and *Bagpiper* are distinct, which argues against their creation as a commissioned pair. The four Antonio bronzes have closely related alloys and may have been created as part of a single commission. Dylan Smith, “The Application of Alloy Analysis to Questions of Attribution: Giovanni Francesco Susini and the Workshop of Giambologna” in *Metal 2010: proceedings of the interim meeting of the ICOM-CC Metal Working Group*, Clemson University, Charleston, South Carolina, 2011, pp. 256–265, pp. 259, 262. Dylan Smith, “Technical characteristics of bronze statuettes from the workshops of Antonio and Giovanni Francesco Susini,” in Saunders, et al., 2013, pp. 29–41, pp. 33–39. For recent discussion, see Dimitrios Zikos, “Giovanni Bologna and Antonio Susini: an old problem in light of new research,” in Motture, et al., 2013, pp. 194–209, p. 204.
- ¹² Avery, 1987, p. 47.
- ¹³ This model also inspired interpretations in a variety of media. An early derivation incorporated the figure into the foot of a silver salt cellar executed in Utrecht in 1621 by the famous silversmith Adam van Vianen, see *From Vulcan's Forge*, 2005, p. 16. A boxwood version is known, probably made in Flanders in the seventeenth century, see Sotheby's, London, 8 July 2010, lot 105. Klaus Pechstein, *Wood carvings from the collection of Ernest and Martha Silten-Friedberg*, Berlin, Nuremberg, 1979, no. 8. Versions are also mentioned in ivory and porcelain, see Emile van Binnebeke, *Bronzsculptuur: beeldhouwkunst 1500–1800 in de collectie van het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, Rotterdam, 1994, pp. 84–85. For an ivory example, see Eugen von Philippovich, *Elfenbein: ein Handbuch für Sammler und Liebhaber*, Braunschweig, 1961, pp. 320–321.
- ¹⁴ Inv. A.59-1956. See V&A website entry for *Bagpiper* (<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O129572/seated-boy-playing-the-bagpipes-statuetten-giambologna>, accessed 28 July 2015).
- ¹⁵ *Giambologna*, 1998, pp. 148–149. Sold Christie's, New York, 11 June 2010, lot 93.
- ¹⁶ Inv. PV 10810. Cannata 2011, pp. 77–78, 263, 267. The alloy of this example has been identified as a medium tin bronze.
- ¹⁷ Inv. 251. Reinhold Baumstark, James D. Draper, Johanna Hech, Olga Raggio, *Die Bronzen der fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein*, Frankfurt, 1986, p. 183.
- ¹⁸ Palais Galliera, Paris, Maitres Maurice et Philippe Rheims, 29 November–3 December 1965 (formerly Adda collection), lot 390; Christie's, London, 11 April 1990, lot 123 (with later gilding); Sotheby's, New York, 11 January 1995, lot 80 (formerly Cyril Humphris collection); Christie's, London, 10 December 2005, lot 846; Christie's, London, 6 July 2006, lot 73; and Christie's, London, 2 December 2014, lot 19.
- ¹⁹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturensammlung, inv. 2242 (Wilhelm Bode, *Bronzestatuetten: Büsten und Gebrauchsgegenstände*, Berlin, 1930, p. 36, no. 170, plate 56); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. M.2-1961 (*Renaissance and Baroque bronzes*, 2002, p. 307); Sotheby's, London, 10 April 1975, lot 83; and Sotheby's, London, 21 April 2004, lot 33 (gilt).
- ²⁰ Penny, 1992, pp. 56–57. Binnebeke 1994, pp. 84–85.
- ²¹ Inv. Bro 206 and 207. Berger and Krahn, 1994, pp. 106–109, cats. 65 and 66.
- ²² For full report of the alloy, see the table on p. 76. Smith 2013, pp. 32–33, 36. For discussion of the Smith *Mars*, *Farnese Hercules*, and *Pacing Lion*, see Radcliffe and Penny, 2004, pp. 196–203, cats. 33–34; pp. 276–279, cat. 50. Highly leaded alloys have not been found in statuettes by Giambologna, but appear in a documented example of the *Farnese Bull* by Antonio dated to 1616. Smith 2011, pp. 259, 262. Smith in Saunders, et al., 2013, pp. 32, 39.
- ²³ Smith in Saunders, et al., 2013, pp. 33, 36. Keutner in Carinci 1990, pp. 294–296.



²⁴ Shelley Sturman, "A group of Giambologna female nudes: analysis and manufacture," in Pincus, 2001, pp. 120–141. Also Francesca Bewer, "Del Formare e del Getto: vom Modellieren und vom Giessen die Herstellung von Bronzestatuetten im 16. Jahrhundert" in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, pp. 82–91.

²⁵ For discussion see Smith in Saunders, et al., 2013.

²⁶ These are very consistent in size, approximately 1.5 mm. For

discussion of this technique, see Stone, 2010, p. 114.

²⁷ For discussion of these coatings, see Stone, 2010, pp. 114–121.

²⁸ Brass replacements were added subsequent to the Christie's sale in 2005; these follow closely details that are preserved on the cast at the Bargello; even in that example the bell of the chanter has been bent slightly. Alloy analysis confirmed the reattached part of the hat as original.

KNEELING BATHER TAKEN BY SURPRISE

Giovanni Francesco Susini, 1585–1653
after a model by Giovanni Bologna, 1529–1608

Florence, modeled possibly 1550–1560s; cast 1626–1640

Height: 10 cm

Copper alloy

PROVENANCE

Christie's, Amsterdam, 27 June 2006, lot 242; Tomasso Brothers, Leeds, from whom purchased July 2008

The nude bather twisting in an extreme *contrapposto* pose, kneeling on a pile of tangled drapery, looks upward over her left shoulder with a gesture of surprise. She protects herself by raising her left arm to shield her face, clutching the end of the drapery to her chest. The small scale highlights the fine details, especially the rendering of the fingernails and the swept, braided hair.

The earliest mention of a kneeling bather of this type may be in Ferdinando de' Medici's inventory of 1589, "una figurina di bronzo, chinata, piccolo, di mano di Giambologna," which Dimitrios Zikos associates with the example now in the Bargello.¹ Herbert Keutner considered that, in its original conception, this statuette may have been "a bronze cast of a *bozzetto* that Giambologna added to his collection of models as early as the 1550s," at a time when he was copying the antique.² A *Kneeling Bather* is described in detail in the 1609 inventory of the possessions of Benedetto Gondi (1539–1616), the Florentine friend and patron of Giambologna.³ An example was also recorded in the French royal collection in the late seventeenth century.⁴

Kneeling Bather derives from a classical type known as the "Venus Doidalsas," a model also reflected in the somewhat larger *Crouching Bather* (see Smith Collection, cat. 31).⁵ Both works reinterpret the ancient source with a more dynamic serpentine movement. Despite their shared inspiration, the two statuettes embody very different moods: the smaller figure energetically reacts to a threatening presence, while the larger is closed off and introspective. Elisabeth Dhanens and Keutner felt the *Kneeling Bather* was the earlier of the two compositions;⁶ James Holderbaum and Anthony Radcliffe believed this model reflected later developments.⁷

The swelling base of bundled drapery beneath the Smith *Kneeling Bather* is found on a cast now in the Galleria Colonna, Rome, acquired directly from Giovanni Francesco Susini by Jacopo di Lorenzo Salviati around 1630–1632.⁸ Based on that example, it has been proposed that Gianfrancesco introduced the drapery, modifying Giambologna's model where the figure kneels on bare ground, as in the Bargello example.⁹ The Smith *Kneeling Bather* is also less sharply defined than the Bargello cast, and the tilt of the head and arm is more acute. In the present bronze, strands of hair were incised as sinuous lines in the wax model, rather than undercut to resemble curled shavings.¹⁰ The fingers on the left hand of the Smith cast are now pressed together, the result of damage, and originally would have been spread apart, resembling the Bargello example.

Casts with a similar, drapery-clad base are known in the former Michael Hall Collection¹¹ and another



sold at Christie's, London.¹² Further examples related to the Bargello type are in the collection of Dr. Georg Kugler, Vienna,¹³ and two sold at Sotheby's, London.¹⁴ Several examples appear to have been left untooled, including a documented example in Dresden¹⁵ and two in British private collections.¹⁶ Additional versions vary in size, quality and details.¹⁷

Dhanens speculated that the small scale of the *Kneeling Bather* could indicate that it was intended to adorn a cabinet.¹⁸ She has proposed that this model may have been cast in gold or silver, and accompanied by another figurine, *Standing Venus Drying Herself*.¹⁹ This would parallel the history proposed for the *Seated Bagpiper* (see cat. 70) and the *Peasant Leaning on his Staff*. The *Kneeling Bather* at the Galleria Colonna is mounted as a finial atop a precious ebony cabinet, grouped with a *Bagpiper* by Gianfrancesco and statuettes by Antonio Susini. This arrangement, however, only dates to around 1678–1680.²⁰

Gianfrancesco would have executed the Smith statuette sometime after 1626, when he returned from his studies in Rome and assumed control of his late uncle's workshop.²¹ The Smith *Kneeling Bather* was cast from leaded bronze with elevated antimony, an alloy type present in a number of documented casts by Gianfrancesco Susini, including the Colonna version of this model.²² The alloy of the Bargello example, associated with Giambologna, is a medium tin bronze with a small amount of lead, typical of statuettes from the master's workshop.²³ Radiography of the Smith *Kneeling Bather* reveals features consistent with the indirect casting technique used by Giambologna and his followers.²⁴ A minor difference is that the raised left arm of the present statuette, rather than being hollow, is solid cast. Preparing the intermodel with a solid wax arm would have facilitated fine adjustments and explains minor differences between casts in the position of the arm and hand.

The surface of the Smith bronze was highly finished, including traces of fine directional filing that remain visible despite considerable wear from handling. Threaded plugs, used to patch core-pin holes and repair casting flaws, are visible in the radiograph, and some have become apparent on the surface over time (see cat. 70).²⁵ A small repair at the bottom edge of the base, including some of the drapery under the right knee, was cast-in using the same alloy. Two small notches are located on the back bottom edge of the integral base; their date and function are uncertain. An overall varnish now appears nearly black, but survives in recesses as a deep transparent red, resembling that of other Florentine bronzes of this period.²⁶

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¹ Dimitrios Zikos in *Giambologna*, 2006, p. 201, cat. 19, inv. 69B. For the inventory, see Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà. *La Tribuna di Ferdinando de' Medici: inventari 1589–1631*, Modena, 1997, p. 29.

² Herbert Keutner in *Giambologna*, 1978, p. 76. Avery suggests that a rough cast in a private English collection may have been made directly after this *bozzetto* (*Giambologna*, 1998, pp. 6–8). The example in Dresden may be a better candidate.

³ Corti, 1976, p. 633. '...d'una femminina che con un ginnocchio sta in terra, et l'altro alza la testa e la mano in atto di pausa [*sic*: for 'paura']...di mano e l'originali del Cavaliere Gian Bologna...' The figure is mentioned alongside a Venus and a shepherd figure ('pastorino'), perhaps the *Bagpiper*, see cat. 70.

⁴ It may have been part of the bequest of Charles Errard in 1689. *Les bronzes de la Couronne*, 1999, p. 161.

⁵ For the 'Crouching Venus' type, see Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 321–322, no. 86. For the *Crouching Bather* see Zikos in *Giambologna*, 2006, pp. 199–200, cat. 18, 25.5 cm. The Bargello version, inv. 62B, is signed 'I.B.F.' and first documented in 1584.

For the Smith cast, see Radcliffe and Penny, 2004, pp. 188–191, cat. 31.

⁶ Elisabeth Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne: Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 142–143. Herbert Keutner, *Giambologna: il Mercurio volante e altre opere giovanili*, Florence, 1984, pp. 11–14.

⁷ James Holderbaum, *The sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, New York, 1983, pp. 36–40. Holderbaum argues for the early date of the larger statuette, but does not specifically cite (or illustrate) the small example. Anthony Radcliffe, "Giambologna's Venus for Giangiorgio Cesarini: a recantation," in *La Scultura II. Studi in onore di A.S. Ciechanowiecki, Antologia di Belle Arti*, ns. 52–55, 1996, pp. 60–72, pp. 63–64.

⁸ Herbert Keutner in Filippo Carinci, ed., *Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma. Sculture*, Rome, 1990, pp. 297–298. The left forearm of this statuette was broken off, but, subsequent to its publication by Keutner, the limb has been located and reattached.

- ⁹ Keutner in Carinci 1990, pp. 297–298. Gianfrancesco was certainly drawing upon similar features in works by Giambologna, notably the *Crouching Bather*. It is also possible that Antonio Susini introduced the drapery and passed on the modified model to his nephew; if so, casts by his hand could date from the first two decades of the seventeenth century.
- ¹⁰ While the hair at the back of the head of the Bargello cast is combed vertically, on the Smith cast it is parted at the center and brushed to either side. Both hair arrangements appear on early works by Giambologna, see Alison Luchs and Dylan Smith, “Venus Drying Herself (‘Cesarini Venus’)” in *Burlington*, 2007, pp. 28–29.
- ¹¹ *Giambologna*, 1998, pp. 6–7, 2A, 9.7 cm. Sold Christie’s, New York, 11 June 2010, lot. 162, more roughly finished and ascribed to Gianfrancesco Susini’s workshop.
- ¹² Sale 6 April 1971, lot 112; sold to ‘Redford’ for £240 GBP. This is incised with the initials ‘B.M.’ and has a less defined ring below the drapery.
- ¹³ Claudia Kryza-Gersch in Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Giambologna: Triumph des Körpers*, catalogue of the exhibition, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum), 2006, pp. 204–205 (as “workshop of Antonio Susini”).
- ¹⁴ One, formerly in the Eduard Simon and Woodin collections, in February 1942 and another on 3 December 1997, lot 111.
- ¹⁵ Inv. ZV 3567, “Bather (Aphrodite),” unknown artist, designed by Giambologna (?), 9.5 cms. For an image, see <http://skd-onlinecollection.skd.museum/de/contents/showSearch?id=55653>. For history, see Walter Holzhausen, “Die Bronzen der Kurfürstlich Sächsischen Kunstkammer zu Dresden,” *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 45, 1933, p. 62. A cast of this model appears to be described in the collection of the architect, sculptor and painter to the Elector of Saxony, Giovanni Maria Nossen, who would have acquired it in Florence during a visit in 1589. The rough quality of this example and the absence of the ground raise questions about its history and relationship to this document.
- ¹⁶ John Hewett and Lord Methuen, Corsham Court. *Giambologna*, 1978, p. 76, cat. 22.
- ¹⁷ Staatliche Museum zu Berlin, Bodemuseum, Berlin, inv. K.F.M.V. 46 (Wilhelm Bode, *Bronzestatuetten*, Berlin, 1930, cat. 159, pl. 52), with a flat disc base. Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, inv. Dep. 24, a rough cast lacking a base. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. Bro 92. Musée de la Charreterie, Douai, perhaps in plaster. Two formerly in the Michael Hall Collection, *Giambologna*, 1998, pp. 6–7, 2B, 8.9 cm with drapery base, and 2C, also 8.9 cm and lacking a base. Sold Christie’s, New York, 11 June 2010, lots 163, 164. Formerly with Paul Rosenberg & Co., gilded and described as solid cast on a gilt bronze pedestal (Alexandre P. Rosenberg, *Renaissance Bronzes and Later Sculpture*, New York, 1984, p. 60).
- ¹⁸ Dhanens 1956, pp. 124–125. Although this argument seems to contradict Keutner’s assertion that the model originated as a study after the antique by a young Giambologna, the sculptor may have selected a small *bozzetto* from his reservoir of forms and adapted it as an ornament. Rosenberg (1984, p. 60) notes this contradiction.
- ¹⁹ Dhanens 1956, pp. 124–125.
- ²⁰ The distinct alloys of the Colonna *Kneeling Bather* and *Bagpiper* argue against their creation as a pair; see also cat. 70. Dylan Smith, “Technical characteristics of bronze statuettes from the workshops of Antonio and Giovanni Francesco Susini,” in Saunders, et al., 2013, pp. 29–41, 33, 39.



- ²¹ For further biographical details, see Giovanni Lombardi, “Giovanni Francesco Susini,” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, s. III, IX no. 2, 1979, pp. 759–790; and Andrea Brook, “Giovanni Francesco Susini” in *Il Seicento fiorentino: arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III*, ed. Comitato Raffaello e Seicento Fiorentino, Florence, 1986, vol. 3 (Biografie), pp. 166–167.
- ²² Smith in Saunders, et al., 2013, pp. 34–35.
- ²³ Shelley Sturman, “A group of Giambologna female nudes: analysis and manufacture” in Pincus, 2001, pp. 120–141, p. 132. Most documented statuettes by Giambologna have lower lead; see Smith in Saunders, et al., 2013, pp. 32, 36.
- ²⁴ For the methods of Giambologna’s workshop, see Sturman in Pincus, 2001, and Francesca Bewer, “Del Formare e del Getto: vom Modellieren und vom Giessen die Herstellung von Bronzestatuetten im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Von allen Seiten schön*, 1995, pp. 82–91. Slight differences are noted in the Bargello cast; the head has a small core surrounding by a thicker layer of wax, which may have allowed for greater modifications. Examined by Shelley Sturman at the National Gallery of Art in 1993.
- ²⁵ Some of the plugs are more yellow and the alloy of one was found to have about 1% more zinc. Most are small, but a surprisingly large plug is found on the left side under the arm. For discussion of threaded plugs, see Stone, 2010, p. 114.
- ²⁶ The Bargello example has a darkened varnish, originally orange-gold. The coating of the Salviati cast is also darkened, but appears to have originally been tawny-brown and is slightly speckled. For discussion of these coatings, see Stone, 2010, pp. 114–121.

TURK ON HORSEBACK ATTACKED BY A LION

Francesco Fanelli, 1577 – after 1657?

London, cast mid-1630s

Height: 21.5 cm

Copper alloy

PROVENANCE

Private collection, England; Purchased from Sotheby's, London, 9 July 2009, lot 109

In a scene of dynamic movement, a turbaned figure defends himself and his horse from the sudden attack of a lion. The rider raises a saber overhead to slash the lion and has already thrust a spear through its ribs. The lion's claws and teeth tear into the horse's throat. Joining in the combat is a collared mastiff crouching below the horse. The splintered spear lies on the ground, apparently broken in the thrust through the lion's body. Its sharp tip emerges from the lion's left side, with the entry point marked by a knob on its right.

Known from an antique fragment in Rome, the motif of a lion attacking a horse was widespread in the sixteenth century, popularized in part by small bronzes by Giambologna and his followers.¹ Interest in the subject remained undiminished in the seventeenth century and was in particular reflected in the work of Fanelli's contemporary Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), who painted the lion hunt several times.²

As noted by John Pope-Hennessy, the earliest known documentary reference to Fanelli's treatment of the subject in bronze is found in George Vertue's early eighteenth-century inventory of the works at Welbeck Abbey acquired by the Duke of Newcastle, which lists 'a Turk on horseback'.³ More than a dozen versions of this group by Fanelli are known.⁴ They show slight variations throughout: in the curve and direction of the tails of horse, dog and lion; and in details such as the terrain on the base, the rider's boots and garment, the style of the dog's collar, and the way in which the saber is depicted (or omitted altogether). This example is distinguished by crisp handling of details. Along with the version in the Victoria & Albert Museum, it is the only other known example to include a spear shaft lying on the ground; in the version at the V&A, however, the shaft is split in two whereas the Smith bronze shows the shaft in one piece. A drawing attributed to Stefano della Bella – whose father Francesco, a sculptor, worked with Giambologna – shows a *Turbaned Rider Charging* so strikingly similar as to be drawn after Fanelli's bronze, as Patricia Wengraf has proposed.⁵

The group is closely related to Fanelli's *Saint George and the Dragon*, also known in several versions, including one in the Smith Collection (cat. 64).⁶ The two statuettes are found together in at least two English collections and may have been designed as pendants.⁷ Both designs show clear similarities with other equestrian compositions by Fanelli, including his *Leaping Horse* and *Cupid on Horseback*.⁸ In addition, the dog beneath the horse appears in a relief plaque by Fanelli.⁹ The sculptor's customary practice of reusing models allowed him to create iterations of the same subjects through variations in details, such as the horse's tail flicking upward as he startles with fright.



In its construction, *Turk on Horseback* is typical of Fanelli's other small bronzes with equestrian themes, consisting of four main separately-cast elements: the rider, the horse and lion, the dog, and the base. The smaller saber and scabbard elements were also made separately. The blade of the saber, once painted and now with a slightly rough, oxidized surface, is a flat piece of iron that passes through the separate hilt, emulating the construction of an actual sword; this attaches to the hand via a threaded fastener. All the elements are secured mechanically to each other and to the base by rivets, screws and threaded fasteners with nuts. The extant nuts appear to be hand-cut, judging by their irregular shape and size.¹⁰

The rock under the horse's back right hoof and the flat area on which the lion's back left paw rests are features not seen in the other versions, which indicate that the base was specifically designed for this sculpture.¹¹ Alloy analysis also strongly suggests that the base was cast at the same time as the sculpture's principal components. The edge of the base is not graduated, like the base of the Smith *Saint George*, which may suggest that a second base or riser was always intended for the *Turk on Horseback*. The uncharacteristic gilt bronze riser for the *Turk* also appears to have been prepared specially for this subject, but at a later date, as it is attached to the base with tall round-head screws, one in each corner.

The four major components all were cast from a brass alloy containing 78% copper, 17% zinc, and 1% each of iron, tin, and lead.¹² Typically a golden color when removed from the mold, the metal sculpture then received an overall warm black-brown patina, characteristic of Fanelli's works during his time in England. As noted regarding *Saint George*, period documentation described the bronze surfaces as 'vernished over with black varnish.'¹³ Strikingly different in alloy composition, the sword hilt and knob atop the rider's turban are high zinc brasses and are probably replacements.¹⁴

Radiography reveals that the bodies and heads of the figures are cast hollow with relatively thin walls, while the limbs are solid. Variations in thickness in the necks of the horse and the dog suggest the presence of wax-to-wax joins in the model. These characteristics and the consistency of manufacturing technique noted among his other small bronzes point to Fanelli's use of the indirect casting method. Comparison with *Saint George and the Dragon* (cat. 64) reveals a number of common technical characteristics, visible on the surface as well as in the x-radiographs, including a similar method for securing the figures to the base. Wax-to-wax joins in the necks of both horses occur in almost exactly the same location, suggesting that Fanelli was working from a similar – even the same – model for the horse's body, to which he added the neck and positioned the head to add dynamism to this composition. The size and placement of the openings from which the core was removed are practically identical in each horse: located directly below the rider and thus concealed by his presence, they indicate that the rider was planned from conception. Casting flaws were neatly repaired, as evidenced by a cast-in repair on the lion's back left leg, threaded plugs throughout and small square patches in the dog, visible in radiographs.

EP & SC

¹ Radcliffe and Penny, 2004, cats. 29, 30, pp. 180–187.

² Peter Paul Rubens, *Tiger, Lion and Leopard Hunt*, c. 1616, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, inv. 1811.1.10; *Lion Hunt*, c. 1621, in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, inv. 602; and a grisaille sketch, *A Lion Hunt*, c. 1614–15, in the National Gallery, London, inv. NG853.1.

³ Vertue Note Books (iv) in *Volume of the Walpole Society*, 24, 1936, p. 110, cited by John Pope-Hennessy, "Some Bronze Statuettes by Francesco Fanelli," *The Burlington Magazine*, 95, no.

602, May 1953, p. 158.

⁴ We are grateful to Karen Serres for her research in tracing the known versions: Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. A.4-1953, currently in store; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, inv. ROM 978.18.1 in K. Corey Keeble, *European bronzes in the Royal Ontario Museum*, Toronto, 1982, pp. 136–137, cat. 61; a version on the art market, in Weihrauch, 1967, pp. 236–237; three versions where the rider is brandishing a spear instead of a saber, one offered by Edward R. Lubin Inc., New York (*The*



Connoisseur, December 1962, p. LXIX), and versions currently with Kollenburg Antiquairs (Oirschot, The Netherlands) and with Kunsthandel Klaus Friebe (Niedernhausen, Germany); Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. BRO 356 (the Turk's proper right arm is broken), in Berger and Krahn, 1994, cat. 98, pp. 135–137; Leon Bagrit Collection, London, in Yvonne Hackenbroch, "Horse and Rider: Bronzes in the Collection of Mr. Leon Bagrit," in *The Connoisseur*, June 1957 (British edition), p. 10; and the works sold at Christie's, London, 8 July 1981, part of lot 356; Christie's, London, 10 December 1996, lot 102; Sotheby's, New York, 31 January 1997, lot 115; offered by Sotheby's, London, 3 December 1997, lots 109 and 118; offered at Sotheby's, London, 8 July 1998, lot 190; a version in silver sold at Sotheby's, New York, 22 May 2001, lot 43; and offered at Sotheby's, London, 3 December 2008, lot 47. A version of the group without the rider was offered by Sotheby's London, 9 July 2015, lot 110 (previously at Sotheby's, New York, 1 June 1991, lot 100, and sold by Sotheby's, London, 6 December 2011, lot 69), as "A horse being attacked by a lion," the "only known example of this composition without the Turkish rider."

⁵ Patricia Wengraf in *Quentin*, 2004, p. 52, note 77, citing *Glorious Horsemen: Equestrian Art in Europe, 1500–1800*, catalogue of the exhibition, Springfield (Museum of Fine Arts), 1981, p. 94, fig. 36.

⁶ *Burlington*, 2007, p. 49.

⁷ Wengraf notes the "paired" presence of *Saint George* and the *Turk* in the Duke of Newcastle's collection, *Quentin*, 2004, pp. 39, 52. Both bronze groups were also represented in the Bagrit Collection, see Hackenbroch 1957.

⁸ See for example the *Cupid on a Horse* in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. A.37-1952.

⁹ Anthony Radcliffe and Peter Thornton, "John Evelyn's Cabinet," *The Connoisseur*, 197, 1978, p. 260.

¹⁰ The original nuts that secured the horse's back right hoof and the dog's back right paw to the base are now lost. These may have been removed intentionally when the gilded riser was attached to the base. The fastener and nut for the horse's back left hoof have been replaced by a screw similar to those used to attach the gilded riser.

¹¹ There is evidence that Fanelli may have kept standard bases on hand in his workshop ready to use; see *Burlington*, 2007, p. 52.

¹² For full report of the alloy, see the table on p. 76.

¹³ Millar, 1960, p. 94 (*Burlington*, 2007, p. 52, note 11).

¹⁴ The hilt was cast from an alloy containing 69% copper, 29% zinc, and less than 1% lead; the knob was cast from an alloy containing 65% copper, 29% zinc, and 5% lead. Analysis by Morales with an ARTAX Pro, for method see table on p. 76.

LEONHARD KERN AND THE ART OF WOODCARVING

One of the foremost German sculptors of the first half of the seventeenth century, Leonhard Kern had a crucial role in establishing small-scale boxwood, fruitwood and ivory sculptures of secular subjects, often inspired by Graeco-Roman antiquity and humanist learning, as a new sculptural genre collected in the princely and patrician *Kunstkammern* of the period. Previously, the vast majority of small-scale wood sculptures had been biblical in subject, in accordance with their production for devotional contexts. Some were carved models for works in silver. Kern, however, transferred the *all'antica* themes of small bronzes into the medium of wood sculpture. The appearance of bronze statuettes was evoked through the application of colored coatings over the wood, the light golden color of which, much like that of the metal, is revealed by handling over time.

Born in Forchtenberg in the extreme west of Franconia, Leonhard Kern belonged to a family of stonemasons and sculptors. Having initially trained in Würzburg with his brother Michael the Younger, who was eight years his elder, Kern embarked on an extended voyage to the South, which is detailed in his obituary:

“... Having learned the art of sculpture there [in Würzburg], he went abroad, namely first to Rome, whence he made his way straight to Naples, where he stayed for nine months; but in the meantime he took a trip to Mauretania [Northern Africa] with the Florentine galleys, returned from there back to Naples and then to Rome, where he took advantage of the opportunity to learn at the Academy the art of drawing [or modeling] after living humans, and also learned civilian architecture after ancient pagan and modern buildings, and he stayed there for two years. Thereupon he commenced his return trip to Venice, and through Italy to Dalmatia, Slavonia [in Croatia] and Windisch Marckt [in Slovenia]; he stayed several months working for the Bishop of Laibach [Ljubljana], who desired to keep him, but for religious reasons he did not like to stay.”¹

These travels can be securely dated from 1609 to 1614, as the artist became engaged upon his return to his hometown and married in July 1614. After further years of activity in the family workshop, Leonhard Kern established his own in Schwäbisch Hall in 1620. As early provenances and letters prove, Kern's works were sought after throughout Europe. Patrons included the imperial court in Vienna, and the Great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg. The artist's workshop continued to flourish even decades after his death in April 1662, as his son Johann Jakob Kern (1625–1668), his nephew Johann Georg Kern (1622–1698) and his assistants and followers Bernhard Zweifel and Konrad Schmidt (both born in 1599), Georg Pfründt (1603–1663) and Johann Jakob Betzold (1621–1707) perpetuated his art.

In terms of his figural style, Leonhard Kern harks back to the Italian Renaissance, which provided the main models for his strongly built nudes with squared faces. His figures are shown acting calmly, in carefully studied states of balance. Contrary to the fashion of the day, Kern was not at all interested in quick movements or billowing draperies. His retrospective ideal may have been fostered by his nine-month sojourn in Naples, where the late mannerist Michelangelo Naccherino (1550–1622) dominated the sculptural scene. Moreover, Kern's appreciation for the Italian High Renaissance is paralleled by the revived popularity of Dürer and other fifteenth-century German artists among South German sculptors, including Georg Schweigger (1613–1690) of Nuremberg. It also references the period of discovery and of the greatest flourishing of small bronze sculpture.

Among Kern's sculpture in wood, half is catalogued as boxwood, with the remainder classified primarily as pear, as well as plum, walnut, linden and maple. Sculptors of the period preferred boxwood for its even grain and structure, which allows it to be easily carved along any plane, and its hardness, which preserves fine details and takes a high polish. Popular as a precious, foreign wood in courtly collections, it had long been imported into Northern Europe from around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.² In his 1567 botanical treatise, Pietro Mattioli of Siena (1501–1577) relates that boxwood grew very large in Corsica and that its wood was very much sought after for its quality.³ Fine-grained fruitwoods, especially pear, were also used for making small luxury items and had the advantage of being locally available. Although not nearly as dense, they share boxwood's qualities of a fine, straight grain with a uniform texture.

The color that Kern intended for his wood sculptures has been little discussed. Although boxwood and fruitwood are light in color initially, sculptures carved from these woods are often described as deep brown, without any indication of the cause. One difficulty is that coatings on many objects may have been altered due to changing tastes in later historical periods, as well as more recent interventions. The pigmented varnishes on Kern's wood sculptures in the Smith Collection are dark reddish-brown or transparent red, suggesting a darker color was intended to complement the sculptor's closely related works in ivory.⁴ The browns and reds also appear to refer to the color of contemporary small bronzes, particularly those from the Florentine workshop of Giambologna.⁵

Determining whether Kern selected boxwood or fruitwood for particular sculptures is difficult due to a lack of reliable wood identification in the literature. "Boxwood" is often used to refer to any finely carved small-scale wood sculpture, while fruitwood – which can be obtained in bigger blocks – seems to be suggested when objects are larger and not pieced together.⁶ Definitive identification of wood varieties requires sampling, however, x-radiography provides insight into the fineness of the grain and allows for the density of the wood to be determined, helping to separate denser boxwood from fruitwoods.⁷

EDS, DS & SS

¹ For the original text in German see Gradmann, 1917, pp. 157–158; also published in Grünenwald, 1969, p. 31, note 5; Schmidt 2012, pp. 79–80.

² Michael Baxandall, *German wood statuettes 1500–1800*, London, 1967, p. 2.

³ Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *I Discorsi... ne i sei libri di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo della material Medicinale*, Venice, 1559, p. 138. Thanks to Michael Palmer, Conservation Scientist, for this citation.

⁴ The varnished surfaces were investigated using two non-destructive methods: x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) and fiber optic reflectance spectroscopy (FORS). XRF was performed by Dylan Smith with a Bruker Tracer III-SD. For identification of metallic elements, see method in the table on p. 76. For enhanced detection of light elements, the same method was used, but the instrument was run at 15 kV, 55 µA, with no filtration. For pigment and medium analysis, FORS was performed by Giorgio Trumpy, Samuel H. Kress/Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in Imaging Science, using a FieldSpec 3 fiber-optic spectroradiometer operating from 350–2500 nm with a collection diameter of approximately 3 mm, a collection time for each spectrum of 5 seconds, and with a light intensity of approximately 4000 lux. Thanks to Lisha Glinsman, Conservation Scientist, for her assistance in interpreting these results.

⁵ For discussion of these colors see Stone, 2010, pp. 114–121.

⁶ Modern boxwoods (*buxus sempervirens*) typically reach a

height of only 3–7.5 m with a diameter of 10–20 cm, although isolated examples reaching 50 cm are known. Fruit trees are larger; pear can grow to 6–9 m tall, with a trunk of 15–30 cm and exceptional examples may be over 1 m in width. *The Wood Database* (www.wood-database.com, accessed 10 April 2015); *Monumental Trees* (www.monumentaltrees.com, accessed 3 August 2015). Michael Palmer, Conservation Scientist, kindly provided additional information.

⁷ The grain is clearly visible when radiographed from certain orientations, allowing the growth rings to be compared among the sculptures and to known samples, see *The Wood Database*; also Werner Schoch and Fritz Schweingruber, *Wood anatomy of central European Species*, Birmensdorf, 2004, online version: (www.woodanatomy.ch, accessed 10 April 2015). To calculate density, radiographs were taken of six wood samples with a range of known densities. In Adobe Photoshop, the recorded intensity of each sample was measured based on the average gray value. The same settings were then used to take radiographs of the sculptures, including the two densest samples in the exposure to allow for direct comparison and to correct for minor variations in the exposure. The gray value was then calculated for each sculpture and adjusted for the thickness of the area measured. Thanks to James Gleason, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in Objects Conservation, for performing the radiography, and to Michael Palmer, Conservation Scientist, for providing the wood samples.

GYMNAST THROWING A SPHERE ('THE BOWLER')

Leonhard Kern, 1588–1662

Schwäbisch Hall, second quarter of the 17th century

Height: 30.2 cm (figure and integral base), width: 13.5 cm, length: 24 cm

Fruitwood, possibly pear

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Wales; Peter Francis Antiques and Auctioneers, Carmarthen, Wales, February 2005; Tomasso Brothers, Leeds, England, 2005; Galerie Neuse, Bremen, Germany, from whom acquired 27 February 2007

The nude male is depicted at a crucial moment in his sequence of motion, powerfully striding forward with his left foot, just before releasing the sphere from his right hand. The carefully balanced and counterbalanced limbs are rendered with great naturalism and with an understanding of the unity of the figure's overall movement, which informs its pose into the smallest ramifications. While throwing the ball with his right arm, the athlete holds his left tightly behind his back to better guide the object on its imminent flight. The figure's realistic motion is complemented by minute details: the contraction of small muscles in the limbs and back; the swing of his genitals to the right as the athlete shifts his center of gravity.

Leonhard Kern was widely admired for his study of figures from life, a practice that was still uncommon in Germany when he brought it back across the Alps from Rome. The *Gymnast* can be seen as a virtuoso demonstration of the artist's skill at rendering the human body in motion. Within the literary and visual tradition of the period, it is doubtful that the artist intended a mythological identification, such as Hippomenes throwing down a golden apple for Atalanta to fetch.¹ In Renaissance depictions the Calydonian hunter was generally shown dropping rather than throwing the apple. It is not until the late Baroque that Atlanta is depicted running far ahead of the rapidly pursuing Hippomenes who throws the apple in her direction, as in Guillaume Coustou's interpretation of the subject as a *coureur* of 1712.² Alternatively, Kern might have included one or both remaining spheres in the hand behind his back – a detail well known at the time from the *Farnese Hercules* (see *Hercules Pomarius* in the Smith Collection, cat. 22).

It was the athletic action and its anatomical realization that captured the German sculptor's imagination. The boxwood bowler is an extraordinary testament to the interest in ancient sports, which surged in Italy after Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606), a medical doctor from Forlì, who would later become Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici's personal physician, first published *De arte gymnastica* in Venice in 1569.³ In his treatise, which stands at the origin of all modern fitness literature, Mercuriale sought to reconstruct the ancient Greek and Roman practice of gymnastics in the widest sense, from balancing and breathing exercises to vigorous athletics, and to interpret these activities in the light of their effects on health, in addition to their military and recreational values. *De arte gymnastica* elicited a vivid interest during its author's lifetime, as is evidenced by multiple editions and reprints, and by its vast reception in the visual arts.⁴ In the fourth and fifth chapter of *De arte gymnastica*'s second book, which is dedicated to medicinal gymnastics, Mercuriale discusses exercises with balls ('*De Sphaeristica*').⁵ Kern's athlete does not seem to illustrate any of the specific ball games described by Mercuriale, but one of the figures in the woodcut depicting the Roman *foliis* has a vaguely similar, if reversed pose.⁶



The unearthing and display of the so-called *Borghese Gladiator* around 1610 – exactly during the years of Kern’s Italian journey (1609–1614) – triggered another wave of interest amongst artists in the anatomy of the human body in action.⁷ Indeed, the *Gladiator* remained the focal point of such studies for more than two centuries, even after it had been sold to Napoleon and brought to Paris in 1807.⁸ Whereas Kern’s ‘bowler’ must have been chiefly based on his observations of naked models performing the thrust movement of a contemporary *bocce* game, the figure’s stance – especially the long and open step – recall the *Borghese Gladiator*. As a virtuoso balancing act in a figure asymmetrically stretched in powerful forward motion, it may well have been meant to allude to the ancient model, if not to compete with it.

The *Gymnast* is an impressive demonstration of Kern’s talents in the specialized medium of hardwood carving. Nearly all of the figure and base are rendered from a single block, confirmed by radiography, where the vertical grain of the wood in the figure and base are seen to align. The center of the block, indicated by radiating cracks on the underside, is not in the center of the base, but closer to the left edge to accommodate the projecting arm on that side. A small piece was added to form the front half of the ball, as well as parts of the thumb and two fingers. The general alignment of this join with the front edge of the base suggests the original limit of the block, a plane that appears to have been deliberately disrupted by this addition. Two other additions to the block are visible on the underside: a small, roughly rectangular piece was added at the front left corner and another, triangular, to the back right corner. The inclusion of parts of the feet in both blocks – on the left, two toes and part of the outside, and on the right, just a sliver of the outer edge – suggests that these additions were in place when the artist began carving. All three pieces appear to be expertly glued and no dowels were visible by x-radiography. In addition to radial cracking, several splits formed along the grain as the wood aged and later repairs to the right calf and left wrist are visible in the radiograph.

The size of the sculpture is somewhat unusual for Kern, particularly the exceptional length of the base, spanning the figure’s long stride.⁹ Unlike most of Kern’s compositions, which are more compact, the *Gymnast* seems impossible to imagine in ivory, the artist’s primary medium. Measuring from the original center of the block to the furthest corner indicates the trunk was a minimum of 34 cm, however, that total width was only required along a single axis. Isolated examples of boxwoods of sufficient size are known today, and in the Renaissance, many more old growth trees would have been available.¹⁰ However, the lower density of the wood, assessed by radiography, suggests a fruitwood.¹¹ Pear is most commonly mentioned in Kern’s oeuvre as an alternative to box and grows much larger.¹²

The figure is covered by a dark reddish-brown varnish. X-ray fluorescence analysis indicates the presence of elements associated with pigments: iron, possibly in a red earth; potassium, in a plant-based carbon black or possibly a dye substrate; and a small amount of lead, possibly as a drying agent for the medium or as red lead.¹³ The coating has areas of fine craquelure suggesting age and none of the color appears in the cracks in the underlying wood that developed over time. No indications of earlier varnishes were found in the deep recesses of the design; instead, small patches of exposed wood remain visible. Rather than having a highly polished surface, the *Gymnast* has a finely filed texture that would be accentuated by the varnish as well as improving its adhesion. Passages of the coating worn by handling correspond closely to areas where the file marks on the underlying wood surface have been rubbed down, which also supports the age of the coating. During this period in Italy, dark surfaces on bronzes were especially associated with antiquity – Vasari noted that bronzes blacken as they age – and Kern may have desired a similar interpretation.¹⁴ Among Kern’s works in wood, the scale and subject of the *Gymnast* are particularly suggestive of the influence of small bronze statuettes, notably those of Giambologna, which had spread to courts across Europe by the early seventeenth century.



¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10. 560 – 707.

² See François Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th centuries: The reign of Louis XIV. Illustrated Catalogue*, 4 vols., Oxford and London, 1977–1993, vol. 1, no. 39, p. 136.

³ Girolamo Mercuriale, *De arte gymnastica libri sex*, Venice, 1601, pp. 83–95.

⁴ See, for instance, Robert Stalla, “Introduzione,” in Girolamo Mercuriale, *De Arte Gymnastica*, trad. (part.) and annotated by Michele Napolitano, Rome, 1996, pp. 9–25, specifically pp. 16–22; Ginette Vagenheim, “Il contributo di Pirro Ligorio e Piero Vettori al ‘De arte gymnastica’ di Girolamo Mercuriale: il disegno del braccio con disco,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 54, 2010–2012, pp. 185–195.

⁵ Mercuriale 1601, pp. 83–95.

⁶ Ibid, p. 89.

⁷ See Haskell and Penny, 1981, no. 43, pp. 221–224.

⁸ The endpoint was probably reached by the French military doctor Jean-Galbert Salvage (1770–1813), whose meticulous work on the Borghese *Gladiator’s* muscular and skeletal anatomy, accompanied by two-layer copperpoint engravings, was based not only upon his careful studies of the marble, but also upon dissections of young soldiers killed in duels, whose bodies he arranged in the statue’s pose. See Jean-Galbert Salvage, *Anatomie du Gladiateur combattant, applicable aux beaux arts, ou Traité des os, des muscles, du mécanisme des mouvemens, des proportions et des caractères du corps humain*,

Paris, 1812.

⁹ Out of fifteen statuettes described as boxwood attributed to Kern listed by Grünenwald (1969, pp. 37–48), most are around 20 cm (like cats. 75/76). The very large *Three Graces* in Budapest (60 cm) is pieced together horizontally. The *Hercules and Antaeus* in Nijenhuis (40 cm) appears to be from a single block, but without a base. *Adam and Eve* in Darmstadt (36.2 cm) is also without a base.

¹⁰ See discussion in “Leonhard Kern and the Art of Woodcarving” on pp. 42–43.

¹¹ Radiographs were taken of a range of wood samples with known density. The intensity of the *Gymnast* relative to these samples was then measured, correcting for thickness. For method, see “Leonhard Kern and the Art of Woodcarving” on pp. 42–43, note 7.

¹² Johannes Zahlten, “Bemerkungen zu Kunstproduktion und Sammlungswesen im 17. Jahrhundert, angeregt durch die Kleinplastiken Leonhard Kerns” in *Leonhard Kern*, 1988, pp. 35–50, p. 40.

¹³ For method, see “Leonhard Kern and the Art of Woodcarving” on pp. 42–43, note 4.

¹⁴ See discussion in Denise Allen “Gold, Silver, and the Colors of Bronze: Antico’s Language of Materials in Statuettes and Reliefs” in Eleonora Luciano, ed., *Antico: The Golden Age of Renaissance Bronzes*, catalogue of the exhibition, Washington (National Gallery of Art), 2011, pp. 138–156, esp. 149.

KNEELING YOUTH with BOUND HANDS

Leonhard Kern, 1588–1662

Schwäbisch Hall, second quarter of the 17th century
 Height: 24.5 cm (figure only), 27.5 cm with separate base
 Fruitwood, possibly pear

PROVENANCE

Private collection, England; Mallams Auctioneers, Oxford, January 2005;
 Tomasso Brothers, Leeds, England, 2005; Galerie Neuse, Bremen, Germany, from whom acquired 27 February 2007

The nude youth kneels with hands tied together at the wrist behind his back. He turns his head upwards and to the right, his expressive face capturing a moment of intense emotion with a deeply wrinkled brow and anguished gaze. Straining tendons in his forearms and knotted back muscles emphasize the agony of his captivity. The movement of the youth's head and his slightly open mouth, as if about to speak, strongly suggest a scene of dramatic exchange.

An obvious candidate for the figure's narrative contextualization is "The Binding of Isaac." Many Renaissance representations of this biblical subject portray the youth kneeling in a twisting pose with his hands tied behind him. A primary example, Filippo Brunelleschi's *Sacrifice of Isaac* (1401–1402), depicts the youth in a highly stylized crouching pose (reminiscent of the classical convention for knee-walking) that seems particularly relevant for the present sculpture.¹ However, a biblical interpretation appears unlikely when compared with Kern's five known representations of Abraham and Isaac.² In each, Isaac is shown at a considerably younger age than the present figure and the patriarchs interact closely, carved from a single piece of ivory.³ Moreover, the worried facial expression would contradict the biblical emphasis, recorded throughout the centuries by different religions and confessions, on Isaac's willing acceptance of his fate.⁴

The sculpture probably represents a captive in the iconographic tradition of Michelangelo's *prigioni* for the tomb of Julius II, which were installed in the Boboli Garden's Grotta Grande between 1583 and 1593. More closely related are the four *Captives* with hands tied behind their backs from the socle of the equestrian monument of Henri IV by Francesco Francavilla and his son-in-law, Francesco Bordoni (1614–1618);⁵ and the four *Slaves* by Pietro Tacca on the socle of Giovanni Bandini's statue of *Ferdinando de' Medici* in Livorno (1622–1626).⁶ However, it is unlikely that Kern ever went to Paris, and Tacca's statues were not yet cast during the artist's Italian sojourn (1609–1614). Kern could have known these sculptures through descriptions by his patrons or works by fellow artists, like the Augsburg sculptor Georg Petel's drawing after one of Livorno slaves of 1623,⁷ or Nicolas de Mathonière's engraving of the Paris monument from 1617.⁸

Kern's *Kneeling Youth* recalls a very different source, the ancient marble sculpture of the *Crouching Venus*, which was much celebrated and copied throughout the Renaissance as the work by Doidalsas mentioned by Pliny.⁹ The artist may have intended a subtle reference to the ancient statue's lack of arms by tightly confining the limbs of the youth within the contour of the figure. In the statuette, Kern used the same asymmetrical position of legs, but in mirror image, and copied the counterbalancing forward angle of the chest. He adapted the head's vehement turn to the right, but changed the movement from



downwards to upwards, not dissimilar to one of Giambologna's interpretations of this ancient model, the *Kneeling Bather* (cat. 71). The pose of a small documented ivory by Kern, *Kneeling Fortuna*, now in Kassel,¹⁰ reflects many of the same changes to the antique source, as does a female figure in relief on a tankard sleeve in Vienna.¹¹ Both of those representations conform to the ancient marble and Giambologna's interpretations, where the toes are bent under and the left knee is down to support a crouching pose; in the *Kneeling Youth*, the knee is up, and the toes are impractically stretched.

The awkward position of the left foot demands a base; however, that now with the figure is a later replacement.¹² A possible form for the original support is suggested by the rocky ground associated with an ivory version of this subject attributed to Kern and his workshop.¹³ Radiography revealed the presence of slightly tapered holes, now plugged, in the left heel, left knee, and the ball of the right foot that could have been used to attach the figure to a base of that type. A hole in the bottom of the left foot, now plugged, once received a long threaded rod that may be related to another, much later, mounting method.

The *Youth* was carved from a single block of dense fruitwood, most likely pear.¹⁴ Joins in the left leg, left ankle and front of the right foot are the result of later damage and repair.¹⁵ The quality of the carving is exceptional, demonstrating Kern's skills, finely honed in the difficult medium of ivory. Although wood was a less precious medium, the artist's attention to detail remains, as seen in the carefully delineated teeth, crisply cut nails, and suggested suppleness of the leather bindings. Slightly abstract curls of hair capture a softness and freshness reminiscent of modeling in wax, perhaps unsurprising given that preparatory studies in Germany were often in wood.

An overall varnish was applied to the statuette that is slightly darker and browner than that of the *Gymnast* (cat. 73), and no indications of earlier varnishes were identified. X-ray fluorescence analysis of the surface indicates the presence of several elements associated with pigments: iron, possibly in a red earth; potassium, in a plant-based carbon black or possibly a dye substrate; and a small amount of lead, possibly as a drying agent in the medium or as red lead.¹⁶ The *Kneeling Youth* has a filed surface that suggests an original coating was intended, but the texture is finer than that on the *Gymnast*. The appearance imparted by these coatings suggests that the *Kneeling Youth* was intended as a direct challenge to Italian statuettes in bronze.

A slightly smaller version of the present figure from the collection of Ludwig Burchard (1886–1960) was sold at Christie's, London, and is now in the Würth collection, Künzelsau.¹⁷ Subtle differences are noted from the Smith *Youth*, which has eyes that are slightly larger and more expressive brows. The Würth statuette has a similar dark finish, but its carving is less refined and the surface more coarsely filed. That version is mounted on a later base with the figure tilted slightly further to left, such that he appears to be looking higher up than the Smith statuette.

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¹ Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, inv. 203. Brunelleschi's competition relief for what is now the north door of the Florentine Baptistery.

² See Hans-Joachim Hennze, "Abraham-Isaak-Darstellungen im Werk des Bildhauers Leonhard Kern (1588–1662)" in *Siebenmorgen*, 1990, pp. 25–29.

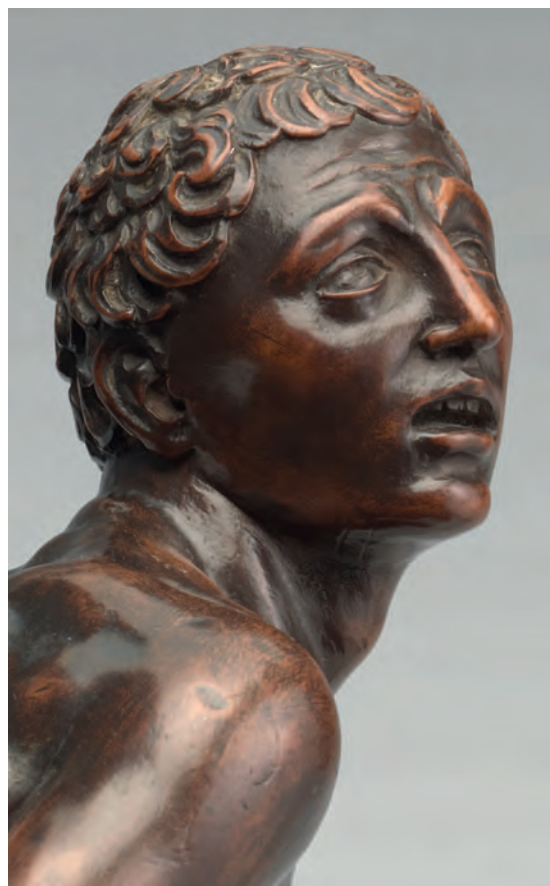
³ A possible sixth version of the subject attributed to "Kern and workshop" has two figures, but the discrepancy in their bases makes it uncertain that they form an original group. Christian Theuerkauff, "Addenda und Anmerkungen zum Katalog der Ausstellung »Leonhard Kern (1588–1662)«, 22. X. 1988–15. I. 1989 in Schwäbisch Hall" in *Siebenmorgen*, 1990, pp. 38–74,

pp. 40–43.

⁴ See Hans Martin von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis: Die christlichen Bildthemen aus dem Alten Testament und ihre Quellen*, 2 vols., Munich, 1989–1995, vol. 2, pp. 145–191.

⁵ Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. M.R.1668–M.R.1671. See Geneviève Bresc-Bautier in Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Guilhem Scherf and Jamis David Draper, eds., *Cast in Bronze: French Sculpture from Renaissance to Revolution*, catalogue of the exhibition, Paris, 2009, cats. 40–41, pp. 164–169.

⁶ In situ. See Steven Ostrow, "Pietro Tacca and his *Quattro Mori*: The Beauty and Identity of the Slaves," *Artibus et historiae*, 36, no. 71, 2015, pp. 145–180, specifically p. 148. An early attempt



at this project, soon abandoned, may go back as far as 1608. The date 1607 often given for the Tacca's trip from Florence to Livorno to take a cast after a living slave in preparation for these sculptures clearly implies the *'stile fiorentino'* and therefore must be read as 6 February 1608, as rightly hypothesized by Ostrow, *op. cit.*, note 14, p. 173.

⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 9950. This red chalk drawing, dated 1623, is the earliest evidence for the installation of the statues. It is accompanied by a description of how the artist was arrested and put into prison, as it was suspected that he was intending to draw the port's fortifications – a reminder of how difficult it was for an artist to study the monument, despite its public location. See Volker Krahn in *Diafane Passioni*, 2013, pp. 188–189, no. 51.

⁸ See Ostrow 2015, p. 149, fig. 3.

⁹ The association with the antiquity was first suggested by Elisabeth Grünenwald, "Ein gefesselter Sklave," examination report completed in Nördlingen, 23 May 2006, provided by Galerie Neuse. For the Crouching Venus type, see Haskell and Penny, 1981, pp. 321–322, no. 86. For discussion of the ancient example at the Museo Nazionale Romano – Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome, see Bernard Andreae, *Skulptur des Hellenismus*, Munich, 2001, pp. 80–82, pls. 32–33, fig. 40.

¹⁰ Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, inv. B VI. 177. Leonhard Kern, 1989, pp. 209–210, cat. 94, 14.8 cm.

¹¹ Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 4494, Leonhard Kern,

1989, pp. 236–238, cat. 118.

¹² The base is made of a coarser wood and has a distinct shellac-based varnish, identified by its characteristic orange fluorescence under examination with ultraviolet light.

¹³ Theuerkauff in *Siebenmorgen*, 1990, pp. 40–43.

¹⁴ For method, see "Leonhard Kern and the Art of Woodcarving" on pp. 42–43, note 7.

¹⁵ These repairs are clearly visible in the radiographs. The left knee was reattached with two small metal pins. Inpainting over the joins was executed with a shellac-based paint like that found on the base, which was likely added at the same time as these repairs.

¹⁶ For method, see "Leonhard Kern and the Art of Woodcarving" on pp. 42–43, note 4.

¹⁷ 22.9 cm. 9 December 2010, lot 226. This example first appears in Theodor Müller, "Original und Nachbildung," *Pantheon*, 20, 1962, pp. 208–212, specifically pp. 211–212, fig. 7, then considered Flemish, first half of the seventeenth century. For the subsequent attribution to Kern while in that collection, see Lise Lotte Möller, review of "Elisabeth Grünenwald, Leonhard Kern, ein Bildhauer des Barock, Schwäbisch Hall 1969," *Pantheon*, 30, 1972, pp. 252–254, p. 253. See also, Elisabeth Grünenwald, "Leonhard Kern (1588–1662): Ein Bericht über neue Forschungen zu seinem Werk," *Württembergisch-Franken*, 70, 1986, pp. 69–102, pp. 101–102, incorrectly described as bronze.

LUST *and* AVARICE*Leonhard Kern, 1588–1662*Schwäbisch Hall, second quarter of the 17th century

Height: 22.8 cm (Lust); 23 cm (Avarice)

Fruitwood, possibly pear

PROVENANCE

Henry Arrowsmith, London, possibly by 1840;¹ Sotheby's, London, 4 July 1984, lots 243–244;

Private collection, Switzerland; 1996, Florian Eitle-Böhler, Starnberg, Germany;

1996, Galerie Neuse, Bremen, Germany, from whom acquired 1999

Two meticulously carved statuettes of a young woman and an old woman, here form a pair. While seated on integrally carved multi-layer bases, each figure is occupied in a specific task and exhibits a distinct personality. The older woman leans to her right clutching a money bag that dangles between two fingers of her left hand; the younger sits upright upon her stool carefully braiding her hair over the left shoulder, with another braid spiraling over the back of her head.

Kern's figure of a seated woman braiding her hair is inspired by a small bronze by Barthélemy Prieur (c. 1540–1611) of the same subject in a very similar pose, known from numerous casts.² But whereas Prieur's bronze perfectly fits into the French sculptor's progeny of naked women who groom themselves, among figures clipping their toenails or washing their feet,³ Kern imbued the genre figure with an allegorical meaning, as is clear from its pairing with the old crone. While the pose of the old woman grasping a money bag as well as the seats of both figures resemble Kern's thematically related *Money Counter* (cat. 65),⁴ the pouch she holds has a famous predecessor in Michelangelo's allegorical composition, *The Dream* (*Il Sogno*), which was widely known through prints and painted copies at the time.⁵ Within the roster of the seven capital sins, the woman holding the money bag is easily identifiable as Avarice (*'avaritia'*). The woman braiding her hair, however, must refer to Lust (*'luxuria'*), not just for the vain and narcissistic pursuit of bodily self-beautification, but *a fortiori* for the sexual overtones of the braid.

Despite the fact that both figures can be readily identified with two of the deadly sins, it is unlikely that Kern would have conceived them to be part of a cycle of all seven. In fact, the marked contrast between a young and attractive, and an old and repulsive female figure points to a different underlying theme. This opposition is characteristic of a particular, misogynous ramification of the iconography of *memento mori*, which avails itself specifically of the female body as an exemplar of decay. This concept is strikingly visualized in a polychrome, isocephalic group of a young man, and a young and an old woman standing back-to-back in a triangle, and carved out of a single, large piece of limewood⁶ variously attributed to Jörg Syrlin the Elder (c. 1425–1491) and Michel Erhart (c. 1440/45–post 1522), the foremost sculptors active in Ulm towards the end of the fifteenth century.⁷ By adding the decrepit, aged figure to the idealized, Adam-and-Eve-like couple, the Swabian Renaissance sculptor shifts attention to the female body and its anticipated putrefaction. The ephebic youth is removed from this process. Not coincidentally he wears period underpants (*'pruech'*), while the females' genitalia are shown in great



detail. By adapting the pose of the Medici Venus, the young woman's gesture draws attention to the pronounced insignia of her gender, whereas her aged counterpart has all but lost her femininity. In fact, she displays several male characteristics, such as a bald pate and a haggard physique, which eerily echoes the slim arms, legs and hips of the young man next to her.

In the Smith figure of *Avarice*, Leonhard Kern employs the same strategy of endowing the female body with masculine features such as a heavily articulated spine, pronounced biceps, triceps, and calf muscles, and a goiter reminiscent of an Adam's apple. The figure's sagging breasts are rendered as though they were enlarged and displaced testicles.⁸ Considering the sculptor's well-documented practice of studying figures from nature,⁹ the degree of realism shown is unsurprising. In this instance Kern certainly carved a masculine physique, with which he was entirely experienced in rendering models from life, to which he added the pinched breasts. On another level of meaning, her breasts resemble the money bag, as if to suggest that it defines her physical as well as psychological character.

Radiography of the figures suggests that they are carved from the same type of dense, close-grained wood. Both the scale of the grain and its density when compared to woods commonly employed north of the Alps suggests that they were probably carved from a fruitwood such as pear, rather than boxwood.¹⁰ The finesse with which *Lust's* fingers weave the individual plaits in the braids or *Avarice's* hands clutch the cinched money bag point not only to Kern's established superiority as a carver, but also to the qualities of the fine-grained wood he employed that could be chiseled and finished to exquisite detail without "tear-out." Kern certainly was aware of grain pattern in his wood and exploited it to full advantage. For example, in the old woman's lowered left leg, the concentric rings surrounding the knee produce a fine circle of wood grain at the point of the knee cap, a subtle yet ingenious advantage of the wood properties. In a similar vein, Kern carved the young woman such that the swirls of the wood grain highlight the graceful curvature of buttocks and thigh as well as the musculature on her right arm. Both figures gaze upward and their pupil-irises are carved as single small, circular depressions in the upper right corner of each eye, the old woman's slightly more pronounced.

Kern appears to have had some formula in mind as he carved the integral bases of his figures. Though not identical, each base follows a four-tiered pattern with roughly similar dimensions – for *Lust*, the lower, middle, and upper blocks are 2–2.1 cm while the tall block is 4.5 cm; for *Avarice* these blocks range in height from 2–2.5 cm and the vertical block is 4.2 cm.¹¹ Both figures' right feet overhang and extend beyond their bases; *Lust's* rests on a small carved projection; and *Avarice's* toes curve down, lightly touching the inside of a protruding carved niche.¹² Some directional filing marks are visible on the bases, which are not as highly polished as the figures.

As is evident from the photograph published in the 1984 Sotheby's auction catalogue, the fruitwood pair had a dark reddish-brown stain at the time.¹³ That color, uncharacteristic of Kern and applied at an unknown date, was removed in 1996.¹⁴ Remnants of the dark coating are present in recessed areas, for instance under the buttocks of the figures. Analysis indicated that the present coating might have an oil component not detected in the other carved wood figures in the collection.¹⁵

A long, narrow crack (2.55 cm) was filled on *Avarice's* back just to the right of her spine; three prominent cracks are visible along the grain at the front of her base, and a crack almost completely surrounds her left forearm above the wrist. The underside of *Avarice* is unfinished and long chisel gouges remain on the left side; the underside of *Lust* is smoothed in some areas with numerous long scratches; traces of obliterated lettering are visible on both undersides.¹⁶ The front of *Lust's* hair is slightly worn, probably from handling.



- ¹ Using ultraviolet illumination and optimized multi-spectral imaging, obliterated lettering on the undersides of both figures' bases was revealed to read: "Henry Arrowsmith//80 New Bond Street". An internet search of that address in London yielded that the firm A.J. Arrowsmith, furniture makers, decorators and gilders to Her Majesty Queen Victoria was established there in 1780. Further, in 1840, Henry William Arrowsmith and A. Arrowsmith wrote, *The house decorator and painter's guide; containing a series of designs for decorating apartments, suited to the various styles of architecture* (London, 1840). It is possible that the author Henry Arrowsmith owned these two sculptures or that they were purchased by him for the company. We are grateful to John Delaney and Giorgio Trumpy for the multi-spectral imaging and to Mira Patel for the exhaustive Arrowsmith searches.
- ² The model is known in bronze statuettes in the Huntington Collection, San Marino; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, inv. 1982.60.126; the Wallace Collection, London, inv. S128; and another example formerly in the Abbott Guggenheim Collection, Warwick, New York, sold at Christie's, New York, 27 January 2015, lot 62. See *Les Bronzes de la Couronne*, 1999, p. 182, no. 321; Schwartz, 2008, pp. 170–171, no. 90.
- ³ For the former, see the workshop cast at the National Gallery of Art, acc. 1957.14.24; for the latter the example in the same collection, acc. 1983.66.1.
- ⁴ See Nicholas Penny, Dylan Smith and Shelley Sturman in *Burlington* 2007, no. 65, pp. 54–57.
- ⁵ See Stephanie Buck, ed., *Michelangelo's Dream*, catalogue of the exhibition, London (Courtauld Gallery), 2010.
- ⁶ *Vanitas (Allegory of Transience)*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. KK 1, height: 46 cm
- ⁷ See the excellent, large photographs in Sabine Haag and Franz Kirchweber, eds., *Die Kunstkammer. Die Schätze der Habsburger*, Vienna, 2012, pp. 76–79.
- ⁸ Other closely related sculptures of a haggard female with sagging pinched breasts are Kern's signed and much larger (45 cm) peachwood version of *Allegory of Famine*, in the Bodemuseum and a pearwood version (33.5 cm) in a private collection, Vienna. See *Leonard Kern*, 1988, cat 80, pp. 182–183 (Bodemuseum), cat. 81, p. 184 (private collection).
- ⁹ See Schmidt, 2012, pp. 82–84.
- ¹⁰ The two larger carved figures, *Gymnast* and *Kneeling Youth*, (cats. 73 and 74) appear to have a similar wood grain patterning and density on radiography as *Lust* and *Avarice*, and may be carved from the same type of fruitwood, but likely not boxwood. *Psyche* (cat. 77) has a more dense appearance on radiographs, and is considered to have been carved from boxwood. Thanks to Dylan Smith and James Gleason for carefully radiographing the wood sculptures a second time and examining them digitally to observe density compared to known wood specimens. See discussion in "Leonhard Kern and the Art of Woodcarving" on pp. 42–43, note 7.
- ¹¹ At the front, the middle block on *Avarice* is 1.6 cm high, but at the back, the initial cuts into the wood are at 2 cm.
- ¹² This feature may be another Kern "fingerprint" as it is repeated on a boxwood sculpture, *Meditating Woman*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. 7317, also seated on a multi-tiered block constructed base. Her right foot rests on a small carved projection. See Grünenwald, 1969, cat. 122, plate 46.
- ¹³ See Sotheby's, London, *European Works of Art*, 4 July 1984, lots 243–244, p. 63.
- ¹⁴ Coating removed by Florian Eitle-Böhler, personal communication, Florian Eitle-Bohler to author, March 2015.
- ¹⁵ Analysis was inconclusive. Examination under ultraviolet illumination suggests that shellac might be present on the surface. Thanks to Giorgio Trumpy for attempting to identify the components using FORS imaging and to Dylan Smith for testing with XRF, see "Leonhard Kern and the Art of Woodcarving" on pp. 42–43, note 4.
- ¹⁶ See note 1.

PSYCHE

*Leonhard Kern, 1588–1662*Schwäbisch Hall, second quarter of the 17th century

Height: 14 cm

Boxwood

PROVENANCE

Dr. Viktor Bloch, Vienna; his sale, H. Gilhofer & H. Ranschberg Aktiengesellschaft, Lucerne, Switzerland, 30 November 1934, lot 104;¹ Theodor Fischer, Lucerne, Switzerland; 31 August 1938, Joseph Brummer (1883–1947), New York;² 20 January 1939, Irwin Untermyer, New York; 18 June 1941, returned by Irwin Untermyer to Joseph Brummer;³ his sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, 11–14 May 1949, lot 409. By 1976, British Rail Pension Fund, London;⁴ Sotheby's, London, 4 July 1996, lot 69; Cyril Humphris, London, from whom purchased 1996

EXHIBITED

With works on loan from the British Rail Pension Fund, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1976–1996

A diminutive kneeling, nude female figure delicately holds an *amphora*-shaped vase with her left hand and supports it at the neck with her right. Her head and body turn slightly to the right as she gazes out. Her hair is twisted into elaborate braids that join to form a ring around the back of her head with a bow in its center.

In *The Golden Ass*, a second century Roman text by Apuleius, Psyche is charged by an angry Venus with four virtually impossible tasks before the human princess can be reunited with her divine lover Cupid.⁵ The story was well known in the Renaissance and the depiction of Psyche kneeling with an urn became common after the realization of the frescoes designed by Raphael for the *Loggia di Psiche* in the Villa Farnesina, Rome (1518–1519). A spandrel painted by Giulio Romano shows Psyche holding a small lidded vase and kneeling humbly before Venus, who throws up her arms in surprise and despair, acknowledging defeat. The fresco almost certainly refers to the princess's successful completion of the last labor, capturing the beauty of Proserpina, the Queen of the Underworld, in a *pyxis*.⁶ Often translated as 'box', Apuleius's term was understood in the Renaissance to refer more generally to a jar or vessel.⁷ Pandora may also appear with her 'box' in the form of a vase; however, she would never be depicted kneeling.

The vase in Kern's boxwood, unlike that in the Farnesina fresco, is not lidded, which implies that Psyche's third task is shown, collecting black water from the alpine source of Hades's rivers Styx and Cocytus in a crystal vessel.⁸ But *pars pro toto* through her penultimate accomplishment, the sculptor refers to her sensational victory and the imminent upheaval in Apuleius's narrative. Although the princess modestly kneels, submitting to a far stronger antagonistic power, against all odds she is about to triumph. In a seventeenth-century humanist's study, the figure would have reminded its owner to accept the most unsurmountable challenges in life, and to trust in one's future success and deliverance.

Apuleius describes Psyche metaphorically as a living statue for her extreme beauty, comparable only to that of Venus herself, and those who behold the princess admire her as they would a statue by a

masterful artist (*‘ut simulacrum fabre politum mirantur omnes’*).⁹ The representation of Psyche, therefore, can be understood as the ultimate conceptual challenge for a sculptor, even beyond carving Galathea, the statue by Pygmalion that was brought to life. Just as the princess competes with Venus in Apuleius’s text, Kern challenges the best of the Greek sculptors by making a figure of Psyche, taking the idea of the *paragone* between ancients and moderns to its utmost extreme.

Psyche was skillfully carved from a single block, including the completely undercut vase; the joins visible on the right wrist, across the left hand, and on the right ankle reflect later damage and repair.¹⁰ The extremely fine grain of the wood is evident by radiography and its density is consistent with that of boxwood.¹¹ The circle visible at her sternum indicates the position of a small branch and its dark outline is the result of remnants of bark. Kern had an intimate understanding of his medium and the position of the branch, perfectly centered on her chest, could suggest subtle acknowledgement of the raw material in this deeply referential sculpture.¹² His attention to naturalistic details, such as the symmetrical dimples in the flesh along the curved spinal groove on Psyche’s back, or the fine creases on the underside of the feet, betray that the artist contends with nature as well as ancient art. Each nail is delicately cut, including those on the fingers of the right hand that are almost completely hidden. The sharp-edged, refined surface of her vase gives the impossible impression of being turned. Kern took full advantage of boxwood’s hardness, finishing the flesh with a high polish.

The figure’s overlapping feet and slightly uneven knees suggest that she could not have rested stably without additional support, and the absence of an integral base is unusual. A documented ivory by Kern of *Kneeling Fortuna*, now in Kassel, sits on a separate thin slab of ivory, which might suggest the original form of the base for the Smith statuette.¹³ A similar kneeling figure, carved in relief on a tankard sleeve in Vienna, also rests her knees on a small square.¹⁴ How the original base was attached is unclear; the large hole in the underside of the figure, which receives a dowel to attach the modern base, seems inconsistent with Kern’s refined methods.¹⁵ It is possible that on her original base, *Psyche* leaned even further forward, emphasizing her state of supplication.

The deep orange color of the statuette is relatively recent; the surface was much darker in 1934 and closer to the present tone by 1949.¹⁶ Traces of the earlier black coating remain in recesses of the design, but are also found in the break at the right ankle, suggesting that color was also a later addition. A deep red varnish preserved beneath the foot of the vase may indicate the original appearance, which would relate to the color of seventeenth-century Florentine bronzes, particularly those executed by Antonio and Gianfrancesco Susini (see cats. 70 and 71).

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¹ *Sammlung Dr. Viktor Bloch, Wien. Gemälde alter Meister des 14. bis 18. Jahrhunderts. Italienische Bronzen und Terrakotten der Renaissance. Holzsulpturen des 13. bis 17. Jahrhunderts. Marmor- und Elfenbeinskulpturen*, auction catalogue, H. Gilhofer & H. Ranschberg Aktiengesellschaft, Lucerne, Switzerland, 30 November 1934, lot 104, p. 42, plate XXXI. The Bloch collection also included a *Diana* by Kern (see cat. 78, note 1, (12) Vienna).

² Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library, Digital Collections, The Brummer Gallery Records, index card no. N4870.

³ Ibid, index cards no. N4870 and N2676.

⁴ See Sotheby’s, London, *European sculpture and works of art*

from the collection formed by the British Rail Pension Fund, 4 July 1996, lot 69.

⁵ Apuleius VI.

⁶ The identification with the completion of Psyche’s last task and Venus’ defeat is corroborated by the analogous representation by his student, Perino del Vaga, in his cycle in the *Sala di Amore e Psiche* in the Castel Sant’Angelo (1545–1548). See Michaela Marek, “Raffaels Loggia di Psiche in der Farnesina: Überlegungen zu Rekonstruktion und Deutung,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 26, 1984, pp. 257–290, pp. 267, 277, fig. 16.

⁷ See Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora’s Box: The changing aspects of a mythical symbol*, London, 1956, pp. 15–16, 102, for Erasmus of Rotterdam’s influential use of the word *‘pyxis’* for





Pandora's container in the Renaissance. The small vase used for Psyche's third task is referred to three times by Apuleius as an 'urnula' (Apul. VI, 13–15) and once as a '*crustallum dedolatum vasculum*' (VI, 13). He refers to the container of her fourth task as a '*pyxis*' in all six instances (VI, 16 and 19–21).

⁸ The absence of a lid may also stress the ancient role of the vase as a symbol of the female gender.

⁹ Apuleius, IV, 32.

¹⁰ This damage appears to be subsequent to 1934; see *Sammlung Dr. Viktor Bloch* 1934, plate XXI.

¹¹ For method, see "Leonhard Kern and the Art of Woodcarving" on pp. 42–43, note 7.

¹² See the discussion of Kern's *Abundantia* in "Ivory Sculpture in the Age of Rubens", pp. 61–62.

¹³ Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, inv. B VI. 177. Recorded

in the *Kunstammer* of Elias Brackenhofer in 1672. *Leonhard Kern*, 1989, pp. 209–210, cat. 94, 14.8 cm.

¹⁴ Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 4494, *Leonhard Kern*, 1988, pp. 236–238, cat. 118.

¹⁵ The slightly tapering hole in the bottom of the figure, visible by radiography, is much larger than the three apparently original dowel holes found in the *Kneeling Youth* (cat. 74), although that figure is significantly larger. The present base was with the figure since 1949, see Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, 11–14 May 1949, lot 409. An earlier base, which also appears modern, was present in 1934; see *Sammlung Dr. Viktor Bloch* 1934, plate XXI.

¹⁶ As illustrated in *Sammlung Dr. Viktor Bloch* 1934; plate XXI, and Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, 11–14 May 1949, lot 409.

IVORY SCULPTURE IN THE AGE OF RUBENS

Around the same time that Leonhard Kern began creating small-scale ivory and boxwood sculptures of secular subjects, a number of sculptors influenced by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) started pursuing similar productions. One of the foremost German sculptors of the age, Georg Petel (1601/02–1635) from Weilheim, Upper Bavaria, took his journeyman's trip to see Rubens in Antwerp in 1620, before going on to Paris and Italy, where he stayed for several months in Genoa, just as Rubens had done in 1600–1608. After settling in Augsburg, Petel stayed in contact with Rubens and travelled to see him again in Antwerp in 1628. Petel's style, even in his red chalk drawings, betrays a strong influence of Rubens and his studio practice. In several of his sculptures, most famously his ivory *Tankard with the Drunken Silenus* (Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest), Petel specifically translates inventions by Rubens into low and high relief, and also into the round.¹ Rubens exerted similar influences on the Antwerp sculptors Hans van Mildert (1588–1638) and Artus Quellinus the Elder (1609–1668), who, like Petel, translated drawn designs by Rubens into sculpture. Examples by Quellinus include terracottas of *Saint Peter* (Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels)² and *Samson and Delilah* (Bodemuseum, Berlin).³ Quellinus would later be in charge of adorning Amsterdam's town hall with allegorical sculptures. Others who helped to spread the taste for secular ivories of humanist inspiration in the mode of Rubens include Lucas Faydherbe (1617–1697) from Malines, who worked in Rubens' studio from 1636 to 1640, and François Duquesnoy (1597–1643) from Brussels, who in 1618 went to Rome, where he became one of the most celebrated sculptors of his age. Hans van Mildert's son-in-law, Gérard van Opstal (1594/97–1668), a master in Antwerp, was appointed royal sculptor of France (*sculpteur des bâtiments du roi*) in 1651, thereby succeeding Duquesnoy, who had died on his way to France to take up that position eight years earlier. Just as Duquesnoy had specialized in carving lively groups of putti, or *spiritelli*, in low relief in ivory, van Opstal fashioned himself as an ideal yet antithetical successor of Duquesnoy by interpreting the theme of Bacchic processions of putti in a less classicizing and more expressive manner.

Although Kern's ivories are not strongly indebted to Rubens, they nonetheless reflect the period's fascination with natural and exotic materials, which offered seventeenth-century artists opportunities for displaying their technical expertise by incorporating the shape of a natural specimen into their sculptural designs. Kern was also keenly aware of the symbolic meanings specific to the materials he employed. His figure of *Abundantia* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) preserves the walrus tusk from which it is carved, together with a part of the mammal's jawbone.⁴ The raw natural specimen therefore serves as a pedestal for the sculpture, which seems to grow from it, just as fruits abundantly gush from the figure's cornucopia. Here, Kern visually summarizes not only his period's theory of artistic creation (in analogy to procreation), but also the underlying principle of the time's *Wunderkammern*, wherein *artificialia* and *naturalia* were displayed together and for mutual enhancement.

ON IVORY AND CARVING

Ivory refers to the mineralized connective tissue, or dentine,⁵ from the teeth or tusks of large mammals, such as the elephant, walrus, narwhal, and mammoth. Sculptors have long appreciated ivory for its exotic origins and distinctive whiteness, which stands in striking contrast to bronze and wood. The hardness of ivory made it possible to render crisp details in miniature and produce highly polished surfaces, while its strength allowed delicate passages of the design to be dramatically undercut.

In seventeenth-century Europe, ivory from the tusks of elephants was widely available, imported through several Mediterranean ports and through Amsterdam from the west coast of Africa.⁶ Elephant

tusks grow continually throughout life, and have been recorded at lengths of over 11 feet, and weights of over 226 pounds.⁷ Structurally, elephant tusks are solid except for a hollow, conical pulp cavity that occupies approximately the first third of the length of the tusk. The pulp cavity tapers toward the tip, and continues as a narrow nerve canal, which extends through the length of the tusk.⁸ Adjacent to the pulp cavity, the most recently formed dentine, as well as the ivory surrounding the nerve canal, are often darker. A layer of cementum covers the entire exterior tusk, although patches of this tough, bony layer may be removed through normal use by the animal. Cementum most frequently remains intact near the base of the tusk,⁹ but is rarely visible on works carved from ivory, as any remnants would be removed during the carving process. Gérard van Opstal's *Bacchanalian Frieze* (cat. 79) is an exception. Here, cementum is left in an area normally hidden from view.

Numerous objects can be produced from a single elephant tusk if the sculptor works shrewdly within the confines of its tapering shape.¹⁰ The wide hollow where the root of the tusk is attached to the jaw can become the interior of a cup. Beyond the pulp cavity, the tooth is solid and rectangular panels can be cut parallel to the length of the tusk, though the number and size depend on the diameter and curvature of the tusk. As the tusk narrows, the scale of the sculpture becomes smaller.

Although the chemical composition of all mammalian teeth is the same, the microstructure of the dentine component is distinctive for each species. Dentine is organized into microscopic dentinal tubules that radiate outward from the center of the tusk.¹¹ In elephant ivory, the configuration of dentinal tubules into microlaminae is responsible for ivory's "grain," the light and dark bands visible along longitudinal planes,¹² as well as the distinguishing pattern of intersecting, arcing bands seen in the transverse plane, which is commonly known as the Shreger pattern. The transverse plane can also reveal a pattern of concentric rings, which records the "cone-in-cone" incremental growth structure of the tusk, and reflects the nutritional and metabolic variations that occurred during formation of the dentine.¹³

EDS, KM & JO

¹ George Petel, carver, and Andreas Wickert, goldsmith, *Tankard with Cover, with the Drunken Silenus*, Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, inv. E 66.1.

² Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussels, inv. 2428.

³ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Bodemuseum, Berlin, inv. 545.

⁴ Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. KK 4547.

⁵ Dentine comprises the bulk of all teeth, and is the component that is carved into objects. Dentine is an organic-inorganic material consisting primarily of the mineral hydroxyapatite which is deposited on an organic collagenous matrix during formation. See Raubenheimer, 1999, p. 63; Thornton, 1981, p. 174; Espinoza and Mann, 1992, p. 4; and Codron, 2008, p. 120.

⁶ Small sculptures carved from walrus tusks are known, as with Kern's *Abundantia* in Vienna, however, the vast majority of ivory sculpture, as well as decorative and utilitarian objects, were carved from elephant ivory. For the role of Mediterranean ports in the ivory trade, see *Diafane Passioni*, 2013, pp. 16–19. For a discussion of the sources and uses of ivory in Amsterdam, see Rijkelshuisen, 2009, pp. 409–429. See also Trusted, 2013, pp. xxv, 121. For the ivory trade in West Africa, see Feinberg and Johnson, 1982.

⁷ Hill, 1957, p. 29. The size of tusks is determined not only by species, but also by sex and habitat; however, the tusks of modern African elephants are significantly smaller than those avail-

able to 17th and 18th century carvers, as centuries of overhunting have led to the genetic selection of smaller-tusked animals. See Raubenheimer, 2000, pp. 62–63.

⁸ The diameter and shape of nerve canals naturally vary as seen in the three ivories catalogued here. The nerve canal may also taper over the length of the tusk, and could be an indication of the location of the ivory within the tusk.

⁹ Cementum has a multi-layered structure, and the number of layers, where intact, may record the age of the elephant. See Thornton, 1981, p. 175. The exposed outer surface of the cementum layer may be dark in color.

¹⁰ It is not clear if sculptors bought unprocessed tusks directly from the importer, or if the market included a dealer who cut the tusks into smaller blanks to meet the specific demands of artists or artisans.

¹¹ See note 5.

¹² The pattern of light and dark bands has been described as an optical effect related to the angle of the dentinal tubules relative to the pulp cavity, and the higher resulting density of the tubules as they angle towards the pulp cavity. See Raubenheimer, 1999, pp. 57–64, and Locke, 2008, pp. 423–441. The higher density of the tubules in the darker bands increases the porosity of the ivory in these areas, which may explain preferential staining or discoloration of carved ivory objects along the grain.

¹³ Fisher, et al., 2003, pp. 117–118; Codron, 2008, pp. 123–130.

DIANA WITH HER HOUNDS

Circle of Leonhard Kern (1588–1662)

Southern Germany, 17th century

Height: 22.9 cm, width: 7.5 cm

Ivory (elephant)

PROVENANCE

Anthony Blumka (Blumka Gallery), New York; 1996, Daniel Katz, London, from whom acquired 8 April 1999

A nude woman stands on a rocky terrain and gazes intensely into the distance. She loosely holds metal chains that serve as leashes for the two graceful hunting dogs that encircle her. The hound before her looks attentively around his mistress's right thigh, while the animal behind crouches slightly on his front legs, turning his head upward, seeking her attention.

The hounds identify her as Diana, the goddess of the hunt and mistress of the animals, a popular seventeenth-century subject for small sculpture, including numerous variations by Leonhard Kern, his workshop and followers.¹ The success of these designs and reknown of Kern's workshop are demonstrated by an ivory representing *Diana, a Putto and a Hunting Dog* in Stockholm, mentioned in an inventory of Queen Christina of Sweden by 1652, remarkably during the sculptor's lifetime.²

The Smith statuette closely resembles an ivory *Diana* now in Braunschweig, although that figure has somewhat fuller breasts and a more pronounced brow.³ A certain rigidity in the pose of the goddess, as well as somewhat schematic carving, suggests that both versions were executed by an artist in Kern's circle, rather than the master himself. Details compare to certain works attributed hypothetically to the artist's nephew, Johann Georg Kern (1622–1698), whose style is typified by an ivory *Medici Venus* in Stuttgart.⁴ The younger Kern carved a *Diana with Two Hounds* that was inventoried in the collection of Elias Brackenhoffer in 1656, although its present location is not known.⁵

The composition of the Smith ivory also relates to a slightly smaller *Diana with Hunting Dogs* in Vienna,⁶ which has been variously attributed to George Petel,⁷ to Kern very late in his career,⁸ and most recently to a South German carver, c. 1630–1650.⁹ Her broad hips and slim shoulders are far more feminine, and her contour more vibrant, than the Smith and Braunschweig interpretations of Diana, which are more characteristic of Kern. The Vienna ivory possesses greater movement, lowering her head to engage with the dog to her left, while using her hand to prompt his attention.

Despite these considerable differences in style from the Smith and Braunschweig ivories, the Vienna *Diana* shares highly specific details of the design, such as the angular hollow in the ground where the rear dog rests his extended right paw. It is reasonable to suggest that they all depend on a single archetype by Kern. However, Grünenwald proposed that the prototype was the Vienna figure, which she did not associate with Kern,¹⁰ and Haag contends that the model and its author remain unknown.¹¹

Kern must have had a special predilection for greyhounds, or maybe bred them himself, as no other animal recurs with such frequency in his oeuvre, and he never represented any other canine breed. In addition to interpretations of Diana, greyhounds also appear in sculptures of other subjects, including

Adam and *Adam and Eve*, both in Berlin,¹² and even in *Caritas with Two Children and a Dog* in Kassel,¹³ where the nobility of the hunting dog clashes somewhat with the atmosphere of a domestic genre scene. The greyhounds, with their lean bodies and delicate, stilt-like legs, also serve as an elegant testament to the skill of the sculptor. Particularly in the compositions with two dogs, like the Smith example, the animal's legs and tails form a pierced frieze encircling the goddess, with every detail carefully undercut and finished.

The Smith *Diana* was carved from a single block of elephant ivory, identifiable by the characteristic Shreger pattern, which is particularly visible on the underside.¹⁴ Radiography revealed the fine nerve channel through the center of the sculpture, indicating that the ivory was taken from the solid part of the tusk, perhaps near the tip.¹⁵ The channel curves slightly from the lower left leg to the top of the right shoulder, indicating that the figure was oriented sideways in the tusk. The original shape of the ivory block is reflected in the oval form of the base as well as the contour of Diana's left arm, which may conform to the natural curve of the tusk.¹⁶ The fine carving includes crisp nails and delicate eyelids on the goddess as well as her canine companions.

Some of the original detail, most notably in the hair, has been lost due to wear. The yellow color on Diana's elbow, along the sides of the hounds, and around the edge of the base is likely the result of preferential staining of a particular plane in the ivory with greater porosity. The fine black vertical lines visible are the result of hairline cracks in the aged ivory that have darkened from centuries of handling. Her right arm is attached at the shoulder with two pins, the result of prior damage; three of the front dog's legs and the tail of the rear dog have also been repaired.¹⁷

The hand-wrought chains that serve as leashes are replacements. The method of manufacture and the silver alloy, which contains a trace of gold, suggest the chains may have been added in the nineteenth century.¹⁸ The original appearance of the chains is uncertain; in the Braunschweig example, a single chain drapes across Diana's torso and secures both dogs.¹⁹ Grünenwald suggested that the Braunschweig ivory and other versions of that type might have had a decorative metal band around their right upper arm, however, no evidence of this appears on the Smith statuette.²⁰

EDS & DS

¹ In addition to the Smith ivory, at least fourteen statuettes with the subject of Diana are known ([T] = Christian Theuerkauff, "Some Works of Leonhard Kern", *Burlington Magazine*, 110, no. 780, 1968, pp. 146–149, p. 146, note 8. [G] = Grünenwald, 1969, pp. 38–50): (1) Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bodemuseum, *Diana drawing her bow*, inv. M 152a, boxwood, 29 cm, [G] cat. 12, fig. 32, as Kern; (2) Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. Elf 49, 22.5 cm, with two dogs, [T] "an affinity with the Leonhard Kern school," [G] cat. 135, as workshop of Kern; *Europäische Kleinplastik aus dem Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig*, catalogue of the exhibition, 1976, p. 16, cat. 19, fig. 24, as Kern; (3) Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (SKD), inv. II 401, 21 cm, holds drapery, with one dog and a putto, [G] cat. 148, as workshop of Kern; (4) Hamburg, art market (F.K.A. Huelsmann), 15.5 cm, with two dogs and gold chain (?), [G] cat. 150, workshop of Kern; (5) Leningrad, Hermitage, inv. J 7268, 30.5 cm, holds drapery, with one dog and putto, [T] fig. 50, as follower or the circle of Kern, [G] cat. 175, as workshop of Kern; (6) London, art market (Cyril Humphris), with two dogs, [T] as Kern school; (7) London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. A.1-1922, 24 cm, box-

wood, crescent moon on head and one dog without collar, [G] cat. 57, fig. 48, as Kern; (8) Munich, Wittelsbacher Ausgleichsfond, inv. R 3585, with one dog and two putti, [G] cat. 163, as workshop of Kern; (9) Prague, Národní Gallery, 22 cm, holds drapery, with one dog and putto, [T] as Kern, [G] cat. 50, fig. 48, as workshop of Kern; (10) Saint-Ouen, Acies Humana gallery, 18.3 cm, with one dog. [www.proantic.com, accessed 21 August 2015], as workshop of Kern; (11) Stockholm, Kungliga Husgerådskammeren, SS 153, 25.5 cm, with one dog and a putto, [G] cat. 175, as workshop of Kern; (12) Vienna, former collection of Dr. Viktor Bloch, 21.5 cm, with one dog and fragment of bow in right hand, H. Gilhofer & H. Ranschburg, Luzern, 30 November 1934, lot 107, as Kern; (13) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 4629, 15.8 cm, crescent moon on head, one dog and integral leash, [G] cat. 115, fig. 24, as workshop of Kern; (14) Württemberg, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 22 cm, pose suggesting *Venus Pudica* with two dogs, [T] "an affinity with the Leonhard Kern school," Grünenwald, 1986, p. 98, fig. 13, workshop of Kern.

² See note 1, (11) Stockholm.

³ See note 1, (2) Braunschweig.





- ⁴ Christian Theuerkauff, "Addenda und Anmerkungen zum Katalog der Ausstellung »Leonhard Kern (1588–1662)«, 22. X. 1988–15. I. 1989 in Schwäbisch Hall" in *Siebenmorgen*, 1990, pp. 38–74, p. 58, fig. 22.
- ⁵ Grünenwald, 1969, p. 34, note 64. Also discussed in *Leonhard Kern*, 1988, p. 147.
- ⁶ Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. KK 4576, 21.2 cm.
- ⁷ Theodor Müller and Alfred Schädler, eds., *Georg Petel, 1601–1634*, catalogue of the exhibition, Munich (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum), 1964, p. 46, cat. 90.
- ⁸ Theuerkauff in *Siebenmorgen*, 1990, p. 58, fig. 23.
- ⁹ See Sabine Haag, *Meisterwerke der Elfenbeinkunst, Kurzführer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum*, vol. 8, Vienna, 2007, pp. 84–85, cat. 24.
- ¹⁰ Grünenwald, 1969, p. 48, discussed in cat. 35.
- ¹¹ Haag suggests that the attribution of the model cannot be clearly declared as Kern, based on the Vienna ivory's ambiguous affinities to the work of Georg Petel. Haag 2007, p. 84.
- ¹² Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Bodemuseum, inv. J 714, J 713. Grünenwald, 1969, p. 38, cats. 9 & 10, figs. 26, 27.
- ¹³ Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. B VI.288. Grünenwald, 1969, p. 41, cat. 49, fig. 68.
- ¹⁴ See "On Ivory and Carving" on pp. 61–62.
- ¹⁵ The nerve channel is exposed on the inside of Diana's lower left leg, and is barely detectable in cross-section on the finished back of Diana's right shoulder. For features of the tusk, see "On Ivory Carving" on pp. 61–62. Radiography by James Gleason, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow. Thanks to Katherine May for her insightful interpretation.
- ¹⁶ The oval shape of the tusk is further suggested by the concentric cracks on the underside, which occur along the growth layers, and the corresponding oval shape of the nerve canal, which in the radiographs is narrower in the profile view than in the frontal view.
- ¹⁷ The holes of the pins have a sharply pointed profile suggestive of a modern drill bit. The two front legs of the front dog have areas of restoration as well as its left rear leg, where a thin metal pin is visible in the radiograph.
- ¹⁸ The chain is formed from individual links of two small rings soldered at a ninety-degree angle. This type is commonly found in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Robert van Langh, Head of the Department of Conservation and Restoration, Rijksmuseum, personal communication, 26 June 2015). Alloy: Ag: 88%, Cu: 8%, Pb: 1%, Au: trace. Analysis by Dylan Smith using a Bruker Tracer III-SD, for method see table on p. 76. Quantification with a custom empirical calibration for silver alloys created by Jennifer Mass, Senior Conservation Scientist, Winterthur Museum, on a comparable instrument. For electrolytic refining, see Jennifer Mass and Catherine Matsen, "Qualitative non-destructive analysis of historic silver alloys" in Aaron Shugar and Jennifer Mass, eds., *Practical Handheld X-Ray Fluorescence for Art Conservation and Archaeology*, Studies in Archaeological Sciences, Leuven University Press, Leuven, Belgium, 2012, pp. 217–247, p. 239.
- ¹⁹ See *Europäische Kleinplastik* 1976, p. 16. It is unclear if the chain is original. The line of the chain is suggestive of the drapery held by a variant *Diana*, see note 1, (9) Prague.
- ²⁰ Discussed in relation to the Braunschweig example in Grünenwald, 1969, p. 48, cat. 135.

BACCHANALIAN FRIEZE

Gérard van Opstal, c. 1594 – 1668

Paris, mid-17th century
 Height: 11.5 cm; Width: 30 cm
 Ivory (elephant)

PROVENANCE

W. B. Blok, Noordwijk, Holland; 2002, Daniel Katz, London from whom purchased 2003

Three narrative groups are crowded into the pictorial surface of this dynamic ivory relief. In the center a corpulent adult satyr with goat legs reclines while a putto feeds him grapes; to the right, two putti feed grapes to a goat and to the left, two putti appear to be in the midst of a discussion with a third tiny putto who rests at their feet.

Ivory reliefs with putto bacchanals are the subject for which Gérard van Opstal is best known. Works of this kind were admired by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), the great Italian master of Baroque sculpture, when he visited van Opstal's workshop in Paris on 14 October 1667. As Paul Fréart de Chantelou noted in his diary of the master's journey in France, Bernini beheld "*divers ouvrages d'ivoire de femmes et d'enfants, qu'il a témoigné trouver beaux, disant qu'il ne savait personne dans Paris capable de faire telles choses.*"¹

Originally from Southern Netherlands, van Opstal was one of the co-founders of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648, indicating he was well established in Paris by that time.² In 1651, he was appointed as '*sculpteur des bâtiments du roi*,' filling a gap within the arts at the court of the young Louis XIV (1638–1715), left open when François Duquesnoy (1597–1643) died while traveling to Paris. Van Opstal held his royal position for seventeen years until his death, after which the crown purchased several of his remaining sculptures, many still preserved at the Louvre, the largest repository of his work. In addition to his contribution to small-scale sculpture, mostly in ivory, van Opstal is also remembered for two important lectures, which he delivered at the Académie on the *Laocoon* (2 July 1667) and the *Richelieu Venus* (4 February 1668).³

One of the ivory carvings at the Louvre, *Drunken Silenus and Three Children*, appears to have served as a direct model for the present work.⁴ In the Smith relief, the addition of extra putti create a more crowded pictorial frame with lively variations in the actions of the three narrative groups.⁵ While the finer details and more dramatic action of the Louvre ivory identify it as the primary example, the Smith relief can be considered an autograph variant. The central reclining satyr of the Smith and Louvre reliefs is paraphrased from an ivory relief by Duquesnoy of *The Sleeping Silenus and the Stubborn Donkey*.⁶ Van Opstal's predilection for scenes of putti was inspired by the sculpture of Duquesnoy, who was widely admired for refined depictions of energetic infants engaging in various activities. The paratactical composition, juxtaposing three narrative focal points, and the use of shallow relief inspired by ancient sarcophagi, are common in both artists. Van Opstal sets himself apart by limiting his carvings to the figurative elements and rigorously eliminating the neutral background using multiple perforations



(‘àjouré’). This practice implies a backdrop made of a contrasting material, often ebonized fruitwood or black velvet fabric. The frizzy hair of both the putti and the goat in the Smith relief is also a hallmark of van Opstal’s style.⁷

On the underside of the relief, toward the proper left end, is a small spot of much darker cementum, the outermost layer of the elephant’s tusk.⁸ Although somewhat unusual, cementum does appear on other finished works, as on the back of the holy mother in *The Virgin, Nicodemus, and Christ* by Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert (c. 1535–1615).⁹ Balthasar Permoser (1651–1732) ingeniously inscribed his signature on the back of his figures of *Spring* and *Summer*, cutting through the tusk’s dark bark revealing the white ivory.¹⁰ Based on the thickness of the present relief (2.4 cm), as many as four separate plaques may have been derived from that portion of the tusk from which this relief originated. The cementum on the proper left end and the flattened area atop the head of the putto who touches Silenus’s shoulder indicate that the maximum width of the tusk section was used (roughly 11.1 cm) and that very little material was wasted. The dark line of the central nerve canal, visible across the reverse, appears to taper toward the end of the relief with a goat, suggesting that this end of the plaque was oriented toward the tip of the tusk. Several small cracks, following the grain of the ivory, have been repaired in the thinner upper part of the relief.¹¹ A minute trace of gold leaf (1.5 mm), is visible in a recess near the base of the goat’s left horn, but is not seen elsewhere on the relief.

EDS & JO



¹ Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal de voyage du cavalier Bernin en France*, Milovan Stani, ed., Paris, 2001, pp. 259–260; see Malgouyres, 2007, p. 46.

² Malgouyres, 2007, pp. 47–50.

³ See Jacqueline Lichtenstein and Christian Michel, eds., *Conférences de l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture: Les conférences au temps d'Henry Testelin, 1648–1681*, 2 vols., vol. 1.1, Paris, 2006, pp. 127–135 and 205–228.

⁴ Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MR 360.

⁵ First published by Katherine Zock in *Daniel Katz Ltd. European Sculpture 2003*, London, 2003, no. 10, pp. 31–31 and cover illustration.

⁶ See Malgouyres, 2007, pp. 47–50.

⁷ See Marion Boudon-Machuel, *François du Quesnoy, 1597–1643*, Paris, 2005, cat. In.65a,b, pp. 280–284, figs. 23–24, 26–30.

⁸ For discussion of cementum and the structure of the tusk, see “On Ivory Carving,” pp. 61–62.

⁹ *La Vergine, Nicodemo e Cristo*, c. 1595, Museo Nazionale del

Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, inv. PV 13185. See Emile van Binnebeke in *Diaphane Passioni*, 2013, pp. 100–102, cat. 12. This detail is only visible when the figure of the *Virgin*, which is carved of a separate piece of ivory, is detached from the section that contains Nicodemus and Christ.

¹⁰ Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, inv. Elf 78 and Elf 79. For Permoser's group of the *Four Seasons*, see Jens Burk in *Diaphane Passioni*, 2013, pp. 326–329, cats. 125–128. For photographs of *Spring's* and *Summer's* backs with the signature carved into the darker bark, see Sigfried Asche, *Balthasar Permoser: Leben und Werk*, Berlin, 1978, figs. 91–92.

¹¹ A visibly separated crack through the goat's neck and adjacent putti has been secured with adhesive. X-radiography revealed the presence of three repair pins: one through the proper left goat horn and two through the horizontal crack at the second putto's neck and right arm. A blind grain crack runs through the neck of the fourth putto.

OMPHALE

Artus Quellinus the Elder, 1609–1668

Probably Amsterdam, third quarter of the 17th century

Height: 12 cm

Ivory (elephant)

PROVENANCE

Germaine Van Calster; Dr. Ferdinand Zenner, and thence by descent;

Purchased from Sotheby's, London, 8 July 1998, lot 265

A nude young woman sits on a pile of drapery, leaning on a club and crossing her left leg under her right. Wearing a lion skin on her head, she smiles up over her right shoulder.

The mythological narrative of Hercules domesticated by the Lydian princess Omphale (or by Iole according to other accounts) was amongst the most popular subjects depicted in Baroque Europe, often in connection with wedding celebrations or nuptial allegories. In a swap of gender roles rather than simply cross-dressing, Hercules is seen yarn-spinning, whereas Omphale holds onto his club and lion's skin. Rubens' painting, *Hercules and Omphale*,¹ which depicts Omphale standing and twisting the hero's ear, was especially influential on subsequent renderings of the subject.²

The present ivory would almost certainly have had a pendant representing Hercules, as indicated by the movement of *Omphale's* head, and also by the fact that a later variant of it, which was sold in 2004, pairs her figure (11.5 cm high) with the kneeling and yarn-spinning *Hercules* (13.3 cm high).³ The Smith *Omphale* closely relates to a boxwood version in the British Museum, from Ferdinand Rothschild's Waddesdon Bequest,⁴ albeit with some subtle differences. In the wood version *Omphale's* left foot rests before her right foot, instead of being tucked behind it, as in the ivory. Also, both from the rear and side views, the drapery below the princess's buttocks is much simplified in the boxwood. The column, upon which the figure rests her left elbow extends slightly beyond the sculpture's plinth in London, but not in Washington. The latter detail may well have been determined by the limited volume of the ivory at hand. Indeed, by far the greatest difference between both sculptures lies in the fact that in the ivory, *Omphale's* legs are considerably compressed in order to fit within the confines of the tusk, with the figure's proper right thigh being particularly foreshortened. From a frontal viewpoint, the figure's limbs are treated as though they were part of a high relief rather than a figure carved fully in the round, suggesting that the artist had significant experience as a sculptor of reliefs when he carved the present figure.

The *Omphale* ivory that sold in 2004 strongly departs from the Rothschild and the Smith versions. *Omphale's* light, conversational pose, with her left leg vaulted over her right knee, and her relaxed hands elegantly resting upon an ultra-slim club, which is reminiscent of a walking stick, seems to reverberate the rococo spirit. Yet another sculpture of *Omphale Seated*, which we know from two engravings by Mattijs Pool after Francis van Bossuit, has also been compared to the present composition, but that can be considered a loosely inspired variant at best.⁵ These later representations of *Omphale* testify to the ongoing popularity of the present invention.



An ivory of *Omphale with Cupid and Weapons of Hercules*⁶ in Berlin corresponds so closely with the present work in terms of style, technique and composition, that it must have been made by the same hand. The drapery shows the same morphology in each case. Even the right thigh's foreshortening (although not quite so extreme as in its counterpart in Washington), with a long incised line separating the upper and the lower leg, is present in the Berlin group as well. Most tellingly, the slightly opened mouths with tightly contracted muscles in their corners, the sharply articulated upper eyelids, and further details of the face, hands and feet coincide.

The Smith Collection, British Museum, and Bodemuseum figures of *Omphale* have all been attributed to Artus Quellinus (Aert Quellien) the Elder.⁷ The Antwerp sculptor was most proficient in high relief, as evidenced by his numerous sculptures of that kind in and on Amsterdam's Town Hall (now Royal Palace, 1650–1654), including the two large pediments, and their preparatory clay models at the Rijksmuseum. Among Quellinus' many high-relief and free-standing sculptures decorating the interior of the Royal Palace, the marbles of *Mercury* and *Venus* draw particular parallels with the Smith ivory: *Omphale's* clear and sharp drapery echoes that of Quellinus' *Mercury*, whereas her slightly open mouth, which characterizes her as speaking, compares well with the similar feature in the *Venus*.⁸ Quellinus, who had studied with François Duquesnoy in Rome in the 1630s, not only brought works by or after Duquesnoy home to the North, but also carved figures of sleeping putti in ivory after his master's invention.⁹ Given the key role Quellinus played in establishing baroque sculpture in the Northern Netherlands, and his sway all over Northern Germany, as his tomb figures of the Duke and Duchess of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf in Schleswig Cathedral show, it is unsurprising that the Bodemuseum *Omphale with Cupid* found its way into the collections of the Electors of Brandenburg in Berlin as early as 1695.¹⁰

The sculpture is carved from the solid end of an elephant tusk, as evidenced by the Shreger pattern visible on the upper horizontal surfaces, but most prominently on the right arm and thigh. Radiography confirms that the sculptural composition follows the natural curve and taper of the tusk, revealing the ivory grain and the narrow nerve canal paralleling the figure's leaning position.¹¹ The end of the nerve canal, marking the axis of the tusk, can be seen on the top of the figure's head, bisected by a short radial crack. The prominence of the Shreger pattern in circumferential areas of the sculpture, as contrasted to the top of *Omphale's* head where the pattern is barely discernible, suggests that the figure encompasses nearly the full width of the tusk.¹²

Flesh areas are highly polished, even in those areas that are protected from handling, while the club and lion skin are subtly textured. The rough surface and wood grain of the club are expressed with extremely fine parallel-incised lines. As the lion skin twists and folds around *Omphale's* right arm, the dense, curly fur of the lion's mane contrasts with the underside of the skin, its smooth surface interrupted with small uniformly spaced depressions.

There is a long discontinuous radial crack along the left side of *Omphale's* abdomen and neck, where the nerve canal passes near the surface of the sculpture. Orange-brown discoloration over the left breast is likely to be original to the tusk, as is often observed in the ivory adjacent to the pulp cavity or nerve canal. Two very fine longitudinal cracks are present on the top of the right shoulder. Dirt has penetrated into all cracks, as well as the carved recesses, accentuating the relief and texture of the surface.

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¹ Peter Paul Rubens, *Hercules and Omphale*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 854.

² See Schmidt, 2012, pp. 213–215.

³ Sotheby's, London, 9 July 2004, lot 40 ("attributed to the circle of Artus Quellinus the Elder").

⁴ *Omphale*, British Museum, inv. 263. The relationship is discussed with bibliography by Léon Lock, "Art and Manufacture of Netherlandish Wood Sculpture c. 1600–1750," *Sculpture Journal*, 12, 2004, pp. 33–34.

⁵ See Mattys Pool, *Cabinet de l'art de sculpture*, Amsterdam, 1727, plates LLXXIV and LXXV; Christian Theuerkauff, *Die Bildwerke in Elfenbein des 16.–19. Jahrhunderts (Die Bildwerke der Skulpturengalerie Berlin, vol. 2)*, Berlin, 1986, p. 253.

⁶ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Bodemuseum, Berlin, inv. 727.

⁷ For the figure in the British Museum, see Antje Kosegarten, "Eine Kleinplastik aus Bernstein von François du Quesnoy," *Pantheon*, 21, 1963, pp. 101–108, fig. 9sq.; for the one in Berlin, Jörg Rasmussen, *Barockplastik in Norddeutschland*, catalogue of the exhibition, Hamburg (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe), Mainz, 1977, no. 85, pp. 342–344. The attribution of the ivory in Berlin to Quellinus was rejected by Theuerkauff

1986 (note 5), no. 68, pp. 250–255, who however concedes it to be from the artist's immediate circle, and hypothesizes Rombout Verhulst as a possible author. The ivory now in the Smith collection was catalogued as "attributed to" Quellinus, and references to the comparanda in London and Berlin were made in the sales catalogue, *European Sculpture and Works of Art*, Sotheby's, London, 8 July 1998, lot 265, pp. 120ff. Lock 2004 (note 4) found the attribution "plausible, though without tangible proof," p. 33.

⁸ See Christian Theuerkauff, "Enkele kanttekeningen bij Artus Quellinus en de 'antique Academien,'" *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 50, 2002, pp. 308–319, figs. 1, 3; Scholten, 2010, figs. 24–25.

⁹ See Bieke van der Mark, "Een slapend kindje van Quellinus," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 51, 2003, pp. 146–155; Scholten, 2010, fig. 4, p. 8.

¹⁰ See Rasmussen 1977 (note 7), p. 342.

¹¹ Film radiography by Dylan Smith; assistance with digital radiography provided by James Gleason, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow.

¹² For a discussion of ivory and the structure of elephant tusks, see "On Ivory and Carving" on pp. 61–62.

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Summary of Alloy Analysis by X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometry

Cat.	Object		Copper	Zinc	Tin	Lead	Antim.	Iron	Nickel	Arsen.	Silver
66	Workshop of van der Schardt, <i>African Bather</i> ^a		88.1	2.9	5.4	2.6	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.1
67	Hubert Gerhard, <i>Neptune</i> ^a		85.0	10.6	1.1	2.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1
68	Circle of Hubert Gerhard, <i>Doorknocker</i> ^a	knocker	84.5	12.5	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.1
		mask	84.6	12.1	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.1
69	Nicoló Roccatagliata, <i>Cleopatra</i> ^a		88.2	0.4	5.8	6.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	pr
70	Gianfrancesco Susini, <i>Bagpiper</i> ^{a,b}		81.0	1.3	6.6	10.6	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.1
71	Gianfrancesco Susini, <i>Kneeling Bather</i> ^a		80.9	1.1	6.9	9.7	1.1	0.2	0.3	0.7	pr
72	Francesco Fanelli, <i>Turk Attacked by a Lion</i> ^{a,b}	horse	77.8	17.3	1.4	1.4	0.3	1.2	0.1	0.4	0.1
		rider	78.6	16.3	1.5	1.7	0.1	1.1	0.1	0.4	0.2
		dog	78.3	17.4	1.1	1.2	0.1	1.4	0.1	0.3	0.1
		base	76.7	20.1	0.7	1.7	bdl	0.5	pr	0.2	0.1

Reported in elemental weight%. All catalogue objects were analyzed with a Bruker Tracer III-V portable XRF spectrometer (a);¹ additional analyses were performed with an ARTAX Pro XRF spectrometer (b).² Certain comparative objects were analyzed with a Bruker Tracer III-SD portable XRF spectrometer³ or a Kevex 750A XRF spectrometer.⁴ For concentrations greater than 0.5%, uncertainty is approximately $\pm 10\%$. For concentrations between 0.1% and 0.5%, uncertainty is approximately $\pm 33\%$. Concentrations below 0.1% are evaluated by visual inspection of the spectra to confirm the characteristic peaks as present (pr) or below detection level (bdl).

The alloys of the catalogued objects were tested using x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF), a non-invasive technique that assesses the metallic composition of the surface to a depth under 100 microns, characterizing the bulk alloy to the extent that the surface is representative.⁵ This technique is well suited to the study of Renaissance small bronzes. The alloys of these works, which are small in size and well cast, are typically homogenous, although greater variation may be expected in objects with a higher lead content. Bronzes of this period, with few exceptions, have applied coatings rather than chemical patinations, which can profoundly alter the content of the surface. These sculptures have typically remained in indoor environments and are unaffected by weathering, which can also dramatically change the content of the surface. When possible, tests were performed on smooth, uncoated surfaces, parallel to the detector. Each reported result typically represents an average of three spots. Cats. 66 – 71 analyzed by Dylan Smith; cat. 72 analyzed by Simona Cristanetti and Dylan Smith; additional analyses on cat. 70 by Lisha Glinsman, Conservation Scientist, and on cat. 72 by Kathryn Morales, Conservation Scientist.

DS

¹ Analyses were performed using a rhodium tube run at 40 kV, 1.8 μ A, with a sandwiched filter of 25.4 μ m titanium and 304.8 μ m aluminum, a spot size of approximately 4.5 mm², and accumulation time of 60 seconds for each spectrum. Quantification was performed using Bruker PXRF software with a custom empirical calibration for historic copper alloys.

² Analyses were performed using a tungsten tube run at 50 kV, 200 μ A, with 1.5 mm collimators for an accumulation time of 200 seconds for each spectrum. Quantification was performed using a non-fundamental parameters program provided with the ArtTax software.

³ Analyses were performed as described in note 1, but run at 14.1 μ A.

⁴ Analyses were performed using a tungsten tube and a barium

chloride secondary target run at 50 kV, 1 mA, with 6 mm collimators for an accumulation time of 200 seconds for each spectrum. Quantification was performed using the EXACT program provided with the Kevex software.

⁵ For further discussion see Dylan Smith, "Handheld portable X-ray fluorescence analysis of Renaissance bronzes: Practical approaches to quantification and acquisition" in Aaron Shugar and Jennifer Mass, eds., *Practical Handheld X-Ray Fluorescence for Art Conservation and Archaeology* (Studies in Archaeological Sciences, no. 3), Leuven, 2012, pp. 37–74; and Lisha Glinsman, *The Application of X-ray Fluorescence Spectrometry to the Study of Museum Objects*, Ph.D. dissertation thesis, 2004 (University of Amsterdam).





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