



## *Fiamminghi in the workshop of Guglielmo della Porta*

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Fig. Front Page. Guglielmo della Porta, *Design for the smithy of Vulcan* (detail from a page with fire place designs, fol. 18r), c. 1555, brown ink on paper, 22 x 16 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf.

## Introduction

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, artists from the Low Countries began to travel all across Europe with as their preferred destination Rome. Desirous to see the world's celebrated capital, with its classical monuments and contemporary art, the *fiamminghi* roamed the city. It is here that we find remarkable collaborations between the sculptors of Northern Europe and those from the Northern regions of Italy, who were the leading artists of Rome in the second and third quarter of the *cinquecento*.<sup>1</sup> Artists from Jacob Jonghelinck, Nicolas Pippi, to Adriaen De Vries joined the workshops of the Leoni or collaborated on monumental projects with Il Vasoldo. Quantitatively, the most exceptional case was the studio of Guglielmo della Porta (c. 1500-1577). Willem van Tetrode (c. 1525-1580) is the first traceable Netherlandish sculptor to arrive in Della Porta's workshop and assisted for several years thereafter. Soon the lesser-known artists such as Nicolas Mostaert (c.1530-?) and Jacob Cobaert (c. 1535-1614) started to follow their apprenticeships under Della Porta, and there is mention of other foreign artists in and around this workshop. Arguably the most eminent Della Porta scholar, Werner Gramberg, wrote that it was beyond any doubt that the Northern immigrants had a close working relationship with the leading sculptor of Rome.<sup>2</sup> Some have even called the Della Porta workshop a gathering place for Flemish artists.<sup>3</sup> However, the details of what this relationship between the master and his assistants entailed has not yet been studied.<sup>4</sup>

This thesis will present an overview of *fiamminghi* sculptors in the workshop of Guglielmo della Porta in answer to the question of what was role that the Netherlandish sculptors played within his studio. The purpose is to gain more knowledge of the Della Porta workshop and, on a broader level, the relationship between Northern European artists and their Italian counterparts. In migration-theory these artists are what is called a "weak link": a person that connects two strong networks, or a sudden new contact that leads to renewal in a respective field.<sup>5</sup> This case study focuses on the weak links between the strong traditions of the cities in the Low Countries and the most popular workshop in Rome headed by a man whom himself was seen as a migrant. It is not within the scope of this work to include the overarching context of those two stronger networks. Instead, the chapters build with a number of case studies, a few interesting art works, and historical documents, where these weak links

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<sup>1</sup> Margherita Fratarcangeli, 'Egemonia dell'industria edile lombarda a Roma: dalla bottega al cantiere', *Artyści znad jezior lombardzkich w nowożytnej Europie*, Warsaw 2015, pp. 35-45.

<sup>2</sup> Werner Gramberg, 'Guglielmo Della Porta, Coppe Fiammingo und Antonio Gentile da Faenza', *Jahrbuch Des Hamburger Kunstsammlungen V* (1960), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna. Narrator of the Catholic Reformation*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford 1995, p. 18 n. 35.

<sup>4</sup> This is something recently recommended by Rosario Coppel. Rosario Coppel, 'Guglielmo Della Porta in Rome', in: Rosario Coppel and Charles Avery (eds.), *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans. Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Joep Leerssen, Mapping Romantic Nationalism in Europe, *KNIR Debate* (lecture), 17th May 2017.

can be observed most. The eminent role that the Della Porta workshop played in Rome and the fact that no other studio featured such a high number of Northern sculptors makes this topic significant to explore. Furthermore, outside of Germany, Guglielmo della Porta has never been a popular research topic. Aside from a few Italian and English articles, little research has been done into this workshop.

This study will begin by looking at travelling Netherlandish artists in the sixteenth century. The discussion shall include theory behind the phenomenon itself, the motives that the painters and sculptors had for leaving their home countries, and their activities in the Eternal City. The first chapter is rather general in order to give a clear image of the adventurous artists. Specific examples that will look back in this chapter will be given later throughout the thesis.

After this general introduction on the *wanderjahre* (journeymen years) of Northern artists, the text turns towards the Della Porta *bottega* and its eponym. It is important to realize which pieces Della Porta worked on and at which moment in time in order to grasp why the *fiamminghi* artists went to his workshop and what they could have done during their time as employees. It could also provide clues to which people they would have been in contact with. Despite recent, more focused, publications, this thesis intends to be the most complete anthology on Della Porta to date because of its variety of source material. The next chapter presents the workshop itself and its many facets. It will discuss the special aspects of the studio interwoven with the education of sculptors. Some attention will also be given to what Netherlandish artists learned in particular in their new environment and why they chose the Della Porta workshop. While all relatable *fiamminghi* will be mentioned in the chapter on the 'Gran Scuola' of Della Porta, there are only two, Tetrode and Cobaert, of whom more documentary evidence exists, despite the fact that Tetrode spent less than a decade in the workshop. This permits a more detailed description of their life and work, thus both sculptors have their own chapter. Whereas the discussion of Tetrode's *bronzetti* shows the technical impact that Della Porta had, Cobaert's work functions more as an example for the aesthetic influence of the Roman master.

Unfortunately time does not permit an extra chapter on the background of the Northern artists. Seeing what they could have brought to the workshop or perhaps even the art of Della Porta would have provided a more detailed picture of their probable familiarity with *all'antica* statuary from artists such as Jehan Mone, Conrad Meit, Dubroecq and Cornelis Floris. This extra part might have provided a more nuanced conclusion (Fig. 1.1). As the first chapter will discuss, the fact that the Northern territories knew great traditions means one should not underestimate the abilities of these sculptors before they came to Rome. With this in mind we can hypothesize a little about how their previous education could be responsible for the possible technical difference between the bronzes of Della Porta. The success of these Northern artists in Italy can definitely be attributed in part to the fertile Northern soil, but brevity does not permit going deeper into what bound them to the old milieu, or what is strictly individual.

The study of *fiamminghi* in Rome is only a more recent phenomenon, for which a number of factors are responsible. A great problem with researching this period in Dutch and Roman art

history is the qualification of the artists. Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719) excluded many seafaring artists from the *Groote schouburgh* because he didn't consider their art to be Netherlandish, while artists in the host countries had difficulty in forming an integral bond with the new society.<sup>6</sup> In the past centuries The Netherlands has known a preference for the art of painting. The most extensive contemporary source on Netherlandish art, Van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, focuses, as the title suggests, completely on *schilderkunst*. Furthermore, a real distaste for Mannerism began to develop in later centuries. The style was found to be an excessively artificial repetition of classicist formulas and art historians, such as Théophile Thoré, saw these Romanist painters and sculptors as non-Dutch and therefore excluded them from the canon.<sup>7</sup> In the late nineteenth century, Antonino Bertolotti wrote in his publication on Netherlandish artists in Rome that while the Dutch achieved perfection in oil painting and brought forth many a painter, they did the opposite in the field of sculpture, because of the lack of natural minerals.<sup>8</sup>

In the early twentieth century, scholars had the idea that these *fiamminghi* sculptors were still very much embedded in medieval tradition. 'Er war als Gotiker nach Florenz gekommen' is how Erica Tietze-Cornat described Giambologna's (1529-1608) entrance in Florence.<sup>9</sup> Even the renowned scholar Elizabeth Dhanens wrote of how Giambologna must have been very impressed by the completely new and imposing monuments that already were old sources for the Italians.<sup>10</sup> However, by the time these sculptors were born, the first artists had already returned from their Italian voyage and brought back the classical style in many forms, thus almost all gothic tendencies had disappeared. Despite the sculptors' contemporary popularity, they were soon forgotten. It was not until after the Second World War that they started to receive attention again thanks to reappraisal in art history of international styles such as mannerism. People began to realize their importance for the 'artistic cross-fertilisation between the Netherlands and Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century'.<sup>11</sup>

Another difficulty in researching these artists is formed by the references to them in their own period. Their names were often Italianized, making them almost invisible for

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<sup>6</sup> Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*. vol. 3, The Hague 1721, p. 417; Bart Cornelis, 'Arnold Houbraken's *Groote schouburgh* and the canon of seventeenth-century Dutch painting', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 26 (1998) No. 3, pp. 145-161.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Hecht, 'Rembrandt and Raphael Back to Back. The Contribution of Thoré', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 26 (1998) No. 3, pp. 162-178.

<sup>8</sup> 'Se l'esser stati i neerlandesi inventori o perfezionatori del dipingere a olio puo aver prodotto moltissimi pittori, la poverta del regno minerale ne'loro bassi paesi influi in senso contrario sulla scultura'. Antonino Bertolotti, *Artisti belgi ed olandesi a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII*, Bologna 1974, p. 187.

<sup>9</sup> Erica Tietze-Cornat, 'Beitrage zur Geschichte der Italienischen Spätrenaissance- und Barockskulptur', *Jahrbuch Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes Des Deutschoesterreichischen Staatsdenkmalamtes XII* (1918), pp. 44-75.

<sup>10</sup> Elisabeth Dhanens, 'De Romeinse Ervaring van Giovanni Bologna', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 35 (1963), p. 161.

<sup>11</sup> Frits Scholten, ed., *Willem van Tetrode, Sculptor (c.1525-1580) Guglielmo Fiammingo Scultore*, Zwolle 2003, p. 10.

scholars. For example, Nicolas Mostaert from Brussels, who worked mid-century in Rome as an ivory carver in the workshop of Guglielmo della Porta, has often been assumed to be the same artist who came to Rome in the 1570s called Nicolas Pippi, of whom the family name is not known. Despite the fact that archival research in the last century demonstrated that they were not the same men, even recent publications often present the two as one and the same artist.<sup>12</sup>

Additionally, the wider field of study itself is still somewhat incoherent because of several prejudices. Up until a few years ago, the idea that all sculptors in Rome followed Michelangelo (1475-1564) and were precursors to Bernini (1598-1680) overshadowed other concepts. However, various recent conferences and studies such as ‘Scultura a Roma nella seconda metà del cinquecento: protagonisti e problemi’ present a diverse milieu that was much more in dialogue with itself than with the past or future. Furthermore, the research perspective has always been with Rome as centre of the world. The city is presented as a place for innovation, while the art in the Northern hometowns of these artists was embedded in long traditions. While there is a core of truth in this, one could also argue that Rome has one of the longest sculptural traditions and that it was the influx of all these celebrated artists that made so much innovation possible. One should also remain careful in privileging Rome when it comes to their classical monuments; despite the wealth of remains and therefore collections, there were many other cities with already well-established classical traditions and similar developments in the sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Sylvia Pressouyre’s study on the French sculptor Nicolas Cordier (1567-1612) gives a good outline of the Roman art market and various workshops within the city before 1600. Other important more general contributions come from the hands of John Pope-Hennessy, Charles Avery, Anthony Radcliffe, Andrew Butterfield, Nicolas Penny and Michael Cole.

The world of trade in antiques, in which many of the *fiamminghi* sculptors such as Nicolas Pippi, Pierre de la Motte, Gillis van der Vliete, and those from the Della Porta dynasty were involved, might be a very interesting perspective. However, it shall be left to someone else to discover since it is not completely in line with the purpose of this thesis. More theoretical ideas of sculpture, such as the paragone, will not have a place in this text either, even though it certainly concerned Della Porta. He even planned a treatise à la Vasari, but with more

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<sup>12</sup> J. Götzmann, ‘Das Grabmal des Erbherzogs Karl Friedrich von Jülich-Kleve-Berg in S. Maria Dell’Anima in Rom’, in: J. Myssok and J. Wiener, *Docta Manus. Studien zur italienischen Skulptur für Joachim Poeschke*, Munich 2007, pp. 329-330. This, for example, leads to an amusing comparison between the ivory works of Nicolas Mostaert and marble statues of Stefano Maderno, a pupil of Nicolas Pippi in: H. Economopoulos, *Stefano Maderno scultore 1571 ca.- 1636. I Maestri, la formazione, le opere giovanili*. Rome 2013, pp. 79-94, 131-138. The confusion was mainly overcome by the work of Godefridus Hoogewerff, who published many transcripts of Roman archival material in the series *Bescheiden in Italië*. G. Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië*. volume 2, The Hague 1913.

<sup>13</sup> William Stenhouse, ‘From Spolia to Collections in the Roman Renaissance’, in: Stefan Altekamp, Carmen Marcks-Jacobs, and Peter Seiler (eds.), *Perspektiven Der Spolienforschung*, vol. 2. Zentren und Konjunkturen der Spolierung, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 40, Berlin 2017, p. 397.

emphasis on the artworks, rather than their makers.<sup>14</sup> From an extraordinary letter from 1569 to Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592), it becomes clear just how much of an intellectual Della Porta actually was. He discusses the *paragone* as well as other art related theory, cites Michelangelo, lists the great artists according to himself, talks about the Florentine academy, and compares it to Rome, whose *scuola* he calls the ‘vero maestro’ of art.<sup>15</sup>

The most important sources for this thesis are undoubtedly the works these sculptors left behind. Comparison between works of Della Porta and his Northern colleagues, both stylistically and technically form one of the most important parts of this text. It provides an educated guess to what the sculptors worked on during their time in Rome and also to deduce what kind of influence the Lombard sculptor had on the *fiamminghi*.

Other direct evidence comes from the writings of Guglielmo della Porta, published by Werner Gramberg, together with a facsimile of Della Porta’s graphic work in 1964. This publication of two volumes of sketchbooks known as the *Düsseldorfer Skizzenbüchen* contained in *l’arte del disegno, e le vivezze dell’ingegno di gvglielmo della porta celebre scultore, et architetto per servizio della casa farnese* is impeccable and has already been a great help to many other publications. For instance, Della Porta refers to Cobsaert several times in a letter to Ammannati and perhaps references to other Northern sculptors can be found as well. Masetti Zannini printed the inventories that were made of the Della Porta workshop in the sixteenth century in his *Notizie biogr. di Guglielmo Della Porta in documenti notarili romani* which also proved to be a useful source in the matter of other workshop-related data. Letters by the secretary of Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), Annibale Caro (1507-1566), proved to be an important source on Della Porta as well. In the *Delle lettere del commendatore Annibale Caro*, published between 1763 and 1765, are several messages between the humanist and the artist.

Theoretical writings on workshop practices and education of artists will be used to sketch a picture of a sixteenth-century studio in Rome and its employees. *Cinquecento* theoretical information concerning the education of sculptors can be found in *De Sculptura* by Pomponius Gauricus (1504) or in the various texts and scribbles of artists as Cellini, Da Hollanda and Della Porta himself. Other contemporary biographical or contractual data shall be consulted for a more specific idea about the lives that the *fiamminghi* led in Rome, how they came there, and with whom they were in contact. Here one could consider Baglione’s *Vite* (1642), in which most of the Northern sculptors are included, or the writings of Giorgio

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<sup>14</sup> Stefano Pierguidi, ‘Il trattatello di Guglielmo della Porta. l’antagonismo con Vasari e i plagi da Tolomei e Ligorio’, *Arte Lombarda* (2014), nrs. 1-2, pp. 140-142. ‘Io metto diverse opere, varij edifitij et moltissime inventioni, et tacendo di quale natura si fussero i Mastri et altre cose simili di poca sostanza, vengo succintamente al nome, a la patria, et quello che più importa, all’opere loro.’ Werner Gramberg and Giuseppe Ghezzi, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, Berlin 1964, p. 125.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122; Claude Douglas Dickerson, ‘The “Gran Scuola” of Guglielmo Della Porta, the Rise of the “Aurifex Inventor”, and the Education of Stefano Maderno’, *Storia dell’Arte* no. 121 (2008), p. 39.

Vasari (1568), Raffaello Borghini (1584), Filippo Baldinucci (1681), and Giovanni Battista Giovio (1784). All give brief descriptions and biographical information on Della Porta.

Most documents relating to the *fiamminghi* are now only available through transcriptions made in the nineteenth and twentieth century by eminent Italian and Dutch scholars such as Antonino Bertolotti in his *Giunte agli artisti Belgi ed Olandesi in Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII* and Godefridus Hoogewerff for the series *Bescheiden in Italië*. Most relevant documents referring to Dutch and Flemish artists in the city from important institutions such as those in the Vatican, the Accademia Romana, and the churches of San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi and Santa Maria dell'Anima are transcribed in these volumes.

To answer more specific questions about the work of the artists several monographs were consulted on the different oeuvres. The corpus of modern studies on Della Porta is surprisingly thin. One of the very first books on the Lombard sculptor was published in 1944. This book by Maria Gibellino Krasceninnicowa was rightly described as inadequate by John Pope-Hennessy.<sup>16</sup> The transcriptions of the documents are often wrong and lack proper references. In 2012, the first book in decades was published on several works of the sculptor titled *Guglielmo della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*. Unfortunately the book can hardly be described as useful; its analysis is sometimes unclear, the information given is sometimes wrong, often without supporting photographs or good footnotes and the translator even skipped a few of the original Spanish words in his writing. Other literature comes in the form of articles. Aside from Gramberg's work, Yasmine Helfer wrote on Della Porta's activities before he came to Rome, Claude Dickerson published an article on the workshop in Rome, and Margherita Fratarcangeli studied the Lombards in Rome. Furthermore, a monograph on a nephew of Guglielmo, Giovanni Battista della Porta, which includes focus on his uncle and Rome in the first chapters, came out a year ago.

The only monograph on Willem van Tetrode, supplemented by several important articles, such as Jaap Nijstad's *Willem Danielsz. van Tetrode* and a dissertation by Emile van Binnebeke, is Frits Scholten's *Willem van Tetrode: sculptor (c. 1525-1580)* accompanying a 2003 exhibition in the Rijksmuseum. This will be the main source of information on Van Tetrode. His period in the workshop of Della Porta remains understudied, with not even four pages of Van Binnebeke's dissertation devoted to the time he spent in Rome against 22 pages for his period with Cellini.<sup>17</sup> Other *fiamminghi* are sparsely mentioned in catalogues of exhibitions which included works of the artists such as those kept in the Tesoro dei Granduchi (Museo degli Argenti) in Florence, Museo nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia in Rome and Museo nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples. A few articles that deal with artworks of Cobaert have been published from the beginning of the last century onwards. These treat, for example, the metal plaques in 'eine Plakettenfolge von Jacob Cobaert' by Rudolf Berliner or his ivory work in 'Cope scultore Fiammingo ed un avorio di Casa Patrizi' by Maria Barberini. Another

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<sup>16</sup> John Wyndham Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 2nd ed., An Introduction to Italian Sculpture, part. 3, London 1970, p. 397.

<sup>17</sup> Emile van Binnebeke, 'Willem Danielsz. van Tetrode, ca. 1520-1580, De Delftse Praxiteles. Een studie naar het leven en het werk van een zestiende-eeuwse Nederlandse beeldhouwer' (PhD, Utrecht University, 2003), pp. 11-13, 19-42.



good source for additional information on the individual artists, their work, and the journey they made to Rome in general is the 1995 exhibition catalogue *Fiamminghi a Roma*.

To make an apt comparison between the different works of the pupils and assistants of Della Porta, technical and methodological research will be used. Articles by Emile van Binnebeke, who was the first to deal with Tetrode's sculpting methods two decades ago, including *Giambologna and Van Tetrode. X-ray analysis* as well as his dissertation, which analyses X-rays of works by Van Tetrode, will certainly be useful. The artist did spend considerable time in Florence so the possibility that he picked up a similar in technique there cannot be discarded. Analysis of works of the *fiamminghi* compared to research into works of Della Porta by Charles Avery in the aforementioned *Guglielmo della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Artist*, will show the influence that Della Porta had on those he employed in Rome in terms of sculptural methods.

Another more illustrious name connected with the Roman workshop is Giambologna. He is without a doubt the most influential and well-known sculptor to come from the North. Joshua Reynolds even doubted if he should name Michelangelo or Jean Boulogne the biggest sculptor when visiting Florence in 1752.<sup>18</sup> However, the few references in modern literature to his presence in the workshop of Della Porta always seem to lack proper citation. While it may be likely that he visited the workshop of Della Porta since it was the centre of bronze casting in Rome, this thesis will argue that it is not very likely Giambologna actually studied under Della Porta's guidance. Important contributions here come from Charles Avery, who published a monograph that includes a wooden statue that Giambologna probably made before he came to Rome, Mary Weitzel Gibbons' dissertation on Giambologna and the article *De Romeinse erving van Giovanni Bologna* by Elisabeth Dhanens.

By combining theoretical publications, archival findings of others and existing technical research, closely looking at the work which the *fiamminghi* produced under and after Della Porta this thesis will improve the presently narrow view of sixteenth century sculpture and literature on Guglielmo della Porta and his workshop. It will lead to a better understanding of the understudied relationships that existed between Northern European artists and those from the Northern regions of Italy, it will show the *fiamminghi* artists were much more integrated, both socially and economically, than thought before, and lastly it will contribute knowledge to the multicultural aspect of Rome and its artists in the *cinquecento*.

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<sup>18</sup> Elisabeth Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne, Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo, Douai 1529 - Florence 1608. Bijdrage tot de studie van de kunstbetrekkingen tussen het graafschap Vlaanderen en Italië*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten van België. Klasse der schoone kunsten 11, Antwerpen 1956, p. 19.

## ***Fiamminghi in Rome***

*Roma è pur Roma, qui bisogna venire,  
qui affaticarsi, qui studiare a chi vuol sapere.<sup>19</sup>*  
- Guglielmo della Porta -

*Utilitas* and *Voluptas*: travelling was both ‘utilitarian’ and ‘delightful’ according to the Dutch humanist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606).<sup>20</sup> By coming into contact with other cultures, languages, and religions, one would be both spiritually enriched as well as intellectually. The most popular destination of artists in the sixteenth century was undoubtedly Rome. The city was the trove of original ancient sculpture, a beacon, calling artists from all over Europe. The eternal city was particularly attractive to young artists, eager to learn from the great predecessors, both the classical and more recent. In 1567, Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) mentioned how the Netherlandish painters and sculptors were spread throughout Europe in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*.<sup>21</sup> With a percentage of about twenty-eight of all artists working outside of their native country coming from the Low Countries, they had the highest mobility rate of all their European counterparts.<sup>22</sup> The latter half of the century especially knew a remarkable increase in the presence of Northern artists in Rome.<sup>23</sup> About 200 sculptors tried their luck abroad between 1550 and 1600; with their preferred destination being the great “studio” that was Rome. A century earlier Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1400-1464) had already made a pilgrimage for the jubilee year of 1450, but this seems rare amongst Northern artists. It was not until the beginning sixteenth century that the trip to Rome started to gain popularity, when the connotation of prestige was added to the artistic value of ancient sculpture, *spolia* transitioned into collectable art objects, and ecclesiastical dignitaries started to replace the Romans as collectors.<sup>24</sup> The canonical pioneer of these artists’ trips was Jan van

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<sup>19</sup> Gramberg 1964 (See note 14), p. 122.

<sup>20</sup> In a published letter to Philippe de Lannoy from 3. April 1579. Justus Lipsius, ‘De Ratione Cum Fructus Peregrinandi, & Praesertim in Italia Epistola Ad. Ph. Lanoyum’, in: *Justi Lipsii Epistolarum Selectarum Chilias Centuria Prima*, Antwerp 1568, No. XXII; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*, London 2012, pp. 54-55.

<sup>21</sup> L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di M. Lodovico Guicciardini, Gentiluomo Fiorentino, Di Tutti I Paesi Bassi, Altrimenti Detti Germania Inferiore*. Antwerp 1588, p. 132; Frits Scholten, “‘Spiriti Veramente Divini’”. Sculptors from the Low Countries in Italy, 1500 - 1600’, in: Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes (ed.), *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy*, Turnhout 2007, p. 226.

<sup>22</sup> Frits Scholten and Joanna Woodall. ‘Netherlandish artists on the move’, in: Frits Scholten and Joanna Woodall (eds.), *Art and Migration. Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400-1750*, Netherlands Yearbook for Art History 63, Leiden 2014, p. 24.

<sup>23</sup> Bert Meijer, *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608*, proceedings of the symposium held at Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, 13 March 1995, Florence 1999, p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Stenhouse 2017 (See note 13), pp. 383-384.

Scorel (1495-1562).<sup>25</sup> After spending some time with Jan Gossaert (c. 1478-1532) in Utrecht he started to travel all across Europe in 1518. He met with Albrecht Dürer and then travelled to Venice before ending up in the Holy Land. He returned to Italy where his countryman Pope Adrian VI named him keeper of the papal collections in the Belvedere in 1522. Other artists followed his example in the next decade, by which time Rome was host to a proper Flemish community.

One of the most exemplary cases is that of the Fleming Jean Boulogne (Giambologna, 1529-1608), where one can observe a standard pattern of a young man going to Rome (2.1).<sup>26</sup> These sculptors were already part of the next generation to travel and therefore not completely unprepared. Their teachers had already been in the Eternal City, thus they had strong knowledge of the antique idiom and sparked the interest for depicting the human body, which superseded the idiosyncrasies in the style of the North. Through these Northern colleagues the next generation had been exposed to ancient and renaissance works. But second-hand knowledge was not enough and so these young artists departed from their homeland.

Around the year 1550, the jubilee-year that attracted many artists, Giambologna followed in Van Scorel's footsteps and visited the Papal City.<sup>27</sup> He was born in the Flemish county of Douai where he first studied to be a notary just as his father. Against his father's will, as Raffaello Borghini informs his readers in *Il Riposo*, Giambologna started to work alongside Jakob de Breuck, i.e., the Flemish sculptor Jacques du Broeucq (1505-1584), who had his workshop in Mons.<sup>28</sup> This court sculptor from Hainault had stayed in Rome between 1530 and 1535, where he studied both antique monuments and the contemporary art of

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<sup>25</sup> '... he [Van Scorel] was (it is said) called the lantern bearer and road-builder of our art by Frans Floris and others, and recognised as such.' K. van Mander, *Lives of the illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603-1604)*. ed. H. Miedema, vol. I, Doornspijk 1994, p. 197. Of course other artists had travelled to Rome before him. Already in the fifteenth century, painters and sculptors set sail for the Eternal City. For example a certain Maestro Girardo di Vasegne from Brussels was working on the marbles and colonnades for a garden next to the San Marco in Rome, but unfortunately we know very little of them. Antonino Bertolotti 1974 (see note 8), p. 188. A more famous artist who recently has been getting a lot of attention is Van Scorel supposed master Jan Gossaert. Duncan Bull, 'Jan Gossaert and Jacopo Ripanda on the Capitoline' *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 34 (2009/2010) 2, p. 89; S. Schrader, 'Drawing for Diplomacy. Gossart's Sojourn to Rome', in: M.W. Ainsworth (ed.), *Man, Myth, and Sensual Pleasures. Jan Gossart's Renaissance. The Complete Works*, New York/New Haven/London 2010, p. 45. For more information see: M.W. Ainsworth, *Jan Gossart's Trip to Rome and his Route to Paragone*. (Hofstede de Groot Lecture, no. 3), The Hague 2014.

<sup>26</sup> Elisabeth Dhanens 1963 (see note 10), p. 160.

<sup>27</sup> Michael Cole, *Ambitious Form. Giambologna, Ammanati and Danti in Florence*. Princeton 2011, p. 29; Elisabeth Dhanens 1956 (see note 18), p. 34.

<sup>28</sup> *Il Riposo* counts as the most important source on Giambologna. Its main character, Bernardo Vecchietti, was his patron and so it has first hand information and is only wrong on one account. Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*. trans. L. Ellis, Toronto 2007 (1584), p. 281; *Ibid.* p. 32.

Michelangelo, Sansovino, etc.<sup>29</sup> He formed the example of a study trip that later would be taken over by his pupils. Borghini wrote that Giambologna took himself to Rome because he was ‘desirous of seeing the things of Italy’.<sup>30</sup> This is supplemented by Filippo Baldinucci, who wrote that Giambologna took himself to Rome because he was encouraged to do so by his master.<sup>31</sup> Two years later Giambologna stopped on his way back to Douai in Florence, where he met the banker Bernardo Vecchietti (1514-1590). The nobleman saw the Roman studies and recognized the great talent he had in front of him. From this young age Giambologna must have been talented to grasp the classical idiom and to then assimilate and adapt it into his own figure that embodied the idea of classical style. Vecchietti offered a room at his house to Giambologna, who then established himself in the city of the Medici. Here Giambologna became a sort of portal for young *fiamminghi* who wanted to visit the cities of Italy.<sup>32</sup>

The trip southwards was seen as essential to the formation of artists in art-theoretical works such as Karel van Mander’s (1548-1606) *Schilder-boeck* of 1604, which advised the young artists to venture southwards for the love of art.<sup>33</sup> He wrote:

‘Some of the aforementioned beautifully formed marbles and bronzes were rediscovered and taken from her dusty bowels which, when they emerged from the dark, cast a great light upon our art of painting and opened the eyes of its practitioners so as to distinguish between ugliness and beauty, and what was the most beautiful in life or in nature regarding the shape of the human body and various beasts. So that the Italians, who were thus enlightened, touched on the correct essence and the best appearance of figures earlier than we Netherlanders - who with a particular habitual manner of working, but with incomplete knowledge, constantly and diligently aspired to work better and better, by which means they were content for the greater part with simply working from life and thus (so to speak) rather remained in the dark, or with little illumination.’<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Nicole Dacos, ‘Om te zien en te leren’, in: H. Devisscher (ed.), *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508-1608: Kunstenaars uit de Nederlanden en het Prinsdom Luik te Rome tijdens de Renaissance*, exh.cat. Brussels (Paleis voor de Schone Kunsten), Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni) 1995, p. 20.

<sup>30</sup> ‘disideroso di veder le cose d’Italia si trasferì a roma, dove stette due anni, e quivi fece grandissimo studio, ritraendo di terra e di cera tutte le figure lodate, che vi sono’. Borghini 2007 (see note 28), p. 282.

<sup>31</sup> F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*. ed. Paola Barocchi, vol. 2, Florence 1975 (1686), p. 556.

<sup>32</sup> Scholten 2014 (see note 22), p. 26.

<sup>33</sup> For example in the life of Jan van Scorel, in: Van Mander 1994 (See note 25), pp. 194-195. Even though Van Mander addresses painters, his advice is equally valid for sculptors. D. Vautier, *Alle wegen leiden naar Rome*. Brussel 2007, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> Van Mander 1994 (see note 25), p. 194.

According to Van Mander, Rome was the head of the schools of *Pictura*; he saw the Papal City as a kind of European academy.<sup>35</sup> The Haarlem artist believed that in Rome one could learn the correct way to draw.<sup>36</sup> Van Mander himself travelled to Rome between 1574 and 1576. In his *Grondt*, the introduction to the *Schilder-boeck*, he recommended Dutch artists to get a greater knowledge of classical sculpture, since this had given the Italians their advantage in depicting the human body, both in anatomy and posture. Knowledge of Italian aesthetics and methods, both classical and contemporary, were essential to Van Mander. He hoped that by travelling to Rome, the Dutch would eventually surpass the Italians since they already mastered them in the rendering of detail and of colour.

Rome was the foremost repository for ancient sculpture seen on the ancient buildings scattered throughout the city, in the Vatican and Capitoline palaces, and in the collections of the local nobility. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Manuel Chrysoloras commented that ‘here [Rome] the streets are full of ... statues, images of the ancient heroes cover.. the walls of houses... walking through the city, one’s eyes are drawn from one work to another’.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, excavations continued to uncover more and more antiquities for artists to draw, copy, or restore. While popes such as Pius V and Sixtus V attempted to erase the “Pagan” art (and in the generations following them antiquities increasingly moved out of the public), the number of antiques overall increased during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. Most ecclesiastical and civic authorities increasingly used their power to protect the ancient monuments after humanists complained about the state of the classical structures at the beginning of the *cinquecento*.<sup>38</sup>

Young *fiamminghi* filled their time by diligently copying the antique statues and monuments. During a two-week visit in January of 1572, Vasari reports to prince Francesco de’Medici how Giambologna was working ‘on those antiques’ and had already portrayed half of Rome on a small scale.<sup>39</sup> Elisabeth Dhanens attributed some bound drawings from the Trinity College library in Cambridge to him (Fig. 2.2).<sup>40</sup> Although this attribution was later

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<sup>35</sup> Bert Meijer, ‘Van Spranger tot en met Rubens. Naar een nieuwe gelijkwaardigheid’, in: H. Devisscher (ed.), *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508-1608: Kunstenaars uit de Nederlanden en het Prinsdom Luik te Rome tijdens de Renaissance*, exh.cat. Brussels (Paleis voor de Schone Kunsten), Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni) 1995, p. 32-33.

<sup>36</sup> Vautier 2007 (see note 33), p. 15.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted from: Stenhouse 2017 (see note 13), p. 385.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Lui a gia in pochi di formato et ritratto mezzo roma’. Dhanens 1963 (see note 10). Diligence was one of the common characteristics given to Netherlandish artists by Italian writers.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* p.162. Dhanens successfully shows that drawings were made between 1550 and 1553, but did not consider the fact that they were bound later and so easily could have been from different times. The binder organized the drawings by theme so authorship may not have been a consideration. Dhanens also tries to show that they came from a sculptor’s hand by a type of art historical profiling; she argues that the statues are drawn more tactile instead of plane, and the figures from paintings are rendered individual as a statue and not connected to their surroundings, as a painter would have done by means of shadow. The artist or artists also did

criticised, the drawings do form an example of what an average sculptor might have gone to see during a visit to Rome. The artist of the sketchbook worked in The Vatican, the Belvedere Gardens, the Sistine Chapel, in the palace of Federico Cesi (Borgo), in the San Eustachio, Palazzo Madama, in the contrada of Della Valle, Palazzo Rustici, near the Campo di Fiore, in the house of P. Gallo and F. de Norcia, Piazza Giudea and the house of V. dalla Croce, in the Villa Farnesina (then named Chigi), on the Monte Cavallo and the *vigna* of Cardinal de Carpi, in the terms of Diocletian, near the Colosseum, the Palatin, and lastly, in the Villa Madama outside of Rome.<sup>41</sup>

There are other examples of newly arrived artists copying all of Rome's art too. The young Bernini 'spent three continuous years from dawn until the sounding of the Ave Maria in the rooms of the Vatican drawing the objects of greatest rarity'. Besides giving the owner status, the collections of antiquities also served a purpose for artists. A plaque on Palazzo di Mezzo informs its read that the antiquities decorating the building serve as 'viridarium of ancient things' and are there 'as an aid to poets and painters'.<sup>42</sup> Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688) even described the collection of ancient sculpture of the Giustiniani family a 'school for carving'.<sup>43</sup>

Whereas artists were motivated to travel south by their love of art and ambition, another factor started to play a role by the mid-1560s. When the Spanish Habsburg agent Caspar del Castillo came to the North in 1585 in order to find sculptors to assist Pompeo Leoni (1530-1608) in Milan to finish his project for the Escorial, he reported that 'they say that in all the states there is not a single craftsman of this art because of the long war'.<sup>44</sup> The hope for labour thus became a stronger reason to go to the Papal City. Sculptors were especially heavily dependent on commissions from the church and ecclesiastical patrons.<sup>45</sup>

There are four general conditions to move, even if temporarily, in another country.<sup>46</sup> The described motivations on the previous pages would fall under the cultural group. The second one is economic: to improve one's general quality of life. The promise of patronage and the absence of, or at least less strict, guild regulations could have played a great part in the decision to migrate.<sup>47</sup> Where other Italian cities strictly regulated foreign artists, Rome allowed them to practice freely.<sup>48</sup> The market in the Low Countries had also become highly saturated, with the highest number of artists per inhabitant on the continent. Not that this differed greatly in Rome — the market there too was overflowing because of the great influx

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not visit many attractions for painters as the Domus Aurea (then known as the Terms of Titus).

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>42</sup> Stenhouse 2017 (see note 13). p. 389.

<sup>43</sup> Anthony Colantuono and Steven F. Ostrow (eds.), *Critical Perspectives on Roman Baroque Sculpture*, Pennsylvania 2014, introduction.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted from: Scholten 2014 (see note 22), p. 8.

<sup>45</sup> Scholten 2007 (see note 21), pp. 227-228. Colantuono 2014 (see note 43), introduction.

<sup>46</sup> Scholten 2014 (see note 22), p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>48</sup> Colantuono 2014 (see note 43), introduction.

of skilled labourers. However, once an artist had spent several years studying in the Eternal City, which would often improve his skill tremendously, finding employment at a highly ranked court proved to be easier. This would in turn raise the artist's status and subsequently his income. Yet the majority of these artists were not simply second rank artists looking for a second chance in life, but belonged to the best of their generation and therefore went seeking a better *first* chance. For example, Adriaen de Vries (1560-1626), now considered being one of the Netherlands' greatest sculptors, found employment at the court of Rudolph II at Prague after a few years of studying in Italy.

The other two motives to go abroad were caused by more negative events, namely to flee from either a natural catastrophe or from a human-inflicted cause, such as war or persecution. Politico-religious events starting in the second half of the 1560s made the Roman sojourns blossom again.<sup>49</sup> John Calvin's followers and other Protestants condemned religious art – sculpture in particular – as idolatry and an iconoclastic wave spread through the Netherlands, leading to the destruction of many works of art.<sup>50</sup> The coercion of Catholics in protestant areas and prosecution of Protestants in the areas under Spanish rule, famine and economic uncertainty were all particularly unfavourable circumstances for artistic growth in the Low Countries. Slowly it became the difficult religious and political situation causing economic demise that drove painters and sculptors elsewhere.<sup>51</sup> And while in the Netherlands religion was a cause of war, in Rome it formed a good source of income for many artists. This is something that does not only show a shift from the focus on antiques, but also a change in destination of the study trip. Rome still counted as the greatest city to visit, but others started to gain more popularity.<sup>52</sup>

The newly arrived migrants very often felt the need to cultivate relationships with fellow countrymen in their new setting in order to maintain juridical, linguistic, religious, economical and cultural links with home.<sup>53</sup> They organized in communities such as churches or inns. With the growing number of *fiamminghi* in Rome, their influence increased as well, thereby obtaining more and more local commissions.<sup>54</sup>

Traces of a more formal Northern community in Rome already date back to the eighth century and although newcomers often sought the company of countrymen, formal institutes

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<sup>49</sup> Dacos 1995 (see note 29), p. 30.

<sup>50</sup> D. Freedberg, 'Art and iconoclasm, 1525-1580. The case of the Northern Netherlands', in: J.P. Filedt-Kok (ed.), *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm.*, exh.cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1986, p. 69; Meijer 1995 (see note 35), p. 32.

<sup>51</sup> C. Billen, 'Vlaanderen, Geschiedenis en Geografie', in: H. Devisscher (ed.), *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508-1608: Kunstenaars uit de Nederlanden en het Prinsdom Luik te Rome tijdens de Renaissance*, exh.cat. Brussels (Paleis voor de Schone Kunsten), Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni) 1995, p. 51.

<sup>52</sup> Dacos 1995 (see note 29), p. 25. By far the biggest group of sculptors fall under the first category of culture. Rome was not really the ideal place to flee to, being far to travel and away from other family members. Van Mander even mentioned that Cornelis Ketel canceled a trip to Italy in his youth because of war. Mander 1994 (see note 25), pp. 357-378.

<sup>53</sup> Scholten 2014 (see note 22), p. 18.

<sup>54</sup> Meijer 1995 (see note 35), p. 32.

were not exclusively Flemish or Dutch. They were local forms of organization reflecting the character of Rome with a mixture of local, national and international influences.<sup>55</sup> The three brotherhoods of the greatest importance for the *ultramontani* (people from the other side of the Alps) were the San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi, the Santa Maria dell'Anima and the Santa Maria in Campo Santo dei Tedeschi. They, for example, made sure of temporary accommodation for the newly arrived artists.<sup>56</sup> These centres often originated from the need to take care of each other's physical health. The small hospices and guesthouses grew into greater communities at the beginning of the fifteenth century when the smaller chapels and churches were rebuilt into great churches with related buildings.

In essence, the organizations only had a few tasks: the burial of bodies of the deceased, taking care of the souls of the brothers and sisters who had passed away, treating the diseased and helping the poor, and lastly to provide shelter for passing pilgrims.<sup>57</sup> In practice this last task was often neglected and most visitors went to the Civitas Leonina, a separate territory in Rome in which the outsiders had special privileges.

Immigrants who stayed in Rome indefinitely formed the core of these institutions.<sup>58</sup> Other members were those who just visited Rome briefly, such as artists in their *Wanderjahre*. Sponsors who had never even been in Rome formed a third group of members. By far the biggest group was craftsmen, of whom bakers, shoemakers and weavers were the greatest in number. Whereas at the beginning of the sixteenth century they could be found in the membership records of the Anima, later they often transferred to the Campo Santo and the Anima began to be more dominated by members of the papal Curia. Despite the great number of artists present in Rome, they never dominated the Northern brotherhoods. Most likely because, contrary to other craftsmen, they were mostly just visitors.

The brotherhoods for the *ultramontani* served as first contact point for the newcomers. From there they could find ways to settle and seek contact with the Roman patrons. Sometimes the organizations of the *fiamminghi* were paid by the Roman aristocracy for a commissions, the board would then in turn find its most suitable member to complete the task. These jobs often included the restoration of antiques, which was considered to be a good way to learn to work in marble. A part of the fee then went to the institutions.

When migrants intended to stay longer they often clustered together in certain areas of the city. Many *fiamminghi* could be found on the Via Margutta and the Strada del Corso,

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<sup>55</sup> Schulte van Kessel, E. "Samenscholen in het licht van de dood." in: H. Devisscher (ed.), *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508-1608: Kunstenaars uit de Nederlanden en het Prinsdom Luik te Rome tijdens de Renaissance*, exh.cat. Brussels (Paleis voor de Schone Kunsten), Rome (Palazzo delle Esposizioni) 1995, p. 53.

<sup>56</sup> M. Lefftz, *La sculpture de l'Italie et des Pays-Bas. Bilan et perspectives*, in: R. Dekoninck, *Relations artistiques entre Italie et anciens Pays-Bas*, Brussels 2012, pp. 88-91.

Of course these institutions were not only host to the expatriate artists. Other Northern visitors such as merchants and pilgrims were given a warm welcome as well. Book printers, binders, chapel masters, singers, doctors, lawyers, and other art craftsmen were also found amongst their members. *Ibid.* p. 56.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56-57.



roughly between the Santa Maria del Popolo and the Spanish steps on the north side of town.<sup>59</sup> Other important zones include the areas surrounding the San Lorenzo in Lucina and the San Andrea delle Fratte, more towards the Trevi fountain.

The need for organization on a professional level became greater, too, when the growing number of visitors or migrants came into contact with the Roman art market. At first there were two separate local guilds for painters, the Compagnia di San Luca, and for sculptors, the Università dei Marmorari e Compagnia dei Santi Quattro Coronati.<sup>60</sup> In 1577, the *Accademia* was reorganized into what can be seen as the beginning of a new academy with a more intensified influence of the Church after the council of Trent.<sup>61</sup> The academy was meant for all artists; painters, sculptors and architects could join. The communal interest of the Netherlandish artists often made them sign up for these professional Roman organizations next to their national institutions.

Together with the rise in presence of Northern artists, the commissions for them increased.<sup>62</sup> When the trip to the Eternal City started to become popular at the beginning of the century the Roman art market was not favourable for foreigners. Sculptors who underwent their apprenticeship in the North often lacked knowledge of the materials desired by the Italians.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore the absence of connections and inability to speak the language caused the artists arrears in comparison to their Italian colleagues. While the Italians both studied the ancient monuments and engaged in the contemporary artistic scene, the newcomers first focused solely on the classical ruins. By the middle of the century, the second generation of travelling *fiamminghi* started to turn to more contemporaneous art as well.<sup>64</sup> They were better prepared for the journey, having been encouraged and informed by their predecessors and because of their pre-existing knowledge of the art in Rome through prints and drawings. Thus, they began to assimilate more easily with Roman circles. Furthermore, Rome itself slowly started to transform.<sup>65</sup> Once Rome had fully recovered from the sack of 1527, artists were in unprecedented demand to provide art for the new and renovated churches, palaces and piazzas. Especially under Sixtus V (1585-1590), the demand for sculptors rose dramatically; no less than twelve sculptors were hired for his burial chapel alone, including two with a Northern background: Nicolas Pippi and Gillis van der Vliete.

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<sup>59</sup> List of members of the Accademia Romana di San Luca with their homes in: Hoogewerff 1913 (see note 12), p. 26. There are of course exceptions to this. One of the earlier examples of a sculptor who journeyed to the Papal City is only known by his Italianized name, 'Paulo Albo, Belga Scultore'. An epitaph with his name can be found in the Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, on the other side of the city; Lefftz 2012 (see note 56), pp. 92-93.

<sup>60</sup> Schulte van Kessel 1995 (see note 55), p. 59.

<sup>61</sup> Hoogewerff 1913 (see note 12), p. 2; Peter Lukehart, 'The Accademia dei Scultori in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Rome', in: Anthony Colantuono and Steven F. Ostrow (eds.), *Critical Perspectives on Roman Baroque Sculpture*, Philadelphia 2014, pp. 21-40.

<sup>62</sup> Meijer 1999 (see note 23), p. 7; Cole 2011 (see note 27) pp. 25-33.

<sup>63</sup> Meijer 1999 (see note 23), p. 15.

<sup>64</sup> Dacos 1995 (see note 29), pp. 22, 30.

<sup>65</sup> Colantuono 2014 (see note 43), introduction.

One should, however, not underestimate the abilities of the early *fiamminghi*. We must not forget that part of the success of these Northern migrants was their background in different techniques, a painstakingly precise manner, and familiarity with a different visual repertoire.<sup>66</sup> Flanders was a great centre for woodcarving and exported its products all over Europe. Stonecutters were often from the Franco-Flemish region, where extracting and the carving of stone had a long tradition. The Valley of the Meuse was highly specialized in the production of metal products, there was a great tradition of stonemasonry in Northern France, and Cellini spoke highly of Paris as the centre of craftsmanship in metal.<sup>67</sup> However, this craftsmanship was mostly used for decorative and applied sculpture, so that artistic creativity was never truly developed there, whereas that ability could flourish freely in Rome. The mutual exchange of skills and ideas is what made the study trip valuable for both parties, an opinion echoed by Giovanni Baglione (1566-1643): ‘[...] in truth Flanders has always given Europe examples of varied, and good minded, hard working artists who gave themselves patiently to art.’<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Charles Avery, *Giambologna: the complete sculpture*. Oxford 1987, p. 43.

Even though artists shared a destination, their origins often differed considerably, varying from Northern France between Hainault and Picardy, to Dutch cities as Nijmegen and The Hague. Scholten 2007 (see note 21), p. 226; Scholten 2014 (see note 22), pp. 12-24.

<sup>67</sup> ‘For although the founders in those parts [France], especially in and around Lutezia [Paris], where they turn out more of it than in any other place under the sun, are safer in their technique than any others, ...’ C. Ashbee (ed. and trans.), *The treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on goldsmithing and sculpture*. New York 1967, p. 125.

<sup>68</sup> ‘...e di vero la fiandra ha dato sempre all’europa copia di varii, e buoni ingegni, atti alla fatica, e alla patientia dell’arti.’ Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de’ Pittori, Scultori et Architetti dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII fino a tutto quello d’Urbano VIII*, ed. G. Pesci, vol. 1, Bologna 1975 (1649), pp. 67-68.

## The life and works of Guglielmo della Porta

In the latter half of the sixteenth century central Italy began to be dominated by a new group of artists from the north of the country. Their main activity centre was not Milan, as one would expect, but Rome.<sup>69</sup> This development was not unique to Rome but reflected a more general and greater “Lombard invasion” of Italian art centres.<sup>70</sup> The army of sculptors descending upon the city included the Buzzi, Fontana, Maderno, Longhi, Galli and Garzoni families. The shift from Florence to Rome as the dominate city of art was marked by the arrival ‘of the genius sculptor Guglielmo della Porta’, as John Pope-Hennessy puts it, in 1537. From the mid-1540s onward, he and his fellow *Lombardini* formulated the taste on the Italian peninsula.

Nothing is known of the birthplace or birth date of Della Porta; given the standard trajectory of a sculptor’s career, the year he was born is estimated around 1490. The first secure record of Guglielmo della Porta comes from 1534, when he, in partnership with his father Gian Giacomo della Porta and Niccolò da Corte, is engaged with the funerary chapel of Giuliano Cybo, bishop of Agrigento, in the cathedral of Genoa (Fig 3.1).<sup>71</sup> The three sculptors declared in December that the earnings of the work on the Cybo chapel, already in progress, should be distributed as they had agreed upon when forming a collective. The chapel was concluded somewhere in or after 1536 when the will of the bishop provided enough funding.<sup>72</sup> There is no proof of individual authorship, but Hanno-Walter Kruft demonstrated Della Porta’s involvement with the statue of Abraham, Moses, and the kneeling effigy reasonably well.<sup>73</sup> Vasari already mentioned that ‘Guglielmo made two marble portraits for the bishop of ‘Servega’, and a Moses larger than life, which was put in the church of San Lorenzo.’<sup>74</sup> The

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<sup>69</sup> Margherita Fratarcangeli, ‘Egemonia dell’industria edile lombarda a Roma. dalla bottega al cantiere’, *Artyści znad jezior lombardzkich w nowożytnej Europie*, Warsaw 2015, pp. 35-45.

<sup>70</sup> Kathleen Weil-Garris, *The Santa Casa di Loreto. Problems in Cinquecento Sculpture*, vol. 1, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, New York 1977, p. 302.

<sup>71</sup> Kruft was able to prove that Gian Giacomo della Porta was Guglielmo’s father, and not uncle as had been assumed so far. Hanno-Walter Kruft and Anthony Roth, ‘The Della Porta Workshop in Genoa’, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* Vol. 3 (1973) No. 3, pp. 894–896.

<sup>72</sup> ‘He ordered and appointed that the said chapel, the construction of which had already been begun in the said cathedral of genoa, should be completed in the name of ss. peter and paul, in every way according to the deed drawn upon between the rev. Testator and the masters who are building the chapel.’ Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 398.

<sup>73</sup> Kruft 1973 (see note 71), pp. 893-954.

<sup>74</sup> In the *Vita* of Leone Leoni. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi (eds.), vol. 6, Florence 1987 (1568), p. 205.

statue of Abraham (Fig 3.2) had been attributed to Guglielmo because of its ‘power and resilience’ since Alizeri connected it with the young Della Porta.<sup>75</sup>

Gian Giacomo had also been responsible for the St. John’s chapel between 1529 and 1533, and perhaps Guglielmo had assisted his father here as well. The scholar Maria Gibellino Krasceninnicowa mentions that the sculptor was aiding Gian Giacomo (whom she assumed to be his uncle) in the Duomo of Milan before 1534, but she gives no further documentation so one cannot presume this assistant to be him.<sup>76</sup> This is even less likely when considering that the contract does not survive and Guglielmo is not mentioned in a 1533 agreement for the delivery of marble for the six figures and the effigy in which the others are named.<sup>77</sup> She also infers that given the fact he is first mentioned in Rome on the 3th of May 1546, he must have just arrived there shortly before. Vasari, who was ‘conspicuously well informed on the sculptors pages’, mentions Della Porta’s arrival sooner, in 1537.<sup>78</sup> The last time Guglielmo was documented in Genoa was likely 1536, when the trio was completing the chapel, so this certainly is plausible. In *Die Liegestatue des Gregorio Magalotti*, Gramberg argued for Della Porta’s involvement in the Magalotti monument of the Santa Cecilia in Trastevere of 1538, but this has not universally been accepted.<sup>79</sup>

Della Porta was first mentioned in Rome as an assistant of Pierino del Vaga (1501-1547), who was commissioned by Alessandro Farnese to decorate the Sala del Re in the Vatican.<sup>80</sup> Della Porta had met with Del Vaga in Genoa when the latter worked on the cathedral at the same time. The painter later took on the completion of the, now destroyed, Cappella Massimi in the Santa Trinità dei Monti, for which Della Porta provided stuccoes. Della Porta also assisted Del Vaga for his decorations of the Castel Sant’Angelo from 1547 onwards.

By this time Della Porta had become a personal favourite of the Farnese Pope Paul III and his nephew Cardinal Alessandro. Documents suggest that Della Porta became a member of their household in the mid-1540s, with as principal occupation the restoration of their collection of antique sculpture.<sup>81</sup> Renaissance families used these antiques as signs of status and to stress their links with the classical past.<sup>82</sup> Guglielmo would become so enchanted by the classical statues that he would even name his three sons after three of the most eminent sculptors from antiquity: Phidias, Lysippus and Myron.

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<sup>75</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 88. Federigo Alizeri, *Notizie Dei Professori del Disegno in Liguria dalle Origini al Secolo XVI*, vol. 5, Genoa 1877, p. 181.

<sup>76</sup> Maria Gibellino-Krasceninnicowa, *Guglielmo della Porta, scultore del papa Paolo III Farnese*, Roma 1944, p. 9.

<sup>77</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), pp. 397-398.

<sup>78</sup> Probably by Guglielmo’s regular correspondent Ammannati. Pierguidi 2014 (see note 14), p. 137. Quoted from: Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 396.

<sup>79</sup> Werner Gramberg, ‘Die Liegestatue des Gregorio Magalotti. Ein römisches Frühwerk des Guglielmo della Porta. Bemerkungen zur Gruppe der Demi-Gisants in der römischen Grabplastik des Cinquecento’, *Jahrbuch des Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* Band 17 (1972), pp. 43–51.

<sup>80</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 32.

<sup>81</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 31.

<sup>82</sup> Stenhouse 2017 (see note 13), p. 383.

His earliest datable solo commission comes from August 1546 when he was paid for a copy of a bust of Antoninus Pius, which is probably the marble head in a niche on the Castel Sant'Angelo (Fig. 3.3).<sup>83</sup> Later that year, on the 23rd of December, a payment was made for the reparation of a marble cupid and a *ritratto* of Pope Paul III.<sup>84</sup> This probably refers to a white marble and giallo antico bust in the possession of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1568, which now remains in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Capodimonte (Fig. 3.4). Several copies were made of this bust by the Della Porta workshop around the same time. The museum has one of a lesser quality in its collection, just as the Museo di San Martino in Naples. The marble is also known through several bronzes that could predate the marble version and which can be found in for example Hamburg's Kunstgewerbemuseum. The Castel Sant'Angelo also holds a plaster copy of the bust of much poorer quality.

Judging by the similarities between the truthful head and reliefs in the cope, and the portrait of Pope Paul III painted in Bologna in 1543 by Titian, Della Porta almost certainly must have known the painting.<sup>85</sup> But whereas Titian's pope is dressed in a simple red *mozzetta*, Della Porta decorated the naturalistic noble head with the frame of the yellow cope inlaid with reliefs of abundance, peace, victory and justice on the front, with Moses and the tables of law, and Moses and the dead Egyptians on the shoulders.<sup>86</sup> The figures in the relief show the typical overlap of figures that is characteristic of Della Porta's graphic oeuvre, whereby the figures are rendered as if it is one man between two mirrors, and were made with a certain effortlessness. The eyes, hand or pieces of clothing were quite simply rendered with a quick engraving.

Della Porta's first major bronze work was the tomb of Francesco de Solis, doctor of Paul III, commissioned by Alessandro Farnese in 1547.<sup>87</sup> The tomb of the Spanish bishop Solis in the Malaga Cathedral had been attributed to Leoni before Gramberg related it to one of the first commissions Della Porta received in Rome, and found documents relating to its purchase and a sketch for its design.<sup>88</sup> Della Porta modelled his reliefs with great certainty and skill, adding the detail with a simple and swift swipe of the burin. The form of the reliefs is derived from the tomb of Sixtus IV by Antonio del Pollaiuolo, but Della Porta filled them with figures and left out a sense of depth.<sup>89</sup> Together with the production of the monuments of Paolo and Federico Cesi in the Santa Maria Maggiore, and the tomb of Bernardino Elvino in

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<sup>83</sup> Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, 'Notizie Biografiche di Guglielmo Della Porta in Documenti Notarili Romani', *Commentari XXIII* (1972), p. 299.

<sup>84</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 396.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 399.

<sup>87</sup> Margarita Estella, 'Guglielmo Della Porta's Early Years and Some of His Works in Spain', in: Rosario Coppel and Charles Avery (eds.), *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans. Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, p. 24.

<sup>88</sup> Werner Gramberg, 'Guglielmo Della Porta Grabmal Für Paul III. Farnese in San Pietro in Vaticano', *Römisches Jahrbuch Für Kunstgeschichte* 21, Tübingen 1984, pp. 253–364.

<sup>89</sup> Grégoire Extermann, 'Il Ciclo della Passione di Cristo di Guglielmo della Porta', in: Walter Cupperi, Grégoire Extermann and Giovanna Ioele, *Scultura a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento. protagonisti e problemi*, Precorsi di ricerca 4, Rome 2012, p. 60.

the Santa Maria del Popolo in 1548, Della Porta's first decade in Rome can be seen as his most productive.

Recommended as being proud and hard working by Michelangelo and Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547), Della Porta was given the position of keeper of the apostolic seal by the Farnese pope in 1547.<sup>90</sup> He succeeded the deceased Sebastiano del Piombo in the office of *Bollatore Apostolico*, and, as was traditional, became a member of the Cistercian Order.<sup>91</sup> From that moment on he was referred to as Fra Guglielmo della Porta. The sculptor received an office in the loggia surrounding the frontcourt of St. Peter. This means that his subsequent activities are relatively well recorded.

At this time Della Porta began to be employed more and more by the Farnese family and could even be said to have run the *fabbrica* of Palazzo Farnese for a short while.<sup>92</sup> He obtained most of their restoration commissions. In March of 1551 he restored an antique faun and a statue of Augustus on a relief of Vulcan. More impressively, he was responsible for the restoration of the Hercules Farnese and the Farnese Bull, both in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (Fig. 3.5). Several busts ended up in the collections of befriended Cardinals as Ridolfo da Capri, who owned Guglielmo's copy of Lucius Verus.<sup>93</sup> From the 1560s onward, he left restoring more and more to his nephews Giovanni Battista and Tommaso in order to focus on his own designs. He did, however, judge the quality and value of new acquisitions for the Alessandro Farnese. For instance, in 1562 the cardinal bought the part of the Bufalo collection shortly after the death of Stefano Bufalo. Guglielmo judged the works, which included the Puteal Farnese and the Bufalo-Este Cerberus.<sup>94</sup>

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1549, Della Porta was entrusted with the tomb monument of Paul III after the pope had died in the previous week. The sum of 10.000 ducats was promised to Della Porta by the supervisors, Cardinals Caro and Antoni da Capodistria. Before the pope had passed away, some of the monument's features were already determined. To this end the pope had already bought a marble and bronze base for this tomb that Della Porta had fashioned for the monuments of Solis as well as chosen an antique sarcophagus as resting place for his body. Della Porta had also already concerned himself with the fabrication of the seated figure of the pope.

From Caro's letters we know that, after less than a year, Della Porta could show a wooden model of the general structure of the monument to his patrons (Fig. 3.6).<sup>95</sup> For his

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<sup>90</sup> 'fiero e molto assiduo alle fatiche' Vasari 1987 (see note 74), p. 205.

<sup>91</sup> For more information on the 'fratres de plumbo' see: Cynthia Stollhans, 'Fra Mariano, Peruzzi and Polidoro da Caravaggio: A New Look at Religious Landscapes in Renaissance Rome', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (1992) 3, p. 515. Note 28 forms a useful overview on the subject.

<sup>92</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 396.

<sup>93</sup> Clifford Malcolm Brown, *Our Accustomed Discourse on the Antique. Cesare Gonzaga and Gerolamo Garimberto. Two Renaissance Collectors of Greco-Roman Art*, New York/London 1993, p. 195.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p.193.

<sup>95</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 89.

(now fading) design he had been inspired by earlier renditions of a papal tomb, the monument of Julius II, which knew a great deal of popularity despite never being executed. The effigy, which Caro mentioned as finished in the autumn of 1552, is seated on a square bronze base decorated with reliefs and with a putto on each corner. Della Porta placed four allegories, reminiscent of the figures of Del Vaga, of Justice, Prudence, Abundance and Peace on consoles; two were at the front and two at the back of the monument. Vasari mentioned a relief of a river god, but this cannot be confirmed by any other document. The 1551 proposal also had four statues of the seasons incorporated, but Caro eventually vetoed these. Guglielmo's son, Teodoro della Porta, once bragged that 'never since antiquity had a larger structure of this type been planned,' and according to Pope-Hennessy, its subsequent change stemmed from that fact.<sup>96</sup> Their source was Michelangelo. Vasari informs the reader thusly:

'Guglielmo arranged to put it in St. Peters, under the first arch of the new church, beneath the tribune; this obstructed the floor of the church, and was certainly not the best place. Because Michelangelo quite rightly advised that it could not stand there, Guglielmo fell out with him, thinking that he was doing this out of envy; but he later realised that Michelangelo had been right, and that it was he himself who had been in the wrong, since he had had the opportunity and yet had not finished it, as I shall tell presently. And I myself bear witness to this, because in 1550 I had gone by order of Pope Julius III to Rome to work for him, which I did willingly out of affection for Michelangelo, and so took part in this discussion. Michelangelo wanted the tomb put in one of the niches, where the column of the possessed now is, and that was the best place; and I had contrived that Julius III should decide, so as to balance the other work, to have his own tomb made in the other niche after the same design. But in this Guglielmo, who set himself against it, was responsible for his own work being unfinished, and also for the other pope's tomb not being made; 'and Michelangelo had predicted all this.'<sup>97</sup>

During a public discussion in 1553, Michelangelo concluded that the tomb would violate the space and symmetry of the new St. Peter's and he proposed that the idea that a freestanding tomb should be reconsidered. He thought that the statue of the pope should be moved into a niche so that it 'should look like a judge on the Campidoglio'.

Julius III agreed with Michelangelo and decided that the idea of a freestanding monument should be abandoned and that the tomb should be re-planned as wall monument; this very much to the frustration of Della Porta. He continued working diligently on the project and entered a contract with Giovanni Gellato for the construction of the tomb in 1553. A document from the 6<sup>th</sup> of April of the following year mentions that the foundations were to be laid within a few months and that by then the first marble was finished, while the second was on its way, and all the marble for the rest already lay waiting in the workshop.<sup>98</sup>

Della Porta later recognized his indebtedness to Michelangelo. 'I too believe that I should be numbered amongst his pupils'. A debt that was personal, stylistic, as well as technical. Della Porta thanked his initial success to Michelangelo. For his designs of, for

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>97</sup> Vasari 1987 (see note 74), p. 205.

<sup>98</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 399.

example, the tomb of Paul III, Della Porta relied heavily on his predecessor's drawings for the tomb of Julius II and was inspired by the Medici chapel. As for the technical aspect, both Michelangelo and Della Porta did not always work after a study model, but carved straight into the marble. Annibale Caro was present during the long process of carving the personification of Justice for the tomb of Paul III and commented: '[Della Porta] continues to uncover the complete limbs, so that the figure looks like a naked woman emerging from the snow.'<sup>99</sup>

Even recently scholars reported that the kerfuffle with Pope Paul III's monument had made Della Porta weary of major commissions.<sup>100</sup> Vasari even goes as far as to say that Della Porta could afford to be lazy since he was the 'custode del piombo', but it seems that the Lombard sculptor was constantly occupied with several projects in the following decades.<sup>101</sup>

Throughout the 1550s, Della Porta's main concern lay with relief cycles, starting with those for the equestrian monument for emperor Charles V (Fig. 3.7). He received the prestigious commission in or just after 1549, during the first period of the pontificate of Julius III. Della Porta, again, planned the mausoleum and an imposing freestanding monument with Charles V modelled after the famous statue of Marcus Aurelius. Unfortunately the project's plans were never really set in motion and all of Della Porta's *modelli* have disappeared. All that remains are sketches.

Around 1555 Della Porta also began working on designs for an ornamental table for Cardinal Farnese, 'which he [Della Porta] will show to his excellency when he comes to Rome in this year of jubilee [1575], sixteen moral representations made of silver as decoration of tables'.<sup>102</sup> In some scenes, the story takes centre stage and in other in landscapes is the most dominant on the relief. The composition of the Bacchanal is very close to Taddeo Zuccari's fresco in the Villa di papa Giulio, while the influence of Perino del Vaga's work in Genoa, where he collaborated with Della Porta, can be seen in the *Defeat of the Giants* (Fig. 3.8). Ulrich Middeldorf attributed a drawing of the *Defeat of the Giants*, which Della Porta mentions in a 1574 letter to Dosio, in the Morgan Library, to the Lombard sculptor on a stylistic basis.<sup>103</sup> It has the typical overlapping figures and the scene is cut off at the edges of the relief as if it was cropped later.

For Pope Paul IV, Della Porta decorated the Cappella Paolina with several sculpted prophets and angels in 1555, which have since then been lost.<sup>104</sup> The pope instructed the

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<sup>99</sup> 'He does not work from models like other sculptors, but continues to uncover the complete limbs, so that the figure looks like a naked woman emerging from the snow.' Quoted from: *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>100</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 31

<sup>101</sup> Vasari 1987 (see note 74), p. 206.

<sup>102</sup> The citation comes from a letter of Della Porta to one of his friends in the court of Philip II and is dated 29th april 1575. 'In this book I will sketch the stories of Ovid for the ornaments of a table'. Gramberg 1960 (see note 2), p. 33.

<sup>103</sup> Ulrich Middeldorf, 'Two Wax Reliefs by Guglielmo Della Porta', *The Art Bulletin* 17 (1935), p. 90.

<sup>104</sup> In a letter to Cardinal Farnese Della Porta mentions four statues of prophets.



Cardinal Farnese that these should be cast in bronze and put in the tiers of the cupola of the St. Peters church, but on the pope's death in 1559 the instalment seems to be cancelled.

In 1556, Guglielmo commenced with another ambitious project: the decoration of the San Silvestro al Quirinale.<sup>105</sup> Along with Giovan Antonio Dosio, Della Porta intended to decorate the entire interior with a relief cycle depicting the *Passion* (Fig. 3.9).<sup>106</sup>

The series included:

'il primo ato de la passione fu quando etrava in gerusalieim/second fu quando la cena/terzo quando lavo li piedi/quatro quando oro/quinto quando fu preso/sesto fu quando ando a pilato/setimo quando fu batuto ala colona/otavo quando fu coronato de spine/nono quando fu mostrato al populo/decimo quando pilato se lavo le mano/undecimo quando porto la croce/duodecim quando fu crucefiso/tredicesimo quando fu levato di croce/quatrodecimo quando resusito'.<sup>107</sup>

Unfortunately the plan was abandoned in 1559 after the death of Paul IV, yet even after the project was cancelled Della Porta continued to work on the cycle and tried to sell it to his patron Cardinal Farnese. He then reassembled it into a door and offered it for sale to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo I de' Medici, with a portrait of the duke incorporated into the door and to Pope Gregory XIII. In a letter from 1560 Della Porta compared his own unexecuted project to the column of Trajan. He described the reliefs as 'il più ricco e onorato lavoro che si amai fatto in scultura da' moderni'.<sup>108</sup> Vasari saw the *modelli* in Della Porta's workshop in 1567 and he gave a detailed description. The scenes were set upright and measured around 130 by 80 centimetres. The *Nativity*, which Della Porta had intended as major altarpiece, measured twice that size (Fig. 3.10). Werner Gramberg reconstructed the project from the Düsseldorf sketchbooks and was able to identify one of the reliefs in Berlin.<sup>109</sup> In 1560, Guglielmo mentions that the entire series is almost complete in a letter about the failed project for a mausoleum for Charles V.<sup>110</sup> This led Gramberg to believe that the reliefs were originally destined for the equestrian monument, yet this would not be very common iconographically. Additionally, judging by Della Porta's drawings, there is little room for fourteen bronze reliefs under the *dexileos*-type rider.

Other works from that period are mentioned in a 1558 will and include a few bronze crucifixes.<sup>111</sup> Documents from 1556 also refer to the completion of a marble St. John for the

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Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 397.

<sup>105</sup> Extermann 2012 (see note 89), p. 61.

<sup>106</sup> I am indebted to Amy Taylor of the Ashmolean who was kindly enough to provide me with high-resolution images.

<sup>107</sup> Extermann 2012 (see note 89), p. 62.

<sup>108</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 397.

<sup>109</sup> Gramberg 1964 (see note 14), p. 92.

<sup>110</sup> Lothar Sickel, 'Guglielmo Della Porta's Last Will and Sale of His Passion of Christ to Diomede Leoni', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* LXXVII (2014), p. 232.

<sup>111</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 397.

portal of Castel Sant'Angelo, work on the Carafa chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva and a chapel of Sts. Peter and Paul in Della Porta's native town of Porlezza.

The death of Michelangelo on the 18<sup>th</sup> of February 1564, and Annibale Caro on November 17<sup>th</sup> 1566, removed two major blocks for the completion of the tomb of Paul III. Gregory XIII permitted a freestanding monument in the southern aisle of the St. Peter's basilica and the tomb was finally completed in the south transept of the church in 1575. This monument that was eventually built was much more modest than intended, yet still with a final cost of 26.500 ducats, which was covered by the pope's nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. A medal struck on the cardinal's orders recalls that the project was 'begun with public funds, he completed it with money added from his own resources, in the jubilee year of 1575'. Della Porta's final testament, drawn up the day before, shows his economical position had improved tremendously since he finished the monument of Paul III.<sup>112</sup> Only the already finished statues were used.<sup>113</sup> The pope in bronze was set on a marble and bronze base above a marble plinth with the two paired reclining allegories at the front and back.

In 1587, only a decade after Della Porta's death, Michelangelo's recommendations were taken to heart and the monument was reinstalled as a wall-monument in a niche beneath the cupola, which now houses Duquesnoy's *St. Andrew*, with the two allegories at the back moved to the top. Guglielmo's son, Teodoro, added the metal drapery to the figure of justice in 1593 or 1594. Before that Vasari had described it as 'una figura nuda sopra un panno a giacere.'<sup>114</sup> Some forty years later in 1628, the monument was reduced and repositioned again to the apse of the church, where it forms a pendant to Bernini's monument for Pope Urban VIII. Some of the reliefs of faith and fortitude and the paired personifications of abundance and peace were taken the palazzo Farnese, where they are displayed now in the Salon del Ercole.

In June of 1564, Della Porta started with a second Passion cycle, this time comprising of eight scenes. Apparently they were intended for Gregory XIII who wanted them to decorate the doors of the renewed St. Peter's. It is safe to assume that this is the same series mentioned in an inventory from 1578, in which eight wax histories are mentioned among the other works left behind in the workshop.<sup>115</sup> The series was a lot smaller than the one begun for San Silvestro, measuring only about 53 x 37,5 centimetres (Fig. 3.11). Somewhere in the following decade the Della Porta workshop made the models into moulds that were ready for

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<sup>112</sup> Sickel 2014 (see note 110), pp. 229–39. For the full list of artworks see: Masetti Zannini 1972 (see note 83), pp. 303–305.

<sup>113</sup> Pope-Hennessy report that the Codex Barberini 2733 hold a drawing of the monument in its original state but I have not been able to trace the work within the book. Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 399.

<sup>114</sup> Vasari 1987 (see note 74), p. 206.

<sup>115</sup> Sickel 2014 (see note 110), p. 232.

casting, but this was never completed — at least, not under the supervision of Guglielmo. The moulds were later sold to Diomedeo Leoni.<sup>116</sup>

In 1567, Della Porta received another major commission from the pope: the altar of St. Peter with reliefs showing the *Deposition*, *Presentation of the Keys*, and *Pentecost and Christ entering Jerusalem*. In a 1574 letter to Dosio he wrote that he had designed the architecture of the altar with room for fourteen ‘misterii della passione di Jesu Christo’.<sup>117</sup> This project too can be at least partially reconstructed from the Düsseldorf sketchbooks.<sup>118</sup>

In a will Guglielmo made in 1568, the estate was equally divided between his sons Phidias and Teodoro, with the guardianship of Teodoro entrusted to Guglielmo’s close friend Giovanni Battista Caro, brother of Annibale.<sup>119</sup> He mentions several bronze statues, a series of twelve emperor busts, and refers to the passion cycle, ‘opus sculpturae ubi est representato passionis D.N. Jesu X.pi’.<sup>120</sup>

Myron-Teodoro della Porta (1567-1638) was only ten when his father died, yet he was Guglielmo’s greatest heir and successor.<sup>121</sup> Teodoro later became a sculptor and continued his father’s workshop and foundry. He also traded in antiques and later obtained the title of *cavaliere*. His mother was Pamfilia Guozzarona, who later remarried the collaborator of Guglielmo and guardian of the then still minor Teodoro, Bastiano Torrigiani.

Guglielmo’s first born, Phidias, has often been described as an outcast. Gramberg informs his readers that after being trained in the trade of his father, he turned criminal; Phidias’ ‘ungodly’ life has even received some attention from psychoanalysts.<sup>122</sup> He was probably the child of another woman.<sup>123</sup> However, contrary to what has been assumed, documents show that Guglielmo took good care of his son.<sup>124</sup> He legitimised his first born in 1561, sought a bride for him, and about a decade later, Guglielmo gave the incredible high sum of 10.000 sc. to Phidias. The middle child, Lysippus, died at the age of six and was buried in Santa Caterina della Rota under the Della Porta coat of arms.

Towards the end of his life Della Porta became fed up with Rome and he decided to resign from his office in 1576. He had fallen ill and left his official duties to his assistants. Della Porta intended to bring his sketches and *modelli* of the different cycles to his native Porlezza,

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<sup>116</sup> Leoni compensated Guglielmo’s assistant Casarola for all the expenses he had made during the masters illness. The payment followed an agreement with Torrigiani concerning the acquisition of fourteen ‘forme’ of the passion. Ibid. p. 236.

<sup>117</sup> Gramberg 1960 (see note 2), p. 34.

<sup>118</sup> Gramberg 1964 (see note 14), pp. 67-71.

<sup>119</sup> Sickel 2014 (see note 110), p. 229.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>121</sup> Gramberg 1960 (see note 2), p. 35.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>123</sup> Antonino Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei Secoli XV, XVI, XVII*, vol. 1, 2 vols., Studi e Ricerche negli Archivi Romani, Bologna 1969, p. 143.

<sup>124</sup> Sickel 2014 (see note 110), p. 231.

where he wanted to retire.<sup>125</sup> It has been hypothesised that this was because of his own spiritual concerns and interest in the reform of the Catholic Church, but the artistic possibilities could also have played a part here.<sup>126</sup> From his will of 1577, we learn that only one of the reliefs was completely finished. ‘Una sola finita, si è quella quando Nostro Signore portò la santa Croce et tutte queste con le sue forme di gesso in sima con le altre che sono in tutto n. 14’.<sup>127</sup> Before Della Porta was able to leave the city he died on the 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1577, not only leaving his friends and family behind, but also Rome’s largest sculpture workshop.

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<sup>125</sup> ‘anche portavi... molte altre storie morali di basso rilievo per adornamento di tavole.’

Gramberg 1964 (see note 14), p. 218.

<sup>126</sup> Gibbons 1995 (see note 3), p. 140.

<sup>127</sup> Sickel 2014 (see note 110), p. 232.

## Guglielmo's 'Gran Scuola' and the education of sculptors

The workshop of Guglielmo della Porta has often been described as a beehive of activity, a meeting place for the many young sculptors who came to learn and work (Fig. 4.1).<sup>128</sup> An early seventeenth-century writer even labelled the workshop a 'Gran Scuola', a sort of art academy for sculptors and goldsmiths.<sup>129</sup> The *bottega* must have been a wide-ranging and multifaceted place with gold and silversmiths working alongside sculptors and modellers. It was a place where at one and the same time marble and ivory were carved and bronze was cast, and so it is hardly surprising that the workshop earned a reputation for attracting a host of young talent.

Della Porta headed his large workshop on Via Giulia. Contemporary documents report that it was close to the church of Santa Caterina da Siena, but the exact location and size remains unknown.<sup>130</sup> It was often described as 'fonditore' and his employers called it their 'casa'.<sup>131</sup> Guglielmo himself and his family did not reside in the workshop but owned a house nearby, also in Via Giulia. In 1566 there are at least four extra family members residing in his house.<sup>132</sup>

Early modern artists typically had their workshop adjacent to their homes. The house had a space in the back that was probably used as a smaller workshop, where the assistants could prepare the designs or clean tools.<sup>133</sup> Della Porta, as keeper of the papal seal, had access to the papal foundry, called the *Zecca*, located close by, just across the Tiber. In his testament made the day before his death, the Florentine nobleman Niccolò Gaddi is named as lodger of the house in the Via Giulia.<sup>134</sup> Before Guglielmo's heirs finally sold it to the *fiammingo* George Brich from Arras in 1579, the bronze founder Il Bresciano also occupied the rooms for a few months.

After Della Porta's death the workshop was continued by Bastiano Torrigiani, who was known as 'Il Bologna'. He had been at least active in the Della Porta workshop from 1573 as a bronze sculptor and was arguably responsible for the copying and recasting of several antiques.<sup>135</sup> His surviving pieces include the Saint Peter and Saint Paul destined to top the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

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<sup>128</sup> Gibbons 1995 (see note 3), p. 138.

<sup>129</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 26.

<sup>130</sup> 'in via Julia iuncta ecclesie s. Caterine de Senis'. Masetti Zannini 1972 (see note 83), p. 300. Palazzo Cisterna, located on Via Giulia 163, now claims to be 'L'Atelier Guglielmo della Porta' and hosts events under that name.

<<http://www.atelierguglielmodellaporta.it/chisiamo.aspx>>

<sup>131</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 31.

<sup>132</sup> Masetti Zannini 1972 (see note 83), p. 299.

<sup>133</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 31.

<sup>134</sup> Sickel 2014 (see note 110), p. 232.

<sup>135</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 56.

Willem van Tetrode is the first Northern name we can connect to the Roman workshop. The *Delvenaar* must have joined up with Della Porta in or just after 1551 in is recorded there by Vasari as Guglielmo Tedesco.<sup>136</sup> Jacob Cobaert joined the workshop of Della Porta in a later stage. In the 1570s he worked in the *bottega* as *allievo*. He also had an accommodation in the same building and still lived there in the Via Giulia after Della Porta passed away in 1577.<sup>137</sup>

The third sculptor present in the workshop is Nicolas Mostaert. As mentioned before, researching him is very difficult since there is a lot of confusion about who he actually is. His arrival in the workshop is placed between 1555 and 1560.<sup>138</sup> One of the few contemporary references comes from 1588, when a certain Rinaldo from Brussels testifies that ‘...si ch’io conosco molti fiamminghi qui in Roma, che ne conosco uno dove io son stato pigliato, chiamato Mro Niccolò Musterdi commettitor di tavole mische, ne conosco un altro mastro gilio de malines scultore fiammengho, il quale sta alla fontana di trevi, un altro chiamato Mro Niccolò fiammengho scultore che sta pure alla fontana di Trevi, ...’<sup>139</sup> Then Niccolò himself is brought in: ‘io sono venuto qui all’officio perche mio zio me ci ha menato.’...‘sono circa 18 anni che io venni a roma et l’anno dopo l’anno santo tornai al paese, che stetti circa sei mesi forse che son habitato in Tor Sanguigna in casa de mio zio chiamato Niccolò Mustardi pellicciaio in tor Sanguigna... Da sette anni io abito al Crocifisso’..‘conosco paolo lapicida per aver comperato da un suo compagno breccia minuta. Non sa della rissa di pietro’<sup>140</sup>

Not many works are successfully attributed to Mostaert. An ivory *Deposition* from Palazzo Pitti and its twin from the Vatican, made after a drawing in the Teylers museum attributed to Michelangelo, seem to be the only works that remain from his hands (Fig. 4.2). Perhaps Mostaert was influenced by Della Porta to render the drawing in ivory, since Della Porta too was inspired by it for his own design of the biblical scene (Fig. 4.3).

Lastly, there are two other names that could be associated with the Della Porta *bottega*. By March of 1573 a Mauro (Maurits) Fiammingo had a workshop together with Arnoldo (Arnold) da Olanda on the Strada Giulia.<sup>141</sup> Since the area with the highest Northern population was in the north of the city, it is quite surprising to find two *fiamminghi* sculptors heading a workshop so close to that of Della Porta’s. The rest of this chapter will be devoted to what these artists did in the Della Porta workshop, and why they went specifically there.

The education of a sculptor often started with drawing after great predecessors. In any Renaissance treatise on art one is constantly reminded of the importance of drawing (both in the education of artists and in designing a new work) and in the first chapter we saw how and what the young artists drew once they arrived in Rome. For example, the first three years of the young Bernini’s time in Rome were spent drawing the objects of the greatest rarity ‘from

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<sup>136</sup> Vasari 1987 (see note 74), p. 207.

<sup>137</sup> Bertolotti 1969 (see note 123), pp. 123-130.

<sup>138</sup> Eike D. Schmidt and Maria Sframeli, eds., *Diafane passioni. Avori barocchi dalle corti europee*, Florence (Museo degli Argenti di Palazzo Pitti) 2013, p. 98.

<sup>139</sup> Bertolotti 1974 (see note 8), p. 194.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

dawn until the sounding of the Ave Maria in the rooms of the Vatican.’ Ancient statues were the perfect examples to draw from for modern sculptors.<sup>142</sup> It was the standard to which all art was measured and many started out by studying the great examples of their predecessors. Francisco de Hollanda, a contemporary of Della Porta, wrote four dialogues with Michelangelo in the second part of his 1548 treatise on antique art. De Hollanda recounted how:

‘... Donatello (who, with all deference to Signor Michael, was one of the first modern artists to merit fame and renown in sculpture in Italy) said nothing to his pupils when he was instructing them except ‘that they were to draw,’ expressing his teaching in a word: ‘My pupils, I mean to give you the whole art of sculpture when I say to you: draw.’ And Pomponius Gauricus the sculptor affirms the same in the book that he wrote, *De re statuaria*’.<sup>143</sup>

By copying these good pieces during the learning process, so says Samuel van Hoogstraten, one’s hand does things that are above the comprehension or power of a pupil, but this is how one starts to learn the good path if the supervisor watches so that one ‘finds the right purport of the masterpiece.’<sup>144</sup>

Vasari also mentions how the Northern sculptors came to Italy to ‘learn and draw the antique things’.<sup>145</sup> But the *Fiamminghi* came to Rome for more than to simply vocationally ‘learn the right way of drawing’.<sup>146</sup> Once Giambologna had arrived in Rome around 1550 he stayed for two years, ‘and there he studied very industriously, portraying in clay and wax all the praised figures that are there’.<sup>147</sup> This is also found in Baldinucci’s biography, which states: ‘he went to Rome, where, in the two years he remained there, he modelled as beautifully as you have ever seen’.<sup>148</sup> This modelling is certainly not something he would have learned in an ordinary workshop in the North. Giambologna, as told by Baldinucci, recounted to his friends at an old age how his time in Rome and in particular his meeting with Michelangelo had a great influence on him.<sup>149</sup> The Flemish master once made a model in wax in the way he learned to design in the North, *coll’alito*, meaning “as fast as a breath”, and presented it to Michelangelo. The Florentine master then took the painstakingly made piece of

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<sup>142</sup> Colantuono 2014 (see note 43), introduction.

<sup>143</sup> Francisco de Hollanda, *On Antique Painting*, trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl, Pennsylvania 2013 (1548), p. 191.

<sup>144</sup> ‘...den rechten zin van het meesterstuk treft.’ Eric Jan Sluifster, ‘Over “rapen” en wedijver in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw’, *De zeventiende eeuw* 21 (2005), p. 275-276. The education changed very little over the centuries and Van Hoogstraten perfectly words the process and its goal. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding Tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkunst*, Rotterdam 1678, p. 218.

<sup>145</sup> ‘che tutti sono stati in Italia a imparare e disegnare le cose antiche per tornarsene, sì come hanno fatto la più parte, a casa eccellenti.’ Vasari 1987 (see note 74), p. 227.

<sup>146</sup> Vautier 2007 (see note 33), p. 15.

<sup>147</sup> Borghini 2007 (see note 28), p. 282.

<sup>148</sup> Baldinucci 1975 (see note 31), p. 556.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 557; Dhanens 1963 (see note 10), p. 160.

wax in his hands and in doing so ruined it. But with a few simple hand movements Michelangelo re-modelled it with marvellous bravado in front of the young sculptor in order to teach him that he had to learn how to model first.<sup>150</sup> ‘Or va prima ad imparare a bozzare, e poi a finire’. Only after ‘portraying in clay and wax all the praised figures’ Giambologna became ‘very accomplished’ in these materials (Fig. 4.4). This anecdote, so very clearly, was constructed to represent the difference between the sculptors of the North and the South. From Baldinucci’s anecdote one can deduce that Giambologna was not at all experienced with the Italian manner of model making and did not build his model up from within, but focused on the immediately visible appearance of the wax or clay. Yet, materializing beauty with great technical execution and with an eye for detail certainly belonged to the characteristics of Netherlandish art.

In his publication *Ambitious Form*, Michael Cole focused on a 1584 painting of the Cesi gardens by Hendrick III van Cleve (Fig. 4.5).<sup>151</sup> This work gives rare insight into the working practice of the Flemish sculptors in Rome.<sup>152</sup> In the garden we see an artist making a study of an antique Hercules in the bottom left corner, but he does not use paper as one would expect, but rather a three-dimensional model in wax or clay. Working with scale models of wax or clay was something practically unknown to the Netherlands before 1550, but already a well-established method in Italy.<sup>153</sup> They made utilitarian models for the process of casting, as well as preparatory small and life-size models for stone statues. ‘A good master first has to make a small model of at least two fists high, in which he solves problems of the posture and invention. After that he should make a model as big as the final marble piece’. It provided a rapid visualization the way a sketch does for painters.<sup>154</sup> Whereas in the Low Countries sculptors concentrated on the outer layers of the statue, these preliminary models in Italy provided the opportunity for younger pupils the possibility to help with the final work. The painting shows us that the artists did not only learn the classical idiom in Italy, but also working with other materials and in different techniques.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> ‘[...] go and first learn to model well before you finish’. Baldinucci 1975 (see note 28), p. 556. Whether the anecdote is true is not known, but does show an aspect of the development of Northern sculptors in Rome. One of Giambologna’s pupils, Hans Mont, had also mastered the art of wax and clay after a visit to Rome. For the emperor he made several models. Van Mander 1994 (see note 25), p. 345.

<sup>151</sup> Cole 2011 (see note 27), pp. 30-32.

<sup>152</sup> Although it is doubtful this was a very common practice, given the emphasis put on drawing by, amongst other, Donatello. Furthermore, Michael Cole underestimated the sheer weight of even a small piece of clay and its drying time under the burning Roman sun. Judging by the size of the model, the sculptor must have at least used extra instruments where the wax or clay could rest on. It seems more beneficial to create a clay or wax figure after a drawing that was made in situ. If this was a common practice the model must have been enlarged for the effect.

<sup>153</sup> Scholten 2007 (see note 21), p. 227; Over fifty years later Van Mander mentions that this method is the custom with the Italians, and very useful. ‘het welck by d’italianen ghebruyckt, en voordelijkck is’. Van Mander 1994 (see note 25), pp. 370-371.

<sup>154</sup> Quoted from: Dhanens 1956 (see note 18), p. 30.

<sup>155</sup> Cole 2011 (see note 27), pp. 25-33.



Raffaello Borghini's *Il Riposo* counts as the first art treatise published for a non-practitioners' audience. In it patron Bernardo Vecchietti speaks with his Florentine art friends Ridolfo Sirigatti, Baccio Valori and Girolamo Michelozzi. 'Once you have had substantial experience in drawing,' so explains Borghini through the mouth of Sirigatti in a fictional conversation on the education of sculptors, 'you can begin to make some heads or figures in profile in low relief in'.<sup>156</sup> He continues:

'Having only this view is easier for beginners. Then, you will be able to pass further forward to making, also of clay, some narratives in low relief and then some head in the round. And finally, clay figures completely in the round can with charm be admired completely all around. These things having succeeded, it is necessary to pass to larger works. Take a piece of sandstone or marble and start to remove the superfluous material little by little with the chisel until one uncovers a head or figure in low relief. And then, taking heart, do heads in the round and finally figures. Be warned, when you want to make figures of marble, to first complete you carefully done and well-considered model of clay. And then, proceeding to take away the marble, always take care to leave much behind, for any difficulties that can develop there.'<sup>157</sup>

Proportions were an important part of the education as well, but this could not 'be taught, [it was] necessary that craftsmen learn it with judgement from nature', i.e. copying and practising.<sup>158</sup>

It took about three to four years before the head of the workshop got any use out of a pupil.<sup>159</sup> Their work would still consist of preparing their master's work and finishing the less important part of a statue. Later they could start with working after designs made by the master sculptor. Only a fully learned assistant could work in all steps of the process, making the mould, casting, cleaning, polishing, ciselation and varnishing, although for important commissions the master did it himself.<sup>160</sup>

A 1583, a letter from Bernardo Vecchietti to Antonio Serguidi discusses the commission of a sculpture of St. Mark for the Orsanmichele. Giambologna had taken the task

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<sup>156</sup> Borghini 2007 (see note 28), p.108; Volker Krahn, 'I bozzetti del Giambologna', in: Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos (eds.), *Giambologna. Gli Dei, gli Eroi; Genesi e Fortuna di uno Stile Europeo nella Scultura*, exh. cat. (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), Florence 2006, pp. 44-61.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>158</sup> Sirigatti: proportions are a necessary thing to know, but we should consider that it is not always appropriate to observe them. poses being stretched or arms raised. So, in wanting to give grace, it is necessary in some places to lengthen and in some to shorten the proportions. Cannot be taught, necessary that craftsman learn it with judgement from nature. Ibid. p. 111.

<sup>159</sup> D. Roggen and J. Withof, 'Cornelis Floris', *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 8, Gent 1942, p. 88.

<sup>160</sup> Letter from Giambologna to Ottavio Farnese in: Dhanens 1956 (see note 18), p. 79.

upon himself after the death of Stoldo, ‘since I would only cost him one month’. Once he had made a model, his assistants would simply do all the rest.<sup>161</sup>

It seems Della Porta had a similar relationship with his pupils. From Della Porta’s correspondence and estate inventory, one can deduce he was in the habit of making models of wax or clay for his assistances to finish.<sup>162</sup>

Acts of a court case that will come up more in detail later in this thesis describe the duties of Jacob Cobaert. He was charged with translating Della Porta’s drawn designs into precious materials. A plethora of drawings served as basis for the reliefs Cobaert made in bronze. Maria Barberini even simply qualified him as the ‘esecutore’ of his master’s drawings.<sup>163</sup> Della Porta was even hired by patrons to only provide them with designs. For example a 1571 contract for the Ospedale della Ss. Trinità simply states that the murals had to be painted after the designs by the frate del Piombo, who would provide drawings for the dormitories, staircases, cantina, the first loggia and the apartments of the staff members.<sup>164</sup> They would then be executed by Bartolomeo de Prata, Rocco Orlandi and Pietro Antonio da Volterra (Fig. 4.6).

The goldsmith Antonio Gentile da Faenza used several designs of Della Porta in, for instance, a three-piece cutlery set now kept in the Louvre, but also several candlesticks, tables, mirror frames and a set of twelve emperor busts.<sup>165</sup> It seems many famous artists, including Michelangelo and Raphael, provided designs for goldsmiths, who sometimes even started to assemble a small collection of these drawings.<sup>166</sup>

One of the ways in which the Della Porta workshop was innovative was in his close collaboration with goldsmiths.<sup>167</sup> The inventory made up after Della Porta’s death records several copies of the same statue, and it is very likely he made a stock of figures in order to economize the production. For example, his 1558 will mentions several crucifixes (Fig. 4.7). There was definitely a relationship with the goldsmith Antonio Gentile da Faenza, as well as a close working relationship with Manno di Sebastiano Sbarri.<sup>168</sup> Both men had their own ateliers in Rome, but could often be found in the workshop of Della Porta.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid. p. 353.

<sup>162</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 31. The correspondence can be found in: Gramberg 1964 (see note 14). Della Porta’s inventories are published in: Masetti Zannini 1972 (see note 83), pp. 300–305.

<sup>163</sup> Maria Giulia Barberini, ‘Cope Scultore Fiammingo ed un avorio di Casa Patrizi’, in: T. Calvano and M. Cristofani, *Per Carla Guglielmi. Scritti Di Allievi*, Rome 1989, p. 17. But that ‘tutte le idee della composizione e le forme, tutti i modelli ed i disegno devono essere quelli del maestro’ seems to go a little far.

<sup>164</sup> Masetti Zannini 1972 (see note 83), p. 299.

<sup>165</sup> Gramberg 1960 (see note 2) p. 48.

<sup>166</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 34.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., pp. 26–45.

<sup>168</sup> Gramberg 1960 (see note 2) p.48.

<sup>169</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 52.

After his collaboration with Della Porta, Faenza started to describe himself as ‘aurifex inventor’. Technically the only difference between the two professions was the authorization to assay gold from the università degli orefici, argentieri e gioiellieri, but in the previous century the two professions had grown apart from each other. Charles Dickerson showed that Della Porta often made designs for goldsmiths.<sup>170</sup> The relationship would be beneficial to both parties since the craftsman gained recognition while Della Porta received more publicity.<sup>171</sup>

After Della Porta established himself as successful sculptor, he built a large foundry that gave him control over the artists that used it and the items that he designed. His innovative workshop was a place where the goldsmiths could improve the skills and learn elements of design from Della Porta. As Cellini mentions on several occasions, being able to make small models was a fundamental requirement and those who excelled on a small scale were the most innovative artists.<sup>172</sup>

The success of Della Porta’s collaboration with goldsmiths can be measured from Baglione’s *Vite*.<sup>173</sup> Five of Guglielmo’s collaborators were given their own biography, amongst whom three can be counted as goldsmiths: Cobaert, Gentile da Faenza, and lastly Sebastiano Torrigiani. This can be weighed against the other popular goldsmiths of the time, the Vanni and Spagna family members. They too worked for the popes and high nobility of Rome, but none of them were even mentioned by Baglione.

Once the sculptors were through their first years of studying they would typically turn to restoration. According to Baglione ‘all men in this city begin by restoring ancient objects’, and many, including a few of the most famous as Della Porta, continued after their educational period.<sup>174</sup> Cardinal della Valle even dedicated his own garden to ‘the restoration of collapsing statues’.<sup>175</sup> One of Della Porta’s assistants, Giovanni Batista di Bianchi, was even solely hired for the restoration of antique pieces.<sup>176</sup> In restoring young sculptors continued to learn to model and carve. The fragmentary state of the ancient statues helped build the technical skills that were highly appraised in the artists. It provided a good enough

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<sup>170</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), pp. 26-7

<sup>171</sup> Ibid. p. 34. For Della Porta’s influence on goldsmiths after his death see: Ulrich Middeldorf, ‘In the Wake of Guglielmo Della Porta’, *Connoisseur* 194 (1977) February, pp. 75–84. It is not completely dissimilar to Baccio Bandinelli’s method. He too was successful with his drawings and bronze statuettes, but he made them on his own initiative to advertise his genius. Anthony Radcliffe and Nicholas Penny (eds.), *Art of the Renaissance Bronze 1500-1650*, London 2005, p. 122. This relationship would work the other way around as well. In the following chapter we shall see how Cellini got the expertise of the marble sculptor Tetrode to gain prestige.

<sup>172</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 27.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>174</sup> ‘...in questa città tutti i Signori cominciarono a restaurare molte cose antiche.’ Baglione 1975 (see note 68), pp. 100-101. Of the 23 *vite* he made of sculptors, fifteen were involved with restoring. Of the remaining eight, six were educated outside of Rome and two are documented elsewhere to be involved with restoration. Dickerson 2008 (see note 15). p. 43.

<sup>175</sup> Stenhouse 2017 (see note 13), p. 391.

<sup>176</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 53.

income for many sculptors and it was a highly valued business since restoration offered the opportunities to put a sculptor's skill directly on par with that of the ancients, as we learned from Michelangelo.<sup>177</sup> When in 1560 the original arm of the Hercules Farnese was rediscovered, he argued against removing the new additions so that Della Porta's take on the statue could be directly compared with that of his antique colleague.<sup>178</sup> However, the fact that the profession was often done by youngsters did not make restoring a prestigious profession. In his autobiography Cellini wrote that the mending of statues was the trade of bunglers 'who do their work poorly enough', echoing the low esteem in which the trade was regarded before the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>179</sup>

Restoration also provided the opportunity for Northern sculptors to train with a material with which they were not as familiar.<sup>180</sup> While there is a great tradition in working and in training with this material on the Italian peninsula, the Northern sculptors often lacked knowledge of the trade since they preferred softer stone, and had a strong tradition in other materials such as ivory.<sup>181</sup> Working with different coloured types of marble is another technique the expatriates took with them to the North.<sup>182</sup> Others, once they had mastered the new Roman techniques and learned to work with Italian materials, decided to stay in the Della Porta workshop.

As mentioned in the introduction, part of Giambologna's education has been placed in the workshop of Della Porta. Rosario Coppel writes that Giambologna, 'had been a student of his [Della Porta] during his first stay in Rome' in the preface to her recent monograph on Della Porta.<sup>183</sup> Later she repeats that Giambologna had 'trained alongside him [Della Porta]'.<sup>184</sup> In her dissertation on the Grimaldi chapel, Gibbons writes that it is quite certain, though not provable, that Giambologna visited the workshop of Della Porta, 'where he could have learned bronze casting and seen restorations of ancient works' since the workshop was the centre of bronze casting in Rome when Giambologna was there, and furthermore a gathering

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<sup>177</sup> See the chapter on the life and works of Guglielmo della Porta and his restoration of amongst others the Farnese Hercules.

<sup>178</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 32.

<sup>179</sup> 'to mend statues, as that is the trade of certain bunglers who do their work poorly enough' Martin Weinberger, 'A Sixteenth-Century Restorer', *The Art Bulletin* 27 (1945) no. 4 (December), p. 266.

<sup>180</sup> Scholten 2007 (see note 21), pp. 227-228.

<sup>181</sup> Richard H. Randall, Jr., 'Dutch Ivories of the Fifteenth Century', in: Reindert Falkenburg et al., *Beelden in de Late Middeleeuwen en Renaissance*, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 45, Zwolle 1994, pp. 127-40. A later chapter will go deeper into the life and work of Jacob Cobaert, but he is a classic example here since it has been hypothesized that he had a experience with ivory carving before he left for Rome.

<sup>182</sup> The usage of coloured marble stems from Raphael and was introduced in the North by Cornelis Floris after his return from Rome in 1538. I am grateful to Frits Scholten for pointing this out to me.

<sup>183</sup> Rosario Coppel, 'Preface', in: Rosario Coppel and Charles Avery, *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans. Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, p. 10.

<sup>184</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 53.

place for Flemish artists.<sup>185</sup> Gibbons comments: ‘what better place to learn what was going on, perhaps to work as an assistant, and to meet with fellow countrymen, who are recorded as being in the shop.’<sup>186</sup>

Coppel places Giambologna’s attendance during his second visit from 1554 to 1556, although she does not quite specify why not sooner. It is very likely Giambologna made a third journey mid-1564 to delivery models for his Neptune statue and a papal work from Bologna to Rome.<sup>187</sup> The only recorded meeting between Della Porta and Giambologna took place in early 1572, when the Fleming visited Rome for, what then would be the fourth time, in the company of Vasari and Bartolomeo Ammanati.

The only other source relating Giambologna to Della Porta is a letter from 1574 written by Della Porta to the architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio, who was in Florence at that time. Here Della Porta mentions sending a sketch of the main altar of St. Peter’s in Rome, where fourteen mysteries of the Passion could be placed. The purpose of the letter was to sell another drawing to Niccolò Gaddi, Dosio’s patron. Della Porta ends the paragraph with ‘Give my greetings to Giovanni Bologna and enlist his help in the negotiations if needed.’<sup>188</sup>

One certainly can infer an ultimate friendship and consequently that the Flemish artist must have known the work of Della Porta first hand, he even could have learned how to lead a large workshop and collaborate with goldsmiths from Della Porta. And while it may be likely that he (often) visited the workshop of Della Porta, where he could see the restoration of some of Rome’s greatest treasures with his own eyes, if Giambologna had worked for Della Porta, Vasari would have mentioned it. He cites Giambologna as his source on Flemish artists and talks about him on four different instances in his *Vite*. Neither do any other early sources on the sculptor, including Guicciardini, Cellini, Van Mander and Sandrart, discuss a stay in the Roman workshop.<sup>189</sup> Furthermore, the technical difference between the artists could serve as an argument for why Giambologna was not a part of the Della Porta workshop during his first Roman stay.

‘His [Giambologna’s] lack of concern with specific subject matter or deep emotional expression... left him free to concentrate on the technical aspect, extending his virtuosity to the limits of the materials with which he worked.’<sup>190</sup> Mary Gibbons, who was one of the first to put his statues in a narrative context, countered the restricted view expressed in the first part of the sentence soon after its publication. On the other hand, it certainly does show the technical reputation that Giambologna has gathered.<sup>191</sup> There are no doubts about Giambologna’s extraordinary technical and stylistic capabilities, furthering for example the

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<sup>185</sup> Gibbons 1995 (see note 3), p. 18.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>187</sup> Dhanens 1956 (see note 18), p. 39.

<sup>188</sup> Gramberg 1964 (see note 14), p. 104.

<sup>189</sup> All contemporary sources on Giambologna in: Dhanens 1956 (see note 18).

<sup>190</sup> Avery 1987 (see note 66), p. 97.

<sup>191</sup> For a case study of the Grimaldi chapel in Genoa see: Gibbons 1995 (see note 3), p. 1.

Figura Serpentinata in his *Rape of the Sabine*, which makes it difficult to conclude anything from the technical aspects of his statues.

Yet, contrary to our expectations, Giambologna did not take technical demands into account in his early Florentine works.<sup>192</sup> For example his Bacchus (Fig. 4.8) is several centimetres thick in some places, which goes against elementary laws of bronze casting and points to the general inexperience of Giambologna. Only after working together with Portigiani in Bologna did his skills in bronze casting greatly improve. While de-attributing something based on technical methodology is not always feasible in the sixteenth century since artists are prone to experimentation, this seems to be more of a mistake instead of conscious trial. Giambologna even attempted to buy his early work back for a high price to destroy them and offered the duke of Urbino to replace one of this early Venuses in the duke's chambers.<sup>193</sup>

However, it is almost inconceivable that Giambologna was not inspired by the artworks of Della Porta. For his own rendering of the *Entombment* he turned to the Passion cycle of the Milanese sculptor, which occupied the latter artists through most of the fifties.<sup>194</sup> The drawings of the cycle, which Della Porta designed for San Silvestro al Quirinale do not include all fourteen scenes, but the *Deposition* appears many times. The scene also appears in his designs for the doors of St. Peter's. Giambologna either drew from his own memory or even could have had examples of Della Porta's designs next to him when rendering his own version of the Passion story. Several drawings from the Düsseldorf sketchbook (nr. 77-80) bare close resemblance to Giambologna's design of the same subject.

Its sheer size and fame from around the continent is what attracted the mostly Flemish pupils to the Roman workshop. The studio was only subordinate to that of Giambologna in Florence. Baldinucci recalls how Giambologna's oeuvre and fame multiplied every day and because of the fact that, 'his atelier started to be visited by the best who were born in that century. Immediately his workshop was full of youths, both Florentine, as well as Northerners of different nations, but mostly Flemings, who with great diligence followed him and helped him with his work'.<sup>195</sup>

At the same time *fiamminghi* artists choose to join the workshop of Frans Floris in Antwerp for the same reason.<sup>196</sup> Floris had tried to recreate an Italian workshop after

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid. p. 311. Coppel informs her reader that, while placing Giambologna in the Della Porta *bottega*, he must have learned the lost-wax method from Guglielmo. But since his inexperience with the technique this seems highly doubtful. Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 40.

<sup>193</sup> Dhanens 1956 (see note 18), p. 348.

<sup>194</sup> Gibbons 1995 (see note 3), pp. 88, 138-143.

<sup>195</sup> Dhanens 1956 (see note 18), p. 64. Because of the popularity of the workshop, once a pupil was fully trained, he was in high demand himself as well. Giambologna was often only able to hold on to one pupil who had reached the high grade of excellence since the demand, and so the payment elsewhere, was too enticing, p. 347.

<sup>196</sup> Carl van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570). leven en werken*, vol. 1, 2 vols, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der schone kunsten 30, Brussels 1975, pp. 66-68.

Raphael's and Giulio Romano's fashion, brought to the North by his elder brother Cornelis, with even the division of labour after the Italian example.<sup>197</sup> Frans Menton, a pupil of Floris, was asked by Van Mander why there were so many good pupils in the workshop in Antwerp, 'so that often the best masters in all the kingdoms or regions of the Christian world have been his pupils'.<sup>198</sup>

'His answer was that it was because of the large works which Frans frequently had in hand, on which Frans set his journeymen to do the dead-colouring after he had indicated to them his intention somewhat with chalk, letting them get on with it, after having said: Put in these or those heads; for he always had a good few of those to hand on panels. In this way they gained courage and experience so that they saw no problem in setting up canvases and designing something themselves and painting from their imagination. Also those who came to him were mostly the ones with the best talent who had already learned for a long time with others, and had practised art and were well-experienced.'<sup>199</sup>

So not only did the young artists choose a prestigious workshop where large and important artworks were being fashioned, their decision also depended on the labour itself. Thanks to its close collaboration with goldsmiths, the workshop of Della Porta offered a wide range of media with which sculptors could work, from ivory to the classical Italian marble. Moreover, unlike most *botteghe*, Della Porta was able to cast his own small bronzes thanks to his appointment as keeper of the papal seal. Whereas sculptors such as Donatello and Giambologna let professional casters take care pouring the hot metal, Della Porta had access to the large Papal foundry as Fra Guglielmo, where the workshop could cast the large bronzes on its own.<sup>200</sup> The treatise that Della Porta intended to write was even supposed to include a section on various sculpting techniques of which the last one was of Della Porta's own

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., p. 102. After the patron set the tenor for the creative process one can distinguish three separate categories in the creation of the statue: invention, preparation and execution. Only the first, the essential act of creation, *invenzione*, had to be done completely by the head of the workshop, the rest was usually completely or partially assigned to employees. The *invenzione* was usually in the form of a drawing or in exceptional cases a three dimensional model, but this was often part of the second phase. The master often, but not always, completed this stage. The work here included the smaller and more detailed character studies to determine the poses and see the lighting and get an intermediary visual impression of the work.

<sup>198</sup> Mander 1994 (see note 25), p. 226.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>200</sup> The sculptor Accursio Baldi wrote to Scipione Cybo how a friar from the convent of San Marco in Florence cast Giambologna's figures. 'Ne Donatello, nè quei della Robbia, tanto famosi scultori, sono men chiari per non saper cuocere senza i fornaciai l'opere loro; a Giambologna, per non dir di tutt'altri, si toglie adunque il pregio della eccellenza, poichè non egli, ma un frate di S. Marco getta tutte le sue figure e bassirilievi'. Dhanens 1956 (see note 18), p. 355. For the casting of bronze in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century see: Emmanuel Lamouche, 'Fondeurs, artistes et artisans du bronze à Rome (1585-1625)' (PhD, Université de Picardie - Jules Verne, 2013).

invention.<sup>201</sup> Direct contact with the best sculptor that the city knew must have been a great incentive for the young aspiring artists, especially when compared to the large, impersonal gardens full of worn-down antiquities where most *fiamminghi* worked (Fig. 4.9).

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<sup>201</sup> Indicating that he himself cast at least part of the output of the workshop. ‘Vedrassi il modo di gettar statue di metallo secondo li antichi Romani, et secondo li Maestri moderni et l’invention mia diferente da gl’altri, come mostrai ne la statua del detto Pontefice; et mostraro meglio nel modo che ho trovato adesso molto utile, il quale non ho ancora publicato, prima ch’io me ne si servito ne le opere di Giesu Cristo. Poi lo notificarò con l’aggiunta, in che modo si ha da gettare qual si voglia metallo, argento, oro, grandi et piccoli, sottili, eguali, lisci di dentro et di fuori, mostrando et la compositione de le terre et le misture appropriate, secondo la qualità de li sopradetti metalli, perche le compositioni de le terre et misture vanno composte varie, secondo le materie et grandezze’. Gramberg 1964 (see note 14), p. 126.



## Tetrode's Technique

Willem van Tetrode was probably born in Leiden to a prosperous middle-class family. The exact date of his birth is not known at this time, but judging from his career trajectory it must be placed between 1520 and 1525.<sup>202</sup> At some time between his twelfth and sixteenth birthday, Tetrode was apprenticed to an anonymous master. The fact that Tetrode had several artists in the family might have prompted him to a similar career; the city of Delft certainly was not famous for its sculptors. The 1543 tax register only mentions two woodcarvers and one sculptor. Tetrode then disappears from the radar until 1548, when he presumably pops up as an assistant to Benvenuto Cellini in Paris. In one of Cellini's letters he thanks Cosimo I de' Medici for paying the salaries of two Dutchmen and a Frenchman who had worked for him in Paris. One of them was likely to be Tetrode.

Cellini started to work for the French King François I in 1540 for whom he made the famous saltcellar in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and worked on a series of five Roman Gods under his patronage. From his *Life* we learn that he had many assistants from all over Europe. It is not documented on which projects Tetrode assisted, but it must have helped him develop his skills as sculptor and fueled his passion for antique art.

In 1545 Cellini returned to Florence, leaving his unfinished works to two Italian assistants, Asciano and Paolo. Tetrode later followed Cellini to Tuscany. He is reported in his studio from the middle of 1548 onwards. Cellini left a rather precise account of his assistant's activities. There is both an *orefice* and a *scultore* named Guglielmo from the Low Countries under his employment. Given the precision of his accounts, it is likely these are two different men. Furthermore, the enormous amount of work accomplished by the Guglielmos between August 1548 and June 1550 exceeds the ability of one man. There's an overlap in activities and there simply were not enough days in a week to account for the days paid for by Cellini. Judging by the tasks given to Tetrode, he was probably the named 'scultore'.

It was quite usual for Cellini to leave the execution of his statues to his assistants.<sup>203</sup> Given the importance of the works Tetrode finished in Florence, he must have been one of the more important collaborators. He carved the marble bust of Cosimo de' Medici that is now kept in San Francisco (Fig. 5.1) and a lost statue of Medici's spouse, Eleonora of Toledo. Furthermore, he was responsible for the base of Cellini's *Perseus* in the Loggia dei Lanzi, along with Francesco Ferrucci del Tadda, Piero Francese, Barberino da Mugello and Amadio da Sangallo. Lastly, Cellini entrusted his first restoration project at least partially to Tetrode, including an antique torso from the Medici collection that Cellini redesigned into *Ganymede*

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<sup>202</sup> Scholten 2003 (see note 11), pp. 10-11. Scholten mentions that the Delft parish registers are no longer in existent. But, if what he says before that is true, namely that the family didn't move from Leiden until after the fire of 1536, than Tetrode was must have been born in that city.

<sup>203</sup> Louis A. Waldman, 'A Rediscovered Portrait of Benvenuto Cellini Attributed to Francesco Ferrucci Del Tadda and Cellini', *The Burlington Magazine* CXLIX (2007), p. 824.

(Fig. 5.2). The task must have been highly valued by Cellini since the statue was so important.<sup>204</sup> Tetrode himself revealed that he was responsible for the restoration in a letter to Cosimo from 1562, wherein Tetrode claimed that it was he, and not Cellini, who had carved out the marble limbs for the duke's valued statue. The truthfulness of the statement can unfortunately not be confirmed.

In a society where carving stone was seen as the highest of all arts, it was vital for Cellini to present himself as master of marble and it was through Tetrode that this was possible. The fact that Cellini makes hardly any mention of his assistants in his autobiography was undoubtedly because Cellini did not wish to admit to the fact that others did his carving for him.

Cellini's last payment to Tetrode is dated 28<sup>th</sup> of September 1551 and the Dutchman probably left for Rome soon afterward. Perhaps he moved on to the papal city from a drive to keep developing and a desire to see the famed antique monuments with his own eyes. In Rome he joined the studio of Della Porta. Tetrode had proven himself to be an accomplished sculptor in marble. His experience in restoration made Tetrode an especially good candidate to join the Roman workshop. The studio of Della Porta seems an obvious choice for the young aspiring artist Tetrode, since it had already completed several of Rome's finest new sculptures and was patronized by the former and current popes.

A few years earlier Cellini had competed with Della Porta for the position of papal 'custode del piombo' in Rome, which may or may not have facilitated the transition between the two prestigious workshops since Tetrode must have known the sculptor who was chosen over his own master. Another actor that could have played a part in the move was the goldsmith Manno di Sebastiano Sbarri, maker of the famous Farnese Casket in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples, who had previously been a student of Cellini as well. After he moved to Rome he slowly entered the Farnese circle and became one of the major collaborators of Della Porta.<sup>205</sup>

There are very few sources on Tetrode's Roman period. Vasari mentions him in the workshop of Della Porta as "Guglielmo Tedesco" in the second edition of his *Vite*. That Vasari must refer to Tetrode seems certain since he also mentioned that this Guglielmo later moved into the service of the counts of Pitigliano. In 1562, Tetrode was involved in a fight at the Piazza di Siena in Rome, which also included a former Northern colleague from his time under the count's employment called Casparo Tedesco.<sup>206</sup> Tetrode could have been in service of Della Porta for up to seven years for he became employed by the count of Pitigliano in 1559.

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<sup>204</sup> From life: '[Cosimo]: "Have a look at this chest, that Stefano da Palestrina has sent me as a gift; open it up and let's see what is in it". No sooner had I opened it than I said to the Duke: "My Lord, that is a statue of Greek marble and a magnificent piece: I can't remember ever having seen such an exquisite antique statue of a boy in such consummate execution. I therefore offer your Lordship my services to restore it for you and to add the missing head, arms and feet. Moreover I will provide it with an eagle so that it can be called Ganymede.'" Quoted from: Ashbee 1967 (see note 67), book 2, chapter 69.

<sup>205</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 53.

<sup>206</sup> Bertolotti 1974 (see note 8), pp. 231-232.

In 1602, Hugo de Groot recounts how Tetrode had been involved with restoring antique statues during his stay in Italy.<sup>207</sup> The Dutch sculptor's familiarity with the métier, thanks to Cellini's *Ganymede*, could have put him ahead of the other assistants in Rome. At that time of Tetrode's arrival, Della Porta was responsible for the restoration of marble statues in the Vatican Belvedere as well as those from the Farnese collections. Tetrode's involvement with restoration seems even more likely considering the fact that he spent some time at Villa Farnese at Caprarola, where many of the works were. It was not a common place to visit and draw, but Tetrode made two drawings of an antique putto carrying a jug in the Farnese collection, which is now part of a wall fountain (Fig. 5.3). As Scholten mentions, a major part of Tetrode's oeuvre is in some way or another inspired by the antiques from the Farnese collection, which suggests he spent a considerable amount of time in its vicinity.<sup>208</sup>

Tetrode's later activities suggest he was also involved in copying antique statues. When Tetrode left the Eternal City he came under the employment of the count of Pitigliano. As a gift for Cosimo de' Medici, the count commissioned Tetrode with a wooden cabinet to hold many bronze reductions of Rome's famous statues, a display method that gained popularity around the middle of the sixteenth century (Fig. 5.4).<sup>209</sup> Vasari mentions 'the horse from the Campidoglio, those from the Montecavallo, the Farnese Hercules (On which restoration Tetrode himself could have worked), the Antinous and Apollo Belvedere and the heads of twelve Caesars, as well as others, well made and faithful to the originals.' That they are indeed faithful to the originals suggests that Tetrode had made some kind of copy of the monuments in Rome to aid his memory. Della Porta sometimes cast antique marbles into bronze for collectors.<sup>210</sup> Tetrode also could have made drawings such as the drawing of the putto or bought prints such as the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, sold by Antonio Lafrery since the 1540s, which included famous statues from the Vatican Belvedere and had helped so many others to reconstruct the city's treasures.<sup>211</sup> Another possibility was that Tetrode made reductions in a method closer to the originals with clay or even bronze.

There are no direct documents that suggest with which project Tetrode was concerned. He could have been involved in several works. As Scholten suggests, it seems very plausible that Tetrode worked on Della Porta's main commission in those years: the tomb of Paul III,

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<sup>207</sup> 'Hujus arti, nulli tot saeculis ante permissum, concessit Italia, at antique operum corrupta reficeret, & in tam inveteratae gloriae partem succederet. Hodieque certant manus, cognita laboris difficultate, ab Apellea tabula, quae nunquam perfici potuisse celebratur.' Hugo de Groot, *Batavi, parallelon rerumpublicarum liber tertius. De moribus ingenioque populorum Atheniensium, Romanorum, Batavorum*, vol. 3., ed. Johan Meerman, Haarlem 1802 (1602), p. 14. Scholten 2003 (see note 11), p. 20 n. 63.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>209</sup> Brown 1993 (see note 93), p. 33.

<sup>210</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 183), p. 10.

<sup>211</sup> Jan L. de Jong, 'Aernout van Buchel's Description of Italy, 1587-88', *Print Quarterly* Volume XXXIII (2016) no. 2 (June), pp. 127, 134.

on which several ‘N.N.fiamminghi worked’.<sup>212</sup> By now his practice in restoration must have prepared him well for the carving of new allegories designed by his new employer. Unfortunately Della Porta was not as meticulous in writing down his costs as Cellini was.<sup>213</sup> Scholten further hypothesizes that Tetrode could also have had a hand in the bronze reliefs for the enormous table for Alessandro Farnese. Other artworks that Tetrode may have worked on include the series of twelve emperor busts Della Porta had to make for Palazzo Farnese.<sup>214</sup>

It might also be possible that Tetrode worked on Della Porta’s relief cycle of the *Passion*, or at least studied Della Porta’s designs meticulously while he was present in the workshop. Perhaps he even took a few drawings with him as mnemonic device. Most datable reliefs were made after Tetrode’s departure, but the designs were certainly there. Another possibility is that Tetrode later returned to the Della Porta workshop in 1562, when he was making his own series of the life of Christ. Gian Francesco Orsini mentioned to Cosimo I de’Medici that Tetrode was in Rome in order to make ‘una serie di episodi della Vita di Christo’.<sup>215</sup>

The high number of extant reliefs after Della Porta’s designs testifies to the success of his particular scene. The surviving reliefs seem to fall in two separate categories: the first is where Della Porta attached the Christ figurine almost next to the column, which is the way he designed the story in his sketchbook (Fig. 5.5), and the second with a more classical posture, appearing contemplative in front of the column with his arms tied behind his back (Fig. 5.6).

In one of Della Porta’s more precious low relief bronze plates of the *Flagellation of Christ* from the Victoria and Albert Museum, which borrows its composition from Guglielmo’s predecessor, Sebastiano del Piombo’s mural of the story in the San Pietro in Montorio (Fig. 5.7), Christ is centred between five symmetrically positioned attackers, four of which are in mid-swing of the beating (Fig. 5.8).<sup>216</sup> The fifth stands to the left side, while the two Marys stand on the right as witnesses. Despite the tiny scale, the elongated figures are all highly individualized. Behind the scene is a typical Roman edifice supported by columns with Ionic capitals, arched doorways, and balconies where more onlookers lean out to watch. Christ is positioned outward at the viewer slightly in front of the column. His arms and wrists

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<sup>212</sup> Scholten 2003 (see note 11), p. 18; Johannes A. F. Orbaan, *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden*, vol. 1, 3 vols, ‘s Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën. Kleine serie 10, ‘s Gravenhage 1911, pp. 231-233.

<sup>213</sup> Van Binnebeke 2003 (see note 17), p. 39.

<sup>214</sup> It would not surprise me if this emperor cycle still exists in Palazzo Farnese. It has extraordinary well-made bust cycles of emperors in abundance. The white marble cycle of *Cesari* that adorns the palazzo’s entrance is considered to be by Tomasso della Porta. Francesco Buranelli (ed.), *Dalle collezioni rinascimentali ad ambasciata di Francia*, exh. cat. (Roma, Palazzo Farnese), Florence 2010, pp. 310-315. Recently four busts attributed to Guglielmo were auctioned in London

< <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/treasures-117303/lot.12.html>>.

<sup>215</sup> Van Binnebeke 2003 (see note 17), p. 42.

<sup>216</sup> Rosario Coppel, ‘The flagellation of Christ, in: Rosario Coppel and Charles Avery, *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans. Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, pp. 74-94.

lead into a cross shape as he bends slightly forward and turns his head to one side and down, almost as if in submission — turning the other cheek, so to say. He is posed almost in *contra posto*, balancing himself upon his left leg, stepping slightly forward upon the edge of the ledge. Della Porta borrowed this stance from the Michelangelo's *Christ the Redeemer*, as has been noted before by Irene Baldriga, but gave it a little more torsion.<sup>217</sup> Della Porta's designs for the *Flagellation of Christ* seem to count many similarities with Tetrode's later version of the story.

Christ's pose in Della Porta's work, as well as the positioning of his attackers, is strikingly similar to those in the set now divided between Cologne and Munich (Figs. 5.9, 5.10). Again we see Christ bent slightly forward as he steps with his left leg toward the viewer, and right legs twisting away from the column. The way in which Tetrode twisted Christ's torso away from the column and bent his head downwards is especially similar to that of Della Porta. The figure also seems to take cues from Della Porta's typical renderings of the crucified Christ (Fig. 5.11). The only difference seems to be that Tetrode wrapped the left arm of Christ behind the column while in Della Porta's work, both his arms are crossed in front. Tetrode even fashioned a Christ after Della Porta's second version of the biblical story, this time without column, wherein the wrists of the more detailed and muscled Christ are tied together behind his back while he looks to his right-hand side in agony (Fig. 5.12).

A set of six engravings from Cologne in the Rijksmuseum made after the sculptures by Tetrode shows us the bronzes from different angles (Figs. 5.13, 5.14, 5.15).<sup>218</sup> The engravings of Tetrode's sculptures also share some similarities in the postures of the attackers, who still have their instruments of torture, frozen in action as they raise one arm over their head, twisting slightly with the force of their intended blows. Their weight is placed upon the front leg while the back leg balances them with a toe upon the floor.

The Pitigliano commission from around 1560 forms a base to study Tetrode's method right after he left the Della Porta workshop.<sup>219</sup> The busts and reductions of antique statues, now in the Bargello and the Uffizi in Florence, were subjected to technical research during Emile van Binnebeke's dissertation on the life and works of Tetrode.<sup>220</sup>

According to Van Binnebeke the X-Ray photographs of Tetrode's reductions of the Medici Venus and his Antinous reveal that the core was partly removed, making it more difficult to read. However, the presence of armature threads and corepins probably point to the fact that the core is still inside of the work.<sup>221</sup> From several fractures in the Venus, covered

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<sup>217</sup> Irene Baldriga, 'The First Version of Michelangelo's Christ for S. Maria Sopra Minerva', *The Burlington Magazine* 1173 (2000) 142 (December), pp. 124–30.

<sup>218</sup> Scholten 2003 (see note 11), pp. 60–65.

<sup>219</sup> Emile van Binnebeke, 'Giambologna and Tetrode. X-Ray Analysis', in: Sabine Eiche and Gert Jan van der Sman (eds.), *Giambologna tra Firenze e l'Europa*, Italia e i Paesi Bassi 6, Florence 2000, p. 129. Although given to poor facilities in Pitigliano, Tetrode may have had to make due with a lot less than he would have been used to in the Della Porta workshop. This definitely could have had in impact to the quality of the works

<sup>220</sup> Van Binnebeke 2003 (see note 17), pp. 79–83.

<sup>221</sup> Frits Scholten pointed this out to me in a discussion of this thesis.

up by two bracelets around the arms, Van Binnebeke concludes that Tetrode's sculptures were probably cast in smaller pieces, but perhaps they accidentally broke off during the casting or at a later stage.

X-Rays of the Hercules Farnese form better material for study since the work is completely hollowed out. These reveal a rather thin layer of bronze with two strengthening wires, from just above the feet up to the head that serve as the first step of the model's creation.<sup>222</sup> From this fact Van Binnebeke concludes that the core was composed of a fluid material in which the wires were laid.<sup>223</sup> It suggests that Tetrode did not make use of an armature, but used his model as the base for a mould. He would make a model in clay, cover it with wax, and subsequently take a mould from it to cast his bronze into. This mould would get a layer of wax that later could be melted away and be replaced with the liquid bronze. Then the rest of the mould would be filled in with core material and a supporting armature. When this dried and several sprues were added, the sculpture could be cast.

For his dissertation Van Binnebeke also subjected the Christ at the Column in Cologne (Fig. 5.9) to X-ray photographic research.<sup>224</sup> Despite it being visually very similar to Della Porta's *Flagellation*, the work has been dated later than the Pitigliano cabinet, around 1562 and so is technically less interesting. The core was completely taken out. The column rests on a thick iron pin in the middle of the base, while a second metal thread forms the middle of the Christ figure. A third diagonal thread runs from Christ's knee to his waist for extra support. They were used as base on which the core material, probably consisting of clay and wax, was formed. A large vertical screw indicates that the bronze was restored at a later date. It differs from the bronze reductions made for the count of Pitigliano in that Tetrode did not use make a mould from a clay original, but used his model to cast the bronze. Therefore they belong to the second group distinguishable in Tetrode's oeuvre.

Charles Avery described how one of the reliefs depicting the *Flagellation*, falling in the second category, was made (Fig. 5.16). It was probably cast at the end of the 1560s or beginning 1570s by one of Della Porta's collaborators on commission from someone close to Francesco Borgia.<sup>225</sup> The two circling groups of torturers and the three smaller scenes between the arcade were produced separately by using a relatively standard lost-wax method and later affixed to the copper plate, on which Jerusalem is depicted in a repoussé technique from behind.<sup>226</sup> In this particular version the torturing figures are mounted a little further from the

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<sup>222</sup> In the majority of his work the Dutch sculptor Adriaan de Vries used a similar method where he would begin by building an armature of iron wires over which he would fashion the core, where upon he built the wax. Francesca Bewer, 'The Sculpture of Adriaen de Vries. A Technical Study', in: Debra Pincus (ed.), *Small Bronzes in the Renaissance*, Washington, D.C. 2001, p. 161.

<sup>223</sup> Tetrode was later known to have used this technique. Binnebeke 2000 (see note 219), p. 140.

<sup>224</sup> Van Binnebeke 2003 (see note 17), pp. 84-85.

<sup>225</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 216), pp. 74-94.

<sup>226</sup> Charles Avery, 'Guglielmo Della Porta's Relationship with Michelangelo', in: Rosario Coppel and Charles Avery, *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans.

Christ figure, so far that they probably cannot even reach them with their whips, leaving a little more breathing space for the composition in comparison to, for example, the Victoria and Albert version. The texture of the different objects is rendered meticulously by finishing the metal in diverse techniques; polishing, striating, and stippling.<sup>227</sup> The work seems very consistent with Della Porta's technique as seen in other castings, such as in *Mount Cavalry*.

Della Porta's *Mount Calvary* consists of five separate slush casts that can easily be considered on the hind side (Fig. 5.17) and is coated with a thin layer of wax of about 2 millimetres.<sup>228</sup> On the back one can easily see the wax-to-wax joins between the sections of figures and the middle sheet with the crucifix. They still have the brush marks where the wax was poured in to join the plates together and a few sprues are also visible. As an expert in casting, Della Porta seems to have been able to economize his workshop practice well in the limited use of precious metal, since he did not need any extra patch to repair any flaws. The slender figure of Christ is a solid cast, while details such as fingernails and toes were carefully chased with a burin.

The comparison between the works of Della Porta and Tetrode is quite tricky. At this moment not enough technical research has been done into the oeuvre of Della Porta in order to draw any conclusions. Nor does any statue of Tetrode from his period in the Della Porta workshop remain, thus the material used by Tetrode is likely to differ in composition anyway. Therefore it is not really the technique that is compared, but the method.

There is of course also a difficulty in comparing reliefs with freestanding statues in that they had a different method of preparation. Luckily the Della Porta workshop fabricated its reliefs in parts, and we do have some individual figures, such as the Christ from *Mount Cavalry*. Avery wrote how, judging from their weight, they were solid casts and thus very different from what Tetrode used. However, until similar works of Della Porta are subjected to technical research, the only thing that can be said is that stylistically Tetrode stayed very close to Della Porta in his designs of a similar subject.

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Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, p. 128. Renaissance sculptors often tried to cast their work in one piece because of the prestige that the challenge brought, but this doesn't seem to concern Della Porta. Bewer 2001 (see note 222), p. 162.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

## Cobaert's court case

Judging from Baglione's description of Cobaert's life, he must have been born around 1535 as son of a Cornelis in Flanders.<sup>229</sup> Cobaert's *Vita* can, at the least, be called peculiar. He described the sculptor as a 'lonely, suspicious and melancholic' man 'who trusted nobody'.<sup>230</sup> Cobaert lived as a beast and never wanted anyone to enter his house. When he was ill and was in need of something he called out to a neighbour from his window to buy what he wanted. He then let her put it in a bucket that he had attached to some rope so he could pull it up. Baglione's *Vite* was published only 27 years after the sculptor's death in 1615, thus they easily could have known each other and Baglione must have had some access to direct witnesses of Cobaert's life.<sup>231</sup>

Cobaert must have come to Rome around 1568 and Guglielmo mentions Cobaert in the following year in a letter to Ammannati: '... si come Jacopo mio detto Coppe, m'ha riferito'.<sup>232</sup> Other sources confirm that he lived in the city by the 1570s.<sup>233</sup> Rosario Coppel writes that Cobaert already assisted Della Porta at the age of 20, but as already stated in the introduction, the book is lacking many footnotes and it is more likely she mixed him up with Mostaert, who probably did work in Rome around 1555.<sup>234</sup> Given that he was present in the early 1550s, she infers that he must have worked on the monument for Paul III. Orbaan mentions in a footnote to a 1650's description of Dutch and Flemish art works in Rome that Cobaert was amongst the 'N.N. Fiamenghi' helping Della Porta with the monument of Paul III, but this seems to be speculation.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Baglione 1975 (see note 68), pp. 100-101.

<sup>230</sup> Questo'uomo non se la faceva con veruno, e vivea come una bestia, nè voleva, che in casa sua v'entrasse uomo, o donna. E quando per avventura stave ammalato calava per la finestra una cordicella, e chiamava qualche vicina, che gli comperasse ciò, che egli voleva; e dentro d'un canestrello alla corda attaccato poi a se ritirava quella roba; e così gran tempo, nemico de' ragionamenti, e dell' umana conversazione se la passò. [...] Fu solitario, sospettoso, e malinconico, e di nessuno si fidava; e sotto il Pontefice Paolo V. miseramente chiuse i suoi lumi. Ibid., pp. 100-101.

<sup>231</sup> Gramberg 1960 (see note 2), p. 31–52. However, one must keep in mind that any artists vaguely associated with Caravaggio, who hurt Baglione's reputation with some particularly sneering poems at the beginning of the seventeenth century, were treated quite negatively in Baglione's *Vite*. Perhaps it was this connection to the Lombard painter that earned Cobaert the negative reputation as a reclusive man in later centuries.

<sup>232</sup> Gramberg 1964 (see note 14), p. 122.

<sup>233</sup> Bertolotti 1969 (see note 123), p. 323.

<sup>234</sup> Coppel 2012 (see note 4), p. 52.

<sup>235</sup> It is doubtful whether we can trust the seventeenth century source since it also mentions the 'modello and disegno' were by Michelangelo. The same description also mentions another work by the *fiamengo* about twenty pages later, a marble Pietà in the Santissima Trinita delli Pellegrini with which they probably meant his St. Matthew. Orbaan 1911 (see note 212), pp. 231-233.



After Guglielmo della Porta died in 1577 Cobaert settled in a house of Cardinal Matteo Contarelli near the Campo Santo in the 1580s. He became closely connected to the brotherhood of the Campo, who would later pay for the funeral of ‘Jacomo Cop, scultore fiamengo’ in June of 1615, in the church of the Santa Maria in Campo Santo at the altar of the Madonna.<sup>236</sup>

The first time Cobaert is mentioned in the books of the Santa Maria in Campo Santo is 1588. ‘Jacomo Cobar’ is the last name on a list of donors to the church for a new mural painting.<sup>237</sup> Unfortunately it is not until sixteen years later that we find his name again in a highly unusual source. Martino Falchemburg testified in 1604 that on the 22nd of December he went out to drink something in the Osteria near Ss. Apostoli and met several countrymen: Andrea Sual Alemanno, Giacomo pittore and Giacomo Janze alias Coppe oreifice,<sup>238</sup> The latter began to say that Andrea pittore from Denmark was a spy and a traitor, and that he, together with a friend from Naples, would attack this Andrea. The German Andrea Sual confirmed the story. There are no clues to the further development of the story. Other sources include acts from between 1608 and 1613 when Giacomo Coppe or Coppen was present at at least six gatherings of the Campo Santo.

When Antonino Bertolotti published his transcription of the documented quarrel with the painter Andrea in 1880, the idea arose that there were two ‘Coppe Fiamminghi’; Jacob Cobaert and one whose actual name was Jacob Jansen.<sup>239</sup> Bertolotti refers to Pietro Zani’s *Enciclopedia Artistica*, published between 1817 and 1824, wherein Zani mentions a Cope who also was a goldsmith and a ‘valentissimo’ sculptor in ivory and died in 1610. Where Zani obtained his information from remains unclear, but his characterization of this Cope could easily refer to the Jacob from the Della Porta workshop, in which case Zani only had the date of his death wrong.<sup>240</sup> Hoogewerff also warned his readers not to confuse Cobaert with the goldsmith who was present in Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

When categorizing the sources that definitely pertain to one of the two it quickly becomes clear that it does not actually matter. The only time a document incontrovertibly refers to this Janze is the 1604 document, which has little to no information at all.<sup>241</sup> All the relevant documents refer to the same man, Cobaert. His name is spelled Cobaert, Cobbet, or in case of the Campo Santo slowly changes from Cobar to Coppe.<sup>242</sup> Sources always mention him living near St. Peter’s and discuss the same art works. We must either conclude that this

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<sup>236</sup> Hoogewerff 1913 (see note 12), p. 253.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>238</sup> Bertolotti 1974 (see note 8), pp. 67-68.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>240</sup> Cobaert could be both qualified as sculptor and goldsmith, but since there existed a real divide between the two professions in the nineteenth century Bertolotti immediately related Zani’s text to the Jacob Jansen instead of Cobaert.

<sup>241</sup> It is unlikely he is also the naval officer Giacomo Janzen from Rotterdam mentioned in 1619.

<sup>242</sup> That the man who is present at meetings of the Campo Santo at the beginning of the seventeenth century is Cobaert is likely since they buried him, as Baglione also told. Baglione 1975 (see note 68), pp. 100-101.

second Jacob, Janze, was an artists in Rome in 1604, but with no further information at all, or that Cobaert's full name was Jacob Jansz. Cobaert.

Cobaert was chiefly engaged with the carving of smaller ivories and bronze plaquettes. To use Baglione's words:

'Cope fu scultore Fiammingo, ed in far piccolo era eccellente, e fabbricò alcuni modelletti assai graziosi, e belli. Operò alcune istoriette, o favolette delle Metamorfosi d'Ovvidio in forma ovate, e alcune ottangole, composte per gettare in oro, o in argento; e servivano per adornare un ricchissimo tavolino; i quali modelli vanno in volta gettati di cera molto vaghi'.<sup>243</sup>

The Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien holds eight oval and eight octagonal bronze plaques with scenes of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Fig. 6.1).<sup>244</sup> Baglione's description of the works in the *vita* of Cobaert seem to leave no doubt towards his authorship. These pieces are often used as touchstones for all attributions to Cobaert, despite the fact that, contrary to what Baglione writes, they were made after designs of Della Porta. The plaques have the typical Della Porta figures, which are rendered very basically in one line and has natural features going around the corner. They were modelled with great skill and apparently effortlessly. Small details were simply made by a small engraving or a deep stroke. Cobaert clearly took on the working method which Della Porta used in his own reliefs of, for example, the tomb of Paul III, or the cope of the pope's portrait. The manner in which the leaves are rendered also reminds the viewer of the thick masses of leaves Della Porta made for the natural decoration in his reliefs.<sup>245</sup> But the surface of the reliefs was precisely chiselled. To use Gramberg's words 'it is clear how the secondary scenes, [...] are more treated affectionately and emphasized by being epic in detail. The formal language of Guglielmo della Porta has a different accent here. An accent otherwise not present in his oeuvre, an accent that sounds more Northern than Roman...'.<sup>246</sup> Taking the example of the *Nymphrelief*, Gramberg explains that the precise execution points towards Cobaert's involvement in finishing the relief. As head of the workshop Della Porta must always have been busy, with hardly any time for the laborious task of chiselling a small work. The execution of these works, and other variant of the designs in London and Hamburg, must have been carried out under his supervision because the invention is never misinterpreted. Baglione's confusion about the authorship is very understandable give the fact that a court case about the reliefs was running at that time. Given the importance of the proceedings as source material for the relationship between Della Porta and Cobaert the full acts are given in the appendix of this thesis.

The story of the case is that apparently, Guglielmo's eldest son Phidias had broken into the papal Uffizio del Piombo with nine other accomplices using a key he had copied in

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid., pp. 100-101.

<sup>244</sup> Gramberg 1960 (see note 2), p. 31.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

bone after a dispute with his stepmother and her new husband Bastiano Torrigiani in 1585.<sup>247</sup> He had taken a number of original designs and models, and had sold them of to several interested parties. None of the documentary records survive from this period but perhaps Phidias felt that he was owed more since Torrigiani divided Guglielmo's personal property after his death and awarded himself all the moulds and plaster casts.<sup>248</sup> Torrigiani started a process against Phidias in the name of Teodoro, which ended in the conviction of the eldest son in the next year. Phidias was hanged in the summer of 1586.

The consequences were barely noticeable until 1609 when suddenly several sculptors and goldsmiths were sued by Teodoro for using his father's designs and moulds 'Grande circa tre palmi di basso e alto rilievo, con molte figure dentro, scolpite eccellentemente per mano dio mio Padre nella qual'Historia ha lavorato anche il Coppa fiamengo'.<sup>249</sup> The court documents provide the reader with a list of names of artists who, probably in good faith, bought the Della Porta drawings and models from Phidias. It is to no surprise that there are no great names amongst the artists. There is even a very poorly executed rectangle relief at the Metropolitan Museum in New York with the inscription 'FIDIA' (Fig. 6.2).<sup>250</sup>

The designs were very popular in the circle of Northern artists in Rome. Names as Giacomo d'Armuise Francese, Bartolomeo orifice Tedesco and Giovanni Knopf orifice Tedesco are named in the 1609 act. Unfortunately none of their works can be traced. The Utrecht native silversmith Paulus van Vianen made a silver relief in or shortly before 1603 that was very much influenced by the Pan and Diane relief (Fig. 6.3) and even Rubens drew after one of the reliefs.<sup>251</sup> This makes researching these Ovid reliefs and other sculptures much more difficult to do since one cannot be sure whether it is an original or a later recast with perhaps some slight changes.

On the 21st of March 1609, the then 74-year-old Cobaert was called upon as witness. He recalled that the *gesso* and *cera modelli e forme* were in the workshop of Della Porta when the sculptor died somewhat forty years earlier and that he, Cobaert, had made them 'secondo la volontà di dno M. Guglielmo'. The architect Giovanni Battista Montano also recalled he saw some crucifixes, figures and other histories by the hand of Coppe *fiammingo* displayed in the workshop. Their presence is indeed confirmed by the inventory from the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 1578, which mentions '16 forme di historiette de Ouidio di circa un palmo'. Thus, apparently after Della Porta had made the drawings, Cobaert had finished the works by making the models, moulds, and pouring the liquid gesso into them — not an uncommon practice as seen in previous chapters.

Later Antonio Gentili da Faenza was also brought to the court. They searched his house and found two *tondi* from red wax, on which all the Gods are represented. He admits that they were created in Teodoro's father's house and that he bought them from Teodoro's

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<sup>247</sup> Sickel 2014 (see note 110), p. 236.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>249</sup> Bertolotti 1970 (see note 123), p. 129.

<sup>250</sup> Gramberg 1960 (see note 2), p. 49.

<sup>251</sup> When Paulus van Vianen was in Rome he easily could have found the old Cobaert in the brotherhood of Beatae Mariae Campi Sancti de Urbe. The latter could show the young Dutchman the relief he worked on himself forty-year prior. Ibid., p. 50.

brother 25 years earlier. In a later testimony he changes this and says he got them from Bastiano Torrigiani and paid 50 scudi for them. Given the more simplistic execution of the plaquettes in Vienna, Gramberg attributes these to Faenza. Unfortunately the oeuvre of da Faenza has scarcely been subjected to critical examination, but it seems that he mostly kept himself to copying other artists.

Despite being an expert of small bronzes, Cobaert's most important and only well-documented work is an unfinished marble statue of St. Matthew, now in the church of the Santissima Trinità (Fig. 6.4).<sup>252</sup> Cobaert was commissioned in 1587 to make the work for the Contarelli chapel in the San Luigi dei Francesi by Virgilio Crescenzi, the executor of the will of the French Cardinal Mathieu Cointrel, after whose Italianized name the chapel is now known.<sup>253</sup> In 1609, Cobaert testified that he moved to Contarelli's neighbourhood and began to serve their household. The aforementioned Diomede Leoni witnessed the signing between Contarelli and Cobaert, who was also charged with decorating the façade and the chapel of San Luigi. During the court case the architect Giovanni Battista Montano remembered that various objects made by Cobaert 'come forme, rilievi di gessi, di cera, di creta' were taken from the Della Porta workshop and given to Contarelli.<sup>254</sup> Lothar Sickel hypothesised that Contarelli wanted the *Passion* relief cycle for the church, but that he abandoned that idea because it was too costly.<sup>255</sup> Montano told the court that the reliefs were kept in the palace of Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, which could confirm Lothar's theory.

Cobaert would be paid a thousand *scudi* plus seventy *scudi* a year for the marble group that was to be completed by 1591. Cobaert continued to work on the life-size statue until his death, at which point only the figure of the evangelist was finished. There are two versions of the story of why Cobaert never completed the statues. Most likely is that Cobaert feared that he would not get paid, as had happened with his colleague Muziano, and stopped working on the group. Giovanni Baglione proposes another version: the heirs of Contarelli gave up on the sculptor because he did not complete the statues in time.<sup>256</sup> When Crescenzi finally did see them, he found them loathsome and instead went to Caravaggio. Despite the somewhat long left arm, the group seems to be in line with conventional Italian standards. What little charm it has comes from its surface effect, the different gradation of light and shadow.

The statue is strikingly similar to a sketch that Della Porta made thirty years earlier (Fig. 6.5). Despite Cobaert's technical abilities the drawings show how little Cobaert was able to step out of his master's shadow. Even a decade after Della Porta's death Cobaert's own designs were still completely under the influence of Della Porta. In any case, when Cobaert died in 1615 at the age of eighty he left the group incomplete. Pompeo Ferrucci was tasked to finish the marble by adding an angel that is holding an inkwell ready for the evangelist to dip

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<sup>252</sup> Jacob Hess, 'The Chronology of the Contarelli Chapel', *The Burlington Magazine*, 579 (1951) 93 (June), pp. 186–201.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>254</sup> Bertolotti 1970 (see note 123), pp. 138–143.

<sup>255</sup> Sickel 2014 (see note 110), p. 237.

<sup>256</sup> Cobaert lacked expertise in working in marble and would not except help so he kept working on it his whole life. Baglione 1975 (see note 68), pp. 100–101.

his quill. In 1602 the saint was reported in situ without the angel, but the group found its way, probably through the interference of François Cointrel, nephew of the cardinal, to the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini in 1620, where the incense induced misty and mysterious interior of the church lends the statue more appeal.<sup>257</sup>

Cobaert was a more successful artist when it came to smaller bronzes. As shown before, the most innovative artists were considered to be those working on a smaller scale. For the same chapel in the San Luigi dei Francesi, Cointrel also commissioned a large tabernacle from Cobaert (Fig. 6.6), which included four small angels and *profeti*, Moses, David, St. Louis, and an unidentified figure.<sup>258</sup> They were left to Virgilio Crescenzi in 1585, at which point they still had to be gilded. The next mention comes from 1602. The work can now be found in the fourth chapel on the left-hand side of the church, with a few autograph copies of the smaller sculptures in the Museum of Palazzo Venezia and the Nelson-Atkins museum.<sup>259</sup>

The prophets are quite ambitious in design with strong *contrapposto* and heavy draperies that accentuate their movement and are reminiscent of the St. Matthew statue (Fig. 6.7). Scholar Jennifer Montague was so impressed by them that she argued that ‘in the context of the history of art, they ought not to exist’.<sup>260</sup> They were made seated, not dancing as the photograph might suggest. The flow of the fabric around Moses was even described as a rollercoaster, ‘a journey for the viewer’s eyes with its sharp initial descent, abrupt turn at the waist, and culminating loop around the figure’s right knee’.<sup>261</sup> The detailed finish of the texture is very characteristic of Cobaert’s oeuvre as well as the Della Porta workshop as a whole, as appears from the examples of *Mount Cavalry* and the *Flagellation* in the previous chapter. The figures of the evangelists on the tabernacle (Fig. 6.8) were even designed in the same guise as Della Porta had designed his series of apostles (Fig. 6.9). Again in strong *contrapposto*, the men stand with their left foot slightly raised forward, their heads in line with the direction of their shoulder, while they glance and point at the book in their hands or slide through its pages. Cobaert’s figures seem a little less elongated, a bit more stable, and contrary to Della Porta’s designs; they are completely covered by tranquil flowing drapery. These bronzes also fit well in the oeuvre of Cobaert, especially St. Mark, with his long forehead and nose, baring close resemblance to Cobaert’s St. Matthew for San Luigi dei Francesi.

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<sup>257</sup> Hess 1951 (see note 252), p. 190. According to a 1650 list of works in Roman churches, the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini also holds a marble *Pietà* by Cobaert. Orbaan 1911 (see note 212), p. 160.

<sup>258</sup> The angels were lost and the prophets stolen, but fortunately recovered in the 1970s. Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 27.

<sup>259</sup> Associate Curator Rima Girnius of the Nelson-Atkins informed me that the attribution of the two bronzetti in their collection was suggested by Dickerson, but all he says in a footnote of his article is that they are ‘thought to be autograph casts’ or possibly later recasts. Given their generally rough and bleak finish, I tend to agree with the latter. The models were quite popular in their day and later recasts of other parts of the tabernacle too. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>260</sup> Jennifer Montague, *Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1990, Princeton 1996, pp. 35-46.

<sup>261</sup> Dickerson 2008 (see note 15), p. 27.

It has been hypothesised that Cobaert had experience with ivory carving before he left for Rome, and was even expected to work in his technique in the papal city.<sup>262</sup> Baglione also made remarks about Cobaert's talents as ivory carver. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Northern sculptors preferred softer materials and Flanders had a strong tradition in ivory carving. The ivory statue of Elisabeth and Mary that Baglione mentioned seems to have been lost. Gramberg attempted to attribute an ivory relief depicting a Satyr in the Braunschweig Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum to the Netherlandish sculptor, but the only ivory that is successfully attributed to Cobaert is a small damaged sculpture in Palazzo Venezia depicting the dead Christ in the arms of Nicodemus (Fig. 6.10). The detailed work, with slightly elongated figures, a little wooden by elegant torsion and strong use of light fits well in the oeuvre of Cobaert. For example it is very similar in the wavy lines of the drapery to his small bronzes for the Contarelli Chapel. The fine faces too, with their long noses and foreheads and thin mouths, resemble others such as the physiognomy to St. Matthew. The work has long been known as from the hands of Cobaert, and many have tried to see its Northern origin.<sup>263</sup> Unfortunately no documents survive to prove this. However, its first owner, Patrizio Patrizi, lived in the same neighbourhood as Cobaert, sponsored the San Luigi, and was close friends with Cardinals Contarelli and Crescenzi. Perhaps the sculptor and the marchese could have met each other through their mutual contacts in the art world.

In any case Cobaert was never truly able to come into his own. The grip of Della Porta's style can be felt throughout the entire oeuvre of the Flemish sculptor. Where Tetrode managed to have a successful career outside of Rome where he no doubt spread the popularity of the Lombard master, Cobaert, 'lonely, suspicious and melancholic', stuck to the same square kilometres where he had severed in the workshop of Guglielmo della Porta.

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<sup>262</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>263</sup> Barberini 1989 (see note 163), pp. 17–25. In her article Barberini also argued the influence of the Bruges Madonna on this ivory since as a fiammingo Cobaert must have seen it, but this seems a very weak point, especially considering the fact that Michelangelo's statue doesn't look very much like this Christ and Nicodemus at all.

## Conclusion

This synthesis of existing theoretical, archival and technical research, shows that the *fiamminghi* sculptors formed an important part of Rome and its most important workshop from about 1550 to 1575. The 'desirous' young Northern sculptors slowly started trickling into the Eternal City's centre at the beginning of the *cinquecento* where they would become the link between two strong sculptural traditions. On the other hand, Rome was also a place for innovation, innovation that often came with the influx of foreign sculptors. In Rome the mostly anonymous *fiamminghi* flocked to its bronze centre, the workshop of Guglielmo della Porta. The studio grew to what one would expect from a modern fashion atelier; assistants training and working hard on the clay and wax models, finishing the works, and other more menial tasks, while the master oversaw the production and provided designs and lent his name to the label.

Whereas artists are often presented as lonely and hardworking geniuses, this thesis presents Della Porta more as businessman in the middle of a thriving workshop filled with eager young talented sculptors. While some good articles have been published on Della Porta and his oeuvre in the past decades, the two monographs fall short in showing all aspects of the sculptor because of their incomplete usage of original documentation and look at Della Porta's artworks with barely any room for his workshop. This study has tried to complete the picture of Della Porta, drawing out his life and his most important works together with a look at his workshop and some of his assistants. The innovative collaboration with goldsmiths, who executed his designs, which spread Della Porta's name and gave the goldsmiths a good income, seems especially remarkable.

The thesis also offers a more complete, well-rounded understanding of the understudied relationships that existed between Northern European artists and those from the Northern regions of Italy, as well as new perspectives on the multicultural aspect of Rome and its artists in the *cinquecento*. As this study has demonstrated, the migrant sculptors were more than the drawing tourists they are often presented to be. They learned the art of modelling and practiced with materials virtually unknown in their homeland. The *fiamminghi* in the workshop of Della Porta were able to form an integral bond with their new surroundings and had the same role that any Italian colleague would have had.

Previously, information on the Netherlandish sculptors in Italy has been quite fragmented, found in various, disconnected sources, making a true understanding of these artists and their lives in Italy difficult. By bringing all the pieces together into one coherent study containing new perspectives on why the *fiamminghi* would choose the Della Porta *bottega* (or be a good candidate for the master sculptor), on Tetrode's and Cobaert's time in the workshop, and by examining their works compared to those of Della Porta, with a clarification about the identity of the individuals Mostaert and Cobaert, which had not happened in the first and had not been published in English in the latter case, this thesis can serve as a foundation for future researchers into this still-as-yet understudied topic area of

Netherlandish sculptors in Rome in the sixteenth century, their social and economical integration and the intersection of Italian and Netherlandish art.

Sculptors such as Willem van Tetrode and Jacob Cobaert, but also Nicolas Mostaert, and perhaps Maurits Fiammingo and Arnold da Olanda, were attracted by the workshops because it provided the possibility to work in several media, it had a great reputation working for popes, ecclesiastical dignitaries and nobility of Rome and outside of its border and, furthermore, the workshop had gave access to many facilities. On the other hand, their experience with restoration, amongst other things, is what made them a good addition in the studio of Della Porta, where many of the commissions included the mending of antique statuary.

While it is difficult to prove individual authorship, it seems likely that Tetrode, Cobaert, and others would have been involved in some way or other with Della Porta's most important commission: the monumental tomb for Pope Paul III, which took almost three decades to complete. Given Tetrode's familiarity with Della Porta's cycle of the Passion it is possible played a role in their creation as well, or at least used Della Porta's design in creating his own version of the story. Della Porta's other famous relief cycle, fourteen scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* created for Alessandro Farnese, was executed by Cobaert after his master had made the designs. Cobaert's entire oeuvre, which is mostly concentrated around the Contarelli chapel, seems to be a slight repeat of drawings and models he must have seen in the workshop of Della Porta. The detailed finish on the heavily swirling drapery of the elongated figures, usually positioned as if in action with a strong *contrapposto* are characteristic of both the teacher's and the pupil's oeuvre.

It cannot be said of the Northerners that they in turn had a huge influence on the Lombard master, but some of their characteristics, such as the preference for polychrome, which he started to develop, certainly can be seen in Della Porta's oeuvre.<sup>264</sup> Further research into the abilities of the *fiamminghi* before they came to Rome might come up with some interesting conclusions here. Otherwise technical research into the oeuvre of Della Porta could further provide links between his works and those of his assistants and pupils. An analysis of some of Della Porta's major works is an interesting research project in its own right. Lastly, one could place this thesis in a larger scale by looking at all the *fiamminghi* in all of the Italian workshops and see if this case represents the whole well or strangely diverts. One such an example could be the workshop of the Leoni's.

Whether they moved on, or even stayed in the Via Giulia long after Della Porta had died, the *fiamminghi* sculptors could count on a good career with their works now not only displayed throughout Rome, but all over the world. Their obtained skills were remarkable for contemporaries. In 1587 the Dresden art connoisseur Gabriel Kaltemarckt mentioned the name of the Delft sculptor Wilhelm Tetradeus amongst the Dutch sculptors who were essential to have in a collection and Gian Paolo Lomazzo even praised him, together with Vincenzo de Rossi, as being a 'divine spirit'.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1970 (see note 16), p. 8.

<sup>265</sup> Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle Arti*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, Vol. 1, Raccolta Pisana di saggi e studi 33, Florence 1973, p. 166; Scholten 2003 (see note 11), p. 10.





## Appendix

A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei secoli XV, XVI, XVII*, 2 vols., Studi e ricerche negli archivi Romani, Bologna 1969, pp. 120-130.

*Interrogatorio da farsi all' orefice Antonio Gentile da Faenza.*

*Interrogatus D. Ant. Gentili s de Faventia aurifex super infrascriptis interro gatoriis.*

Se sa chi fosse Tutore' e Curatore di Teodoro dopo la morte del Padre, come fu fatto Tutore et perche causa, e se sa che Fidia fosse rimosso dalla cura di detto Teodoro et perchè causa.

Se sa chi abbia fatta sicurtà de bene administrando al deto Tutore et di che tempo è stato, et se fu fatto inventario dal detto Tutore della parte et beni che toccò al detto Teodoro di sua parte. Si dixerit affirmative interrogetur che robbe fono inventariate, e se sa che tra le altre robbe vi fossero forme di gesso, disegni, cere, di più sorte di bassi rilievi, et che cosa erano.

*Int.* se ha mai visto in casa del q. Bast. Torrisano, che fu Tutore di esso Teodoro, cere o forme di esso Teodoro, et se il detto Tutore glie le ha mai mostrate, et che sorte di forme.

*Int.* Se il detto Sebastiano gli ha mostrato la istoria et forma del descendente di Croce quale è stato ritrovato in casa di d.º M.º Antonio, et quanto tempo è che ce F ha visto.

*Int.* Se lui sa che la detta historia sia mai stata fatta dal Padre di detto Teodoro, overo dal suo

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Tutore, e se fosse stata fatta da alcuno di loro se lui lo saperebbe.

*Int.* Se ha avuto altre sorte di robbe, o di basso rilievo, o di gesso, o di cera, o disegni oltre la detta historia et quali.

*Int.* Se ha pagato denari, o data altra robba in contracambio per le d. e robbe et avertatur fatevi veritatem et che denari et che robbe.

*Int.* Come e di dove ha havuto la historia di cera del Circolare delli Dei di basso rilievo, che se è stato portato all' officio, et se ne ha la forma di gesso come è necessario, e se ne ha venduto cere, o fattone retratto alcuno et a chi, e che ha fatto del Giove che va nel mezzo al circolare.

*Int.* Se ha in mano le historie di Ovidio originali, quante sono, di che cosa sono, e se è vero, che tanto le dette historie come il circolare delli Dei sono state fatte in casa del padre di Teodoro.

*Int.* Se ha mai trattato et dato a vendere disegni di carta di più e diversi valentuomini, che erano del padre di detto Teodoro, e se perciò si è servito di Gio. Orlandi stampatore a Pasquino, o de altri e di chi.

*Int.* Se detti disegni li ha mostrati a nessuno, e detto che erano del Padre di Teodoro, et che li avesse havuti da casa sua.

*Int.* Se detto Antonio ha fatto mai, o di argento o di altra sorta di metallo la detta historia del

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discendente, per chi, quanto ne ha cavato, dove si ritrovi di presente la detta historia et perchè causa.

*Int.* Di dove ha havuto li doi putti di metallo che si ritrova in casa, et di che tempo, se sa dove sono stati fatti, et chi li ha fatti et perchè causa sono stati fatti, et simili a quelli sono di presente nella sepoltura di Papa Paolo III in S. Pietro, e se sa che altri habbino altre cose simili di metallo per la sepoltura dei Farnesi, et chi sono et che cosa sono.

*Int.* Se dall' anno 1589 o più vero tempo Teodoro facesse sequestrare et sigilare dalla corte di Campidoglio in mano al d.º Ms. Ant. da Faenza costituito, un Altare di N. S. Gesù Xpto sul monte Calvario, cioè le cere et le forme opera fatta dal Padre di detto Teodoro, la quale poi consignasse a Bartolomeo Torisano Tutore del detto Teodoro come roba pertinente alla sua eredità, come fu, come fu in effetto consignata.

*Int.* Se il detto Bart. Tutore, per farsi consignare et recuperare la detta opera pagasse in nome di Teodoro al detto Ant. scudi cinquanta di moneta per resto, perchè il detto Anton, asseriva haver  
speso altrettanti per comprarla da Fidia pretenso della Porta, e uno delli heredi del Padre di esso Theodoro, et se esso Ant. ne mostrava scrittura di aver fatto simil sborso con effetto a detto Fidia ne avesse testimonianza, e se facesse ricevuta al detto Bartolomeo delli detti scudi 50.

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*Interrogatorj da farsi a quelli che si doveranno esaminare per le robbe tolte et usurpate al sig. Theodoro per il fisco.*

Si doveranno interrogare se hanno conosciuto il q. Guglielmo della Porta, che fu piombatore Apostolico, et se si arecordano di che tempo morse.

*Item.* Se sanno che detto Guglielmo era scultore celebre, et architetto, et fonditore di metalli, et che ha fatto molte opere di valore in Roma.

*Item.* Se sanno che alla morte sua detto Guglielmo lasciò bona eredità alli heredi, et che Theodoro della Porta è suo figliolo et herede delli suoi beni.

*Item.* Se sanno che, oltre le case et mobili che lasciò, il d.º Guglielmo lasciò anco molte belle cose appartenenti alla scoltura, come varie, et diverse forme de più sorte, bassirilievi di mano di Coppe fiammingo (1) fatte in casa sua, desegni di diversi valenti huomini, quadri di pittura, et figure di bronzo fatte per la sepoltura de signori Farnesi.

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*Item.* Se sanno che tra le cose sud. 6 vi erano le historie di Ovidio originali fatte di creta, un Descendente di Croce di N. S. di tre palmi in circa, un Tondo delli Dei con il suo Giove in mezzo di mano di detto Coppe ; opere egreggie et di molto valore.

*Item.* Se sanno, o hanno visto in mano a M. Ant. da Faenza alcuna sorte delle d. e opere, o sanno che lui le habbia, et che opere sono.

*Item.* Se sanno che fusse fatto Tutore et Curatore del detto Theodoro, il q. Sebastiano Torrisano Bolognese Fonditore, et che lui facesse fare Inventario delle dette opere di scultura, o vero se l'hanno inteso dire et da chi.

*Item.* Se sanno o hanno inteso dire che fossero state robbate dopo la morte del d.º q. Guglielmo, mentre era Tutore il d.º Sebastiano, molte et infinite sorte di forme, historie di bassorilievo, Crocifissi, pietà, figure et altre robbe che erano serrate in una stanza in casa di detto q. Guglielmo in strada Giulia.

*Item.* Se sanno o hanno inteso dire, che ne fu data querela dal detto Sebastiano Tutore di

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Theodoro per le robbe sopra dette robbate, et che ne fosse carcerato il q. Andrea Tozzo intagliatore, che stava sotto la casa del d.º Guglielmo, et che restituisse alcune cose che li forno ritrovate in casa.

*Item.* Se sanno che il q. Bart. da Torino haveva molte belle cose del detto Guglielmo, le quali si diceva le avesse tolte da quella stanza dove forno rinchiuso in casa del d.º Guglielmo.

*Item.* Se hanno mai visto in casa de altri, et in particolare di Antonio da Faenza similmente forme, bassirilievi, et disegni che erano del d.º Guglielmo.

*Item.* Se hanno visto fuori per Y arte o in mano ad altre persone il Descendente di Croce di tre palmi in circa, fatto da Coppe Fiamengo, et se sanno che tal opera sia mai per alcun tempo stata fatta o di argento, o di metallo per personaggi dal detto Guglielmo mentre fu vivo et se fosse stata fatta, loro l' havessero potuto sapere come huomini della professione della scoltura.

*Item.* Se sanno che dopo la morte di d.º Guglielmo, la d. a historia sia stata data, donata, o venduta ad alcuno, da chi, come lo sanno, et quanto tempo puoi essere.

*Item.* Se gli pare che possi stare che uno che faccia un' opera della qualità che è la d. a Historia del Descendente con tanta spesa et tempo, la volesse poi vendere, et privarsene senza che prima se ne

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fosse servito per lui, dicano il loro parere, e quello si costuma nella professione in cose simile.

*Item.* Se sanno che era pubblica voce et fama, et si diceva per Roma che erano state tolte et robbate molte belle cose di casa del d.º q. Guglielmo, come forme, bassirilievi, di più sorte di disegni et gessi come di sopra.

*Item.* Se hanno inteso dire che detto M. Antonio da Faenza avesse molte belle cose di d.º Guglielmo, et desegni in carta, se li hanno visti, o pure se il med. M. Antonio ha detto et confessato d'averli, et se ne ha venduti, o dati a vendere, et come lo sanno.

*Querela di Teodoro dalla Porta*

*Die 18 men. martij 1609.*

*Investigete ex officio et ad querelata D. Theodori a Porta Romani filii et heredis q. Guglielmi a Porta olim litterarum Apostolicarum Plumbatori 7 contra et ad. etc.*

*Sebastianum Marchinum Formatoremj degentem prop. Ecclesiam S. Marim de Montibus omnesque alios de iure repertos culpabiles super eo quod ecc.*

V. S. deve sapere che, mentre visse mio Padre, oltre esser lui Piombatore Apostolico, era Scultóre, Architetto, et fonditore di metalli celebre et famoso in servizio de sommi Pontefici, et fece in Roma molt' opere di grand' eccellenza spettante a

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simili eserciti) che oggi anco si veggiono, come in particolare la sepoltura della S. ta M. di Papa Paolo Terzo in S. Pietro ne fa piena testimonianza. Venuto a morte che fu Fanno 1577, fra gli altri beni hereditarij che lasciò, vi erano molti disegni di dette Professioni, fatti in carta di sua mano, e da più e diversi valentuomini Pittori et Scultori, che di quel tempo e prima

fiorivano in Roma et fuori, et molte Historie di scultura di basso et alto rilievo, fatte da lui et da altri suoi Alievi in Casa sua sotto li suoi disegni di molto valore, che rapresentano Misteri della passione di N. S. Giesu Xpto, in specie il Descendente di Croce, Pietà et Pace di bassorilievo, varie sorte di Christi in Croce di tondorilievo et altre figure di devotione, et profane, come THistoria de Metamorfofi d'Ovidio in sedeci parte scolpite, con THistoria circolare di tutti li Dei, quali opere alcune erano fatte di creta, altre di cera, o forme di gesso, o vero metallo tragittate con molta spesa, et industriosa fatica, et altre opere simili delle quali buona parte ne appare in-

ventario fatto da miei Tutori, e perchè dopo che io pervenni maggiore addimandando ragguaglio al Tutore in particolare delle presenti mie robbe hereditarie, mi rispose che gran parte di esse erano state rubbate nella casa dove furono inventariate, essendo di notte state rotte le porte di due stanze dove furono rinchiusse et riposte, onde fui nicissi-

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tato passarmene in silentio sino al presente, non sapendo contro chi avessi a farne risentimento, nè avendo relazione dove simili robbe fossero capitate. Finché per timore di scomunica questi giorni a retro mi è stato avvisato, che si ritrova appresso al querelato una delle principali opere narrate di sopra, improntata di cera, a dosso alla quale vi ha fatto una forma di gesso, cioè l' Historia di N. S. Descendente di Croce grande circa a tre palmi di basso et alto rilievo, con molte figure dentro, scolpite eccellentemente per mano di mio Padre, nella qual' Historia ha lavorato anche il Coppa fiamengo scultore oggi vivente, che è uno delli allievi di casa mia, e simil historia è una delle più belle opere che abbia mai fatto mio Padre, il quale mai ne ha fatto esito nè retratto alcuno, o dato fuori copia in potere d'altri, et il modello originale et sua forma non è stata mai vista eccetto in mano al mio Tutore, mentre io sono stato minore, la qual forma originale è ora appresso di me, che mentre io trattavo di tragittarne una d' argento a requisizione di un Prencipe, e cavarne molto utile come cose singolare, mi vien oggi a restar in mano infruttuosa, perchè il d.º querelato avendo fatto un' altra forma sopra Y impronto che mi è stato robato, va vendendo a particolari alcune cere tragittate da quella per prezzo di venti scudi Y una, et così viene divulgando tal opera, ed avilire la

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sua rara qualità con mio gran danno notabile. E similmente ho inteso che l'impronto della d. a l'istoria si ritrova al presente in potere di un Ant. da Faenza argentiere in strada Giulia, il quale vi

ha fatto sopra una forma di gesso, et che di più ha le mie Historie d'Ovidio originali di creta, fatte

da Coppe Fiamengo, primo allievo di Casa mia, sotto li modelli et disegni di mio Padre, con tanta spesa e fatica di molto valore, come alcuni virtuosi in questa Città sono consapevoli, et forse vi avrà fatto sopra le forme di gesso, et alcuni disegni varij in carta di mano di mio Padre et del Salviati, et altri pittori, et alcuni modelli di basso e tondo rilievo, in diverse materie scolpite quale sopranarrate, così sono state rubbate et usurpate dallo studio della mia Casa, mentre io ero pupillo, come si potranno far riconoscere alla maniera et lineamenti da

molt' intendenti professori di simil' esercitio che sono in Roma pratici dell'opere di mio Padre. Per il che ne dò querela contro chi mi avesse rapito et usurpato le fatiche et opere lasciatemi da mio Padre, acciocché mi siano restituite con le sue forme di gesso indebitamente fatte dalli occupatori, et cere estratte da loro per averne ad esser io integrato come è di giustizia, et mi sia concesso un jperquiratur per ritrovarli in casa di quelli, che at presente ho saputo che le tengono furtivamente celati, et in casa di ciascun' altra per-

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sona che pervenisse a notizia alla giornata averne alcune di esse in qual si voglia modo, non essendo giusto che questi tali godino, et cavino grosso guadagno illecitamente dai sudori et fatiche virtuose di mio Padre con molta mia perdita et danno grave, e acciò che simili uomini malvagi che si scopriranno haverli rapiti et usurpati siano anco castigati conforme alla giustizia per esempio degli altri ecc.



Fig. 1.1. Jacques de Broeucq, *Charity*, mid-16th century, Alabaster, 139,1 x 44,5 x 31,4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.





Fig. 2.1.  
Hendrick  
Goltzius,  
*Portrait of  
Giambologna*,  
1591, chalk, 37  
x 30 cm, Teylers  
museum,  
Haarlem.



Fig. 2.2.  
Anonymous  
Flemish artist,  
*Apollo*  
*Belvedere*, c.  
1583, red pen on  
paper, 47,5 x  
31,5 cm, Trinity  
College,  
Cambridge.

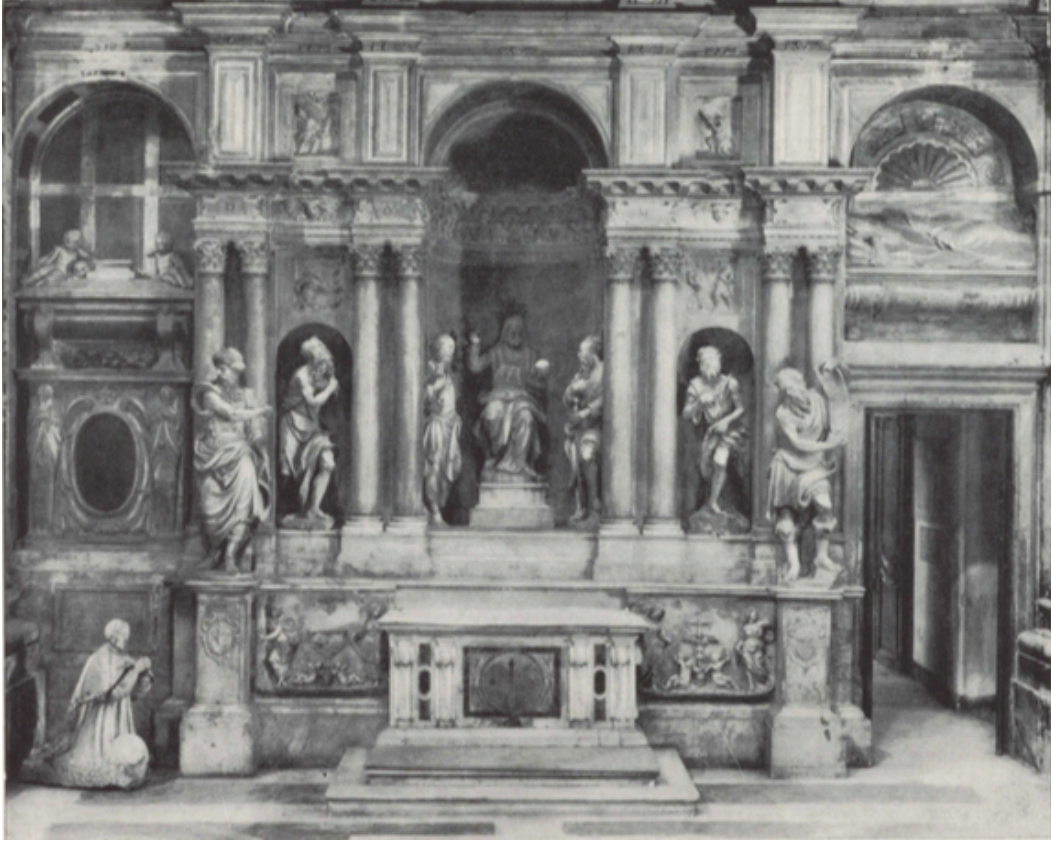


Fig. 3.1. Gian Giacomo della Porta, Niccolò da Corte and Guglielmo della Porta, Cybo Chapel, 1530-1534, marble, San Lorenzo, Genoa.



Fig. 3.2.  
Guglielmo  
della Porta,  
Abraham,  
1530-1534,  
marble, San  
Lorenzo,  
Genoa.

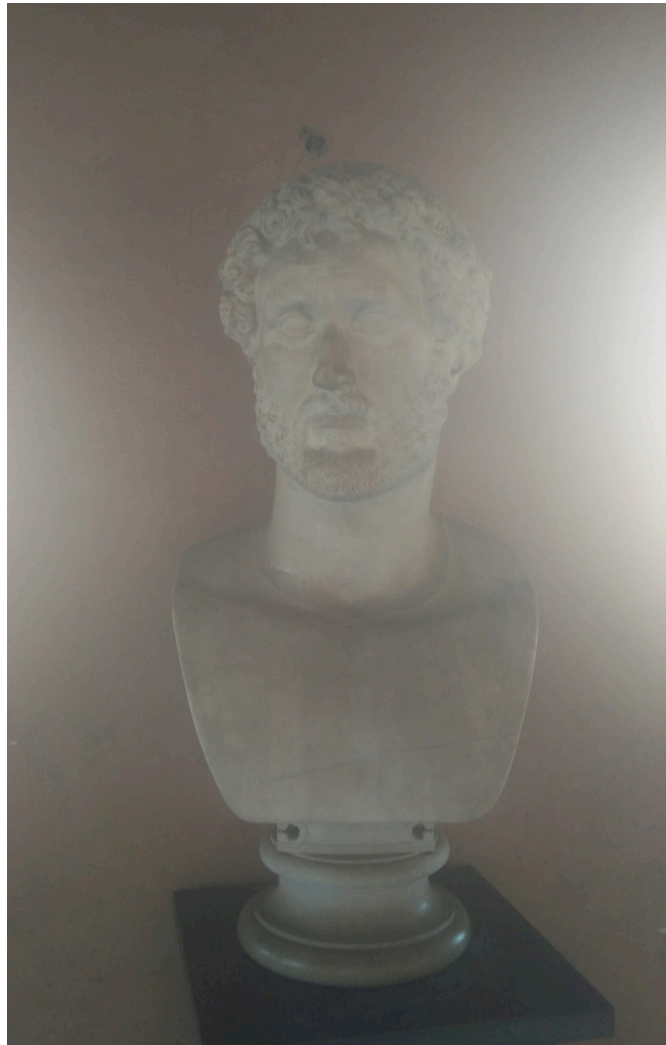


Fig. 3.3.  
Guglielmo  
della Porta,  
Bust of  
Antoninus  
Pius, 1546,  
marble, Castel  
Sant'Angelo,  
Rome.

Fig. 3.4. Guglielmo della Porta, Bust of Pope Paul III, c. 1547, marble and giallo antico, Pinacoteca Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.





Fig. 3.5. Roman copy after Lysippos, restored by Guglielmo della Porta, *Hercules Farnese*, c. 216, marble, 317 cm, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.



Fig. 3.6. Guglielmo della Porta, Early designs of the monument of Paul III, c. 1550, pen on paper, 22 x 16 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf.







Fig. 3.8. Guglielmo della Porta, *Defeat of the Giants*, pen and brown ink, graphite and black chalk, 18,1 x 26,2 cm, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.



Fig. 3.9. Guglielmo della Porta and Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Architectural design of the San Silvestro al Quirinale showing episodes of the life of Christ, pen and brown ink, 42,1 x 74,8 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Fig. 3.10. Guglielmo della Porta, *Nativity*, c. 1555, pen on paper, 22 x 16 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf.



Fig. 3.11. Guglielmo della Porta, *Lamentation of Christ*, bronze, 53 x 37,5 cm, Univeristy of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, Michigan.



Fig. 4.1. Enea Vico, *The academy of Baccio Bandinelli*, c. 1544, engraving, 30,6 x 43,8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 4.2. Nicolas  
Mostaert,  
*Deposition*,  
1550-1600, ivory  
on slate, ebony  
frame, 29 x 22,7  
cm, Museo  
Cristiano,  
Vatican City.



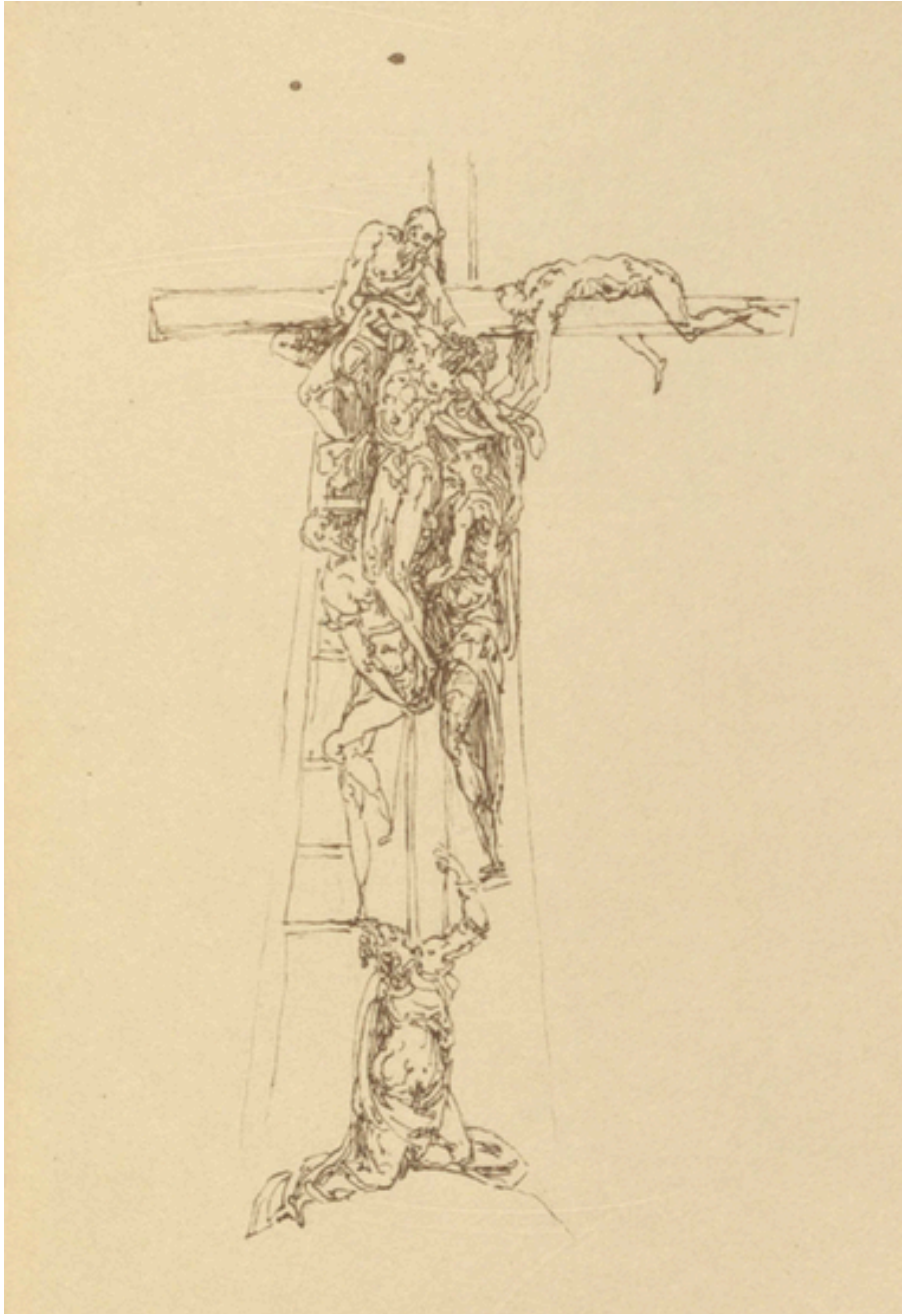


Fig. 4.3.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta, *The  
Deposition*,  
c.1555, pen on  
paper, 22 x 16  
cm, Stiftung  
Museum  
Kunstpalast,  
Düsseldorf.



Fig. 4.4.  
Giambologna,  
*Kneeling Venus*,  
1560, terracotta,  
23 cm, Museo  
Horne, Florence.





Fig. 4.5. Hendrick van Cleve III, *The sculpture garden of Cardinal Cesi*, 1584, oil on panel, 62 x 106, , Národní Galerie v Praze, Prague.



Fig. 4.6. Guglielmo della Porta, decorative designs, 1555-1575, pen on paper, 22 x 16 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf.



Fig. 4.7.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta, *Crucifix*, c.  
1570, Silver,  
Museo  
Arqueologico  
Nacional,  
Madrid.



Fig. 4.8.  
Giambologna,  
*Bacchus*, 1560-  
1561, Bronze,  
Museo Nazionale  
del Bargello,  
Florence.



Fig. 4.9. Herman Posthumus, *Tempus edax rerum*, 1536, oil on canvas, 96 x 144,5 cm, The Princely Collection, Lichtenstein.

Fig. 5.1. Cellini and Willem van Tetrode, *Cosimo de' Medici*, 1548-1549, Pentelic marble, 95,9 x 71,8 x 38,4 cm, Legion of Honor Museum, San Francisco.



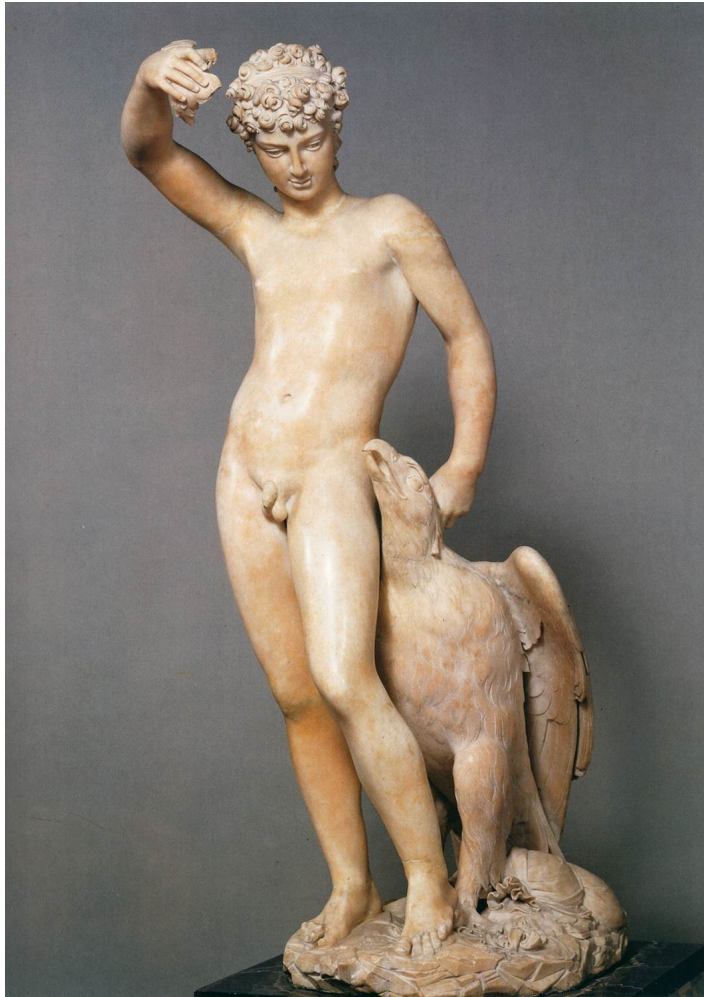


Fig. 5.2. Cellini and Willem van Tetrode, *Ganymede*, 1549-150, marble, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.



Fig. 5.3. Willem van Tetrode, *Two putti bearing jars*, c.1560, pen and ink, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna.



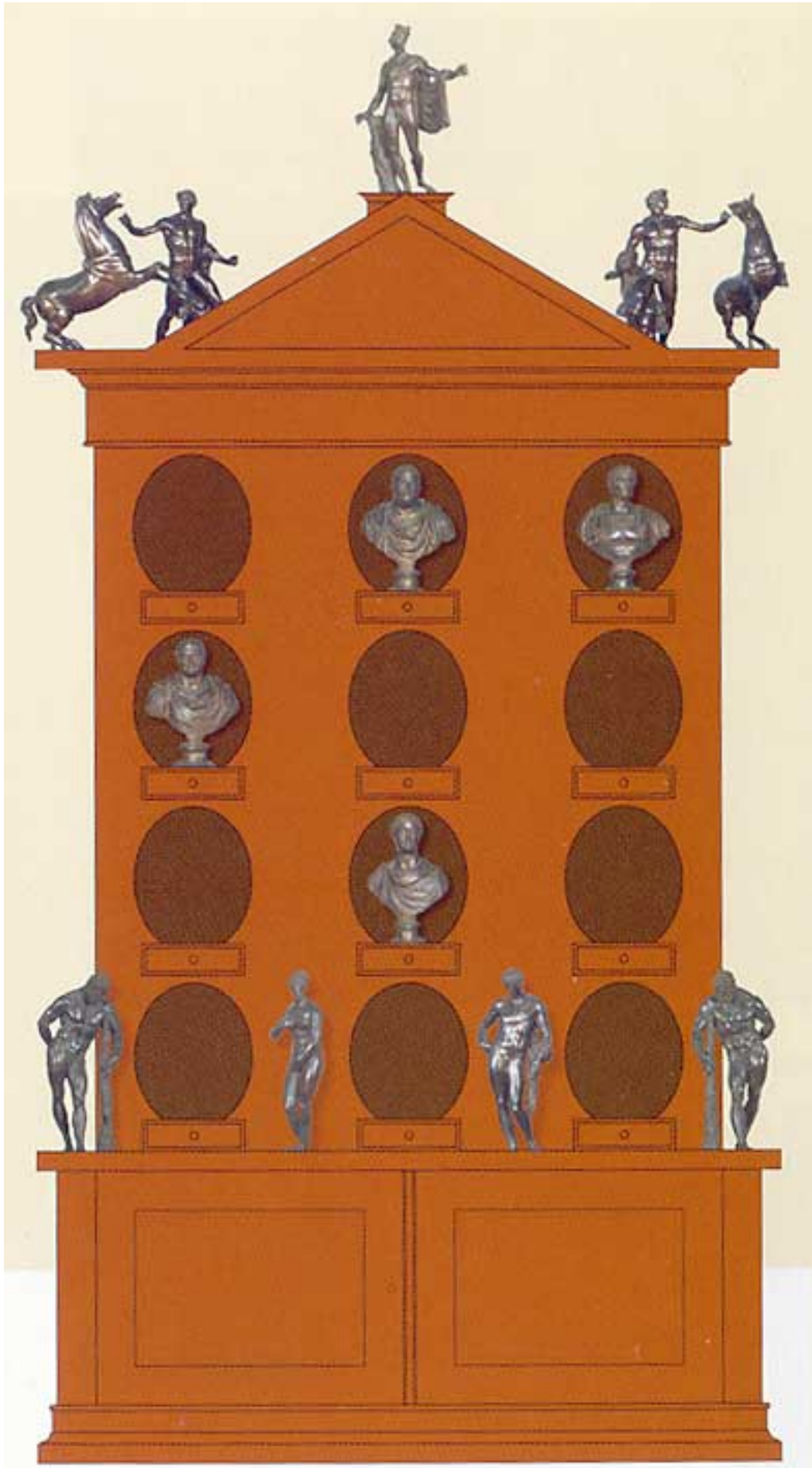


Fig. 5.4. Willem van Tetrode, reconstruction of the cabinet made for the Count of Pitigliano by Frits Scholten, c. 1560-1565, bronze, heights lay between c. 25 and c. 40 cm, several museums as the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam and the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence.



Fig. 5.5.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta, *Designs  
for the  
Flagellation*, c.  
1555, pen on  
paper, 22 x 16  
cm, Stiftung  
Museum  
Kunstpalaſt,  
Düsseldorf.



Fig. 5.6.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta,  
*Flagellation of  
Christ*, 1569-  
1577, copper  
base with silver  
relief and figures,  
ebony frame,  
relief: 60 x 40  
cm, Coll &  
Cortés, Madrid.



Fig. 5.7.  
Sebastiano del  
Piombo,  
*Flagellation of  
Christ*, 1516-  
1524, Mural in  
oil, San Pietro in  
Montorio, Rome.



Fig. 5.8.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta,  
*Flagellation of  
Christ*, c. 1975,  
Cast, chased and  
gilt, 20,1 x 13,5 x  
2,7 cm, Victoria  
& Albert  
Museum,  
London.



Fig. 5.9. Willem van Tetrode, *Christ at the Column*, 1562-1565, bronze, 56 x 42,5 cm, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Cologne.



Fig. 5.10. Willem van Tetrode, *Flagellator*, 1562-1562, bronze, 56 cm, Residenzmuseum, Munich.



Fig. 5.11. Guglielmo della Porta, crucifix (detail), c. 1570, gilt-bronze, 48 x 46 cm, Coll & Cortés, Madrid.





Fig. 5.12. Willem van Tetrode, *Christ at the Column*, 1565-1575, bronze, 33,3 cm, Hearn Family Trust, New York.

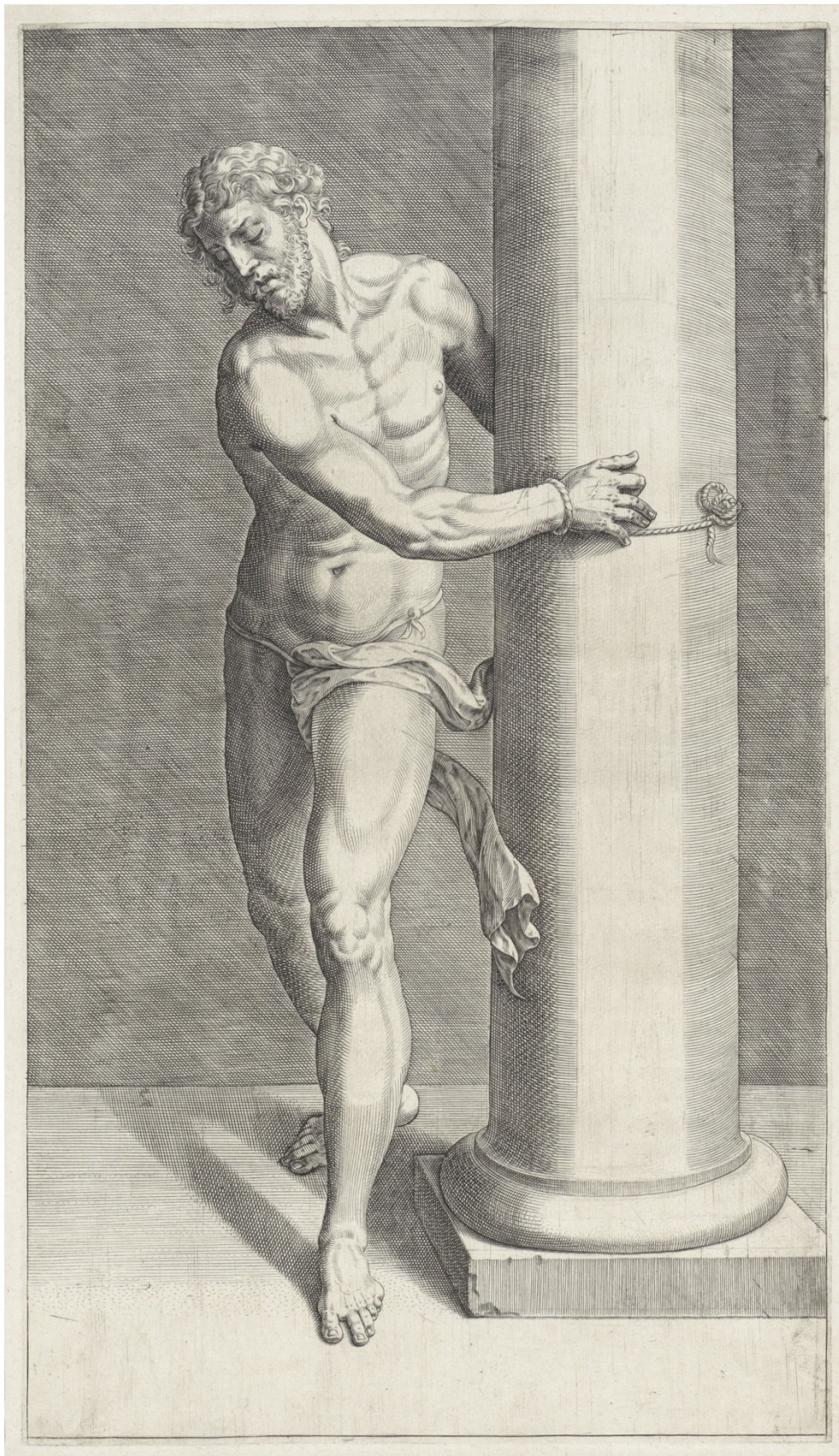


Fig. 5.13.  
Anonymous after  
Tetrode (Adriaen  
de Weert?),  
*Christ at the  
Column*, c. 1575-  
1600, engraving,  
50,7 x 28,7 cm,  
Rijksmuseum,  
Amsterdam.

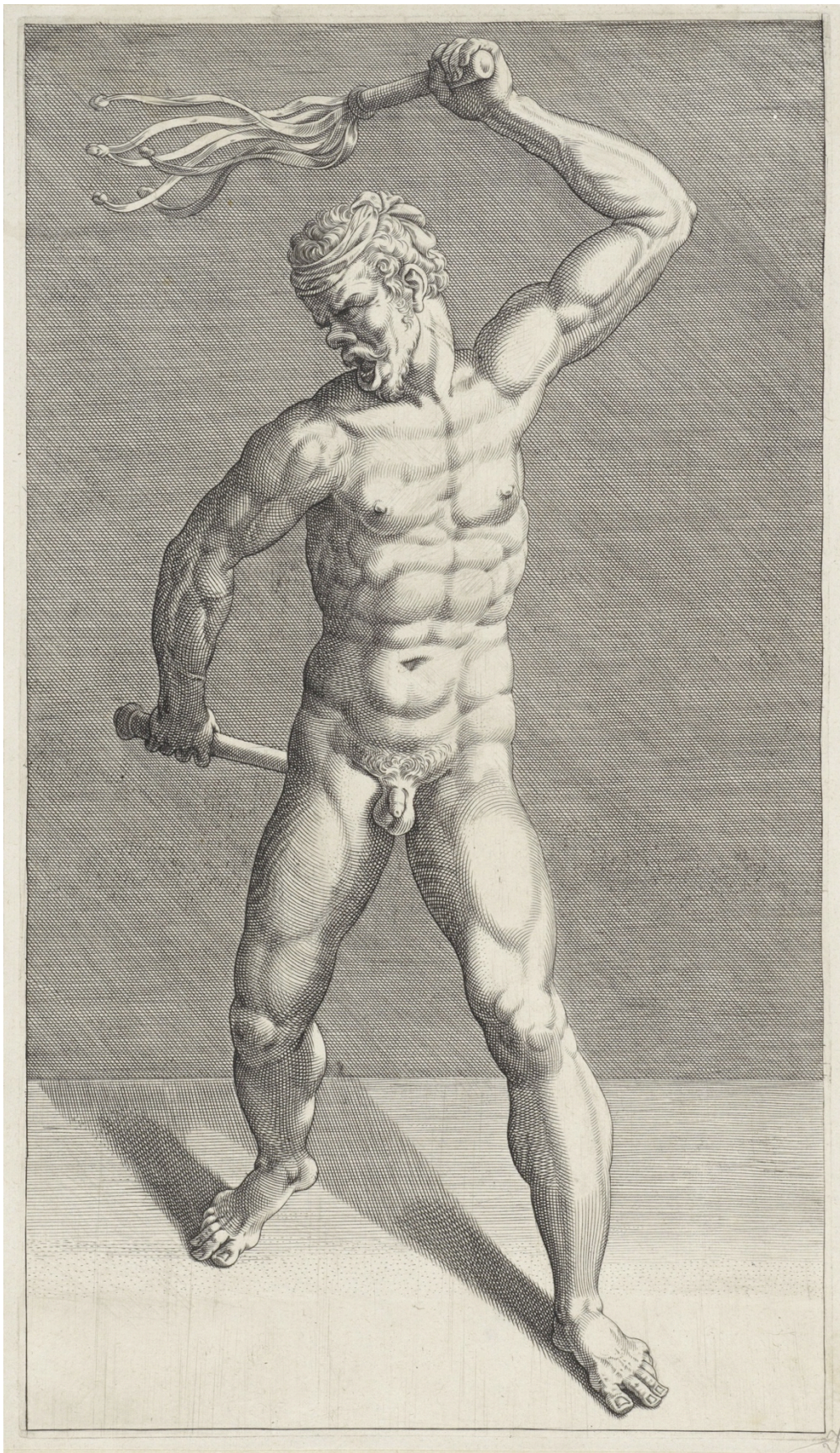


Fig. 5.14.  
Anonymous after  
Tetrode (Adriaen  
de Weert?),  
*Flagellator*, c.  
1575-1600,  
engraving, 50 x  
28,4 cm,  
Rijksmuseum,  
Amsterdam.

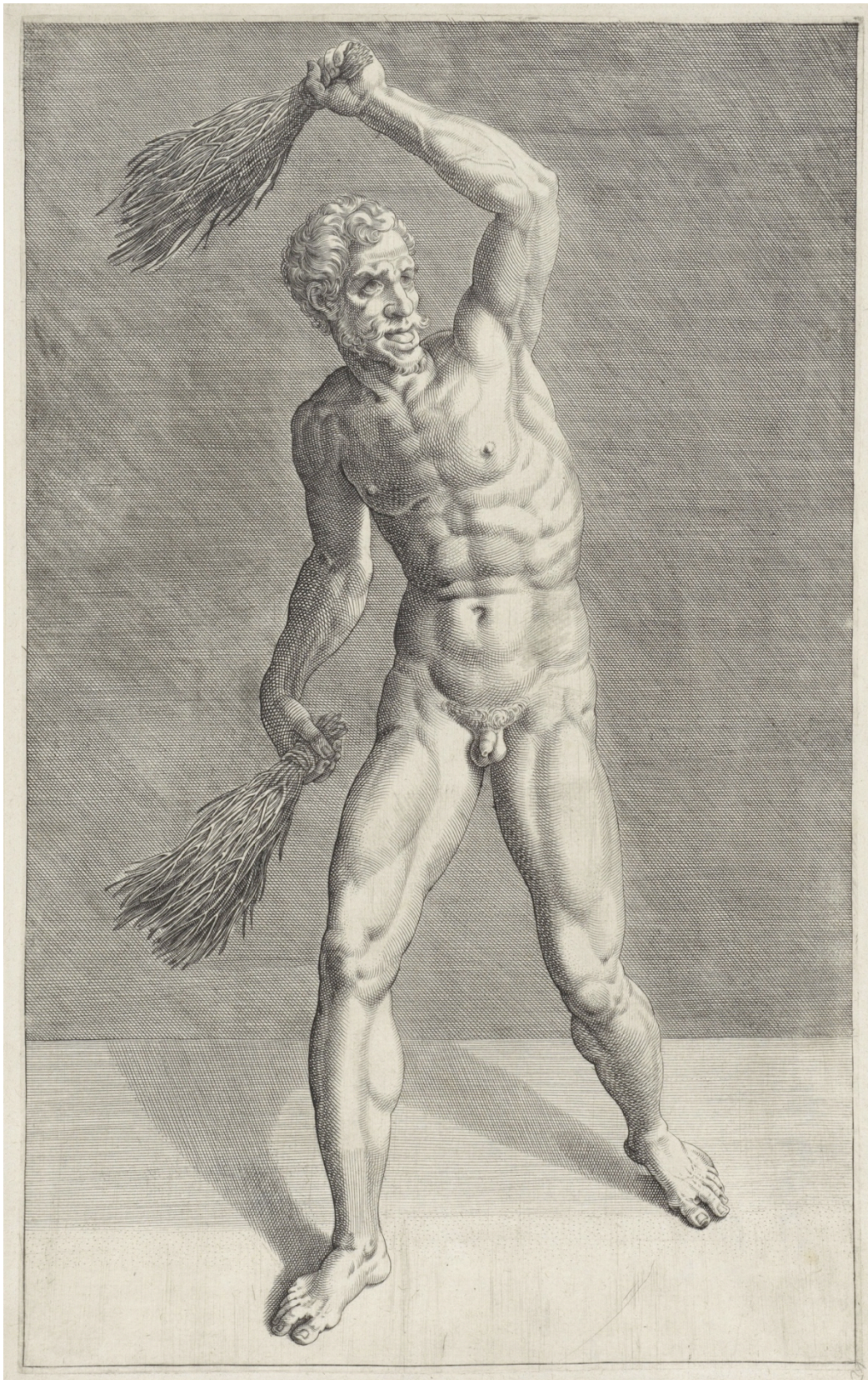


Fig. 5.15.  
Anonymous after  
Tetrode (Adriaen  
de Weert?),  
*Flagellator*, c.  
1575-1600,  
engraving, 50,7 x  
31,4 cm,  
Rijksmuseum,  
Amsterdam.



Fig. 5.16.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta, *Flagellation  
of Christ*, 1569-  
1577, copper base  
with silver relief  
and figures, 26 x  
26 cm, Coll &  
Cortés, Madrid.

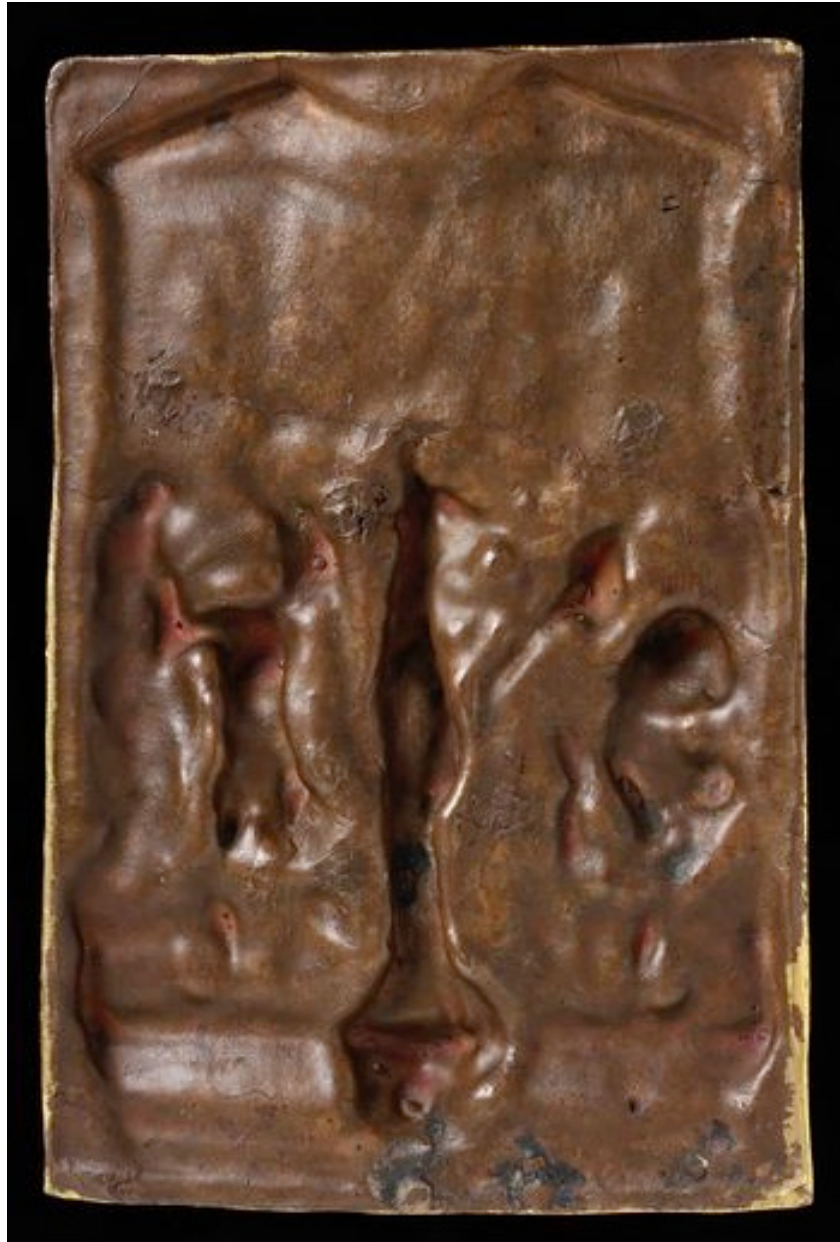


Fig. 5.17.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta,  
*Flagellation of  
Christ (reverse)*,  
c. 1975, Cast,  
chased and gilt,  
20,1 x 13,5 x 2,7  
cm, Victoria &  
Albert Museum,  
London.



Fig. 6.1. Guglielmo della Porta workshop, *Scenes from Ovid's Metamorphosis*, c. 1565-70, bronze, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Fig. 6.2. Phidias della Porta, *Fall of the Giants*, 1577-1586, bronze, 14,3 x 22,2 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 6.3. Paulus van Vianen, *Feast of the Gods*, 1604, silver, 25,8 x 35 x 1 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.





Fig. 6.4. Jacob Cobaert and Pompeo Ferrucci, *St. Matthew with an Angel*, Marble, 1587-1615 (Cobaert), -1621 (Ferrucci), Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, Rome.

Fig. 6.5.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta, *St.  
Matthew*, c.  
1555, pen on  
paper, 22 x 16  
cm, Stiftung  
Museum  
Kunstpallast,  
Düsseldorf.





Fig. 6.6. Jacob Cobaert, *Tabernacle*, c. 1580-1585, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.



Fig. 6.7. Jacob  
Cobaert, *St.*  
*Louis*, c. 1580-  
1585, San Luigi  
dei Francesi,  
Rome.



Fig. 6.8. Jacob Cobaert, *The Four Evangelists*, 1580-85, gilded bronze, 24,8 x 12,1 x 8,6 cm, Daniel Katz Ltd, London.



Fig. 6.9.  
Guglielmo della  
Porta, Drawings  
for a series of  
Apostles, c.1555,  
pen on paper, 22  
x 16 cm, Stiftung  
Museum  
Kunstpalaſt,  
Düsseldorf.



Fig. 6.10. Jacob Cobaert, *Christ in the arms of Nicodemus and Mary*, c. 1595, ivory, 32 cm, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome.

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Fig. 5.3. Willem van Tetrode, *Two putti bearing jars*, c.1560, pen and ink, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna. Photo: Frits Scholten ed., *Willem van Tetrode, Sculptor (c.1525-1580) Guglielmo Fiammingo scultore*, Zwolle 2003, p. 20.

Fig. 5.4. Willem van Tetrode, reconstruction of the cabinet made for the Count of Pitigliano by Frits Scholten, c. 1560-1565, bronze, heights lay between c. 25 and c. 40 cm, several museums as the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam and the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence. Photo:  
<http://members.home.nl/tettero/ZuidHolland/Kunstkast.jpg>

Fig. 5.5. Guglielmo della Porta, *Designs for the Flagellation*, c. 1555, pen on paper, 22 x 16 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf. Photo: Werner Gramberg and Giuseppe Ghezzi, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, Berlin 1964, cat. no. 109.

Fig. 5.6. Guglielmo della Porta, *Flagellation of Christ*, 1569-1577, copper base with silver relief and figures, ebony frame, relief: 26 x 26 cm, Coll & Cortés, Madrid. Photo: Rosario

Coppel and Charles Avery (eds.), *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans. Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, p. 74.

Fig. 5.7. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Flagellation of Christ*, 1516-1524, Mural in oil, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome. Photo: <http://www.bougeoirsanciens.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/FlagellationDelPiomboFresca.jpg>

Fig. 5.8. Guglielmo della Porta, *Flagellation of Christ*, c. 1975, Cast, chased and gilt, 20,1 x 13,5 x 2,7 cm, Vicotria & Albert Museum, London. Photo: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O118358/the-flagellation-of-christ-relief-porta-guglielmo-della/>

Fig. 5.9. Willem van Tetrode, *Christ at the Column*, 1562-1565, bronze, 56 x 42,5 cm, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Cologne. Photo: Frits Scholten, ed., *Willem van Tetrode, Sculptor (c.1525-1580) Guglielmo Fiammingo Scultore*, Zwolle 2003, p. 62.

Fig. 5.10. Willem van Tetrode, *Flagellator*, 1562-1562, bronze, 56 cm, Residenzmuseum, Munich. Photo: Frits Scholten, ed., *Willem van Tetrode, Sculptor (c.1525-1580) Guglielmo Fiammingo Scultore*, Zwolle 2003, p. 63.

Fig. 5.11. Guglielmo della Porta, crucifix (detail), c. 1570, gilt-bronze, 48 x 46 cm, Coll & Cortés, Madrid. Photo: Rosario Coppel and Charles Avery (eds.), *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans. Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, p. 62.

Fig. 5.12. Willem van Tetrode, *Christ at the Column*, 1565-1575, bronze, 33,3 cm, Hearn Family Trust, New York. Frits Scholten, ed., *Willem van Tetrode, Sculptor (c.1525-1580) Guglielmo Fiammingo Scultore*, Zwolle 2003, p. 64.

Fig. 5.13. Anonymous after Tetrode, *Christ at the Column*, c. 1600, engraving, 50,7 x 28,7 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Photo: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?p=1&ps=12&involvedMaker=Willem+Danielsz.+van+Tetrode&st=OBJECTS&ii=3#/RP-P-1990-214,3>

Fig. 5.14. Anonymous after Tetrode, *Flagellator*, c. 1600, engraving, 50 x 28,4 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Photo: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?p=1&ps=12&involvedMaker=Willem+Danielsz.+van+Tetrode&st=OBJECTS&ii=10#/RP-P-1990-218,10>

Fig. 5.15. Anonymous after Tetrode, *Flagellator*, c. 1600, engraving, 50,7 x 31,4 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Photo: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?p=1&ps=12&involvedMaker=Willem+Danielsz.+van+Tetrode&st=OBJECTS&ii=9#/RP-P-1990-216,9>



Fig. 5.16. Guglielmo della Porta, *Flagellation of Christ*, 1569-1577, copper base with silver relief and figures, 26 x 26 cm, Coll & Cortés, Madrid. Photo: Rosario Coppel and Charles Avery (eds.), *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans. Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, p. 75.

Fig. 5.17. Guglielmo della Porta, *Flagellation of Christ (reverse)*, c. 1575, Cast, chased and gilt, 20,1 x 13,5 x 2,7 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Photo: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O118358/the-flagellation-of-christ-relief-porta-guglielmo-della/>

Fig. 6.1. Guglielmo della Porta workshop, *Scenes from Ovid's Metamorphosis*, c. 1565-70, bronze, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo: Rosario Coppel and Charles Avery (eds.), *Guglielmo Della Porta. A Counter-Reformation Sculptor*, trans. Ian Macnair, Madrid 2012, p. 43.

Fig. 6.2. Phidias della Porta, *Fall of the Giants*, 1577-1586, bronze, 14,3 x 22,2 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/198309>

Fig. 6.3. Paulus van Vianen, *Feast of the Gods*, 1604, silver, 25,8 x 35 x 1 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Photo: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/rijksstudio/kunstenaars/paulus-van-vianen/objecten#/BK-NM-12628,3>

Fig. 6.4. Jacob Cobaert and Pompeo Ferrucci, *St. Matthew with an Angel*, Marble, 1587-1615 (Cobaert), -1621 (Ferrucci), Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, Rome. Photo: [http://3.bp.blogspot.com/WL\\_bK1k7DUU/Uw44ZZEct2I/AAAAAAAAA6M/dc4IWHpv19Q/s1600/27.Jacob+Cornelisz.+Cobaert-St.+Matthew+and+the+angel-.jpg](http://3.bp.blogspot.com/WL_bK1k7DUU/Uw44ZZEct2I/AAAAAAAAA6M/dc4IWHpv19Q/s1600/27.Jacob+Cornelisz.+Cobaert-St.+Matthew+and+the+angel-.jpg)

Fig. 6.5. Guglielmo della Porta, *St. Matthew*, c. 1555, pen on paper, 22 x 16 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf. Photo: Werner Gramberg and Giuseppe Ghezzi, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, Berlin 1964, cat. no. 145.

Fig. 6.6. Jacob Cobaert, *Tabernacle*, c. 1580-1585, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. Photo: Claude Douglas Dickerson, 'The "Gran Scuola" of Guglielmo Della Porta, the Rise of the "Aurifex Inventor", and the Education of Stefano Maderno', *Storia dell'Arte* 121 (2008), p. 62.

Fig. 6.7. Jacob Cobaert, *St. Louis*, c. 1580-1585, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. Photo: Claude Douglas Dickerson, 'The "Gran Scuola" of Guglielmo Della Porta, the Rise of the "Aurifex Inventor", and the Education of Stefano Maderno', *Storia dell'Arte* 121 (2008), p. 63.

Fig. 6.8. Jacob Cobaert, *The Four Evangelists*, 1580-85, gilded bronze, 24,8 x 12,1 x 8,6 cm, Daniel Katz Ltd, London. Photo: <http://www.onlinegalleries.com/art-and-antiques/detail/the-four-evangelists-by-jacob-cornelisz-cobaert/203823>

Fig. 6.9. Guglielmo della Porta, Drawings for a series of Apostles, c.1555, pen on paper, 22 x 16 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf. Photo: Werner Gramberg and Giuseppe Ghezzi, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta*, Berlin 1964, cat. no. 164.

Fig. 6.10. Jacob Cobaert, *Christ in the arms of Nicodemus and Mary*, c. 1595, ivory, 32 cm, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome. Photo: <http://www.polomusealelazio.beniculturali.it/getImage.php?id=215&w=800&h=600&f=0&.jpg>