

Transformationen der Antike

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Plaster Casts

Making, Collecting and Displaying
from Classical Antiquity
to the Present

Edited by

Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand

De Gruyter

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“Giving away the moulds will cause no damage to his Majesty’s casts” – New Documents on the Vienna *Jüngling* and the Sixteenth-Century Dissemination of Casts after the Antique in the Holy Roman Empire¹

WALTER CUPPERI

In 1540 Francis I of France charged Francesco Primaticcio, “paineutre ordinaire” et “vallet de chambre du Roy”, to supervise the moulding of some classical and modern sculptures in Rome.² Some of them (the *Laocoön*, the Vati-

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- 1 I wish to thank the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome whose post-doctoral fellowship made this research possible, and the Biblioteca Austriaca in Rome whose staff and book collections have been crucially helpful for its completion. I am especially grateful to Dorothea Diemer and Julian Kliemann, who offered their help for the revision of my transcriptions, and to Dr Karen Lloyd and Miss Adoyo Owuor for their kind linguistic revision. Krista de Jonge, Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, Margarita Estella Marcos, Adriano Prosperi and Paul Zanker also contributed to the final text with their suggestions and remarks.
- 2 Cf. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568*, R. Bettarini (ed.), commented by P. Barocchi, 6 vols (Florence, 1966–1987), IV (1976), p. 488; V (1984), p. 570, and VI (1987), p. 144 (this information only appeared in the 1568 edition); S. Serlio, *Architecturae liber septimus*, Francofurti ad Moenum: ex officina typographica Andreae Wecheli, 1575, chap. 40, (repr., *L'architettura*, 2 vols, F. P. Fiore (ed.), II, *I libri I-VII e Extraordinario nelle prime edizioni* (Cremona, 2001), p. 96); B. Cellini, *La vita*, book 2, chap. 37, L. Bellotto (ed.), (Parma, 1997), pp. 567–8. For the dating of the enterprise see the documents published by E. Miller, ‘Une charte concernant le Primatice’, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 7 (1860), pp. 212–14; H. B. de Jouy, *Les fontes du Primatice* (Paris, 1860); R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, 4 vols, (Roma, 1906–1912), I (1906), p. 157; G. Bapst, ‘Voyage de Primatice en Italie pour le compte de François I^{er}’, *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, 5 (1888), pp. 1–2; Marquis Léon de Laborde, *Les comptes des bâtiments du Roi (1528–1571)* (Paris, 1887–1880), I (1887), pp. 191–204; A. Venturi, ‘Una visita artistica di Francesco I re di Francia’, *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 2 (1889), pp. 377–8; B. Jestaz, ‘L’exportation des marbres de Rome de 1535 à 1571’, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 75 (1963), pp. 415–66, at 439–43, and C. M. Brown, ‘Collecting Casts’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 123 (1981), pp. 239–40. Accounts of Primaticcio’s campaign are given by A. Michaelis, ‘Geschichte des Statuenhofes im vatikanischen Belvedere’, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 5 (1890), pp. 5–72, at pp. 68–71; L. Dimier, *Le Primatice: peintre, sculpteur et architecte des Rois de France* (Paris, 1900), pp. 61–3, 328–33; É. Michon, ‘Les fontes du Primatice’, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1902), pp. 351–3; R. Hallo, ‘Bronzeabgüsse antiker Statuen’, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 42 (1927),

can *Hercules*, the Vatican *Ariadne*, the Vatican *Tiber*, the Vatican *Nile*, the *Venus Belvedere*, the *Antinoüs Belvedere*, the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Della Valle Satyrs*, as well as two *Sphinxes*) were cast in bronze for the Royal Palace of Fontainebleau before March 1547, when the King's death interrupted this large scale enterprise. In 1549 the Imperial Sculptor Leone Leoni met Primaticcio in Brussels, organized a trip to Paris to see the royal collection of casts, and finally explored the possibility of shipping a set of Francis' moulds to the Low Countries. As a consequence, in 1550 Henry II of France sealed his short-lived peace with the Low Countries by providing the Governor, Mary of Habsburg (a sister of Charles V also called Mary of Hungary) with some of Primaticcio's moulds, that the Imperial Minister Mons. Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle had formally requested for her in 1549, according to Leoni's agreements with the painter.³ It was on this occasion that Primaticcio,

pp. 193-220, at pp. 195-6, 199); A. von Salis, *Antike und Renaissance: über Nachleben und Weiterwirken der alten in der neueren Kunst* (Erlenbach-Zürich, 1947), p. 139; S. Pressouyre, 'Les fontes de Primaticcio à Fontainebleau', *Bulletin Monumental*, 127 (1969), pp. 223-39; J. Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures* (New York, 1996), pp. 325-61; J.-R. Gaborit, in Cuzin et al. (eds), *D'après l'antique*, pp. 232-3, no. 70; D. Cordellier, 'Primaticcio et les antiquités esquisses, 1540-1545', in D. Cordellier and B. Py (eds), *Primaticcio, maître de Fontainebleau*, exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre (Paris, 2004), pp. 137-8. The surviving bronzes, now in the Musée National du Château in Fontainebleau, are catalogued by G. Bresc-Bautier and A. Pigeot, *Sculptures des Jardins du Louvre, du Carrousel et des Tuileries*, 2 vols, (Paris, 1986), II, pp. 376-80, nos 319-23. For a list of the bronze casts that have disappeared, see J. Cox-Rearick (as above) pp. 347-61, nos X1-X12). Apparently the moulds of Trajan's Column mentioned by Vasari have never been cast in France (G. Agosti and V. Farinella, 'Nuove ricerche sulla Colonna Traiana nel Rinascimento', in S. Settis (ed.), *La Colonna Traiana* (Turin, 1988), pp. 582-3).

On Primaticcio's activity in France see now S. Frommel, 'Primaticcio architetto in Francia', in S. Frommel (ed.), *Primaticcio architetto* (Milan, 2005), pp. 74-193. The compilation of Primaticcio's letters by F. Bardati, *ibid.* pp. 328-37, must be supplemented with reference to Cupperi, 'Arredi statuari: Parte II'; W. Cupperi, "'Per la delettatione che delle memorie antiche generosamente suol prendere": i calchi dall'antico, e altre antichità della collezione di Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle secondo lettere inedite di Francesco Primaticcio e altri agenti italiani', in *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, forthcoming. For a selection of Primaticcio's drawings and paintings see also D. Cordellier (ed.), *Primaticcio: un bolognese alla corte di Francia*, exh. cat. Bologna, Palazzo di Re Enzo e del Podestà (Milan, 2005), with further bibliography.

- 3 Leoni gave his patron Ferrante Gonzaga an account of his trip to Paris in a letter dating 15 August 1549 (in A. Ronchini, 'Leone Leoni d'Arezzo', *Atti e memorie delle Regie Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, ser. 1, vol. 3 (1865), pp. 9-41, at p. 27, no. VI). See also C. Greppi (ed.), *Lettere di artisti italiani*, p. 57, no. 1 (letter of Primaticcio to the Imperial Ambassador in Paris Simone Renard, 28 October 1549): "Essendo io andato in Fiandra per certe faccende del Reverendissimo di Ferrara [cardinal Ippolito II d'Este], conobbi uno maestro Leone, scultore della Cesarea Maestà, qual, domandatomi di volere tenere proposito con la regina Maria de certe forme de figure che il Re bona et felice memoria [Francis I] m'aveva fatto portare di Roma, io gli risposi le figure essere belle e che, volendo la Serenissima [Mary of Habsburg] averne copia, io mi ci impiegarei molto volentieri". Although many scholars have supposed that Leoni's involvement with the French moulds included his engagement to cast them, this letter proves that in his first agreement, Primaticcio, and not Leoni, had to be

echoing Leoni, wrote to Granvelle that, after all, "giving away the moulds will cause no damage to his Majesty's [that is Henry II of France's] casts".⁴

Significantly this statement, one of the first concerning multiple castings from the antique, was addressed to a transalpine ruler by an Italian artist. Not only were Italians the European leaders in plaster casting and stucco decoration in the first half of the sixteenth century, but artists such as Leone Leoni and Francesco Primaticcio must have shared the opinion that introducing ancient sculpture of the highest quality in their patrons' collections could highlight the *all'antica* features of their own works and increase the appreciation of their services.⁵

The role played by Primaticcio, Leoni, Mary of Hungary and Antoine Perrenot in the spread of multiple casting from the antique was pioneering with regard to workshops specializing in plaster casts, a phenomenon that first appeared at least as early as the seventeenth century.⁶ Documents first published by Robert Hedicke prove that between 1551 and 1552 a plaster cast from the Vatican *Nile* and another from the Vatican *Ariadne* (still identified as *Cleopatra*) were made in the southern Low Countries by a pupil of Primaticcio, Luca Lancia.⁷ The two statues were displayed along the walls of Mary's secret garden in Binche. Apparently, a third plaster cast from Primaticcio's

charged with the casting. As a consequence the Bolognese painter sent his pupil Luca Lancia to Binche in 1550, and Leoni declined Mary's request to have her copies cast by him (on the whole question see now W. Cupperi, 'Arredi statuari nelle regge dei Paesi Bassi asburgici meridionali (1549-56), parte I: Maria d'Ungheria, Leone Leoni e la galleria di Binche', *Prospettiva*, 113-114 (2004), pp. 98-116).

- 4 C. Greppi (ed.), *Lettere di artisti italiani*, pp. 58-9 (28 October 1549): "Non si fa torto alle figure di sua Maestà per mandame gli molli".
- 5 Both aspects were emphasized by T. da Costa Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago, Ill., and London, 2004), pp. 208-11.
- 6 Some seventeenth-century workshops specializing in the production of plaster casts are studied by Charlotte Schreier in this volume, pp. 121-42.
- 7 The documents about these two statues, moulded "en platte de figures d'antiquaiges", are published by Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroeuq von Mons*, pp. 266-7, nos 47-54. The casts of Binche were pointed out as an important episode of Mary's art patronage by Jozef Duveger, 'Marie de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, et la Renaissance', in G. Rózsa (ed.), *Évolution générale et développements régionaux en histoire de l'art*, Actes du XXII Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art, Budapest, 15-20 septembre 1969 (Budapest, 1972), pp. 715-26, at p. 722. Duveger thought that the *Nile* and the *Cleopatra* in Binche were sculptures *all'antica*, but was also the first to connect Lancia with Primaticcio's workshop; B. Boucher, 'Leone Leoni and Primaticcio's moulds of antique sculpture', *The Burlington Magazine*, 123 (1981), pp. 23-6 identified the *Nile* and the *Cleopatra* as casts from the antique made from Primaticcio's moulds. About Luca Lancia, see also J. Debergh, 'Luc Lange "mouleur en platte" actif en Hainaut entre 1550 et 1553', *Révue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis*, 59 (1990), pp. 75-89; *Idem*, 'Luc Lange et Jacques du Broeucq: quatre considérations', *Révue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Oudheidkunde en Kunstgeschiedenis*, 63 (1994), pp. 63-72, whose account of the events is not always reliable. For

moulds, reproducing the *Laocoön*, was planned in 1553, one year before the residence was destroyed by the same King Henry II, who had supported its decoration with casts.⁸ Other plaster casts, among them a *Venus*, seem to have been made by Lancia for Mary's hunting residence in Mariemont. They were exhibited indoors in a room called the "sallette haulte". Unfortunately, none of the plaster casts seem to have survived, while some of the bronze casts made for Francis I are still preserved at Fontainebleau (Fig. 4. 3).

A re-examination of Leoni's correspondence has recently proved that some of Mary's casts after the antique were also originally planned in bronze.⁹ These statues were cast in plaster only when Leoni refused to stay longer in Brussels and cast them in bronze himself, as he states in a letter dating 8 September 1549.¹⁰ In the sixteenth century, plaster casts were often chosen for such practical reasons, as they were easier to make and requiring more common skills and cheaper materials. For these very reasons they were normally not the first solution considered by art collectors of royal rank.¹¹ Certainly, plaster casts of ancient busts and reliefs were already used as three-dimensional

a different reconstruction in the light of new archival discoveries see Cupperi, 'Arredi statuari: Parte II', pp. 159-76.

- 8 K. de Jonge, 'Les jardins de Jacques Du Broeucq et de Jacques Hollebecque à Binche, Mariemont et Boussu', in C. Añón Feliú (ed.), *Felipe II, el rey íntimo: jardín y naturaleza en el siglo XVI*, Actas del Congreso, Aranjuez ([Madrid], 1998), pp. 191-220, at pp. 192-8; *eadem*, 'L'environnement des châteaux dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux au XVI^e siècle et au début du XVII^e siècle', in J. Guillaume (ed.), *Architecture, jardin, paysage: l'environnement du château et de la villa aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Actes du Colloque, Tours, 1-4 juin 1992 (Paris, 1999), pp. 185-206, at pp. 185-201; W. Cupperi, 'Sculpture et jardins dans le palais "à la antique" de Binche ...', in B. Federinov and G. Docquier (eds), *Marie de Hongrie: politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*, Actes du Colloque, Morlanwelz, Musée Royal de Mariemont, 11-12 novembre 2005 (Morlanwelz, 2008), pp. 174-88.
- 9 The higher regard enjoyed by bronze casts in the sixteenth century is stressed by S. Settis, 'Laocoonte di bronzo, Laocoonte di marmo', in M. Winner, B. Andreae and C. Pietrangeli (eds), *Il Cortile delle Statue. Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan*, Akten des Internationalen Kongresses zu Ehren von Richard Krautheimer, Rom, 21.-23. Oktober 1992 (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), pp. 129-60, at p. 130, now also in S. Settis et al., *Laocoonte: fama e stile* (Rome, 1999), p. 16: "Alla radice [of Primaticcio's bronze casts] possiamo riconoscere l'idea, tolta dalle fonti antiche dove essa è bene in chiaro, di una *gerarchia dei materiali* della scultura che pone il bronzo, prezioso e d'ardua tecnica, ben prima del marmo". In fact, Philip II's secret garden in Aranjuez was also decorated with two bronze casts from the antique, which were displayed at its entrance sometime around 1586 (see below, note 24).
- 10 Letter from Leone Leoni to Ferrante Gonzaga, in G. Campori, *Gli artisti italiani negli Stati Estensi: catalogo storico corredato di documenti inediti* (Modena, 1855), p. 288, no. II.
- 11 Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny remarked on the different potential of the two casting materials shown by this episode, stating that "great collections of bronze copies could not be afforded by many people, but plaster casts were less expensive, and we know at least one private collection which was formed not much later", *Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1981), p. 16. Renaissance plaster casts have been studied much less than bronze casts: on this problem in general see Ladendorf, *Antiken-*

models in Italian sixteenth-century artists' workshops, although they were often reworked considerably.¹² Such casts were also displayed in the collections of humanists and learned professionals, but together with looser copies of ancient types and without any distinction made between them.¹³ Primaticcio's moulds, by contrast, reproduced the originals with great accuracy and were taken from full-length statues. His casts were collected as a specific art genre, being considered copies of antiquities rather than modern sculptures.

As far as we know, however, only three plaster casts were made at the French court: two of them, after Michelangelo's *Vatican Pietà* and his *Christ for Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, were destined for interior locations because of their devotional subject; the third, a copy of the Capitoline *Marcus Aurelius*, was exhibited under a baldachin in the *Cour du Cheval Blanc*, named after the plaster monument.¹⁴ Therefore, Mary's decision to commission only plaster casts for her palaces and gardens marked a further step in the history of this material and its use in the fine arts: unlike the bronze casts made for Francis I, Mary's casts must have been esteemed not for their medium, but because of their fidelity to famous ancient statues.

studium und Antikenkopie, pp. 62-74; E. Paul, 'Falsificazioni di antichità in Italia dal Rinascimento alla fine del XVIII secolo', in S. Settis (ed.), *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, 3 vols (Turin, 1984-85), II, *I generi ritrovati* (1985), pp. 413-39, at pp. 415-19, 421-3 and 431-2; F. Donati, *La gipsoteca di arte antica* (Pisa, 1999), pp. 57-76; B. Jestaz, 'Les premières copies d'antiques', in Cuzin *et al.* (eds), *D'après l'antique*, pp. 45-52.

- 12 See C. Franzoni, "'Rimembranze d'infinite cose": le collezioni rinascimentali di antichità', in *Memoria dell'antico*, I, *L'uso dei classici* (Turin, 1984), pp. 304-60, at pp. 338-43.
- 13 An overview of this phenomenon is provided by I. Favaretto, 'L'immagine raddoppiata: calchi, copie e invenzioni "all'antica" nelle collezioni venete di antichità', in H. Lavagne and F. Queyrel (eds), *Les moulages de sculptures antiques et l'histoire de l'archéologie*, Actes du Colloque international, Paris, 24 octobre 1997 (Geneva, 2000), pp. 13-21. The best example of this kind of collection, where busts were mixed with *bozzetti* and partial casts from statues, is provided by the set of plaster portraits formerly owned by Marco Mantova Benavides and now preserved at the Museo Universitario di Scienze Archeologiche e d'Arte in Padua (see Alessandra Menegazzi's contribution in this volume, pp. 611-25). However, there is no evidence that Benavides' casts were originally made for a collection rather than an artist's studio: on this problem see especially B. Candida, *I calchi rinascimentali della collezione Mantova Benavides nel Museo del Liviano a Padova* (Padova, 1967), pp. 92-7, and I. Favaretto, 'La fortuna del ritratto antico nelle collezioni venete di antichità: originali, copie e "invenzioni"', *Bollettino d'arte*, 79 (1993), pp. 65-72, with bibliography.
- 14 A letter of Francis I to Michelangelo Buonarroti dating 9 February 1546 (first published by F. De Romanis, *Alcune memorie di Michelangiolo Buonarroti da' m(an)os(critti) per le nozze di Clemente Cardinali con Anna Bovi* (Roma, 1823), p. 15; rev. edn by P. de Chennevières, *Archives de l'art français: recueil de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire des arts en France*, VII (1857) = *Documents*, v, p. 39) proves that the French king himself requested the moulds of the two sculptures. A plaster cast of the *Pietà*, now lost, was located in the *Chapelle Haute de la Cour du Donjon*, see L. Dimier, *Le Primatice: peintre, sculpteur et architecte des Rois de France* (Paris, 1900), p. 333.

As far as we know, the casts from the antique made by Primaticcio and his workshop for Francis I of Valois and Mary of Habsburg are the first that can be documented outside Italy. Moreover, they are the first known instance in which the moulds that had already been used in Fontainebleau were re-employed to produce further copies of the most celebrated ancient statues from Rome.¹⁵

On the basis of new evidence, this paper will reassess our understanding of these episodes, and more generally our view of the sixteenth-century diffusion of casting from the antique beyond the Alps, by raising two points so far underplayed, the one geographic, the other sociological. Firstly, I will highlight the pivotal role played by Mary of Habsburg and her diplomacy in disseminating bronze and plaster casts from the antique not only into the Low Countries, but also within the borders of the Holy Roman Empire. As a consequence, the sixteenth-century diffusion of this form of collecting will appear significantly more articulated than one might imagine. Secondly, I will argue that the role of courtiers and European allies who shared with the Valois and the Habsburgs an interest in collecting antiquities, and therefore accepted new forms of substitutive casts, should also be considered significant for the recognition of plaster as a proper medium for reproducing and collecting the sculptural masterpieces of Antiquity.¹⁶ In particular, certain Habsburg courtiers, such as the Minister Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, took the initiative of commissioning plaster casts from the antique independently and at the same time as their rulers. This activity allows us to reassess the common view of sixteenth-century cast commissions as exclusive to the patronage of royal dynasties.

15 During the sixteenth century ancient busts such as the *Pseudo-Vitellius* (Venice, Museo Archeologico) had already been replicated several times in marble, bronze and plaster, but in these replica series the variations from the original were usually so conspicuous that the bronze and plaster casts made by moulding the originals, and then re-working the cast, can hardly be distinguished from the other kind of copies: see B. Candida, *I calchi rinascimentali della collezione Mantova Benavides nel Museo del Liviano a Padova* (Padova, 1967), pp. 39-42, 93; E. Paul, 'Zum Pseudo Vitellius', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 31 (1982), pp. 255-7; K. Fittschen, 'Sul ruolo del ritratto antico nell'arte italiana', in *Memoria dell'antico*, II (1985), pp. 381-412, at pp. 402-7; *Idem*, 'Über einige römische Porträts in Venedig: antike Vorbilder und neuzeitliche Nachahmungen', in I. Favaretto and G. Traversari (eds), *Venezia e l'archeologia, un importante capitolo nella storia del gusto dell'antico nella cultura artistica veneziana*, Congresso Internazionale, Venezia, Ca' Dolfin (Rome, 1990), pp. 203-8; I. Favaretto, 'La fortuna del ritratto antico nelle collezioni venete di antichità: originali, copie e "invenzioni"', *Bollettino d'arte*, 79 (1993), pp. 65-72.

16 Renaissance plaster casts have first been interpreted as "stellvertretende Formerinnung" by Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenskopie*, pp. 69-71.

A Bronze Cast instead of a Bronze Original: the Vienna *Jüngling*

Our first case study concerns an exceptional finding of the early sixteenth century, the so-called *Jüngling* from the Magdalensberg, a full-length bronze discovered in very good condition in 1502 and bought in 1519 by Matthäus Lang, Imperial Counsellor and Bishop of Salzburg, after Maximilian of Habsburg had shown no interest in acquiring it.¹⁷ After Lang's death in 1520, the ancient statue passed to the heritage of his bishopric.

In 1534 Petrus Apianus' *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis, non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere orbis*, brought the attention of the German world to the *Jüngling* that he reproduced in a beautiful full-page illustration together with the inscription on the right leg of the statue, that bore its donors' names (Fig. 4. 2).¹⁸ The material of the statue and the elegance of the nude also contributed to the inclusion of the *Jüngling* in the canon of the most important Roman monuments north of the Alps.

Not much later Ferdinand I of Habsburg, Archduke of Austria, expressed the desire to have the statue that his grandfather had declined to purchase, and asked the new Bishop of Salzburg, Ernest of Bavaria, to facilitate its donation from the Cathedral's Chapter. Since the Habsburg and the Wittelsbach families

17 The acquisition of the ancient statue by Matthäus Lang, "antiquitatum summus cultor et admirator", is documented by Petrus Apianus and Bartholomeus Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis non illae quidem Romanae, sed totius fere orbis summo studio ac maximis impensis terra marique conquisitae...* (Ingolstadii: in aedibus P. Apiani, 1534), p. CCXCVII. Lang's interest in ancient marbles has been often stressed in the secondary literature (for example R. von Busch, *Studien zu deutschen Antikensammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1973), pp. 16, 233, note 44; and p. 237, note 82); we know for example that Lang brought to Wellenburg "marmora IIII ex agro Patavino effossa", that is four inscriptions originating from the imperial spoliation of Padua (1509): K. Peutinger, *Inscriptiones vetustae Roman(ae) et earum fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius diocesi... antea impressae, nunc denuo revisae, castigatae simul et auctae* (Mainz: in aedibus Ioannis Schoeffer, 1520), fol Di^r.

The history of the *Jüngling* (usually considered a praying athlete, but also identified more recently as Mercury) has been reconstructed by R. von Schneider, 'Die Erzstatue vom Helenenberge', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 15 (1894), pp. 102-23. For the dating of the original statue, now disappeared, see R. Wünsche, 'Der Jüngling vom Magdalensberg', in J. A. Schmoll, M. Restle and H. Weiermann (eds), *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler* (Munich-Berlin, 1972), pp. 45-80; P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen: Studien zur Veränderung des Kunstgeschmacks in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz am Rhein, 1974), pp. 67-8, No. 9 (with complete bibliography); W. Wohlmayr, 'Der Jüngling vom Magdalensberg, Versuch einer stilistischen Neubestimmung', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 131 (1991), pp. 7-44.

18 Apianus and Amantius (as above) p. CCCCXIII (illustration). The inscription reads "A . POBLICIVS . D . L . ANTIOC / TI . BARBIVS . Q . PL TIBER". Another important mention of the *Jüngling* is in Stephanus Wynandus Pighius, *Hercules prodicius, seu Principis iuventutis vita et peregrinatio* (Antverpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1587), p. 220. On the visual fortune of the statue see Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie*, pp. 33-5.

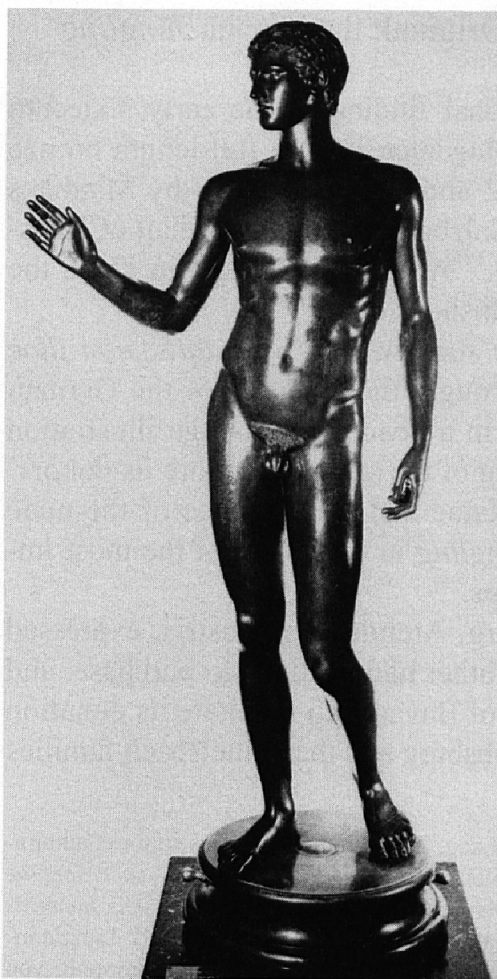


Fig. 4. 1: *Jüngling* (Youth). Unknown artist, 1551–1552, aftercast from a first-century BC bronze statue of a praying athlete found on the Magdalensberg in Carinthia, now lost. Bronze, h: 1.895 m. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

were allied, and Ernest was struggling against his two elderly brothers to claim his rights as a potential successor to the Dukedom of Bavaria, Ernest, also a good entrepreneur, must have seen in Ferdinand's demand the possibility to strengthen his own relations with the imperial family.¹⁹ Hence, on 24 January 1551, he obtained a concession from the Salzburg Chapter which let Archduke Ferdinand take the *Jüngling* on the condition that it was not transferred to anyone else.²⁰

Yet for some reason the bestowal had no immediate effect, and in November 1551 Mary of Habsburg, Ferdinand's sister, wrote to Ernest a very interesting

19 See especially F. F. Strauss, 'Herzog Ernst von Bayern (1500–1560), ein süddeutscher fürstlicher Unternehmer des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 101 (1961), pp. 269–84.

20 F. Martin, 'Zur Geschichte der "Erzstatue vom Helenenberge"', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 48 (1908), p. 222.

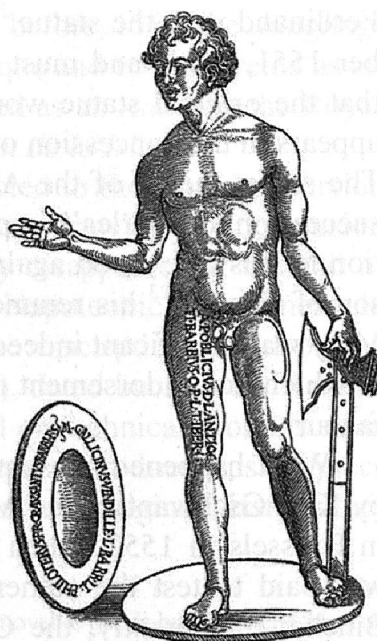


Fig. 4. 2: *Jüngling* (Youth). Unknown artist. Engraving, in: Petrus Apianus and Bartholomeus Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* [...] (Ingolstadii: in aedibus P. Apiani, 1534), p. CCXCVII.

letter, so far unpublished, which reveals that a new arrangement had been made. The *Jüngling* would first be moulded and cast in bronze (Fig. 4. 1), and then sent to Mary:

Dear and kind cousin, since some time ago your Lordship kindly offered to satisfy our kind, dear Lord and brother [Ferdinand], King of the Romans, of Hungary and Bohemia, with an ancient image, cast in metal, on the simple condition that your Lordship could mould [*abgiessen*] the said image before, keep a cast of it for yourself and finally present us with the image cast in antiquity, therefore we are warmly grateful to your Lordship for such a benevolent offer. And since we still have a taste and inclination for that [sculpture] and similar artworks and antiques, and this [*scil.* our desire] may have been forgotten by your Lordship because of your business, we could not neglect to remind you of your benevolent offer by this message (App. 1.).

This change of plan most probably arose after the Diet of Augsburg during the summer and autumn of 1551. There Ferdinand and Ernest must have learned of Mary's casting campaign, that had started by July of the same year, and of her "taste and inclination for that [sculpture] and similar artworks and antiques". The new solution enabled Ernest to keep a cast after the *Jüngling* for the Golden Hall in the Fortress of Hohensalzburg, the former location of the original,²¹ and avoid the Chapter's prohibition on presenting anyone other than

21 The *Jüngling* ("ain grosser gloggspeisser nackhender Mann") is recorded by the 1587 inventory of the Fortress in the Great Hall before the *Goldene Stube* on the third floor: see J. C. Pillwar, 'Hohensalzburg: seine Geschichte, Baulichkeiten und Ausrüstung', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft*

Ferdinand with the statue.²² In Augsburg, where Mary arrived on 10 September 1551, Ferdinand must also have decided (if he had not done so before) that the original statue would go to her collection, and not to his (as it still appears in the concession of the Salzburg Chapter dating to 24 January 1551). The secret theme of the Augsburg meeting between the Habsburgs was the succession to Charles's imperial crown, and since Ferdinand's personal ambition to this title stood against the nomination of his nephew Philip of Spain, son of Charles,²³ his renunciation of the ancient statue in favour of his sister Mary was significant indeed. Ferdinand satisfied Mary's requests at a moment in which her endorsement of him was crucial to persuade the Emperor in his favour.

What happened subsequently to the *Jüngling* has already been discussed by Kurt Gschwantler and Margarita Estella. An ancient bronze statue arrived in Brussels in 1552, when Mary of Hungary's architect Jacques Dubroeuq was paid to test the authenticity of the sculpture and to have it carried to Binche;²⁴ apparently, the Governor was not sure that she had received the original one. Set outside, high on the top of the palace's frontal tower, the *Jüngling* escaped the French sack of 1554, and in 1556 it was recorded among the art objects that Mary shipped to Spain with her, when she left Brussels to

für Salzburger Landeskunde, 17 (1877), pp. 1-88, at p. 52; *Inventare der Salzburger Burgen und Schlösser*, III, I. Froschauer and N. Schaffer (eds), *Festung Hohensalzburg* (Salzburg, 1992), p. 59. On the princely apartment of the Fortress see also H. Tietze, *Die profanen Denkmale der Stadt Salzburg*, Österreichische Kunsttopographie, 13 (Vienna, 1914), p. 120.

22 A. Lhotsky, 'Die Geschichte der Sammlungen', in *Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestandes*, 2 vols (Vienna, 1941-1945), I, pp. 137-56; Georg Kugler, 'Kunst und Geschichte im Leben Ferdinands I.', in W. Seipel (ed.), *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503-1564: das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie*, exh. cat. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Milan, 2003), pp. 201-13.

23 K. Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V. Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches*, 6th edn (Frankfurt am Main, 1976) (1st edn, 1937), pp. 496-7.

24 T. Lejeune, 'Le Palais de Marie de Hongrie à Binche, 1545-54', *Documents et rapports de la Société Paléontologique et Archéologique de l'Arondissement judiciaire de Charleroi*, 9 (1878), pp. 415-48, at p. 431; Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroeuq von Mons*, p. 267, no. 55 (Dubroeuq is paid for four days spent in Brussels "à visiter si la figure de cuivre venue de nouveau d'Allemaingne estoit anticque ou non, audit pris de IIII livres par jour [...] et pour avoir esté quérir XII^e jour d'avril ensuivant, en la dicte ville de Bruxelles, avec le cherroit de Maryemont la dicte figure ensemble le *Mercure* de cuivre servant à mettre sur la thour de Binch"). The connection between the "figure venue de nouveau de l'Allemagne" and the ancient *Jüngling* was first established by M. Estella Marcos, 'Los Leoni, escultores entre Italia y España', in J. Urrea (ed.), *Los Leoni (1509-1608): escultores del Renacimiento italiano al servicio de la corte de España*, exh. cat. Madrid, Museo del Prado (Madrid, 1994), pp. 29-62, at pp. 49-50. In Binche the *Jüngling* was paired with a bronze *Mercury* cast by Dubroeuq: see Lejeune (as above) p. 431; Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroeuq von Mons*, p. 263, no. 32; R. Didier, *Jacques Dubroeuq, sculpteur et maître-artiste de l'Empereur (1500/10-84)*, with contributions by J. Debergh, P. Kurmann and C. Wilson ([Brussels], 2000), p. 18.

take up her residence in Valladolid.²⁵ Sometime before 1586 the *Jüngling*, paired with a bronze *Venus* moulded from the antique and re-interpreted as an *Eve* (now Madrid, Museo del Prado), was exhibited as an *Adam* in the Royal Residence of Aranjuez, at the entrance of the *Jardín de la Isla*.²⁶

In 1761 the Spanish *Jüngling* was first connected to the Austrian version by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, without, however, drawing any conclusion about their reciprocal relation.²⁷ The *Adam* finally disappeared at the end of the eighteenth century during a revolt against the Napoleonic government. In 1894 Theodor Mommsen correctly stated that the inscription found on the Austrian bronze replica, now in Vienna (Fig. 4. 2), dated back to the Renaissance, and in 1986 the statue itself was recognized on technical grounds as an aftercast from a lost ancient original that had been reproduced using piece moulds.²⁸ In 1994 Margarita Estella proposed that the original first-century

- 25 The *Jüngling* was identified in the 1558 inventory of Mary's movable goods by M. Estella Marcos, 'El mecenazgo de la reina María de Hungría en el campo de la escultura', in M. J. Redondo Cantera and M. Á. Zalama (eds), *Carlos V y las artes: promoción artística y familia imperial* (Valladolid, 2000), pp. 283-321, at p. 307. The later history of the statue has been reconstructed by K. Gschwantler, 'El "Joven del Magdalensberg"', in J. Urrea (ed.), *Adán y Eva en Aranjuez: investigaciones sobre la escultura en la Casa de Austria*, exh. cat. Madrid, Museo del Prado (Madrid, 1992), pp. 49-69; K. Gschwantler, 'Der *Jüngling* vom Magdalensberg in Aranjuez. Die Suche nach dem verschollenen Original', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 89-90, N. S., 53-4 (1993-1994), pp. 311-39. G. Kugler, 'Kunst und Geschichte im Leben Ferdinands I.', in W. Seipel (ed.), *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503-1564: das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie*, exh. cat. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Milan, 2003), pp. 201-13, at p. 210, wrongly states that the *Jüngling* was sent to Spain by Ferdinand I or Maximilian II.
- 26 In a letter dating 29 May 1586, Federico Zuccari mentioned "due statue di bronzo antiche molto bone" at the entrance of the *Jardín de la Isla* in Aranjuez (J. Dominguez Bordona, 'Federico Zúccaro en España', *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 7 (1927), pp. 5-13, at p. 8). The *Eve*, cast in Florence from an ancient marble *Venus* now in the Galleria degli Uffizi (inv. no. 155) was integrated with a sixteenth-century head by a Renaissance sculptor identified with Bartolomeo Ammannati by Herbert Keutner ('Die Bronzevenus des Bartolomeo Ammannati: ein Beitrag zum Problem des Torso im Cinquecento', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, ser. 3, 11 (1963), pp. 79-92; see also A. Nesselrath, 'The Venus Belvedere: an Episode in Restoration', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), pp. 205-14; M. Estella Marcos, 'La Venus del Jardín de la Isla de Aranjuez', in J. Urrea (ed.), *Adán y Eva en Aranjuez: investigaciones sobre la escultura en la Casa de Austria*, exh. cat. Madrid, Museo del Prado (Madrid, 1992), pp. 71-88; R. Coppel Aréizaga, *Catálogo de la escultura de época moderna, siglos XVI-XVIII* (Madrid, 1998), pp. 45-6, no. 1).
- 27 J. J. Winckelmann, *Briefe*, W. Rehm with H. Diepolder (eds), 4 vols (Berlin, 1952-57), II (1954), p. 189, no. 450 (letter to Anton Raphael Mengs, 18 November 1761), and p. 198, no. 460 (to the same Mengs, 16 December 1761).
- 28 T. Mommsen, in R. von Schneider, 'Die Erzstatue von Helenenberge', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 15 (1894), pp. 102-23, at pp. 118-19. The Vienna version of the *Jüngling* has been dated thanks to technical investigation (Kurt Gschwantler et al., in *Guß und Form: Bronzen aus der Antikensammlung*, exh. cat. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna, 1986), pp. 51-8, no. 51). See also V. Freiburger, K. Gschwantler

BC statue might have been sent from Salzburg to Mary. Now, the letter from Mary of Habsburg published here not only supports this reconstruction, but also provides it with a precise political and cultural context. The new document also gives the Vienna aftercast a precise date, confirming the doubts about its authenticity reported in the seventeenth century by Johan Steinhäuser.²⁹

Moreover, the fortune of the Austrian version, that erased the memory of its recent origin for five centuries, tells us that in this case metal was preferred to plaster for several reasons. When a bronze reproduced another original bronze in a 1:1 ratio, not only was the material precious and noble, but, if it had the right weight and an artificially-aged surface, it could also be taken for the original.³⁰

Finally, the episode considered here demonstrates that, once the moulding techniques were applied to the reproduction of large statues and were placed at the collector's disposal, they could also increase the tendency of the best original statues to reach the most powerful rulers. The original sculpture could be successfully replaced through a replica.

and A. Pacher, 'Beobachtungen zur Oberfläche des Jünglings vom Magdalensberg', in K. Gschwantler and A. Bernhard-Walcher (eds), *Griechische und römische Statuetten und Großbronzen*, Akten der 9. Internationalen Tagung über Antike Bronzen, Vienna, 21–25 April 1986 (Vienna, 1988), pp. 28–34; E. Formigli, 'Zur Form- und Gußtechnik des Jünglings vom Magdalensberg', *ibid.*, pp. 35–8; A. Vendl and B. Pichler, 'Naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Authentifizierung der Bronzestatue des Jünglings vom Magdalensberg', *ibid.*, pp. 39–41. In Cupperi, 'Arredi statuari: Parte II', p. 170, note 1, I wrongly assumed that a third replica, now displayed in the Fortress of Salzburg, was also early modern, while it was actually cast in the nineteenth century, after the transfer of the Renaissance *Jüngling* from Salzburg to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

29 Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, MS b XIII 11, fol 77, transcribed in K. Gschwantler, 'Der Jüngling vom Magdalensberg: ein Forschungsprojekt der Antikensammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien', in K. Gschwantler and A. Bernhard-Walcher (eds), *Griechische und römische Statuetten und Großbronzen*, Akten der 9. Internationalen Tagung über Antike Bronzen, Vienna, 21–25 April 1986 (Vienna, 1988), pp. 16–27, at p. 25, note 26. According to Steinhäuser the *Jüngling* now in Vienna was an "Abriß oder Contrafactur einer romischen Statuae oder Bildnus" which had been taken away from Salzburg. On this passage see also H. Ospald, 'Johann Steinhäuser, ein Salzburger Historiograph des beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 110–11 (1970–1971), pp. 1–124, at p. 88.

30 On this aspect of bronze casting from the antique, cf. B. Jestaz, 'Les moulages d'antiques fondus en bronze au XVI siècle', in H. Lavagne and F. Queyrel (eds), *Les moulages de sculptures antiques et l'histoire de l'archéologie*. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 24 octobre 1997 (Geneva, 2000), pp. 23–8, at p. 24.

Green *all'antica* patinas started to be largely appreciated in this same moment, as a beautiful letter from Granvelle to Leone Leoni proves (E. Plon, *Leone Leoni, sculpteur de Charles V, et Pompeo Leoni, sculpteur de Philippe II [...]* (Paris, 1887), p. 376, no. 52): on 2 December 1551, the minister requested Leoni to provide him with the recipe of such a patina, which "farà perdere il credito a le [teste] antiche che lo hanno naturalmente".

However, for the mid sixteenth century the case of the *Jüngling* was quite exceptional, in that a bronze cast from an important statue was made for the bishopric of a third-born prince, and not for a great European monarch. Only the interest of the Habsburgs in the original statue had made the casting of a bronze replica possible. As we shall immediately see, the greater part of the aristocracy of the time collected *plaster* casts, which were either acquired independently or made from the sets of moulds obtained by their lords.

Multiple Plaster Casts instead of Bronze Casts: the Granvelle and Hennin Liétard Collections

Our second case study takes us back to Brussels, where in 1549 the Imperial Minister Mons. Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, outstanding collector of books and art objects, asked Primaticcio to cast an ancient statue, the *Fusconi Adonis* (actually the *Vatican Meleager*), whose moulds had been mentioned to Mons. Granvelle by Leone Leoni.³¹ Primaticcio replied that he had no moulds of the *Adonis*, but that Leoni had seen the moulds of the *Antinoüs Belvedere*, and that this statue could be cast for Granvelle. The latter accepted Primaticcio's offer.³²

It is likely that Primaticcio's moulds of the *Antinous*, as well as the moulds shipped to Binche for the casts of the *Nile* and the *Cleopatra*, had already been used in France before. However in 1551, answering to another request from Granvelle concerning a plaster cast of the *Apollo Belvedere*, Primaticcio explicitly wrote that a third casting from the *Apollo's* moulds could damage them, and remarked they were "weak because they had already

31 On the *Vatican Meleager* see W. Helbig, in B. Andreae *et al.*, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th edn (Tübingen, 1963), I, pp. 74-5, no. 97; F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1981), pp. 263-6, no. 60. On Antoine Perrenot as patron of art see in general J. Brunet and G. Toscano (eds), *Les Granvelles et l'Italie au XVI siècle: le mécénat d'une famille*. Actes du colloque international, Besançon, Université de Franche-Comté, 2-4 octobre 1992 (Besançon, 1996), and K. De Jonge and G. Janssens (eds), *Les Granvelle et les anciens Pays-Bas* (Leuven, 2000), with bibliography. See also Cupperi, 'Per la delettatione' (forthcoming).

32 Greppi (ed.), *Lettere di artisti italiani*, pp. 58-9, no. 2, letter of Francesco Primaticcio to Granvelle, 28 October 1549: "Messer Leone ha preso il nome de 'Adonis' in iscambio, perché io gli dissi che io ho l'*Antinoo* tanto celebrato e non l'*Adonis*. Cercai bene de lo avere, ma il medico non ne volse far nulla; ma a me et al giudizio che più ne sa, l'*Antinoo* è infinitamente più bello. Mi duole di non poter contentare vostra reverendissima Signoria di questa figura [...]". On 7 April 1550, the Prelate answered in a letter addressed to the Imperial Ambassador in France Simon Renard (in C. Weiss, *Papiers d'État du cardinal de Granvelle*, 9 vols (Paris, 1841-1852), III, pp. 421-2).



Fig. 4. 3: *Apollo*. Francesco Primaticcio, 1540–1541, aftercast from the second-century AD marble *Apollo Belvedere* in the Vatican Museums, Rome. Bronze, h: 2.18 m. Musée National du Château, Fontainebleau.

been used twice” (“debili per havere de già servito due volte”),³³ implicitly referring to the bronze cast now in Fontainebleau (Fig. 4. 3), and to a lost, second plaster cast made for Mary of Hungary. Yet, Primaticcio also stated he was ready to cast a third replica of this statue for mons. Granvelle, and his offer seems to have been accepted: some letters from Granvelle’s secretaries Odet Viron and Maximilien Morillon reveal that in the Prelate’s Brussels palace a *Venus* and an *Apollo* were protected with a wood packing case during a wedding ceremony in 1569 (“garnir de bois et aix blancqz la *Venere* et *Apollo*, afin que l’on ny thouché”),³⁴ and in 1607 the inventory of the goods once belonging to the Perrenot family in Besançon records “a plaster head of Apollo” “moulded from the antique” (une “teste de gy [...] d’un Apollo” “mollée sur l’antique”), perhaps a fragment which had survived from the statue, or a further partial moulding of the plaster cast.³⁵

33 Cupperi, ‘Arredi statuari: Parte II’, p. 169, appendix 3.

34 K. De Jonge, ‘Le Palais Granvelle à Bruxelles: premier exemple de Renaissance romaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas?’, in K. De Jonge and G. Janssens (eds), *Les Granvelle et les anciens Pays-Bas* (Leuven, 2000), pp. 341–87, at p. 372, no. 2, 23 May 1569; p. 374, no. 5, 27 July 1569; pp. 382–3, note 53, 5 October 1565.

35 A. Castan, ‘Monographie du Palais Granvelle à Besançon’, *Mémoires de la Société d’Emulation du Doubs*, ser. 4, 2 (1866), pp. 73–165, at p. 149.

As a matter of fact, in 1552 Mary of Habsburg allowed another of her most influential courtiers, Jean de Hennin-Liétard, to have plaster casts made by Lancia from her own moulds.³⁶ The act of collecting statues identical to those of the Queen attested to the status and privileges enjoyed by Antoine Perrenot and Jean de Hennin-Liétard under her rule. In this second case, Mary's record of payment clearly distinguishes the "ancient statues" ("statues anticques"), which the "molleur en plattre" cast for her up to June 1552, and "some heads from the same antiquities" ("aulcunes testes desdictes anticquaiges"), which were cast for "Monseigneur de Boussu" from that moment. Jean de Hennin-Liétard's plaster casts were only partial replicas made later: this difference established a clear hierarchy between the Governor's and the courtier's collections.

However, the Habsburg Governor was not alone in being able to acquire plaster casts outside the court. Mons. Granvelle soon became an independent collector of casts after the antique: in 1568 the agent Niccolò Stroppio reported to Johan Jakob Függer an authoritative statement of the Prelate, according to which "he would rather have a perfect modern sculpture copied from the antique than an imperfect ancient one".³⁷

So, it is not surprising to discover from unpublished letters that already in May 1549 the Cardinal had five boxes of "plaster figures from Rome" shipped from Genoa to Cádiz (App. 1. and 2.). These plaster casts were first directed to Besançon, and later shipped to "Flanders", perhaps in order to be displayed in Granvelle's new palace in Brussels. It is also possible that these casts were made from ancient or modern works in Rome. What is certain is that, given the gross weight of the boxes was more than 950 kg altogether ("più di cantara quatro l'una", that is about 190 kg, "et alchuna di maggior peso"), his plaster "images" must have been quite large.

Whatever the subjects of the said "plaster figures" may have been, Mons. Granvelle's initiatives in the field of cast collecting should be regarded as highly significant in at least two respects. Firstly, they demonstrate that not only princes, but also imperial ministers and courtiers could acquire plaster casts for their collections on their own initiative. Some of Granvelle's enterprises in this field were neither facilitated by his rulers, nor made possible by their moulds, but rather mediated by agents and artists that made the moulds available for casting in Rome or in Paris, and eventually shipped the works

36 Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroecq von Mons*, p. 266, no. 52.

37 E. Weski and H. Frosien-Leinz (eds), *Das Antiquarium der Münchner Residenz: Katalog der Skulpturen*, 2 vols (Munich, 1987), I, p. 464, no. 120 (without date, but 1568). The letter is pointed out by Bertrand Jestaz, 'Les premières copies d'antiques', in Cuzin *et al.* (eds), *D'après l'antique*, p. 52, note 17.

requested. Secondly, the entrance of aristocrats and courtiers into the world of cast collecting created favourable conditions for the spread of plaster casts from the antique and a more intense exploitation of their moulds. As a consequence, in the mid sixteenth-century multiple castings from the same moulds became less rare than one might imagine, and collecting casts from the antique became possible without commissioning new moulding campaigns after the original statues.

Appendix

1. Letter from Mary of Hungary to the Bishop of Salzburg, Brussels, 16 November 1551 (final draft, from a sixteenth-century copy book of the *Secrétairerie d'État pour l'Allemagne*: Brussels, Archives Générales du Royaume, inv. 74, MS No. 12, fol 72^v-73^r).

Wir Maria von Gottes genaden zw Hungern unnd Behaim etc. Khunigin, Römischer Kay[zers] M[aies]t[a]t Stathalterin und Gubernandtin der Niderlannden, Embieten dem hochwirdigen, hochgeborenen fürsten, unnsERM freuntlichen lieben Vettern, herrn Ernesten confirmirten zu Erzbischoven des Stiffts Salzburg etc., Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein, Hrezogen [*scil.* Herzogen] in obern unnd Nidern Bayern, unnsER Freuntchafft mit guettem willen aller gebüer zuvor.

Freuntlicher lieber Vetter, demnach E[uer] L[ieb] hiebevOR verschiner Zeit auf unnsERS freuntlichen geliebten herrn unnd Brueders, der Römischen zw Hungern und Behaim Khuniglichen wurde etc., ansinnen, mit ainem antiquischen von Metal gegoßnen bildt zu wilfaren, sich freuntlich erboten, allain das Euer Lieb solich Bildt zuvor abgiessen, desselben ainen abgueß für sich behalten, unnd uns volgenndt das recht alt gegossen bildt zuverordnen wolten, etc., darumben wir E[urer] L[ieb] soliches ieres guetwilligen erbiethens freuntlich dannckhbar seindt. Unnd dieweil wir nun zu solichem unnd dergleichen khunstreichen stuckhen unnd antiquiteten sonndern lust und naigung tragen, haben wir der ursachen halber, ob villeicht E[urer] L[ieb] das bey anndern ieren geschefften in vergessen khomen, nit underlassen khonden E[uer] L[ieb] diesselben leres guetwilligen erbietens, mit disem unnsERM schreiben zuerinnern. Gannz freudtlich ansinnen unnd begeren, an E[urer] L[ieb], die wellen uns zu sonnderm Lust unnd freuntchafft ob angerüert alt gegossen bildt zu hannden gegenwerttigen briefs bringer, der es fortter herab in diese lanndt verordnen wierdet, zur anntwurtten unbeschwerdt sain, soliches wellen wir hinwider umd E[urer] L[ieb] in dergleichen unnd merern aller gebüer [73r] freuntlich gern beschulten.

Geben zu Brüssel in Brabandt den Sechzehenden tag Novembris Anno im ain- undfünzigsten.

2. Letter from Stefano De Insula to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Genoa, 29 May 1549 (Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, MS II-2267, fol 247^{r-v})

Reverendissimo et illustrissimo Monsignor, mio patron osservandissimo.

Non ho scritto più presto a Vostra Signoria reverendissima – per non essere mai capitato – que elle figure de gipso de Roma al presente sono da giorni quatro che con una barcha arivarno qua, adrizate al signore ambasciador Figaroa.³⁸ Il quale mi fece intendere como erano gionte dite figure, qual sono in casse cinque. Et per essere molto grieve et pesa[r] più di cantara quatro l'una, et alchuna di maggior peso, è parso al signor Ambasciador et a me tenirle qua sino a novo avis[o] de Vostra Signoria reverendissima.

Attento il signor Ambasciador dice haver comissione di mandarle a Besanson, et io gli ho mostrato una litera, ch[e] me scrivea de Burselles il signor Collo-nello mio fratello per ordine de Vostra Signoria reverendissima, che quando ditte casse fusseno legiere, doverle da[re] a qualche condutiero che lo conducesse per terra in Fiandr[a]; e quando fusseno tanto grieve, che non se potessino portare, man[d]arle senza disfare per mare a drittura in Fiandr[a]; et non trovando passaggio mandarle in Cades con ordine che fusseno mandate in Fiandra et consignarle a Vostra Signoria reverendissima. La quale, per il desiderio ch'io tengo di servir-la, mi far[à] gratia con le prime sue litere ordinarne quello ch'io have[rò] a fare, et per aricordo mio non li mancherò da dire che per terra a partito alchuno le deb-bia far mandare, perchè Vostra Signoria reverendissima troverà tutte le imagine fracassate [e] rote alla gionta loro. E quando quella volesse che si mand[ino] a Besanson, saria meglio mandarle per mare sino in Arli, e[t] dipoi per acqua a Lione e in Borgogna.

Habbio pagat[o] per ordine del signor Ambasciador il nolo de le dite cinque cass[e] de Roma qua. Et in ogni altra cosa ch'io posso servire Vostra Signoria reverendissima, la riceverò per grandissima mercede ch'ella si degni comandarme et tenirme nel numero de' soii bo[ni] servitori. Alla cui bona gratia de Vostra Signoria illustrissima e reverendissima me offero et ricomando, et humilmente li baso le mani, pregando lo Creatore guardi e prosperi felice con crescimento de stato, como desidera Vostra Signoria illustrissima e reverendissima.

D[i] Genova, alli 29 de Maggio 1549.

Di Vostra Signoria illustrissima e reverendissima sempre servitor,
Stefano de Insula

3. Letter from Stefano De Insula to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Genoa, 24 October 1549 (original, Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, MS II-2267, fol 321^{r-v})

Reverendissimo et illustrissimo Monsignor, mio patrone osservandissimo.

Sono XV giorni ch'io habbio caricato le cinque cassie di gespo [*scil.* gepso] sopra una nave, prizata per messer G[i]oanni del Cano genovese, per portare in Cadex. In lo quale loco il signor ambasciador Figaroa scriverà ad un suo amico

38 Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, Duke of Ferrandina and Imperial Ambassador in Genoa.

che le mandino con lo primo buono passaggio in Anversa a messer Nic[ol]ò Rosso mio nipote, che vogli di esse cassie seguirne l'ordine et volontà di Vostra Signoria reverendissima. Et con lo primo buon tempo partirà detta nave – che nostro Signore Dio la conduca a salvamento.

Et se in altro posso servir Vostra Signoria reverendissima, la supplico si voglia degnar di comandarme come suo humile servitor, et io lo riceverò per grandissima mercede, basiandoli le mani, pregando lo Creator guardi et prosperi con crescimento di stato Sua reverendissima et illustrissima Signoria come desidera.

Da Genova, alli XXIIII di ottobre MDXXXVIII [...] .
Di Vostra reverendissima et illustrissima Signoria servitor,
Stefano de Insula

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“Makinge of moldes for the walles” – The Stuccoes of Nonsuch: materials, methods and origins

MARTIN BIDDLE

The vast work of stucco decorating the outside walls of King Henry VIII's Nonsuch Palace was 'without equal' then or since. Known from contemporary descriptions and views, but lost with the destruction of the palace in the 1680s, nothing was known to survive until excavation of the palace in 1959 recovered hundreds of fragments of the stucco and of the carved slate which surrounded each panel.

The making of Nonsuch palace was the immediate result of the central event in the personal life of King Henry VIII. Edward, the long awaited legitimate male heir to the Tudor throne, was born to Jane Seymour at Hampton Court on 12 October 1537. Twelve days later his mother was dead. By the end of the year the site of a new palace had been chosen; work began on 22 April 1538, the first day of the thirtieth year of Henry VIII's reign; in June the name 'Nonnesuche' first appears in the margin of the building accounts. From the start, Henry VIII's evident intention was to build a house without equal whose decoration would celebrate the nature, and safeguard the future, of his dynasty.

All Henry's greater palaces – Whitehall, Hampton Court, Greenwich, Richmond, and most of his lesser houses, The More, for example – were renovations and enlargements, sometimes on a huge scale, of existing houses which he had inherited or acquired. Only Nonsuch was wholly new, built on a site occupied by the manor house, church, churchyard, and buildings of the Surrey village of Cuddington, but chosen for the convenience and amenity of its location and the availability of a good supply of water from rising ground to the south. Like Henry's neighbouring palace at Oatlands, ten miles away to the west, itself a reworking of an older house, Nonsuch was to lie within a vast new hunting chase, the paling of which had begun before the end of 1537.

The whole arrangement has a private air. Here was a new chase along six miles of the Surrey bank of the Thames, dependant on the great palace of Hampton Court, more convenient to London than Windsor, with two lesser, more secluded palaces, Oatlands and Nonsuch, within its limits. Immediately