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3 THE YOUNG TALENT IN ITALY

Michiel Coxcie appears to have been in Italy between about 1530 and 1539.[1] With just two exceptions (see below), no contemporary archival documentation relating to this phase of his career has so far been published. Giorgio Vasari mentions that he met Coxcie in Rome in 1532,[2] and the surviving paintings, drawings and prints indicate that that is where he spent almost all his time in Italy. As far as the art history of Rome in the Cinquecento is concerned, the 1530s may well be the least studied decade of the century.[3] That is partly due to the political events of the previous years, especially the Sack of Rome in 1527 and its aftermath. When the troops of Emperor Charles V stripped the city of its treasures and political importance, they also weakened the finances of local patrons and the demand for art in general. However, the onset of the Reformation in the North had made itself felt even before then, and the number of works of art commissioned and produced in Rome had been in decline since the early 1520s.[4] Although the city's artistic life never came to a complete standstill (not even during or immediately after the sack), the scarcity of information on artists active in Rome around 1530 speaks for itself. Although a considerable amount of research has been done on the arts at that time in Venice, Genoa, Florence, Bologna and Mantua, that is to say cities to which many painters, architects and printmakers formerly active in Rome emigrated or fled, the exact shape of the Roman art scene around 1530, or more precisely in the years between the sack and Michelangelo's return in 1534, remains a challenge to art historians. The so-called *Academy of Baccio Bandinelli*, an engraving by Agostino Veneziano 29
dated 1530, is a depiction not so much of the intellectual activities of a thriving artistic community as of the *otium honestum* of painters and draughtsmen who were trying to make the best of their desperate economic plight.[5] What persuaded a young foreign painter like Michiel Coxcie to settle in Rome during this 'dark age'?

Art history usually treats the death of Raphael in 1520 as the end of the High Renaissance in Italy. His students, however, continued to work on the large projects begun by their master, notably the painted decoration of the Vatican Palace, and in doing so they refrained from substantial stylistic innovations. When Pope Leo X died in December 1521 and his Dutch successor Adrian VI (who although certainly no art enthusiast was not the bitter enemy of all things artistic that Vasari makes him out to be)[6] introduced austerity measures, there was a first slowdown in the Church's art commissions. The next pope, Clement VII (1523–34), was more interested in the arts than Adrian VI, but Church spending in this domain would never again reach the old, High Renaissance levels. In addition to these restrictions, many of Clement's commissions were for his home town of Florence rather than Rome. Michelangelo was therefore in the right place to do business. He came to Rome for only two brief visits between 1516 and 1532, in January 1518 and December 1523.[7] Prompted by the economic situation (and probably also by the scandal of *I Modi*, a series of erotic prints based on his models),[8] Giulio Romano took up the post of court painter to Federico Gonzaga in Mantua in October 1524. It can be demonstrated, though, that the artistic influence of Michelangelo and Giulio Romano never ceased during their absence.[9] Even in the late 1520s and early 1530s, both artists must have been in close contact with colleagues, associates and friends in Rome.

Can art history define a distinct style of the pontificate of Clement VII, a *stile Clementino?*[10] Major art commissions of his in Rome were infrequent and scarce, and most other patrons in the city adhered to the stylistic models and system of patronage established in the High Renaissance, thus favouring the students of Raphael. New arrivals like Parmigianino or Rosso Fiorentino remained the exception rather than the rule in the pre-1527 Roman art scene; neither of them was able to establish a business. Old patronage networks remained intact after the sack, and a kind of nostalgia for the 'good

28 ◁◁ Michiel Coxcie, *St Barbara before the Judges*. Fresco. Detail of fig. 30

old days' of Raphael (and to a lesser extent of the classical Michelangelo) began to put its stamp on art production. Characteristically, the names of the artists responsible for paintings or sculptures produced during these years are unknown or contested. There is, for example, no convincing attribution for the fresco decoration of the *Salone* in the Palazzo della Valle.[11] It was not until the second half of the 1530s that Rome saw more clearly defined artistic personalities in a field of entirely new stylistic tendencies.

When Michiel Coxcie decided to travel to Rome around 1530, he may have done so because an Italian sojourn was beginning to be regarded as the essential 'finishing touch' for a young Netherlandish artist. It is more likely, though, that he was invited by a wealthy compatriot living in Rome, perhaps a cleric who required the services of an artist. If so, Coxcie would have been following in the footsteps of Jan van Scorel, the court painter of Adrian VI, although it must be added that no personal contacts between the two artists have ever been documented.[12] The most important Netherlandish patron of the arts living in Rome around 1530 was Cardinal Willem van Enckevoirt (1464–1534).[13] It can safely be ruled out, however, that Van Enckevoirt called on Coxcie for just one commission: the fresco decoration of 'his' chapel, the St Barbara Chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima, the artist's only work that is still *in situ* in Rome.[14] The reason for rejecting such a scenario is obvious. Having come to Rome in the early 1530s, no Netherlandish artist would have been able to paint *al fresco* without considerable previous training in an Italian workshop. Given the good quality and routine of the decorations, about which Vasari wrote that Coxcie was a 'close observer of the Italian manner',[15] Coxcie must have studied with an Italian fresco painter for at least a year prior to setting to work.

Who might that Italian painter have been? Most of Raphael's *garzoni* left the city soon after it was sacked, while those staying on, most notably Perino del Vaga, tried to carry on with their work but had to face economic realities. Instead of producing frescoes or large paintings, Perino prepared *modelli* for engravings. He finally left Rome to work for Andrea Doria in Genoa shortly before or at about the time of Coxcie's arrival. Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) and Battista Franco (c. 1498–1561), who were among the first artists to return to Rome in the early 1530s, and another early incomer, the still very young Francesco Salviati (1510–63), are unlikely candidates.[16] One of the

29 Agostino Veneziano, *The Academy of Baccio Bandinelli*, 1530. Engraving. The British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings

30 Michiel Coxcie, *St Barbara before the Judges*, early 1530s. Fresco. Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome, St Barbara Chapel

31 ▷ Michiel Coxcie, *The Torture of St Barbara*, early 1530s. Fresco. Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome, St Barbara Chapel

few major Italian artists living in Rome when Coxcie arrived was the Venetian Sebastiano del Piombo (c. 1485–1547), who in 1530 signed the contract for his *Birth of the Virgin* altarpiece (on slate) for the Chigi Chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo. The project included the decoration of the rest of the chapel in accordance with Raphael's original plan. Sebastiano left the altarpiece unfinished, and it was not completed until 1554 by Francesco Salviati.

Filippo Sergardi, the executor of Agostino Chigi's last will, also commissioned Sebastiano to paint a *Visitation* in oil on plaster in Santa Maria della Pace (a church just around the corner from Santa Maria dell'Anima), apparently in the late 1530s.[17] And indeed, as Giorgio Vasari tells us, the decoration of the St Barbara Chapel in Santa Maria dell'Anima was originally assigned to Sebastiano, perhaps several years before the city was sacked, but the artist kept putting it off until finally Cardinal Van Enckevoirt chose Coxcie instead.[18] Does this imply that Sebastiano was Coxcie's teacher in the art of fresco painting? No technical examination of the fresco in the St Barbara Chapel has yet been carried out, but several factors argue against the assumption. Not only was Sebastiano a solitary and difficult personality without a large workshop, but the stylistic evidence is also far from conclusive. One should, however, keep the possibility in mind that Sebastiano had already defined the overall decorative system of the walls and prepared sketches for the major scenes, and that Coxcie worked from these models.[19] That would explain not only the slightly 'Venetian' appearance of Sts Lambert and

32 Michiel Coxcie, *The Ascension of Christ*, early 1530s. Fresco. Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome, St Barbara Chapel

35 Anonymous copy after Cherubino Alberti, after Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Apollo Pursuing Daphne*, 1590s. Engraving. The British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings

33 Michiel Coxcie, *St Barbara Dragged before the Judge by Her Hair*, early 1530s. Fresco. Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome, St Barbara Chapel

34 Michiel Coxcie, *The Decapitated Barbara Being Carried Away*, early 1530s. Fresco. Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome, St Barbara Chapel

Martin in their niches (compare, for example, Sebastiano's *St Sinobaldus and St Louis*),[20] but also the composition of the *Torture of St Barbara*, in which the bare breasts of the 31
female saint and the figures of her frantic tormentors recall Sebastiano's *Martyrdom of St Agatha* of 1520 (Palazzo Pitti, Florence).[21]

The overall impression of the St Barbara frescoes, however, is that of a synthesis of the major currents in Roman High Renaissance art, combining the colourful and vivid manner of Raphael and his students with the sculptural bodies and metallic surfaces of Sebastiano del Piombo. In Coxcie's *St Barbara before the Judges*, for example, the painted 30
columns, entablature and perspective recall both Raphael's *School of Athens* and the architectural *mise en scène* in Sebastiano's altarpiece for the Chigi Chapel mentioned above. The image in the vault of the St Barbara Chapel, with the saint and the apostles looking up at Christ, who is raising his arms in order to welcome her into heaven, appears to 32
have been inspired by the illusionistic *di sotto in su* roundel of God the Father devised by Raphael for the vault of the Chigi Chapel, and at the same time by Sebastiano's *Transfiguration* in the apse of the Borgherini Chapel in San Pietro in Montorio.[22] The agitated figures in the *Death of St Barbara* are based on Raphael's *Expulsion of Heliodorus* fresco in the Stanza di Eliodoro of the Vatican. Even the two chiaroscuro roundels in the second zone, *St Barbara Dragged before the Judge by her Hair* and *The Decapitated Barbara* 33
Being Carried Away, can be related to Raphael's circle. The image of St Barbara being 34
dragged along by her hair looks like a witty adaptation of Polidoro da Caravaggio's *Apollo Pursuing Daphne* (original lost, engraved reproduction by Cherubino Alberti). 35
Coxcie placed the nude body of Barbara/Daphne in a horizontal position but retained the posture of the running Apollo in order to represent the soldier.

In the St Barbara frescoes, therefore, decorative and narrative formulas from the days of Julius II and Leo X are blended with a few quotations from more recent Roman art – an art that was still very much under the spell of the High Renaissance. In terms of composition, the painted window frames employed for the three St Barbara scenes in the third zone are remarkably bold, whereas the number of noticeable flaws remains small. The most prominent are the discrepancies in scale between the larger standing saints in niches in the lower zone and the smaller figures in the central altarpiece they are flanking. This altarpiece has a massive *aedicula* frame that was probably already *in situ* when Coxcie set to work.[23] The picture shows St Barbara (standing on the left) in the act of presenting Cardinal Van Enckevoirt (kneeling and praying on the right) to the Holy Trinity. The picture is on plaster and not on slate, as several art historians have 37
wrongly claimed.[24] It is in a poor state of preservation, and the lower part appears to have been heavily repainted. Only the recovery of the original materials in a future restoration project can shed light on the question of how much of the picture, especially the elaborate landscape, is the genuine work of Coxcie, not to mention other aspects of the technique employed, such as the possibility of an execution in oils, inspired by works by Sebastiano.

36 Gian Francesco Penni, *The Holy Family with St Catherine*, early 1520s. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw

The Van Enckevoirt altarpiece is perhaps the purest testimony to Coxcie's fascination with the art of Raphael and his workshop. It has already been observed that its composition was inspired by Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno*.[25] In addition to that, the figure of St Barbara is close to that of the standing St Catherine in profile in the *Holy Family with St Catherine*, a picture in the Muzeum Narodowe of Warsaw that is currently 36
attributed to Gian Francesco Penni.[26] The figures of Christ and God the Father in a 'divine' gold setting find their closest parallel in the upper section of Giulio Romano's *Stoning of St Stephen* altarpiece for Santo Stefano, Genoa.

Cardinal Van Enckevoirt died on 20 July 1534, when the paintings in the St Barbara Chapel must have been either finished or nearing completion. This is also implied by the record of Coxcie's induction into the Universitas Picturae ac Miniaturae of Rome,

37 Michiel Coxcie, *St Barbara Presenting Cardinal Van Enckevoirt to the Holy Trinity*, early 1530s. Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome, St Barbara Chapel

38 Agostino Veneziano, after Michiel Coxcie, *Psyche's father consulting the oracle*, 1530s. Engraving. *The Story of Cupid and Psyche*, plate 4. The British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings

the precursor of the Accademia di San Luca, dated May 1534, in which it is stated that his paintings in the chapel were finished.[27] According to Vasari, Coxcie decorated two chapels in Santa Maria dell'Anima. The paintings in the other chapel, probably also done *al fresco*, were commissioned by Johannes Sander von Northusen (1455–1544), a German notary of the Roman Rota who was in close contact with Van Enckevoirt and is known to have been a major benefactor of the church and its confraternity. His chapel, which is located to the left of the Chapel of St Barbara, was dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin. Regrettably, no trace of the frescoes executed by Coxcie is visible today, but an old seventeenth-century source, Giovanni Antonio Bruzio, records the subjects,[28] one of which was a Holy Trinity in the vault.

As to the 'molte opere a fresco' that Coxcie produced in Rome, according to Vasari, very few can be located outside the Santa Maria dell'Anima. Van Mander mentions a *Resurrection* in old St Peter's 'painted in fresco',[29] which has not survived. The very fact that Coxcie received a commission for a painting in such an important spot gives an idea of his standing within Rome's artistic community. Laurenza's attribution of paintings on the vault of the Marciac Chapel in Santa Trinità dei Monti to him appears to have failed to meet with the approval of other art historians.[30] What else, then, apart from the two chapels in Santa Maria dell'Anima and the *Resurrection*, did Coxcie paint during his stay in Rome? He probably kept himself busy producing smaller devotional pictures or ephemeral decorations. The remainder of his documented Roman oeuvre, however, falls into the field of the graphic arts. The reasons for this specialization are unclear, but it can be assumed that with more and more artists returning to or newly arriving in Rome during the 1530s (among them Coxcie's compatriot Maarten van Heemskerck) the competition for commissions for large-panel, canvas and fresco paintings increased. The most important new art projects initiated during the early pontificate of Paul III

(1534–49), most notably the decoration of the Oratorio di San Giovanni Decollato, were awarded to Italian painters like Jacopino del Conte, Pirro Ligorio, Battista Franco and Francesco Salviati. Perino del Vaga returned in 1537 and, banking on the fact that he was the pre-eminent living representative of the *stile raffaellesco* in Rome, soon became the city's leading fresco painter, second only to Michelangelo. Luckily for Coxcie, at about the same time, the second half of the 1530s, the Roman printmaking industry saw a substantial rise in output, with the former book publisher Antonio Salamanca preparing to act as its protagonist.[31] His address is found on the second state of 32 engravings with the story of Cupid and Psyche. While the prints bear the monograms or marks of Agostino Veneziano and the so-called Master of the Die, the inventor of the series is not named, but according to Vasari, the models were made by 'Michele, a painter, who worked for many years in two chapels that are in the Church of the Germans [i.e. Santa Maria dell'Anima] at Rome'.[32] Although Dacos and others have expressed doubts about the correctness of that attribution,[33] there is really nothing

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39 Michiel Coxcie, *Jupiter, in the form of Amphitryon, and Alcmena*, 1530s. Drawing for the *Loves of Jupiter* print series. The British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings

in these compositions that would argue against Coxcie as their inventor. By the mid-1530s he was so familiar with the artistic vocabulary of Raphael and his students as to be able to imitate their style so closely that Giovan Battista Armenini attributed the compositions to Raphael himself.[34] In fact, the producers of the series may have omitted all references to Coxcie as the inventor for just that reason. Even recently it was being said that the prints reproduce models by Raphael for unexecuted decorations in the Sala di Psiche of the Farnesina.[35]

The first phase in the publishing history of the *Cupid and Psyche* series has not yet been reconstructed, but it is possible that Coxcie himself, or more likely Coxcie and his two engravers, produced the prints with the intention of publishing and selling them on their own account. Subjects from the story of Cupid and Psyche had already had considerable success in the contemporary art world (in addition to Raphael, mention should also be made of Giulio Romano's frescoes of the subject in the Palazzo Te of c. 1527/28), but a large series of prints not serving as illustrations of an edition or paraphrase of Apuleius' text was a novelty and held out the promise of good sales. If this was the scenario, Salamanca, whose earliest prints bear the date 1538, bought the copper plates of the *Cupid and Psyche* series sometime after they had been cut, perhaps when Coxcie was already preparing to return to the Netherlands. The rather crude addition of the 'excudits' and legends in the vernacular in the lower borders appears to be Salamanca's work.

There are several other drawings attributed to Coxcie that may or may not have been produced during his stay in Rome.[36] However, his other major printmaking venture in Rome is a set of ten drawings with the *Loves of Jupiter*, which are now in the British Museum.[37] The series is clearly related to Giulio's infamous *Modi*, which were engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi, to Gian Giacomo Caraglio's *Loves of the Gods* after Rosso Fiorentino and Perino del Vaga, and most probably to Perino's *Loves of Jupiter* tapestries for the Salone di Giove of the Palazzo Doria in Genoa (1531–32). Coxcie's authorship of the drawings, and their function as models for engravings, are uncontested, but the prints based on them have no signature or monogram, probably due to the 'problematic' subject-matter. Yet the identity of the engraver, who may have been Cornelis Bos, could also have been concealed because the prints were produced at the very time when printmaking in Rome was going through a transition from the last followers of Raimondi to a fresh generation of artists and to new methods of production and distribution. The series, moreover, is special in the sense that it not only demonstrates Coxcie's intimate acquaintance with earlier works (including references to other pieces by Raphael and Raimondi) but also shows an awareness of current trends on the Roman art scene. This attention to novelty is most noticeable in the *Rape of Ganymede*, which cites Michelangelo's famous drawing for Tommaso de' Cavalieri of about 1532.[38] Coxcie's London drawing may well be one of the earliest reflections of that invention. This change in the choice of artistic models underscores the fact that the largely retrospective attitude that had characterized art production in Rome between the late 1520s and around 1535, and had affected so much of Coxcie's Italian output, was now slowly giving way to new currents and stylistic tendencies. The unveiling of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* in the Sistine Chapel in 1541 can be understood as a powerful declaration of the fact that the phase of stagnation in art was over and that a cultural renewal lay ahead. However, Coxcie had already left Rome by then. In June and August 1539, during a stop in Milan, he was paid for designing two tapestries that are now in the Museo della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio,[39] and on 11 November 1539 he registered with the painters' guild back home in Mechelen.

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1 For the biographical data, see Dacos 1964, pp. 24–30; Dacos 1995a, p. 169; Van Mander (ed. Miedema) 1997, vol. 4, p. 186; De Smedt 2011–12, pp. 10–12; Dacos 2012, pp. 73–75.

2 Vasari 1568, vol. 3.2, p. 358: 'Conobbi nel 1532 in Roma un Michele Cockisien, il quale attese assai alla maniera italiana e condusse in quella città molte opere a fresco, e particolarmente in Santa Maria de Anima due cappelle' [I became acquainted in Rome, in 1532, with one Michele Cockisien, who gave no little study to the Italian manner, and executed many works in fresco in that city, and in particular two chapels in Santa Maria dell'Anima.—Translation from Vasari (G. du C. de Vere) 1912–14].

3 Suffice it to say that the years around 1530 go virtually unmentioned in the sumptuous exhibition catalogue *Il Rinascimento a Roma. Nel segno di Michelangelo e Raffaello*, ed. Maria Grazia Bernardini and Marco Bussagli, Rome 2011.

4 Wolk-Simon 2005.

5 The inscription mentioning Bandinelli only appears on the second state of the print; see Altcappenberg 2007, pp. 106–13.

6 Reiss 2005.

7 Elam 2005, esp. p. 218.

8 Talvacchia 1999, esp. pp. 3–19.

9 See, for example, the series of twelve engravings of antique vases by Agostino Veneziano based on drawings by Giulio, which was first published in Rome in 1530–31 (Bartsch XIV.388.541–52; Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò will publish a detailed study of Giulio's influence on the post-1527 art scene in Rome in the forthcoming *Proceedings of the 'Sacco di Roma' conference held at the Villa Medici, Rome, 12 and 13 November 2012*).

10 Chastel 1983, pp. 149–78.

11 Cf. Dacos 2012, pp. 79–81, with an attribution of the paintings in the *Salone* to 'Pedro Seraphin, Léonard Thiry and the Master of the Prodigal Son', who, according to Dacos, based their work on a design by Perino del Vaga.

12 See, however, Dacos's discussion in De Smedt 1993, pp. 50–54, of a drawn copy in the Uffizi after Jan van Scorel's *Baptism of Christ* (Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem), which is attributed to Coxcie.

13 On Willem van Enckevoirt, see Lohninger 1909, pp. 95ff.; Berbée 1958; Verweij 2009; Gnann 2010.

14 On the St Barbara Chapel, see Lohninger 1909, pp. 95–98; Schmidlin 1906, pp. 248–49; Dacos 1964, pp. 24–28; Buchowiecki 1967–97, vol. 2, pp. 429–30.

15 Vasari 1568, vol. 3.2, p. 358: '... attese assai alla maniera italiana'. The English translation is from Vasari (G. du C. de Vere) 1912–14, vol. 9, p. 266.

16 On Salviati in Rome, see Monbeig-Goguel 1998, p. 116 and passim.

17 Dacos 1993b, p. 71.

18 Vasari 1568, vol. 3.1, p. 343: '... trattenendolo d'oggi in domani, il cardinale la fece finalmente dipignere a Michele Fiammingo suo paesano'.

19 Cf. Dacos 1964, p. 65.

20 As pointed out in Dacos 1993b, p. 65.

21 Cf. a drawing attributed to Giovanni Alberti in which the figure of the saint and one of her tormentors are copied; see Herrmann-Fiore 1983, no. 155, p. 232. It indicates widespread interest in this privately owned composition by Sebastiano.

22 Rome 2008, pp. 172–77.

23 As was the case with the Margrave Chapel to the right of the St Barbara Chapel, the *aedicula* frame of the altarpiece was probably made prior to the chapel's pictorial decoration. See Hegener 2010, p. 149.

24 For example Reiss 2005, p. 356 n. 81.

25 Dacos 1964, p. 26.

26 Paris 2012, p. 309, fig. 132, painted c. 1522.

27 Hoogewerff 1911–17, vol. 2, p. 22: 'Michele Tedesco pittore, qual fece la cappella del cardinale Inckevorte in Santa Maria de Anima' [Michele, the German painter, who executed the chapel of Cardinal Van Enckevoirt in Santa Maria dell'Anima].

28 Lohninger 1909, p. 103.

29 Van Mander 1604, fol. 258v: '... heeft op t'nat geschildert, tot S. Pieters te Room in d'oude Kerck, een Verrijsnis'.

30 Laurenza 1993, pp. 93–100.

31 See Sapori 2008.

32 Vasari 1568, vol. 3.1, p. 309: 'Fra molte carte poi, che sono uscite di mano ai Fiaminghi da dieci anni in qua, sono molto belle alcune disegnate da un Michele pittore, il quale lavorò molti anni in Roma in due cappelle, che sono nella chiesa de' Tedeschi; le quali carte sono la storia delle serpi di Moisè, e trentadue storie di Psiche e d'Amore; che sono tenute bellissime' [Next, among the many plates that have issued from the hands of Flemings within the last ten years, very beautiful are some drawn by one Michele, a painter, who worked for many years in two chapels that are in the Church of the Germans at Rome. These plates contain the story of Moses and the Serpents, and thirty-two stories of Psyche and Love, which are held to be most beautiful.— Translation from Vasari (G. du C. de Vere) 1912–14, vol. 6, p. 116].

33 Dacos 1993b, pp. 57–58.

34 Armenini 1988, p. 236. See Cavicchioli 2002, pp. 103–08.

35 Weiland-Pollerberg 2004, p. 118.

36 See, for example, von Heusinger 2002; Faries 1975 (the drawing is now in the Harvard Art Museum).

37 Dacos 1995a, p. 172, no. 79.

38 For this and several other imitations of works by Michelangelo discernible in *The Loves of Jupiter*, see Dacos 1993b, pp. 77–79. There is a comprehensive list of copies and imitations of the *Ganymede* in Joannides 2003, p. 233.

39 De Smedt 2011–12, p. 12 n. 24.

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