



1 Francesco Villamena, *The apotheosis of the Duke of Parma*, engraving. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

Francesco Villamena's *Apotheosis of Alessandro Farnese* and engraved reproductions of contemporary sculpture around 1600*

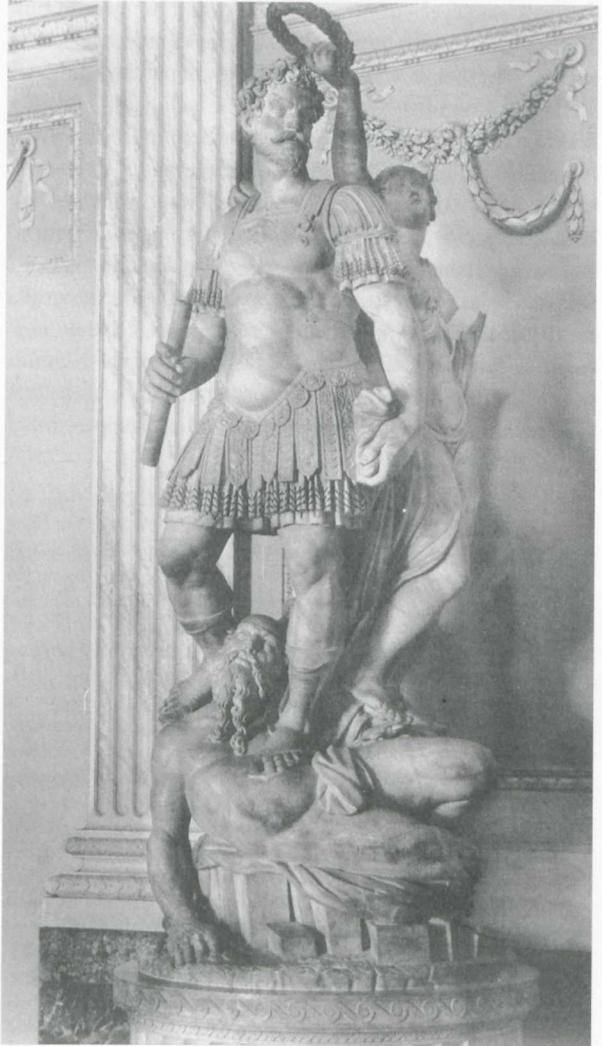
Eckhard Leuschner

An important and well-documented engraving (fig. 1) by Francesco Villamena (ca. 1560–1624) provides a rare opportunity for the study of the relationships between various artistic media, and the way these were understood at the turn of the seventeenth century. If we look beyond its “merely reproductive” aspect, Villamena’s print lays bare some of the mechanisms and visual conventions that played a role in the pan-European diffusion of motifs and themes via the graphic arts around 1600. A closer examination reveals the extent to which the Roman *incisori* were integrated into the artistic production and social life of the age, and how the print genre interacted with other media, such as sculpture, drawing, and even writing. Above all, however, it will lead us to a better understanding of the conditions under which a particularly complex process of copying and reproducing took place, namely, the translation of a drawing after a freestanding sculpture into lines on a copperplate. In the following I will be discussing the circumstances surrounding the creation of Villamena’s engraving, a work ostensibly made to praise the artist and disseminate his work, but which in fact served more than purely artistic purposes.

ENGRAVING AND STATUE In the *Anno Santo* of 1600, Francesco Villamena engraved and published¹ a view of

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¹ The inscription on Villamena’s engraving, “Romae Cum Privilegio Summi Pontificis atq. Superiorum Permissu Anno Iubilei 1600”, refers on the one hand to the artist’s unlimited copyright on all his prints, which was granted by Pope Clement VIII in 1596 (unpublished privilege in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Sec. Brev. 356, fol. 92), and on the other hand to the apostolic censor’s *permesso* for the print’s publication. On the supervision and censoring of printmaking in Rome during the Aldobrandini papacy see E. Leuschner, “The papal printing privilege,” *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998), pp. 359–70.



2 Simone Moschino, *The apotheosis of the Duke of Parma*, marble. Reggia di Caserta

Simone Moschino's recently completed, over-lifesized statue honoring the military leader and vanquisher of Antwerp, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma.² The marble (fig. 2) was originally housed in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome. Its exact location there, the so-called Salone Grande, is first documented in 1620, when it is mentioned by Gaspare Celio.³ Giovanni Baglione notes it in the same place in 1642,⁴ as does the Farnese inventory of 1644.⁵ It thus seems likely that it was sited here from the very beginning. Unfortunately, we do not know how it was originally presented, what sort of socle it had, whether it was free standing or placed against a wall or in a niche.

Moschino's work is recorded as early in 1601, in the travel diary of the Bohemian nobleman Waldstein, which to this day has only been published in part.⁶ He describes it without mentioning its exact location, following an account of several other of the palace's treasures, including an ancient statue of Hercules and a model of the floating bridge Alessandro—as army commander under Philip II—had used to block the Scheldt in 1584. Even among Parma's contemporaries this bridge had been considered a stroke of strategic genius,⁷

2 Villamena's print is known in two states, which differ from one another primarily in the addition of the name of the editor, Giovanni Marco Paluzzi. As is the case with most Roman publishers of the seventeenth century, little is known about Paluzzi. In discussing the third state of a print by Agostino Carracci, which includes a reference to him, D. DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and related drawings by the Carracci family*, Washington 1979, p. 498, has suggested he may have been active in the late seventeenth or even eighteenth century. In the preparations for this article, a number of independent Paluzzi editions came to light which allow us to date his publishing activities more precisely. These are illustrated books, with his own dedications, from the period 1655 to shortly after 1690: *Nova Pianta del Conclave* (1655, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [hereafter cited as BAV]: Stampe Barb.Lat. 4649, fol. 248); *Fiori diversi cavati dalle Pitture di Mario de' Fiori. Dedicati all'Ill.mo Sig.re Abbate Nicola Talpa*, Rome 1680 (with the editor's dedication; BAV: R.G.ArteArch.IV.1000); and *Innocentius XII Pont. Max. Creatus* (1691; inscribed "G.M. Paluzzi in piazza Navona"; BAV: Stampe Barb.Lat. 4444, alla fine). Several states of early Cinquecento prints which include Paluzzi's address are listed by F. Borroni Salvadori, *Carte, piante e stampe storiche delle raccolte lafreriane della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Florence 1980, p. xi, note 7. His name also appears on the frontispiece of a copy after Stefano della Bella's series *Diversi animali* (De Vesme 1690, Biblioteca Casanatense: 20.B.I.80, 171). Further, there are a number of Villamena's other prints which bear his name: *Strage degli Innocenti*, see D. Kühn-Hattenhauer, *Das grafische Oeuvre des Francesco Villamena*, Berlin 1979, p. 189; *Non timet Hilarion* (ibid., p. 149); *Venere spinaria* (after Raphael; ibid., p. 292); and *The seven major churches of Rome* (ibid., p. 277; BAV: Stampe Barb. X.1.31). Paluzzi must have bought these plates from Villamena's estate and con-

and a determining factor in the recapture of the rebellious port by Catholic troops. According to Waldstein, the statue shows the duke with a divine angel (*angelo d'ivo*), a second female figure, and Scaldis, lying under the conqueror's foot. There is, however, some disagreement among the sources as to the identity of the secondary figures—only the river god remains totally undisputed. The crouching woman is referred to variously as "Flanders" and "Heresy," while the woman with the wreath—Waldstein's "angel"—is alternately called "Fame" (as in the Farnese inventory of 1644) or "Victory."

As Waldstein's report indicates, from its inception Moschino's sculpture was an important feature in the Farnese family's self-presentation, and was used to demonstrate the importance and accomplishments of the dynasty to a chosen "public"—guests at the palace itself. It therefore comes as no surprise that it was frequently mentioned in Seicento guide books, although over the course of time various erroneous legends sprung up around it. In the late seventeenth century, for example, the sculpture was thought to have been carved from the base of a column from the Basilica of Maxentius,⁸

continued printing them with their original date of publication. It was this reuse which was probably responsible for the spots at the upper right on the second state of the Parma engraving; the scuff marks also indicate that the plate was only moderately well preserved.

3 G. Celio, *Memoria delli nomi dell'artefici delle pitture, che sono in alcune chiese facciate, e palazzi di Roma* (ed. princ. Naples 1638), ed. E. Zocca, Milan 1967, p. 40, nr. 381: "La statua del Duca Alessandro nella sala grande è di Simone Maschino da Carrara."

4 G. Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti dal pontificato de Gregorio XIII fino a tutto quello di Urbano VIII*, Rome 1642, p. 377.

5 B. Jestaz (ed.), *Le Palais Farnèse*, vol. 3, pt. 3: *L'Inventaire du Palais et des propriétés Farnèse à Rome en 1644*, Rome 1994, p. 184, nr. 4486: "Nel salone una statua di marmo del ser.mo duca Alessandro con figura della Fama alle spalle, del fiume Schelda et Heresia sotto i piedi."

6 BAV: MsReg.Lat.666, fol. 290v. (2 October 1601): "Introducti in conclavia postea superiora, quo stratus fuit pons ligneus ad cuius formam ille in Brabantia per Scaldim ad Antverpiam occupandam stratus erat, cum hoc disticho subscripto: Qui potuit rigidas Belgarum subdere mentes/ Hic docuit ducis flumina ferre iugum... alibi statuam Alexandri Farnesii cum Angelo Divo et foemina, Scaldim denotavit (?) insistent[em?]."

7 In Antonio Tempesta's series of famous military crossings, Parma's bridge over the Scheldt follows directly after the illustrations of similar passages by Alexander the Great and Hannibal; see S. Buffa (ed.), *Antonio Tempesta: Italian masters of the sixteenth century (The illustrated Bartsch 35)*, New York 1984, pp. 349-57.

8 See R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, 2 vols., Rome 1975, vol. 1, p. 209.

and Giovanni Michele Silos declared it to be a work by Michelangelo.⁹ The statue's fame only waned after it was carried off to Naples by the Bourbons along with the rest of the Farnese property. Damaged during transportation, it was not immediately put on display; the piece was eventually restored, but suffered a number of changes which can only be attributed to the prudery of the time: in addition to replacing the lost palm frond, both Scaldis and the crouching woman were chastely draped.¹⁰ The statue has been in the Reggia di Caserta since the late eighteenth century (the exact date is unknown), located in the Sala delle Guardie del Corpo.

In Villamena's engraving (fig. 1) the sculpture is shown with Parma facing the viewer. His figure is emphasized by the strong lighting from the left, which rounds out his limbs and accents his emperor's garb and commander's baton. Victory/Fame, her garments gathered at her thighs by Farnese lilies, appears to recede slightly. The parts of her body closest to Alessandro, such as her arm with the wreath, are also the brightest. There has been a small adjustment to the palm frond: originally, it was to bend slightly to the right, but Villamena later changed his mind, perhaps in order to achieve a more closed composition. The point of view chosen for the engraving, which more or less corresponds to the impression of the sculpture when actually seen from this angle, means that only the calf of Flanders/Heresy is visible. Scaldis, on the other hand, who lies on what appear to be blocks of wood (probably meant to represent the Scheldt bridge), is completely revealed to the spectator. The socle is decorated with the coat of arms of Alessandro's eldest son, Ranuccio Farnese. With the exception of the small shields in the center, it is just like his father's;¹¹ the striped fields stem from Alessandro's mother, Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles v. The tiny shields (*écussons*) identify the

young Ranuccio as the pretender to the Portuguese throne (Parma was married to a Portuguese princess), and he continued to include the shields in his heraldic bearings even after Philip II had annexed Portugal in 1580 and effectively invalidated his claim. The cartouche builds an optical transition to the three dedicatory poems, which have yet to be discussed in the art-historical literature, but which are crucial to understanding the aims of the engraving.¹²

The first of these three Latin poems is reproduced on either side of the sculpture. The two-line heading, interrupted by the socle, translates as follows: "Concerning the statue of glorious Alessandro, now housed in Rome with the illustrious Cardinal Farnese, his son. Against Stasicrates and in praise of Simone Moschino, the outstanding sculptor."¹³ The first line tells us who is depicted and the location of the statue; this is followed by the name of the owner, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626), who occupied the Palazzo Farnese in 1600. The second line reveals that the first poem has two parts: "Against Stasicrates" and "In praise of Simone Moschino." This division is exactly reproduced in the engraving: the four lines on the left relate to Stasicrates, Alexander the Great's overzealous architect, better known as Deinocrates; and the four lines to the right pertain to Moschino's statue. On the left: "What nonsense have you devised for your master and the world, Stasicrates? Your hand, which is hardly sure of itself, wants to remodel Mount Athos. Alexander rejects the vessel, the city, the giants and everything dumb love promises him." And on the right: "A more noble right hand produces pure miracles for the world. See: there is Fame, the river, the kingdom—the work of a giant! And you will say: this man has shown himself greater than the great man, while the other man's better work deservedly entitles him to a higher nobility."¹⁴

9 G.M. Silos, *Pinacotheca sive Romana pictura et sculptura* (Rome 1673), Rome 1979, p. 209: "Alexandri Farnesii Statua/ Bonarotae in Aedibus Farnesianis/ Alter Alexander, Pellaeo grandior hic est,/ Quid domuit rigido Belgica colla iugo./ Cernite: nunc etiam certantem in sydera diram/ Perfidiam calcat, torvaque monstra pede./ Dixeris Alcidem, qui per certamina mille/ Mille simul palmas, mille trophaea tulit./ Non iuba, non humeris horret spoliisque Leonis;/ Non opus exuviis; Martius ipse Leo est."

10 See H. Keutner, "Über die Entstehung und die Formen des Standbildes im Cinquecento," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 1956, 3rd series, 7 (1956), pp. 138–68, note 88.

11 See M. Pastoureau, "L'Emblématique Farnèse," in *Le Palais Farnèse*, vol. 1, pt. 2, Rome 1981, pp. 431–55, esp. p. 441.

12 Due to her inadequate command of Latin, the attempt by Kühn-Hattenhauer, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 234–35, to interpret the poem should be dismissed.

13 "De Sereniss.i Alexandri statua, que est/ Rome apud Ill.m Card.m Farnesium Filium./ In Stasicratem, et laudem/ Simeonis Moschini Sculptoris egr."

14 Left: "Quid mera moliris Domino ludibria et Orbi/ Stasicrate? haud fidens dextra refinget Athon./ Damnat Alexander pateramq. Urbemq. Gygantemq./ Et quicquid stolidus pollicitatur Amor." Right: "Dextera nobilior mera dat miracula Mundo/ Aspice Famam, Amnes, Regna, Gijgantis opus./ Dixeris. Hic MAGNO Maior sese extulit: illi/ Jure parat melior nobiliora labor."

According to Plutarch's biography of Alexander the Great (72, 4), Stasicrates had once proposed transforming Mount Athos into a statue of the emperor: his left hand was to hold a city of 10,000 inhabitants, while a whole river would flow from a vessel in his right. The story is repeated in Vitruvius, at the beginning of Book 2. Both authors imply that the architect's aim had been to curry favor with Alexander, and that it was due to this fantastical "Mount Rushmore" project that he had risen to become the Macedonian's master planner. The anecdote had been part of the art literature since Alberti and Filarete.¹⁵ Federico Zuccaro, for example, included it in the second chapter of his *Idea de' pittori, scultori, et architetti*.¹⁶ Even at the end of the seventeenth century Deinocrates was still a reference figure for the educated elite: one need only recall François Spierre's allegory of Pope Alexander VII (fig. 3), engraved after a drawing by Pietro da Cortona now in the British Museum. The scroll floating above the populated mountain and the pose of the work's patron, who kneels subserviently before the Holy Father, seem to indicate a less than unbiased judgment of the two Alexanders. The motto clearly underscores the superior virtue of the man of the present: "Two persons of the same name, but one with greater virtue, turn their ambitious projects into art." The greater measure of virtue, it follows, makes Alessandro Papa's artistic enterprises more distinguished than the *grands travaux* of Alexander the Great.

In the poem accompanying the engraving, Stasicrates's "gigantomania" is contrasted with Simone Moschino's well-balanced art: the sculpture itself proves that the praise lavished on the artist in the lines on the right is justified. His "noble right hand" has given the world a "pure miracle." According to the title, this must be the statue, although the sculptor's name is not actually mentioned. The reader is left in doubt as to whether the formulation "Gijgantis opus" applies to Parma's accomplishments on the field of battle or to the achievements of the artist—and this is no accident. Alessandro (*hic*) has become greater (*maior*) than the Alexander of antiquity and thus, by analogy, Moschino (*ille*) has at-

tained more with his art than Stasicrates. The triumph of Moschino's sculpture is that it incorporates all the elements of Stasicrates's planned monument (*fama, amnes, regna*), but presents them in a more noble, and appropriate, form (*parat nobiliora*).

One could legitimately ask whether this poem is nothing more than a collection of the clichés so typical of the dedications of the period, and which actually have nothing to do with the work in question, were it not for the fact that the situation of the artists involved in the engraving was so similar to that of the obsequious Stasicrates. However, in order to understand these circumstances one needs further information, and to read and analyze the two other inscriptions.

The *epigramma* on the left should be understood as the monument's real caption. It is very likely identical to the lost inscription on the original socle: "Scaldis carries both the bridge and Alessandro. Look upon his efforts and how much sweat the river poured under this burden. And tears streamed. But Fame stopped the river's crying by allowing the duke to wear the eternal laurel wreath. See how the servant gazes admiringly upon his master; one could almost believe he is glad of his slavery and offers his presents freely."¹⁷ We may note the way the anonymous poet has changed the meaning of the Scaldis figure: the hulking, conquered giant pulling at his chains, whose physical ugliness serves to point up Parma's more noble form, is here transformed into a vassal who happily attends his new overlord. Despite the optical evidence—whether in the sculpture itself or in the engraving after it—the expression on the river god's face, trapped between the general's legs, is said to be one of blissful servitude. This could hardly have been the interpretation intended by Moschino and his patrons.

To the right is a poem dedicated to Alessandro's son Ranuccio, the reigning prince of Parma and Piacenza and head of the Farnese dynasty at the time: "A great work and worthy of a glorious prince, worthy to be seen under any sun, is scarcely honored by the city of Rome. Grant, Ranuccio, all that is great; follow the example of your father and, under all circumstances, do your duty

15 W. Lotz, "Eine Deinokratesdarstellung des Francesco di Giorgio," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 5 (1937–40), pp. 428–33.

16 F. Zuccari, *Idea de' pittori, scultori, et architetti*, 2 vols., Turin 1607, vol. 2, p. 45; reprinted in D. Heikamp (ed.), *Scritti d'arte di Federico Zuccaro*, Florence 1961, p. 265.

17 "Pontem, et Alexandrum Scaldis fert. Cerne labores/ Mole sub hac sudor quantus in amne fuit?/ Et lacrimae undarunt: sed Fama assistere iussit,/ cum dedit aeterna fronde virere Ducem./ Suspicit en Dominum famulus. gaudere subactum/ Velle putes; ultro dextera donat opes."

3 François Spierre after Pietro da Cortona, *Allegory of Pope Alexander VII*, engraving. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale della Grafica



to your own in this era of your rule. The people will recognize father and son in one image. He who portrays one will have portrayed them both.”¹⁸ These lines are not easy to understand for today’s reader. This may be due less to the deliberate ambiguity than to the clumsy Latin, which compensates for inelegant syntax with pompous metaphors (“sole sub omni”). The poem is

clearly not the work of a master humanist, such as the late Fulvio Orsini. The first two lines probably mean that until now Rome has had no such monument, rather than, as one might be excused for thinking, that it would never have wanted one in the first place. The phrase “annue magnum” has an almost sacred ring to it, and the admonition to remain dutiful brings to mind “pius

¹⁸ “Ad Serenissimum Ranutium Parmae et Placentiae Ducem/ Dedicatio/ Magnum opus et Magni Ducis instar, Sole sub omni/ Dignum spectari, vix tua Roma colit./ Annue Ranuti Magnum Patris in-

star, et omni/ Sub Sole auspicijs da Pius esse tuis./ Agnoscent Populi Natumque Patremque sub una/ Effigie. hanc quisquis reddit, utrumque dedit.”



4 Sculptor of the first century A.D. and Ippolito Buzio, *Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma*, marble. Rome, Sala dei Capitani (Palazzo dei Conservatori)

Aeneas” and his good Roman love of his father and fatherland. These are all standard *topoi* of courtly poetry and rhetoric. The final comparison, or amalgamation, of Alessandro and Ranuccio is part of the dynastic propaganda that by this time had become a permanent feature of Farnese panegyrics.

IN HONOR OF ALESSANDRO FARNESE OF ROME For proof one need only look to the innumerable publications that appeared in connection with the ceremonies surrounding the *Gran Capitano*'s death in 1592.¹⁹ He was praised as the man who had returned Rome to fame and glory, who had revived the grandeur of ancient times. The eulogies and poems printed on the occasion continually compare Alessandro with Caesar, Aeneas and Scipio; the commander is praised as a model of Roman *virtus* and a hero of the Catholic cause. His elaborate catafalque,²⁰ probably designed by Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino and Giacomo della Porta, was reproduced in an engraving by Giovanni Maggi and appeared in Bartolomeo Rossi's *Ornamenti di fabbriche antichi e moderni dell'alma città di Roma* in 1600. It was decorated with an equestrian statue of the general.²¹

Following these ephemeral tributes, the city of Rome decreed the creation of a permanent monument in honor of its great son. A lifesize statue was soon placed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, in what is now the Sala dei Capitani (fig. 4). A year later, a memorial to Marcantonio Colonna, who had defeated the Turks at Lepanto, was installed here as well. Alessandro's statue is a composite of a first-century Caesar torso and a portrait of the general by Ippolito Buzio. A document of the period declares that the torso originally belonged to a figure of Julius Caesar himself.²² This practice of combining old

19 See D.G.J. Bodart, "Cérémonies et monuments romains à la mémoire d'Alexandre Farnèse, duc de Parme et de Plaisance," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* (1966), pp. 121–36. An extensive, but by no means complete, list of panegyrics dedicated to the various members of the Farnese family is found in the appendix of A. Biondi, "L'immagine dei primi Farnese nella storiografia e nella pubblicistica coeva," in M.A. Romani (ed.), *Le corti Farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza 1545–1622*, Rome 1978, pp. 189–229. For an introduction to the iconography of Alessandro Farnese see S. Pronti, *Alessandro Farnese: condottiere e duca (1545–1592)*, Piacenza 1996, and M.R. Nappi, "Aspetti dell'iconografia di Alessandro Farnese," in S. Cassani (ed.), *Fasti Farnesiani: un restauro al Museo Archeologico di Napoli*, Naples 1988, pp. 80–102. Still useful as well is F. Kelly, "Les portraits du Prince de Parme: essai d'iconographie méthodique," in L. van der Essen (ed.), *Alexander Farnèse: Prince de Parme, Gouverneur général des Pays-Bas (1545–*

1592), 5 vols., Brussels 1933–37, vol. 5, pp. 309–409.

20 Illustrated in M. Fagiolo, *La festa a Roma dal rinascimento al 1870*, 2 vols., Rome 1997, vol. 1, pp. 191–92. On Parma's catafalque see also S. Da Campagnola, "I Farnese e i Cappuccini nel Ducato di Parma e Piacenza," *L'Italia Francescana* 44 (1969), pp. 75–96.

21 Richard Symonds saw an equestrian statue of Alessandro by Ludovico Carracci in Parma in 1651, but it is now lost, see G. Bertini and F. Razzetti, "Il Palazzo del Giardino e la quadreria farnesiana nella inedita descrizione di Richard Symonds del 1651," *Aurea Parma* 79 (1995), p. 12, nr. 47. The mounted Farnese immediately recalls Pope Paul III's re-erection of the Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline. This action was understood as a glorious chapter in the history of the dynasty, as demonstrated not least by Antonio Tempesta's engraving of the statue, which is dedicated to Odoardo; see Buffa, op. cit. (note 7), p. 286.

22 Bodart, op. cit. (note 19).

and new, both economical and imperial, had its origins in ancient texts and monuments.²³ Even in antiquity, similar measures were taken to assure that something of the glory of a famed predecessor would rub off on those who followed him. The exchange of heads or the reuse of portraits, for example in the depictions of earlier emperors on the Arch of Constantine,²⁴ was not mere "recycling," but was meant to demonstrate respect for the past and to harness its magnificence for the present. By choosing an antique sculpture as the basis for its monument to Alessandro, the senate consciously sought to ally itself with this tradition.

Parma's statue on the Campidoglio was presented to the public the year it was erected through an ode "in Pindaric style." The volume, however, failed to include an illustration of the marble.²⁵ The author, Mario Sforza, praised the Roman senate's action at length, but stressed that the pen was a better guarantee of Alessandro's eternal fame than the chisel. The superiority of the written word over the fine arts is a motif found in almost all the eulogies on the commander. Alexander the Great had sought immortality through the work of painters and sculptors like Apelles and Pyrgoteles, but his reputation had actually been made and preserved by writers and historians.²⁶ In the same way, Parma's renown would be perpetuated by histories and poems of praise. This is, of course, an ancient topos, and was certainly also a way of advertising for the poet and his ilk. None-

theless, this continual stress on the primacy of writing in the preservation of great deeds is interesting as a background to Villamena's engraving, which combines traditional written testimony with the (still unusual) visual reproduction of a contemporary sculptural monument.

Moschino's work would be unthinkable without its predecessor in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. In addition to Odoardo and Ranuccio Farnese's desire to honor their father, there may be still more precise reasons for the choice of the Campidoglio sculpture as the statue's starting point. We know of Odoardo's plans for two important art projects designed to keep Alessandro's memory alive and to glorify his name: the first was the sculpture by Moschino, which, according to surviving documents, must have been begun in 1594; the second was a series of paintings depicting Parma's heroic deeds (*fasti*), in the Salone Grande at the Palazzo Farnese.²⁷ The Carracci were summoned to Rome from Bologna for the purpose of executing the pictures, and there is evidence that Odoardo had already discussed the idea with them in 1593. The venture is outlined in detail in his famous letter to Ranuccio of 21 February 1595,²⁸ in which he asks his brother to deliver a sketchbook illustrating Alessandro's activities in Flanders. The Carracci, he indicates, were to use it (or something similar) as the basis for "realistic" battle scenes of the campaign.

For reasons that remain unknown, the hero's gallery of Odoardo and Ranuccio was never completed. It can-

23 A good example is the so-called *Lysippian horse*, which is thought to have originally carried a figure of Alexander the Great; once it had been erected on the Forum Iulii in Rome, however, the head was exchanged for a portrait of Julius Caesar; see the famous description of the event from the horse's perspective in Statius, *Silvae* 1, i, 84-87: "...equus... quem traderis ausus Pellaeo, Lysippe, duci, mox Caesaris ora mirata cervice tulit." Plaques bearing Latin descriptions of Farnese's and Colonna's heroic deeds were hung in the Sala dei Fasti (also known as the Sala della Lupa) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in 1588 and 1591. The remains of the antique *fasti consolari e trionfali capitolini* displayed in the same room clearly set the stage for the celebration of two generals who had served the Roman cause well; see C. Pietrangeli, "La Sala della Lupa," *Capitolium* 39 (1964), pp. 475-76, and E. Leuschner, "Tempesta at the Capitoline," *The Burlington Magazine* 141 (1999), pp. 618-21.

24 See D.E. Kleiner, *Roman sculpture*, New Haven & London 1992, pp. 444-55 (with further literature).

25 M. Sforza, *Canzone fatta al popolo romano per la statua rizzata da lui in Campidoglio all'Invitto Capitano Alessandro Farnese, duca di Parma e Piacenza, e Gonfaloniere di Santa Chiesa, Rom, Guglielmo Facciotti, 1594* (BAV: Racc.IV.541 int.11).

26 See Karel van Mander's introduction to the lives of the antique painters in his *Schilder-boeck*, Haarlem 1604, fol. 60r: "De constige edel

wercken der vermaerde Schilders der ouder Eeuwen die wy heeten d'Antijcke welcke over lang door de tanden des ouden tijts wreedelijck vernielt en nergens datmen weet meer te sien soudens ons niet alleen uyt de ooghen maer ook uyt gedacht en kennisse wesen dat wy daer nu niet af soudens weten te verhalen en hadde de hemelsche Schrijfconst ons de selve in onsterflijck gerucht niet bewaert en behouden" ("The artful, noble works of the celebrated painters of the earlier ages that we call the antique have long since been cruelly destroyed by the teeth of time, and to man's knowledge are nowhere more to be seen, and they would not only have been wrested from our eyes but from our thoughts and minds as well, such that we would no longer be able to tell of them, had not the heavenly art of writing preserved and kept them for us in immortal fame").

27 On Odoardo's *fasti* project see D. Bernini, "Annibale Carracci e i 'Fasti' di Alessandro Farnese," *Bollettino d'arte* 53 (1968), pp. 84-92; R. Zapperi, "Le Cardinal Odoardo et les Fastes Farnèse," *Revue de l'Art* 77 (1987), pp. 62-65; and idem, *Eros e Controriforma: preistoria della Galleria Farnese*, Rome 1994, pp. 96-105.

28 Published in H. Tietze, "Annibale Carracci's Galerie im Palazzo Farnese und seine römische Werkstatt," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 26, 1909, pp. 49-182, esp. p. 54.

not simply be that the former was less interested in honoring their father than his brother Ranuccio, and there is little evidence to support this conclusion.²⁹ What is important in this context, though, is that the Moschino was eventually placed in the very room where the Carracci were to have immortalized Parma's military triumphs: the Salone Grande. Since both ventures were conceived at about the same time, it seems possible they were originally intended as part of an entire decorative scheme, as in the Salone dei Cinquecento, where Michelangelo's *Conqueror* and Giambologna's *Fiorenza* work together with Vasari's battle paintings. However, none of the surviving documents explicitly mention any relationship between the two undertakings. Rather, it would seem that the Moschino sculpture quickly became the brothers' main concern in their quest to commemorate their father.³⁰

MOSCHINO AND THE FARNESE Moschino was born in 1553. He was the nephew of Simone Mosca, and initially worked for Vicino Orsini on sculptures for the Sacro Bosco at Bomarzo.³¹ Introduced by his father Francesco to the Florentine manner of masters like Baccio Bandelli, Simone must also have been acquainted with Roman sculpture by Michelangelo and his followers. On Orsini's recommendation, he was engaged as *scultore* in Parma in 1578. He quickly rose to prominence, soon belonging to Ranuccio's inner circle. He participated in the enlargement of the Palazzo della Pilotta, and the work in the stairwell, today the entrance to the Teatro Farnese, can probably be attributed to him as well. In 1586-87 he worked with a number of assistants on the

tomb of Margaret of Austria in San Sisto. In 1593 he supplied the design for the catafalque erected on the first anniversary of Alessandro's death.³²

Moschino's presence in Rome is first documented in a letter to Ranuccio from 10 August 1594, in which he complains that Odoardo had failed to pay him adequately for his work. In another letter, dated 1 October of the same year, he asks for Ranuccio's help in settling a legal matter, which would then allow him to devote himself entirely to the cardinal's sculptural project. The artist appears to have returned to Parma at the beginning of 1596. However, he was soon recalled to Rome, in order—as Odoardo expressly states—to finish the Alessandro monument.³³ According to the *Mastri farnesiani*, housed in the state archive at Parma, Moschino was reimbursed for trips to Rome on 28 December 1596, 31 December 1598, and 16 April 1599. These were probably working visits to the Palazzo Farnese. On 14 April 1600, Ranuccio, then in Rome in preparation for his wedding, sent Moschino back to Parma. The statue must thus have been finished around this time. Ranuccio celebrated his marriage to Margarita Aldobrandini, the niece of Pope Clement VIII, on 7 May 1600. Villamena's engraving dates from the same year, and one must, therefore, view it in connection with these festivities.

A careful examination reveals that praise for the Farnese, and for Alessandro in particular, played an important role in the various epithalamia written for the occasion; in some cases, veneration of the *Gran Capitano* even took pride of place. As in the eulogies spoken in the presence of the two brothers at his death, which often

²⁹ In Zapperi, *Eros*, cit. (note 27), pp. 98-105, the equation of the long gestation of the Parma monument with disinterest on Odoardo's part is unconvincing. The creation of such a large statue clearly takes time, particularly since Moschino was engaged in other activities as Ranuccio's *capoingegnere*.

³⁰ J.M. Merz, "Die Genien der Farnese," in S. Kummer (ed.), *Festschrift Klaus Schwager*, Stuttgart 1990, p. 178, fig. 3, believes he has found the remnants of the plan to glorify the dynasty's military might in a preliminary study by Annibale Carracci for the Galleria Farnese (Paris, Louvre, inv. nr. 8048). It depicts a horse *en levade* next to a putto with a wreath in its raised hand. The putto's gesture is reminiscent of Moschino's Victory/Fame.

³¹ On Simone Moschino see especially B. Adorni, "Estremismo manieristico: Simone Moschino scultore e architetto," *Controspazio*, 5 nr. 2 (1973), pp. 74-96, and E. Zocca (ed.), *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, in progress, Rome 1960-, vol. 23, pp. 423-25.

³² The commission to paint the catafalque was given to Ludovico Carracci. Unfortunately, it is impossible to say with any certainty how this ephemeral work looked; Adorni, *op. cit.* (note 31), has related it to a drawing of a catafalque attributed to Moschino which is now in Munich, but his argument is inconclusive.

³³ Letter from Odoardo to Ranuccio, 21 August 1596 (Archivio di Stato di Napoli, fascio 1310): "Io sono stato un pezzo aspettando che Moschino ritornasse a finir l'impresa incominciata della statua del sig. Duca nostro P.re glor.mo secondo ch'egli mi disse che havrebbe fatto in capo di quattro o cinque mesi. Ma vedendo che egli va allungando la cosa et restando l'opera imperfetta, mi è parso di supplicare come faccio l'A.V.ra a restar servita di ordinare a Moschino che se ne ritorni in qua quanto prima per dar compimento alla sud.a statua e di fargli dare anco quello che gli bisognerà per il viaggio, che siccome non veggo l'hora che ella sia finita, così restarò obligatiss. a V.A. s'ella mi favorirà del sud.o Moschino anco per questo poco di tempo."



5 Simone Moschino, *The apotheosis of the Duke of Parma* (study). Berlin, Skulpturengalerie



6 Leone Leoni, *Emperor Charles V subduing Rage*, bronze. Madrid, Prado

expressed the fervent hope that the family would bring forth a new *Alessandro Papa*, a new *Alessandro Cardinale* and a new *Alessandro Capitano*,³⁴ in Latino Doni's epithalamium, to mention only one example, the father is the background against which his son's character is

elaborated. The groom's *virtù* is almost entirely determined by that of his ancestors. Margarita Aldobrandini, the bride, is only mentioned in the final lines of this long poem. In Doni's words, she could consider herself lucky to have been allowed to marry such a paragon of virtue

³⁴ See, for example, *Oratio funebris Gabrielis Cesarini, Romani, ab eo Romae habita, dum in templo Arae Coeli Alexandro Farnesio, Romano, Parmae et Placentiae Duci III, iusta funebria sollenni ritu, a Senatu Populoq. Romano persolverentur, Tert. Non. Aprilis MDXCIII*, Rome (Antonio Zanetti) 1594 (BAV: Racc.IV.541 int. 8), fol. 73r: "Haec igitur nos, Cives ornatissimi, consolatio (ut in malis) haec spes una sustentet, quod ex optima planta ex generosissima, quae nobis quidem videtur excisa, sed re vera est in agrum feliciorum amoenioreque translata, ita praeclara enata germina cernimus, ut in spem venire iure possimus,

fore ut aliquando (tametsi diversis nominibus) Alexandros Cardinales amplissimos, Alexandros Imperatores invictos, Alexandros Pontifices Max. nobis liceat intueri. Non es igitur mihi, Odoarde Cardinalis Illustrissime, ut censeo, vel proprie consolandus, quem videmus tantum vulnus acceptum, aequo animo, ut Christianum virum decet, ac moderate tulisse; vel tui parentis gravissimi atque amatissimi verbis hortandus: ut (quod tua iam sponte facis) expectationi, quam de te maximam concitasti, ut Alexandri patris, ut Alexandri patrum magni, ut Alexandri avavi virtuti respondeas."

and dynastic honor.³⁵

Villamena's engraving is likewise a testimony to the celebrity of the house of Farnese made for the same occasion. Taking an idea of Zapperi's a step further, one might consider whether the print was published in order to offset Clement VIII's refusal of a gala wedding reception at the Palazzo Farnese. In anticipation of the event, Odoardo had commissioned the Carracci to decorate the Galleria, but it soon became clear that the pope had no intention of celebrating his niece's marriage at this location and so work was halted. At least the engraving after Parma's memorial, then, would bear witness to the family's traditions and magnificence. Villamena thus created and sold his work if not as a commission then certainly in the interests of both Odoardo and Ranuccio.³⁶

The progress of Moschino's work can be traced not only through written documents, but also in the *modello* now in the Skulpturengalerie in Berlin (fig. 5). This clay statuette, later glazed in black, measures 44 centimeters, together with the plinth—another addition—62 centimeters.³⁷ It is slightly different from the final version: Scaldis still holds the vessel from which his waters pour, his pose is not so prone, and he has not yet lost his hair. These disparities indicate that the changes made in the final phase were all designed to present the river god in

35 *Al Serenissimo Ranuccio Farnese Duca di Parma e Piacenza Canzone di Latino Doni*, Venice (Domenico Nicolini) 1600 (BAV: Barb.JJJ.vi.2), fol. 3v: "Figlio sei d'Alessandro, e sei maggiore/ Del tuo gran Padre, il cui valor l'infido/ Belga ancor ne la tomba hoggi paventa:/ Che se tanto per noi sangue, e sudore/ Sparso mai non havesse, e dentro al nido/ L'Aquila ravnivata, ove fù spenta,/ Perche de le sue glorie avido senta/ La fama il Mondo, e serbi eterno il nome,/ Basta il tuo gran natale,/ Principe invito: e seben fù mortale:/ Vive in te pure il Padre tuo, si come/ Visse in lui Carlo, à cui sei fatto eguale./ Che di palme Idumee già coronarte/ Veggio l'auguste chioime/ Di sua man propria il buon Quirino, e Marte." Idem, fol. 9r: "Hor qual Pelio, & Olimpo al fin non vegna/ Lieto à pigliar per man di fabro illustre/ Forma si bella, a farsi à te simile:/ Qual incude non tremi, e non sostegna/ I dotti colpi del martello indutro/ Per figurar rozzo metallo, e vile:/ O beata colei, ch'à si gentile/ Guerrier fia Sposa, e Nuora à tanti Heroi,/ Com'è Nipote, e Figlia./ Che quasi rosa al Sole ancor vermiglia/ La sua spoglia non apre, e i color suoi./ O come ben l'altra ch'è'n ciel, somiglia/ Al nome, e à l'alma, ella t'alhor l'addita/ Al suo gran Figlio, e poi/ Vagheggia in lei l'imagin sua scolpita."

36 The engraver functioned in a similar fashion as the publisher of images of the Jesuit saints *in spe* Ignatius and Francis Xavier, whom Pope Clement VIII did not wish to canonize, even forbidding the Jesuits to proselytize their cause. The elaborate prints appeared under Villamena's name only, although they were certainly commissioned by the

as unflattering a light as possible. Another discrepancy between the *bozzetto* and the actual sculpture relates to the position of Victory/Fame's arm. Whatever she was holding in her right hand has now been lost; since she does not appear to be making a crowning gesture, it seems possible that it was a snake biting its own tail. This would at least make seventeenth-century descriptions of the finished figure as Fame, despite her Victory attributes, somewhat more understandable.³⁸

MOSCHINO'S SOURCES The Moschino study only reappeared in 1908, on the Paris art market, and was first ascribed to Leone Leoni. This confusion must have resulted from a comparison with the famous bronze of 1549-50 depicting Emperor Charles V with a vanquished personification of rage (fig. 6). Charles V was Alessandro Farnese's grandfather. We are well informed about both the creation and aim of this work through Leoni and several of his contemporaries.³⁹ At the emperor's behest, the sculptor had abstained from depicting a particular province or place (such as Mühlberg). According to the artist, this incident exemplified Charles's perfect modesty—although possessing this typically princely virtue evidently did nothing to lessen his claim to power or hinder its artistic expression. It was obvious to the viewer of the time that the conquered

Jesuit congregation; see Leuschner, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 350-61.

37 See A. Puaux, *Introduction au Palais Farnèse*, Rome 1983, p. 117. The technical data was kindly supplied by Volker Krahn of the Skulpturengalerie in Berlin.

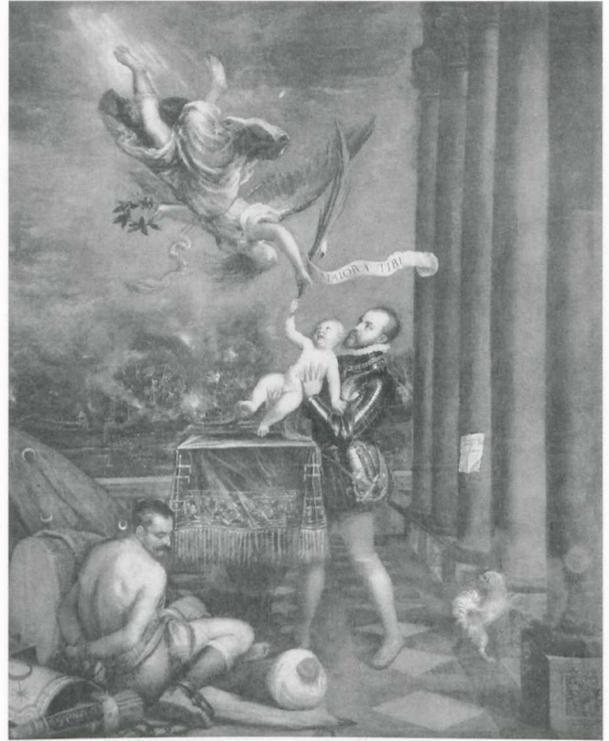
38 A figure of Fame holding a snake biting its tail is included in Georg Raphael Donner's *Apotheosis of Emperor Charles VI*, which was certainly influenced by the Moschino (Vienna, Österreichische Galerie); see E. Baum, *Katalog des Österreichischen Barockmuseums im Unteren Belvedere in Wien*, 2 vols., Vienna 1980, vol. 1, p. 107. A Fame holding both a wreath and a snake is found in the upper part of Enea Vico's famous allegorical engraving dated 1551 commemorating the Battle of Mühlberg, see exhib. cat., *Los Austrias: grabados de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional) 1993, p. 105.

39 See M.P. Mezzatesta, *Imperial themes in the sculpture of Leone Leoni* (diss.), 2 vols., New York 1990, p. 34ff. On the title page of Filippo Terzi's *Austriacae gentis imagines* (Venice 1569; reproduced in Fernando Checa, *Felipe II mecenas de las artes*, Madrid 1992, p. 110), Philip II is flanked by two aggressive-looking Hercules figures; one appears to be killing a dragon, while the other has placed his foot on a defeated, negative personification. Philip's great deeds are thus elucidated and the allegorical division of labor serves to underline the dignity of the ruler, who is shown slightly elevated between them. Here, the iconography of Leoni's *Charles V* has been taken over and refined.

figure represented the Lutheran heresy, and various other allegorical elements work to increase the sculpture's propagandist effect: Charles is shown wearing a suit of armor, transforming him into the quintessential Christian soldier. Leoni himself described the smooth, elegant characterization of the emperor as the antithesis of the rough and ugly Rage; when seen against the insanity of this vanquished creature, it could do nothing but emphasize the ruler's *pietas* and *religio*. The personification differs from the triumphant hero in every possible detail. Ferrante Gonzaga, who described the statue in a letter to Charles v, reserved his particular praise for the drops of perspiration clearly visible on Rage's face and body.⁴⁰

Leoni's statue was certainly one of Moschino's sources. There are, however, a number of differences between the two sculptures: in contrast to the anonymous figure overpowered by Charles v, we know exactly who lies at Parma's feet—the river god Scaldis. *Modestia* was obviously not one of the Farnese family's strong points. Moreover, Leoni's hero expressly avoids trampling the defeated underfoot, standing instead between his legs. These dissimilarities indicate that there were other influences at work in the Moschino. It would be going too far to list all the pieces in which a conqueror steps on his rival that the sculptor could have known: one need only recall Donatello's *Judith*, Cellini's *Perseus*, or the figures from the early stages of Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II. This special form in the depiction of rulers is discussed in detail in Keutner's fundamental essay on freestanding Cinquecento sculpture.⁴¹

I would like, however, to emphasize another aspect, one which will also bring us closer to Villamena's engraving. As noted above, there are a number of sculptural precedents for Moschino's work, but there are also similar representations in other media. Among these is a painting by Parmigianino, which, according to Vasari, depicts Charles v accompanied by a figure of Fame, who



7 Titian, *Allegory of Lepanto*. Madrid, Prado

“crown[s] him with laurel.”⁴² Still more interesting in our context is Titian's *Allegory of Lepanto*, which represents Philip II as the vanquisher of the Turks, and was based on a suggestion made by the king himself (fig. 7).⁴³ Philip is shown lifting his baby son towards an angel, who, Victory-like, brings him a wreath and a palm frond with a banner inscribed “MAIORA TIBI.” Waldstein's description of Victory/Fame as an “angel,” cited above, is more understandable when seen against this background. Titian has also painted in a crouching Turk. Unlike Charles v, who of course was dealing with rebellion in his own territory, Philip clearly had no qualms

⁴⁰ We know nothing of the original presentation of the Leoni. A contemporary depiction of Buen Retiro and its surroundings reveals that from 1634 at the latest the statue was sited out in the open in the middle of a courtyard at the palace; see F. Marias, “Diego de Villalta: fortuna dell'opera dei Leoni nella Spagna del Cinquecento,” in M.L. Gatti Perer (ed.), *Leone Leoni tra Lombardia e Spagna. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Menaggio 25-26 settembre 1993*, Milan 1995, p. 97, fig. 1.

⁴¹ Keutner, *op. cit.* (note 10)

⁴² See G. F. Smyth *et al.*, exhib. cat. *The age of Correggio and the*

Carracci: Emilian painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Washington (National Gallery of Art) 1986, pp. 172-74. The painting now identified with the Parmigianino allegory, however, depicts Fame simply with an olive branch.

⁴³ See D. Feghelm-Aebersold, *Zeitgeschichte in Tizians religiösen Historienbildern*, Hildesheim 1991, pp. 126-29, and M. Tanner, *The last descendant of Aeneas: the Hapsburgs and the mythic image of the emperor*, New Haven & London 1993, pp. 216-17.



8 Philips Galle, *Monument to the Duke of Alva*, engraving. Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett

about including a named enemy. There was close contact between the Farnese and their relatives in Spain, and we can assume that Odoardo and Ranuccio were well aware of such representations; moreover, Philip II was still very much alive when they commissioned the Parma statue.

Among the thematically related sculptures executed before Moschino's, there is only one that was also reproduced as an engraving: Jacques Jonghelinck's monument to Alessandro's predecessor in Antwerp, the Duke

of Alva. Jonghelinck was a student of Leoni's. The statue was put on public display in the port city in 1570. Raised on the orders of the duke himself, it depicted him as a military leader and destroyer of false religion.⁴⁴ It was not so much Flemish anger at being represented in subjugation that caused the work to be dismantled soon after, as irritation at the Habsburg court, resulting from Alva's presumptuousness and the way he had overstepped his authority.

Philips Galle's engraving of the Alva monument (fig. 8) dates to the period immediately following its erection,⁴⁵ and is all that remains of the Jonghelinck work. Alva is shown in full armor, with the vanquished powers lying at his feet. A surviving treatise by the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montanus identifies almost all their attributes. Particularly important is the duke's gesture, which classifies him as a *Pacifactor*, a role again emphasized in Galle's dedication. By presenting himself as a peacemaker and (as the inscription on the socle states) "faithful servant to the king," Alva was clearly seeking to calm the storm provoked by the statue itself. The dissemination of the monument via Galle's engraving (the artist was acquainted with Montanus) served a similar purpose. The caption is full of tributes to peace and more: the creation of the statue and its reproduction in print are even characterized as contributions to the cessation of hostilities. After all, Alva had melted down his enemies' weapons to make the monument, and Galle had used the same material for the plate on which he engraved its image. In the end, however, this self-stylization as an angel of peace was either misunderstood by the court in Madrid, or was quite simply ignored.

Around 1600 the Farnese still maintained strong ties with the Spanish crown and, in fact, were very much dependent on it. They must have been well aware of the fate of Alva's statue. Following his triumph over Antwerp in 1585, Parma had had no such memorial erected, but had instead sought, like his grandfather Charles V, to have his deeds immortalized in words.⁴⁶ By 1592, however, the provocative moment had passed: the *Gran*

⁴⁴ For a concise account see S. Hänsel, "Alba als Friedensstifter: Ein gescheiterter Versuch politischer Bildargumentation," *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen* 19 (1995), pp. 1-14. Cf. also L. Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck: sculpteur, médailleur et graveur de sceaux (1530-1606)*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1996, pp. 117-44; the extant visual documentation of the statue is listed on pp. 122-24.

⁴⁵ A. Dolders, *Netherlandish artists: Philips Galle (The illustrated Bartsch 56)*, New York 1987, p. 400.

⁴⁶ Parma commissioned Michael von Eitzing to write the story of the campaign: *De Leone Belgico eiusque topographica atque historica descriptio*, Cologne 1586. The generalizing title speaks for itself.

Capitano was dead. Nonetheless, Moschino's sculpture, an incredibly elaborate work for a non-monarch, can only be understood in the light of both the Habsburg iconography of Charles v⁴⁷ and the events surrounding the Alva monument.

As Charles v's grandson, Alessandro had been made the subject of imperial Habsburg allegory from an early age. The best-known example is the painting commissioned by Charles's daughter Margaret from Gerolamo Mazzola Bedoli, *The young Alessandro sitting in Parma's lap*.⁴⁸ Similar allegorical elements are found in the engraving after Otto van Veen's *Alessandro Farnese as Hercules, accompanied by Religion* (fig. 9), which, as it shows the bridge over the Scheldt, must have been executed shortly after the conquest of Antwerp.⁴⁹ There is thus evidence of symbolic representations of Parma in media other than large-scale sculpture. The images in these paintings, prints and coins were clearly influenced by conventional Habsburg iconography,⁵⁰ which tended to transform the person depicted into an eternal moral *exemplum* through accompanying figures and attributes. As we have seen, this type of image was not limited to any single artistic genre. *Pace* Keutner, one cannot, therefore, explain the allegorical and encomiastic form of Simone Moschino's sculpture simply in terms of a specific sixteenth-century monument tradition.

Unlike Alva, the Farnese were not interested in putting their father's statue in the open. In contrast to Jonghelinck's contemporary image of the duke, Moschino depicts Parma dressed in imperial costume. By disassociating him from the present in this way, the sculptor



UR o ALEXANDER tibi DIX PARMENSIS, ac tuus
Orbis (25) alterius dignus imperio!
HERCULES armatus nullo detrita CLAVE!
HERCULEAS haecque sufficit EXTILIAS!
HERCULEO nisi nos tri quia temporis, armis,
Intrepidae animi robore, mensis dno.
Cui PARMAM tibi laeva tenet! non quondam; ac quae
Saxifus angustiora Floreida ora gerit.
SERPENTINA regno ANIMI PRUDENTIA ROWR,
Quae fuit ad ANIMI ROWR, et ARMA valuit.

INFIDELIAE, HOSTES, neam ad lapidare PARMAM,
Lazores animi, consilique facit.
Quae tibi DIX INDEX, SVSTENTATRIX, cohaeret
Scandit, autivivi Nymphis amatae ruan!
RELLIGIO summa est, sine qua PRUDENTIA sumit.
Qui fuit ad ANIMI ROWR, et ARMA valuit.
I bene VIRTVTIS tibi, post VIRTVTIS HONORIS,
Vesta quibus geminis unica TEMPLA potest.
PARMA dabit PALMAM, poterit quam s' terrore malo
INVIDIA, IMPETUS, VIS INIMICA dic.

Otto Van Veen, *Figurae 17. p. 100. Gabetina, P. 100.*

9 Gijs van Veen after Otto van Veen, *Alessandro Farnese as Hercules, accompanied by Religion*, engraving. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale della Grafica

47 On Philip II's use of the iconography of Charles v see especially F. Checa Cremades, "(Plus) ultra omnis solisque vias": la imagen de Carlos v en el reinado de Felipe II," *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía* 1 (1988), pp. 56-80. There are still reflections of Leoni's symbolism in an early seventeenth-century painting by Tintoretto's pupil Giovanni Pietro De Pomi, which shows the (Habsburg!) Archduke Ferdinand as a warrior against heresy (Graz, Landesmuseum Joanneum); see E. Leuschner, *Persona, Larva, Maske: ikonologische Studien zum 16. bis frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt 1997, pp. 130-32.

48 See L. Fornari Schianchi and N. Spinosa (eds.), exhib. cat. *I Farnese: arte e collezionismo*, Parma (Palazzo Ducale di Colorno) 1995, pp. 226-28. A comparable example from the Spanish court is Justus Tiel's *Allegory of the education of Philip III*; see Checa, op. cit. (note 39), fig. LV.

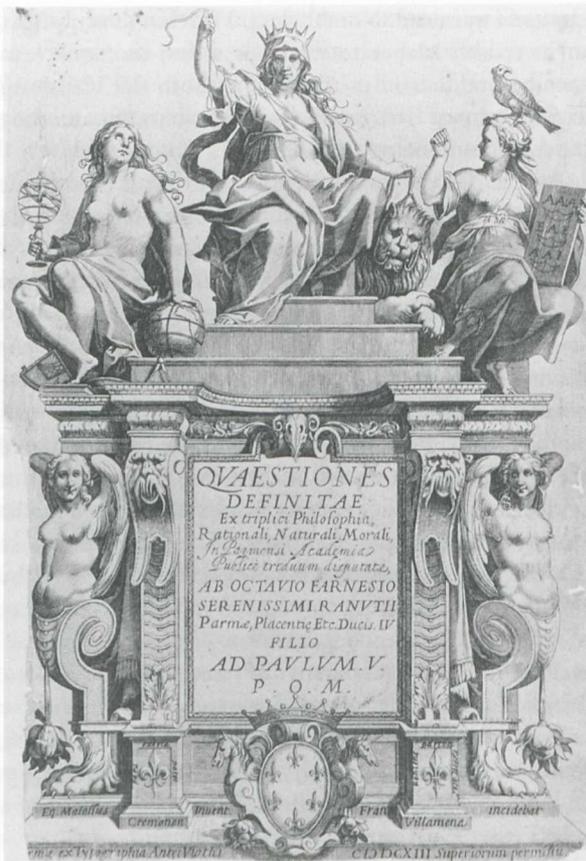
49 See Fornari Schianchi and Spinosa, op. cit. (note 48), p. 39, fig. 13. See also J. Van der Stock (ed.), exhib. cat. *Antwerpen: verhaal van een metropool: 16de-17de eeuw*, Antwerp (Hessenhuis) 1993, pp. 269-70, and *Los Austrias*, cit. (note 38), pp. 174-75.

50 Even during his own lifetime, Parma seems to have authorized the minting of a coin (probably used for paying his troops) on which he is compared to Alexander the Great. On the obverse is a portrait of Alexander, with the inscription "A[lexander] M[agnus] Speculum" ("A.M. as mirror"), and on the reverse a portrait of Alessandro Farnese with the motto "A[lexander] F[arnesius] Speculator" ("A.F. as the one reflected"); see M. Ravegnani Morosini, *Signorie e Principati: Monete Italiane con ritratto 1450-1796*, 2 vols., San Marino 1984, vol. 1, pp. 280-81. The Farnese dynasty's self-comparison with Alexander the Great can be traced back to Pope Paul III; see R. Harprath, *Papst Paul III. als Alexander der Grosse: das Freskenprogramm der Sala Paolina in der Engelsburg*, Berlin 1978, esp. pp. 17-26, and Pier Luigi Farnese, who commissioned a series of tapestries depicting the deeds of Alexander after designs by Francesco Salviati; now in the Museo di Capodimonte. See C. Monbeig Goguel et al., exhib. cat. *Francesco Salviati (1510-1563) ou la Bella Maniera*, Rome (Villa Medici) & Paris (Musée du Louvre) 1998, pp. 284-89.

neatly avoided one of the most controversial aspects of the Antwerp monument. As noted above, the *Gran Capitano's* dress is clearly a reference to the 1594 sculpture on the Campidoglio. It was, of course, this emphasis on Alessandro's *Romanitas*, and the fact that he had already been honored by the city, that helped legitimate the opulent glorification by his own family.⁵¹ This visual proof of Parma's Roman antecedents was designed to head off the accusation that the Farnese were seeking to celebrate themselves in the same improper fashion as Alva.

However, Parma's "antique" demeanor can also be understood as a demonstrative statement. It was meant to show that the Farnese were an integral part of, and active participants in, the great Roman tradition, while the elements of imperial iconography made manifest the family's claim to a role in the Habsburg regime. Alessandro, and by extension Ranuccio, was thus characterized as both the heir to Rome's ancient glory and, at the same time, partner to the most important political power of the day. Moschino's statue is a courageous attempt to visually connect these two qualities in the service of the dynasty. Villamena's engraving, which was likely given as a gift to the family's influential friends and patrons, as well as being sold on the open market as a means of disseminating an important work of art, supported this claim.⁵²

MOSCHINO, CELIO, VILLAMENA We still need to examine the two other artists who participated in the making of the engraving. The inscription containing their names tells us precisely how Moschino's sculpture was trans-



10 Francesco Villamena after Giovanni Battista Trotti, called Malosso, Frontispiece for a treatise by Ottavio Farnese, engraving. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale della Grafica

⁵¹ S. Hänsel, *Der spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) und die Kunst*, Münster 1991, p. 63: "Zwar trägt der Held unverkennbar die Züge Alessandro Farneses, doch ist er bekleidet mit einer antikisierenden Rüstung, die ihn aus seiner Zeit löst und in die Reihe der Heroen des Altertums stellt" ("Although the hero clearly bears the features of Alessandro Farnese, he is clad in archaic armor, which removes him from his own epoch and places him among the heroes of antiquity"). *Romanitas* was naturally also something Alessandro's sons should strive for. Giovanni Battista Marino, for example, certified that Odoardo had "del Romano valor la gloria intera"; see idem, *La galleria*, ed. M. Pieri, 2 vols., Padua 1979, vol. 1, p. 301, nr. 4, line 8, in the section titled *rilievi, modelli e medaglie*. On the Farneses' co-option of the Roman tradition see A. Chastel, "La cour des Farnèse et l'idéologie romaine," in *Le Palais Farnèse*, cit. (note 11), pp. 457-73.

⁵² It is not surprising that even around 1612, when the city of Piacenza wanted to honor its ruler, Ranuccio, and his father Alessandro, no one thought of erecting an equestrian statue, by now one of the most popular forms of monument; see P. Lavagetto Ceschi, "Da un occa-

sione effimera: i monumenti equestri ai Farnese di Francesco Mochi," in M. Fagiolo and M.L. Madonna (eds.), *Il Barocco Romano e l'Europa*, Rome 1992, pp. 771-99. Instead, a project drawing by Malosso shows a statue atop a column—one of Vignola's that had not been used for his Palazzo Farnese. In the drawing, Parma is shown as a warrior with a defeated Hydra. The work's reliance on existing standards in representations of the *Gran Capitano*—established by Villamena's engraving—is obvious. The idea of placing the statue on a tall column may have been inspired by Jonghelinck's *Columna rostrata*, which was crowned by an (officially unnamed) conqueror; it had been erected by the Genoese community to celebrate Parma's entry into Antwerp in 1585, cf. Smolderen, op. cit. (note 44), pp. 149-51. Simplified reproductions of the column soon circulated on a medal by Jonghelinck himself, see Smolderen, op. cit. (note 44), pp. 350-52, cat. nr. 97, and in an anonymous woodcut illustration, see K. Bostoën, "Italian academies in Antwerp: Schiappalaria and Van der Noort as 'inventors' for the Genoese community," in D.S. Chambers and F. Quiviger (eds.), *Italian academies of the sixteenth century*, London 1995, p. 204.

formed into Villamena's representation: "Gaspar Coelius delineator. Franciscus Villamena sculptor, suae observantiae T." We are thus dealing here with an artistic triumvirate: Moschino created the sculpture, Celio drew it, and Villamena used the drawing for the engraving he made and published.

Giovanni Baglione mentions the sheet in his *vita* of Gaspare Celio. Apparently, the drawing was requested by Moschino himself. In return, the sculptor made sure Ranuccio Farnese helped the painter obtain a commission for an altarpiece at St Peter's. Once again, we see that the family was directly involved in the production of the engraving, and that they were very likely even the ones who ordered it. But why was it Celio—a student of Pomarancio's—who was asked to make the drawing? According to his own statements (and Baglione's biography), early in his career he had frequently copied antique and modern works for Hendrick Goltzius,⁵³ although only one of the latter's prints (an *Isaiah* after Raphael) clearly states that he had supplied the drawing.⁵⁴ Before 1600, Celio was often employed by the Jesuits, an order with which Cardinal Odoardo was also associated. Between 1596 and 1604, for example, Celio made the illustrations for the *In Ezechielem explanationes*, written by the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Villalpando; he was also responsible for several frescoes and paintings in Il Gesù. His (mostly unpublished) drawings, the majority of which are now in the Uffizi, clearly reveal both his strengths and weaknesses: the figure and facial studies among the preliminary drawings for Il Gesù and other religious works are particularly unconvincing. Celio was much better when drawing after a live model or antique sculpture, and this probably ac-

counts for his being asked to copy the Moschino.

Further explanation is supplied by the artist's life history after 1600. As the Farnese ledgers indicate, on Moschino's recommendation Celio began to work for Ranuccio in Parma in October 1602. One could say that the drawing had helped him get his foot in the door. Villamena, too, carried out a number of commissions for the Farnese after the turn of the century. In 1613, for example, he engraved the title page for a treatise by Ottavio Farnese, Ranuccio's son (fig. 10), a work that has, until now, gone unnoticed by scholars.⁵⁵ It thus seems quite possible that the Latin inscriptions on our engraving, although not written by the artists themselves, do indeed largely reflect their intentions. Like the architect Stasicrates, the three were searching for ways of impressing their *padrone*. Moschino, chief planner of the duke's building projects, appears to have enjoyed Ranuccio's full confidence; but even for him a tribute to his master could have proven useful. According to Malvasia, the sculptor's strong position at court led him to attempt to play Celio off against Agostino Carracci, who had likewise been called to Parma to paint frescoes.⁵⁶ Malvasia writes: "Moschino brought in one Gaspare Celio, whom he preferred to Agostino, and tried to convince His Majesty that this man was of a higher caliber than the Bolognese, who was capable of nothing more than making nice engravings."⁵⁷ In the end, Celio's frescoes for the Palazzo del Giardino failed to please the prince and were soon destroyed. As Baglione relates with some pleasure, following his return to Rome and the reports of his failure in Parma, Celio lost the commission for the St Peter altarpiece, which was then given to Domenico Passignano.⁵⁸

53 Baglione, op. cit. (note 4), p. 377: "Disegnò opere di Roma sì antiche, come moderne, e ne fece diverse per il Golzio bravo intagliatore Olandese, che in Roma, e fuori a bulino le incise, sì come diverse egregiamente impresse hoggi se ne veggono andare in volta." On Celio as a painter see O. Melasecchi, "Gaspare Celio pittore (1571-1640): precisazioni ed aggiunte sulla vita e le opere," *Studi romani* 38 (1990), pp. 281-302. On his participation in the fresco projects at the Vatican during the Borghese papacy see E. Fumagalli, "Paolo v Borghese in Vaticano: appartamenti privati e di rappresentanza," *Storia dell'Arte* 88 (1996), pp. 341-70.

54 W.L. Strauss (ed.), *Hendrick Goltzius, 1568-1617: the complete engravings and woodcuts*, 2 vols., New York 1977, vol. 2, nr. 298. The inscription reads as follows: "Istud suis coloribus depictum est per Raphaelem D'Urbini Romae in aede S. Augustini, per Gasparem Celij ibidem adnotatum, et ab H. Goltzio aeri insculptum. Anno 1592."

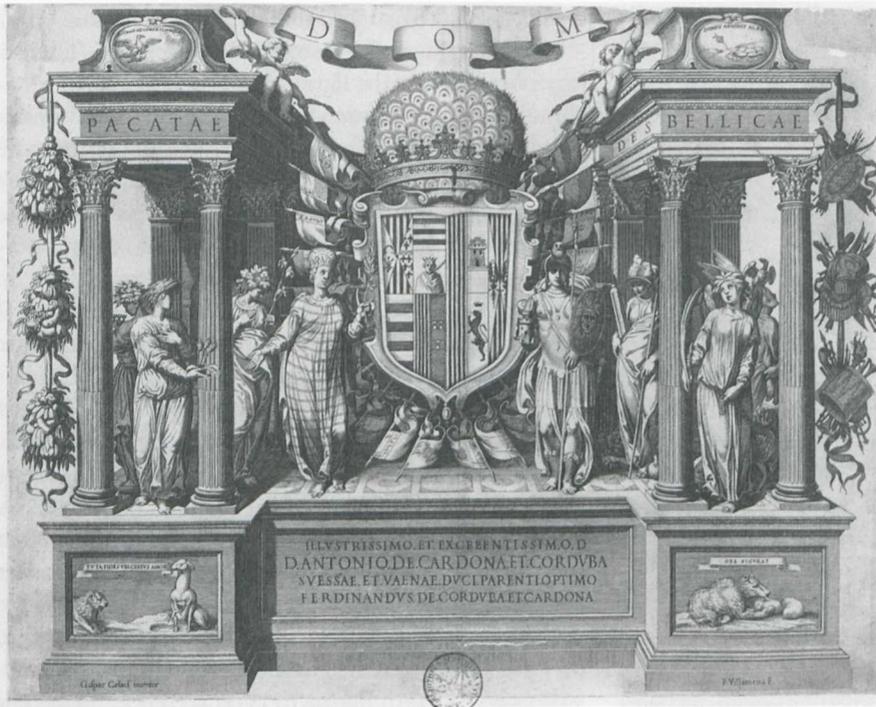
55 Not mentioned in either C. Leblanc, *Manuel de l'ameur d'estampes*, 4 vols., Paris 1854-89, G.K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, 5

vols., Munich 1919-20, or Kühn-Hattenhauer, op. cit. (note 2). See also Villamena's two views of the Farnese palace in Caprarola, dated 1617, which are listed in Kühn-Hattenhauer, op. cit. (note 2), p. 273.

56 On Agostino Carracci's work in Parma see J. Anderson, "Sala di Agostino Carracci in the Palazzo del Giardino," *The Art Bulletin* 52 (1970), pp. 41-48, and F. Baroncelli, "Agostino Carracci e gli Amori di Ranuccio," *Aurea Parma* 79 (1995), pp. 15-57.

57 C.C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, Bologna 1841, p. 295: "Portava costui [= Moschino] un tale Gasparo Celio, e lo preferiva ad Agostino, supponendo a S.A. esser altr'uomo che il Bolognese, ch'altro far ben non sapeva che l'intagliare."

58 The most important publication on the decorative projects for St Peter's at this time remains H. Siebenhüner, "Umrisse zur Geschichte der Ausstattung von St. Peter in Rom von Paul III bis Paul V (1547-1606)," in K. Oettinger (ed.), *Festschrift für Hans Sedlmayr*, Munich 1962, pp. 229-320; see p. 295 for Passignano's lost *Crucifixion of St Peter*.



11 Francesco Villamena after Gaspare Celio, *Allegory of the house of Cordoba*, engraving. Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana

The necessary interruption of work on the Galleria in 1600, and the resulting unavailability of the two artists, might account for the fact that neither Annibale nor Agostino Carracci were asked to draw the model for the Villamena engraving. It seems more likely, however, that Moschino passed over the Carracci on purpose in order to launch his friend Celio. Villamena may have been chosen as engraver thanks to his previous contacts with the painter,⁵⁹ or because he had already executed a series of prints of (ephemeral) sculpture, namely the catafalque of Sixtus V (fig. 12), or both. On the other hand, Moschino probably simply desired an engraver

who followed the modern trends in printmaking established by Agostino, but who was nonetheless not intimately associated with him.⁶⁰ Despite his disparaging remarks quoted above, Moschino apparently found him a first-class engraver.

The sculptor, then, appears to have wanted to avoid using Agostino, but sought someone who could achieve similar results—an artist who was able to reproduce the composition clearly and who could work confidently with light and shade. This hypothesis is strengthened by an examination of another, somewhat later reproduction of a Roman monument: the engraving by Jacques

⁵⁹ For example, Villamena and Celio cooperated on the *Allegory of the education of Archduke Maximilian of Austria*; see Kühn-Hattenhauer, op. cit. (note 2), p. 230. It is inscribed: "SERENISSIMO MAXIMILIANO AUSTRIAE MAGISTRO, Gaspar Coellius Romanus In., F. Villamena F." The undated *Allegory of the house of Cordoba* (fig. 11) dedicated to Antonio of Cardona and Corduba is also based on a Celio drawing, see Kühn-Hattenhauer, p. 227.

⁶⁰ There is, however, evidence of contact between Villamena and the Carracci. The former engraved the "Bacchic scene" on the so-called *Paniere Farnese* after a model by Annibale; this silver platter from the Farnese possessions is now in the Museo di Capodimonte. It should

also be mentioned in this context that, going by the monogram, Villamena's supposed student Luca Ciamberlano must have executed a large number of engravings for Agostino's drawing manual, the *Libro perfetto per imparare a disegnare*; see E. Leuschner, s.v. "Luca Ciamberlano," in *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, in progress, Leipzig 1983-, vol. 19, pp. 129-30. On the other hand, the recently published inventory of Villamena's collection of drawings indicates that he mainly owned work by Cinquecento masters and only one sheet by Annibale Carracci; see F. Trinchieri Camiz, "The Roman 'studio' of Francesco Villamena," *The Burlington Magazine* 136 (1994), pp. 506-16.



12 Francesco Villamena after Prospero Bresciano, *Fortitudo* (from the catafalque of Pope Sixtus V), engraving. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung

Lemercier after Nicolas Cordier's *Henri IV of France* in the Lateran (1606–09).⁶¹ The comparison speaks for itself: the Frenchman's sheet (fig. 13), with its fragmented lines and pedantic attention to even minor details, stands in stark contrast to Villamena's cool elegance and strong modeling. In its verticality and austerity, the engraving illustrates the strength and self-confidence of the Farnese family almost more than Moschino's statue itself.

How does the Moschino engraving relate to the rest

⁶¹ See M. Pr  aud (ed.), *Inventaire du fonds fran  ais: graveurs du xvii   si  cle*, in progress, Paris 1976–, vol. 10, p. 83. For J  r  me David's 1624 reproduction of the same sculpture by Cordier see S. Pressouyre, *Nicolas Cordier: recherches sur la sculpture    Rome autour de 1600*, 2 vols., Rome 1984, vol. 2, fig. 159. In 1995 the Louvre acquired one of Cordier's preliminary drawings for the sculpture, see "Acquisitions princi-



13 Jacques Lemercier, *Nicolas Cordier's statue of Henri IV*, engraving. Paris, Biblioth  que Nationale de France

of Francesco Villamena's *oeuvre*, an artist who devoted himself entirely to printmaking, and to whose name the word *sculptor* is appended on the sheet in question? The reproduction of the Parma statue remained an isolated incident in the artist's work. Even the signature, "Villamena sculptor," does not appear on any other engraving in precisely the same way, while the description *sculptor* is seen on only three prints—albeit ones he must have found particularly important.⁶² In most cases, he simply used the classic *fecit*. As, interestingly enough,

pales des mus  es en 1995," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 138 (1996), p. 9, nr. 24.

⁶² Villamena is referred to as *sculptor* on the portrait of Clement VIII, see K  hn-Hattenhauer, op. cit. (note 2), p. 102; the large *Allegory of Henri IV* (ibid., p. 241); and on his representation of angels adoring the instruments of the Passion (ibid., p. 215).



14 Antonio Tempesta,
The horse-tamers, etching. Rome,
 Gabinetto Nazionale della Grafica

one of Alessandro Farnese's eulogists noted, ancient grammarians considered the word *sculptor*, not *sculptor*, to be the more appropriate and archaic form.⁶³ Since Villamena is explicitly referred to here as *sculptor* it would seem that the author of the inscription consciously sought to create a parallel between the engraving and the *sculptor* Moschino's marble. One should therefore

understand the choice, and the differentiation it strives for, in terms of the extraordinary artistic value assigned to the "reproductive" engraver's work.⁶⁴

ENGRAVED REPRODUCTIONS OF SCULPTURE AROUND 1600 It was Villamena's task, with the help of Celio's drawing, to consign Moschino's multifaceted sculpture

63 V. Blas Garcia's Latin eulogy (*Oratio funebris in laudem Alexandri Farnesii, serenissimi Parmae Placentiae Ducis, Rom, apud Haereditas Ioannis Liliotti*, 1593; BAV: Racc.I.IV.541 int. 10) includes a scholarly notation in the foreword which emphasizes that "sculptor" and "scalpere," and not "sculptor" and "sculpere," are the original and true forms of the words, with a reference to "Diom.," Diomedes's *Ars grammatica*. Blas Garcia's text deserves further mention, as it draws examples from the stories of Alexander the Great and his court artists: "Futurum sibi non mediocri honori putavit Alexander, si se Apelles pingeret, scalperet Pyrgoteles, Lysippus fingeret. Alexander Farn. habuit hic Romae suum quoque Apellem, suum Pyrgotelem; duos videlicet, egregios oratores, quorum alter suis eum coloribus tam scite, eleganterque depinxit, ut haud fere minus notus orbi terrae sit illius oratione, quam natura ipsa, & sua virtute Farnesius; alter exquisitissimus laudibus exornatum, scalpsit, non in marmore, ebore, argento, non in iis, quae manu & opere facta conficit, & consumit vetustas, sed in memoria posterorum omnium" ("Alexander thought that it would be no small contribution to his honor if Apelles painted him, Pyrgoteles made a marble sculpture and Lysippus a bronze. Alessandro Farnese also had his Apelles

and his Pyrgoteles here in Rome—two outstanding orators, one of whom painted him with his colors [sc. of speech] so efficiently and elegantly that Farnese is known in the world almost no less from this man's power of speech as he is from his own nature and virtue. The second man, due to his most exquisite talent, made of Farnese a sculpture with his praise, not in marble, ivory, silver or anything that is wrought with manual labor and then consumed by time. He erected Farnese's sculpture in the memory of posterity").

64 That the "reproductive" work of engravers was often understood as being equal to the original is demonstrated by the inscription under Beatrizet's 1559 print after Giotto's *Navicella*: "nunc autem eam (sc. naviculam) ita ut vides Nicolaus Beatrizius Lotharingus aheneis tabellis incisam non minori artificio et elegantia repraesentavit"; see D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance print, 1470-1550*, New Haven & London 1994, p. 168. An excellent example of the new understanding of the role of the engraver in reproducing works of art in the late Cinquecento is Domenico Lampsonius's correspondence with Giorgio Vasari and Giulio Clovio; see W.S. Melion, "Hendrick Goltzius's project of reproductive engraving," *Art History* 13 (1990), pp. 467-74.

to a flat copperplate. Around 1600, the graphic reproduction of modern statuary (as opposed to that of ancient Greece and Rome)—that is the mediated translation of a three-dimensional object into one dimension—was still quite unusual. This was partly due to the fact that there was only a limited number of freestanding, large-scale pieces by contemporary artists. The *incisori* active in Rome produced a few such prints, mostly after works by Michelangelo, which were thought to rival or even surpass those of the ancient world. His *Pietà* was engraved by Marco Dente and Nicolas Beatrizet, as well as by Agostino Carracci (1579), who, as we have seen, was important for Villamena.⁶⁵ One might even say that it was the innumerable engravings of Michelangelo's sculptures, both exact copies and creative emulations,⁶⁶ which concretized the enormous status bestowed upon him by his compatriots.

As far as other freestanding sculpture is concerned, until the last two decades of the sixteenth century graphic reproductions were almost entirely confined to works of the classical past. Particularly important in our context is that in Cinquecento Rome publications illustrating single pieces or entire bodies of work by the artistic geniuses of antiquity often had propagandist overtones. As a precursor to Villamena's engraving, one might make special mention of Antonio Tempesta's etching of *The horse-tamers* (fig. 14),⁶⁷ re-erected by Six-

tus v in 1589–90. At the time, these two colossal statues were thought to represent Alexander the Great and his horse, Bucephalus, and to have been the result of a competition between Phidias and Praxiteles. This information is given in the inscription on the socle in Tempesta's print. Between the two groups, precisely in the center, we see Sixtus's coat of arms, while the text beneath describes and lauds his concern for these ravaged works of art. Three couplets placed near the horses' heads—that is, actually in the sphere of the artworks themselves—pay tribute to Alexander's taming of Bucephalus, the achievement of the sculptors in completing their enormous artistic task, and, finally, to the efforts of Sixtus v in restoring and displaying the statues, which bore witness to a magnificence that exceeded even Alexander's.⁶⁸ Already in this early engraving, then, we find praise for an artist used as a gateway for a panegyric on a ruler.

In the late sixteenth century, aside from the works of Michelangelo, engravings of contemporary statuary usually reproduced merely ephemeral decorations, that is, sculpture used in festive processions or to embellish catafalques. One example is Philips Galle's series after bronzes by Jacob Jonghelinck. These had formed part of Parma's triumphal entry into Antwerp in 1585, although they were certainly not originally designed for that purpose.⁶⁹ Galle indicates the background using

65 DeGrazia Bohlin, *op. cit.* (note 2), nr. 9. For Michelangelo sculptures by Beatrizet see S. Boorsch (ed.), *Italian masters of the sixteenth century (The illustrated Bartsch 29)*, New York 1982, pp. 266 (*Christ*) and 268 (*Pietà*). Another early example of the reproduction of contemporary sculpture in Rome is Prospero de Scavezzi's 1589 etching after Valsoldo's marble *Sixtus V in prayer* from the Sistine Chapel; see S.F. Ostrow, *Art and spirituality in Counter-Reformation Rome: the Sistine and Pauline Chapels in S. Maria Maggiore*, Cambridge 1996, p. 57, fig. 48.

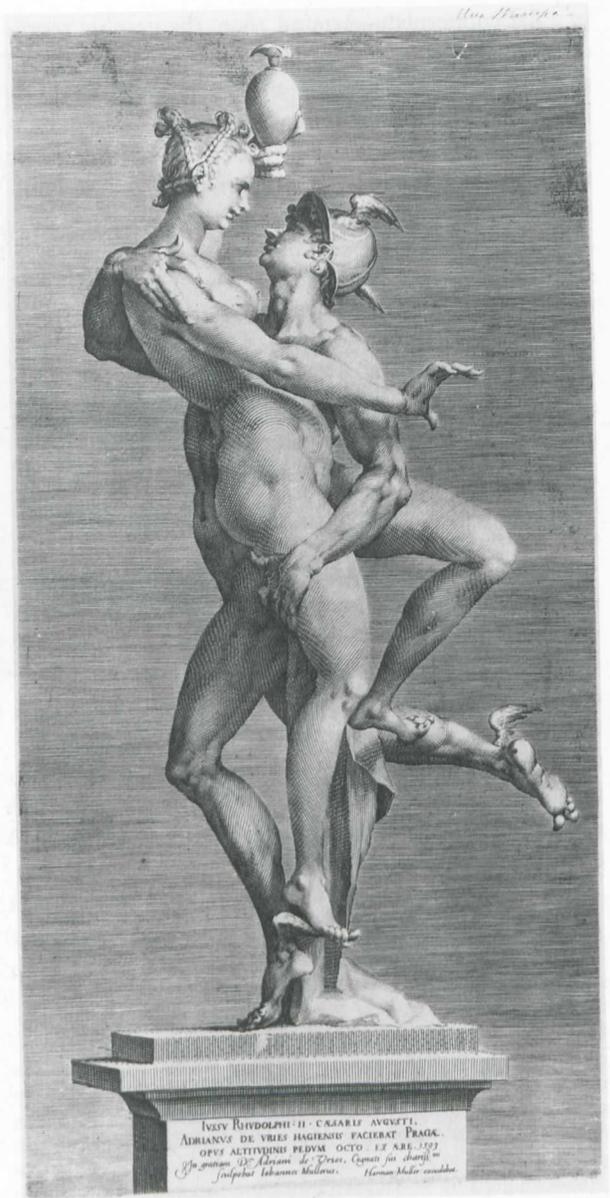
66 As argued by A. Hughes, "Authority, authenticity and aura: Walter Benjamin and the case of Michelangelo," in A. Hughes and E. Ranft (eds.), *Sculpture and its reproductions*, London 1997, pp. 29–45, Michelangelo's sculptures did not lose their "aura" in reproductions; rather, the numerous imitations and "emulations" of the originals first revealed their "classical" qualities.

67 Buffa, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 285 (B. 557). Dupérac had depicted the *Horse-tamers* against a cloud-filled sky back in 1575. Like Tempesta, Giovanni Battista de Cavallieri chose to display the antique sculptures against an undifferentiated, white background in his *Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae liber*, as did the engravers of the *Galleria Giustiniana* somewhat later (1635/36). It seems likely that the installation of the statues on the Quirinal was not yet finished at the time of Tempesta's print; the sheet illustrates an ideal presentation rather than reality. A

similar manipulation occurs in his reproduction of Daniele da Volterra's riderless horse, which includes a figure of Henri II that was never actually finished, see Buffa, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 365. On Domenico Fontana's restoration and the re-erection of the statues on the Quirinal see V. De Feo, *La Piazza del Quirinale: storia architettura urbanistica*, Rome 1973, pp. 30–35.

68 "Bucephali par nemo fuit constringere habenas,/ Victus Alexander pertulit acer equus:/ Bucephali par nemo fuit renovare figuram,/ At nunc artificem pertulit ecce manum;/ Quid mirum si nunc perfert, quod pertulit olim/ Maior Alexandro, maxime Sixte iubes." The linguistically rather clumsy final distich can be translated as follows: "What a miracle, when [Bucephalus] now again accepts what he once accepted, [that which] you, most glorious Sixtus, more glorious than Alexander, have commanded."

69 Dolders, *op. cit.* (note 45), pp. 337–44. Most of the statues are today housed in the royal palace in Madrid; see Smolderen, *op. cit.* (note 44), pp. 101–15, and E. Filippi, "Leone Leoni, Jacob Jonghelinck e la corte di Bruxelles," in Perer, *op. cit.* (note 40), pp. 79–86. As was the case with Saenredam's series of the planets after Maerten de Vos, the dedication of Galle's series to Alessandro Farnese may have been added *ad hoc* shortly after his conquest of the city in order to place the victor in a flattering light.



15-16 Jan Muller, *Mercury and Psyche*, engraving. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale della Grafica

parallel lines, as does Villamena—a technique probably inspired by illustrations of ancient sculpture in sixteenth-century antiquarian publications.⁷⁰ In Villamena's case, however, it appears to be a kind of compromise. On the one hand, he clearly sought to avoid the totally undifferentiated setting found in many depictions of antique sculpture in the Cinquecento, for example the Marcus Aurelius prints by Beatrizet and Tempesta, as well as the latter's *Horse-tamers*.⁷¹ At the same time, he apparently had no desire to define the surrounding area, as in Beatrizet's own version of *The horse-tamers*, where something of the piece's structural context is indicated. The viewer's attention was not to be distracted from Moschino's sculpture in any way.

The artists of the late sixteenth century were well aware of the most fundamental problem in illustrating sculpture—that it necessitated sacrificing three-dimensionality. Andrea Andreani experimented with the reproduction of more than one view in his three engravings after Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabine women* (1584).⁷² One of the three woodcuts, however, shows the sculpture in a niche, indicating that the xylographer was still very much dependent on an older artistic tradition, one that apparently originated with Marcantonio Raimondi and Jacopo Caraglio. Even Hendrick Goltzius placed the *Apollo Belvedere* in a niche in an engraving executed around 1592, but not published until 1617, although here the artist also gives the sculpture a companion: a draftsman, who has squeezed himself into the gap in order to get a view of the work from the side. In this way Goltzius not only indicates relative size, he also stresses the statue's three-dimensionality.⁷³

Still bolder is the work of a printmaker who was influenced by Goltzius and worked in the circle around Rudolf II: Jan Muller. His triple reproduction of Adriaen de Vries's *Mercury and Psyche* (Paris, Louvre) is proof of the artistic mastery not only of the sculptor but of the engraver as well.⁷⁴ In Muller's print, probably executed in the very last years of the sixteenth century (figs. 15 and 16), the sculpture is shown completely freestanding. A virtuoso like De Vries, to whom he was related, Muller attacks the statue visually from all sides. As to Villamena, although Celio may have furnished him with some information about Goltzius's antique copies, he probably did not know them directly (they were not yet published in 1600). One indication is that Villamena does not imitate Goltzius's method of depicting works from below—which would have made Parma seem even more monumental. On the other hand, his emphasis on the plastic qualities of the Moschino suggests that he knew not only Agostino Carracci's Michelangelo prints, but also Dutch depictions similar to Jan Muller's.

THE SINGLE VIEW: A GAIN Villamena did not, however, seek to create multiple views in the style of his Netherlandish colleague. Although Moschino's work is clearly conceived to be seen from all sides,⁷⁵ he and his fellow artists Celio and Villamena chose only a single perspective for the illustration. Was this really only in order to show the commander's face from the front? Indeed, there appears to be another reason. In fact, the draftsman and engraver seem to have wanted to approximate their scene to another well-known work of art and their choice of viewpoint may well have been dictated by

⁷⁰ See, for example, Theodoor de Bry's illustrations for J.J. Boissard's *Romanae urbis topographiae & antiquitatum libri*, 6 vols, Frankfurt 1597-1602.

⁷¹ Most recently, M. Bury, "Beatrizet and the 'reproduction' of antique relief sculpture," *Print Quarterly* 13 (1996), p. 122, has established a connection between this elimination of the surroundings and Serlio's concept of *orthografia*.

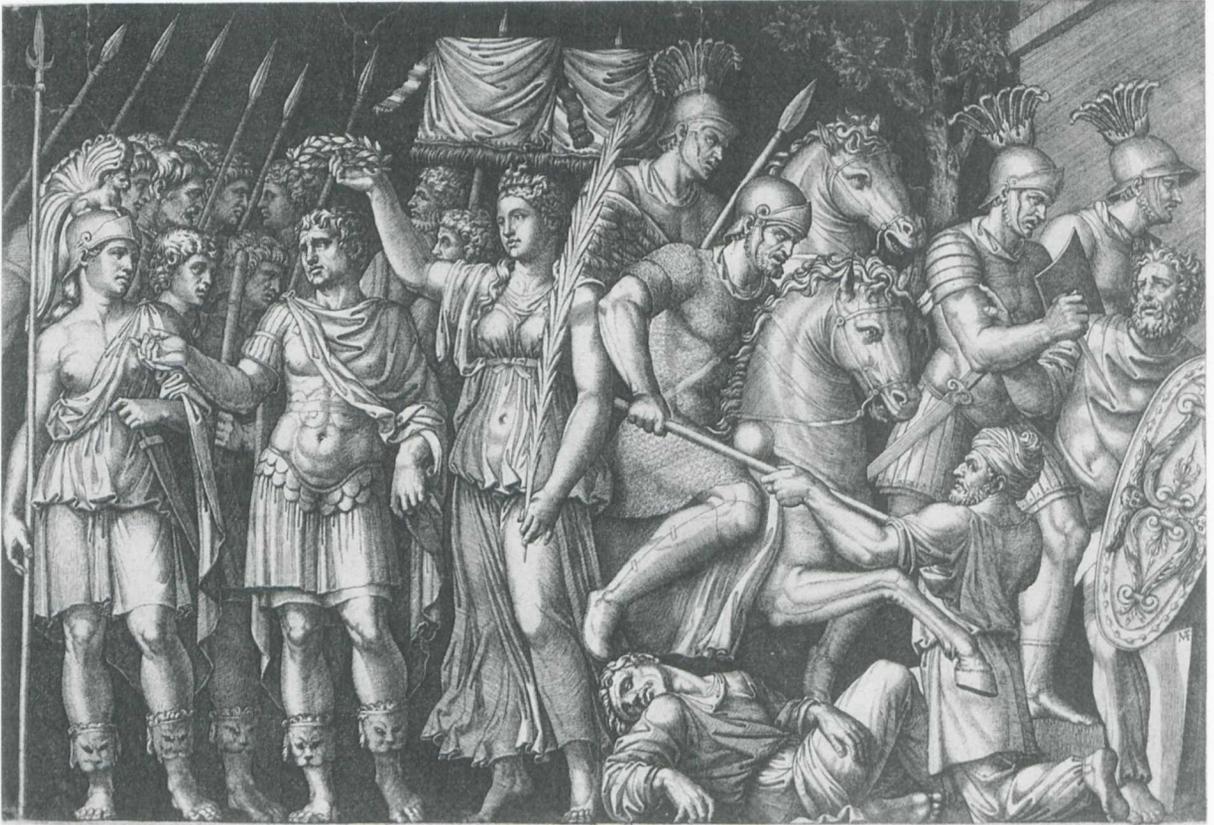
⁷² See C. Avery et al. (eds.), exhib. cat. *Giambologna 1529-1608: ein Wendepunkt der europäischen Plastik*, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 1978, pp. 280-81.

⁷³ See G. Langemeyer et al., exhib. cat. *Bilder nach Bildern: Druckgrafik und die Vermittlung von Kunst*, Münster (Westfälisches Landesmuseum) 1976, pp. 136-41. Goltzius took the same approach in his depiction of the *Hercules Farnese*: here he shows us the back of the sculpture, together with the heads of two gentlemen, who appear to be admiring the front of the statue, which is invisible to the viewer. Vil-

lamena could not have known this work either, however, as it was published only in 1617; on Goltzius and the *Hercules Farnese* see G. Luijten et al. (eds.), exhib. cat. *Dawn of the Golden Age: northern Netherlandish art 1580-1620*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1993-94, pp. 361-62, and C. Lukatis and H. Ottomeyer (eds.), exhib. cat. *Herkules: Tugendheld und Herrscherideal. Das Herkules-Monument in Kassel-Wilhelmshöhe*, Kassel 1997, esp. pp. 43-56.

⁷⁴ W.L. Strauss (ed.), *Netherlandish artists: Matham, Saenredam, Muller (The illustrated Bartsch 4)*, New York [1980], pp. 514-17. See also V. Krahn, "Von allen Seiten schön," in Y. Krahn (ed.), exhib. cat. *Von allen Seiten schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, Berlin (Altes Museum) 1995, p. 32, and Luijten et al., op. cit. (note 73), pp. 180-81.

⁷⁵ See L.O. Larsson, *Von allen Seiten gleich schön: Studien zum Begriff der Vielansichtigkeit in der europäischen Plastik von der Renaissance bis zum Klassizismus*, Stockholm 1974, p. 63.



17 Marcantonio Raimondi, *The apotheosis of Trajan* (after a relief on the Arch of Constantine), engraving. Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale della Grafica

the relief of Trajan on the Arch of Constantine, which depicts the emperor accompanied by a female figure with a raised right hand. Among the numerous copies and partial reconstructions of the Cinquecento listed in Bober and Rubenstein,⁷⁶ there are several which show the woman with a wreath and palm frond, that is: as Victory. The most famous example is by Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 17).⁷⁷ Perhaps even Moschino had taken the triumphant Trajan as the model for his Alessandro; after all, on the arch he, too, is made to serve the purposes of propaganda. The Arch of Constantine, as all Rome

guide books at the turn of the seventeenth century stress, had been erected with the aim of celebrating the later emperor's victory over Maxentius at the Pons Milvius (Battle of the Milvian Bridge)—the victory that led to the establishment of Christianity as the state religion.

What implications might this identification of the sculptor's source have for the interpretation of the Parma statue? It is tempting to conclude that Moschino consciously chose the relief because of its association with a monument glorifying the final triumph of Christianity and, more importantly, in a battle bearing the

⁷⁶ P. Bober and R. Rubenstein, *Renaissance artists and antique sculpture: a handbook of sources*, Oxford 1986, nr. 158; see also M. Winner (ed.), exhib. cat. *Zeichner sehen die Antike: Europäische Handzeichnungen 1450-1800*, Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett) 1967, nrs. 34 and 35. A winged Victory crowning the successful emperor with her right hand

and holding a palm frond in her left is also depicted in Beatrizet's (expanded) rendition of the relief of *The triumph of Marcus Aurelius* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori; see Boorsch, op. cit. (note 65), p. 349.

⁷⁷ K. Oberhuber (ed.), *The works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of his school* (*The illustrated Bartsch* 27), New York [1978], p. 57 (B. 361).

name of a particular bridge. There could hardly have been a better means of emphasizing the importance of Alessandro's bridge over the Scheldt and his enormous contribution to the Catholic cause at Antwerp. The innumerable depictions of wreathed conquerors in the Habsburg iconography of the period, however, make this hypothesis difficult to prove. On the other hand, it seems very likely that Celio and Villamena at least did seek to make a connection with the Arch of Constantine. In this sense, they also sought to transform the presumed weakness in graphic reproductions of sculpture—the single point of view—into something positive. The statue, translated from three dimensions into one, is made comparable to the relief, which is also composed

on what is well-nigh a single plane. Alessandro is thus reflected in the triumphant Roman emperor, and the viewer's association with the ancient relief results in an identification of the *virtus* of antiquity with the *maior virtus* of the Christian hero Parma. In its relationship to the three-dimensionality of the sculptural model, Villamena's engraving is thus an artwork in its own right. We can even apply to it Giambattista Marino's praise of Villamena's map of Rome. The beholder of his print witnesses "how, due to the virtue of artistic genius, the solidity of marble is surpassed by that of paper."⁷⁸

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⁷⁸ G.B. Marino, "Roma intagliata in rame dal Villamena," lines 13-14: "...quanto in virtù d'una ingegnosa mano\ la fermezza de'marmi ai fogli cede," in *La galleria*, cit (note 51), vol. 1, p. 261. Villamena's Rome plan, in fact, is a mere reworking of Dupérac's; see A. Grelle Iusco, *Indice delle Stampe De Rossi: contributo alla storia di una Stamperia romana*, Rome 1996, p. 379). A similar awareness of the paradox of repro-

ducing a massive statue on a transitory medium such as paper is demonstrated in the dedication on Tempesta's print of 1608 after Giambologna's *Cosimo I on horseback*, see Buffa, op. cit. (note 7), p. 367: "Aenea quae Hetruscis magni simulacra Joannes/ Belga dedit Cosmi, summus in arte faber;/ Illa eadem tenui signis efficta papyro,/ TEMPESTA ex animo dat, Nicoline, tibi."