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The Peretti Montalto Collection of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Sculptures: Bernini, Giambologna, and Beyond

Abstract

The Villa Montalto in Rome was founded by Cardinal Felice Peretti (1521–1590, Pope Sixtus V from 1585). The villa's decoration was started in his lifetime. His cardinal-nephew Alessandro Peretti Montalto (1571–1623) added to the sculpture collection. Around the time of his death, the collection comprised nearly 500 antique sculptures and about fifty freestanding sculptures from the early modern era, in addition to some forty small sculptures that formed an integral part of the furnishings. The modern sculptures included numerous outstanding exhibits, such as a series of bronzes by Giambologna and marble sculptures by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

My study provides an overview of the collection's contents, aims to contribute to our knowledge of the artists and craftsmen involved in the works' production, and highlights various actors on the art market who enabled Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto to expand his collection. The present article interprets the collection's contents and the underlying motives for its manner of display. Against this background, Alessandro Peretti Montalto's last commission to Bernini – the statue of *David*, unfinished at the time of the cardinal's death – is discussed regarding its originally intended setting and its various layers of meaning.

Introduction

The most comprehensive inventory of the Montalto sculpture collection, dated to 1623 or 1631,[1] documents about fifty early modern sculptures,[2] about which little remains known. Two very well-known sculptors were of special importance to this collection: Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and Giambologna (1529–1608). With his *Neptune and Triton* (fig. 2) and the *Portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto* (fig. 1), Bernini provided two highlights of the collection display at the Palazzo Termini and in the gardens of the villa.[3] His statue of *David*, dating from 1623–1624, has its origin in the Villa Montalto, too (fig. 3).[4] It goes back to a commission by Alessandro Peretti Montalto (1571–1623, cardinal from 1585) for the Villa Montalto, but was not finished within his life-time.[5] A three-figured bronze reduction of the *Rape of the Sabine Woman* is attributed to Giambologna in a contemporary description.[6] Based on our knowledge of the short titles given to the works in the most comprehensive inventory, a high number of small bronzes fit his designs and his authorship can be suggested. The subject of this article is the collection of early modern sculptures at the Villa Montalto at the peak of its opulence, as documented in that inventory. Despite the collection's impressiveness in size and caliber, it has hardly received the scholarly attention it deserves. More specifically, scholarship has thus far also neglected the wealth of excellent small bronzes that the collection once held.

1 Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto*, ca. 1621–1623, marble, 88 cm (incl. socle). Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. no. S-1918/60 (© Hamburger Kunsthalle/bpk, photo Elke Walford)

1   ASC, Fondo Cardelli, app., n. 91, fols. 1r–76v. See note 8 here.

2   This figure relates to the individual, free-standing sculptures. Not included in that figure are a *studiolo* containing twenty-seven gilded statuettes and herms and rows of shelving that featured some fifteen heads of wood and stucco with a *marmo finto* finish (see Appendix I, no. 45).

3   Benocci 1995; Benocci 1996; Seidel 2010; Seidel 2017, pp. 410–417.

4   Galleria Borghese, inv. no. LXXVII, 1623–1624, marble, 170 cm. For a recent bibliography, see Minozzi 2017.

5   Benocci 1989 (1990); Benocci 1996, pp. 118–119.

6   Martinelli 1969, p. 323.

7   All extant early modern sculptures whose provenance can undoubtedly be traced back to the Villa Montalto only left the villa after the collection's final dissolution in 1784. However, against the background of the wider collection history, this cannot be claimed of those sculptures that have so far not been traced in existing collections today. Rather, it is more likely that especially the smaller exhibits already left the Montalto Collection in the mid-seventeenth century, shortly after 1655. Subsequent inventories often only make summary mention of the sculptures and document their reduced number in general terms. There are, as yet, no known records showing that the collection was split up and parcelled out between the Montalto villas in Bagnaia and Frascati. On the several stages of the collection's dissolution, see Granata 2012, pp. 146–147; Seidel 2016, pp. 18–25. Belinda Granata is currently preparing a publication on the seventeenth-century dispersal of exhibits from the Montalto Collection.

The present article discusses fundamental questions concerning individual objects, the history of the collection, and the exhibition of the sculptures in the villa. What were the collection's contents and themes? Which theories plausibly lend themselves to identifying individual objects and the sculptors behind them? How did the works of art enter the collection? Under which circumstances and through whose hands? What does this information tell us, on the one hand, about the owner's personal interests and aims, and, on the other, about the origin of the objects? How was the collection curated and shown from room to room in the villa? What were the formal and thematic criteria for the objects' selection and installation? As my research shows that the sculptures were indeed carefully curated to coordinate with the wall paintings, another question arises: How is the sculptural installation to be interpreted in terms of conveying an underlying message? And finally, how did Bernini's site-specific commissioned works – the largest exhibits at the villa – fit into all this?

Drawing on archival documents, this article presents new findings on the collection. Further detailed research into either the provenance of individual objects currently held in various museum collections or into the sculptors and workshops that made them could contribute further insights into the history of the Montalto Collection. It is my express wish that this article should encourage other scholars to delve deeper into this subject. As an aid to this end, Appendix I and II list information on individual exhibits known to have been in the collection at the Villa Montalto around 1623/1631 and in the Peretti's Palazzo di San Lorenzo in Lucina in 1655. Unless previously sold, both holdings were merged in the Villa Montalto at some point after 1655.[7]

2   Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Neptune and Triton,* 1622–1623, marble, 183 cm. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. A.18:1-1950 (photo Victoria & Albert Museum)

3   Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *David,* 1623–1624, marble, 170 cm. Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. no. LXXVII (photo MiBACT – Galleria Borghese, riproduzione vietata)

Sources

An inventory (hereafter named the "Undated Inventory", 1623/1631)[8] of the sculptures in the Villa Montalto documents the point in time when the collection was at its largest. Details regarding individual objects have been added according to later inventories of the Villa Montalto dated 1655,[9] 1696,[10] and 1712.[11] All these documents have one noteworthy deficiency: The names of the sculptors and craftsmen who composed or executed the sculptures are hardly ever mentioned. In some cases, information on the iconography, material, and size of the objects allows us to hypothesize on attributions and even identifications. In addition to this, a description of the villa by Fioravante Martinelli, dating from 1660–1662,[12] as well as the respective passages within the respective accounts of Rome by Pietro Rossini (1693)[13] and Giacomo Pinaroli (1703)[14] are reliable sources on which to draw in supporting such hypotheses.[15] Still, even within these texts, attributions of individual sculptures are to be read as mere suggestions. Regarding several sculptures, payment records provide us with a clue to their respective origins,

8   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), ASC, Fondo Cardelli, app., n. 91, fols. 1r–76v, quoted in Barberini 1991, pp. 21–51. This inventory of the sculpture collection in the Villa Montalto is a fair copy, carefully structured according to the individual rooms. As well as documenting iconographical names, it primarily states the size and material of the sculptures. The document does not bear a date. According to the collection history, or, more precisely, according to the reconstruction of acquisition dates and dates of sale for individual sculptures, it can be dated to either 1623 or 1631. It was drawn up either on the occasion of the death of Cardinal Alessandro Montalto in 1623 or on the death of his brother Michele in 1631 (see Rausa 2005, p. 125; Seidel 2016, pp. 8–9). Some annotations were added at a later date and hint at the transfer of individual sculptures from the Villa Montalto to "Roma", a probable reference to the Palazzo di San Lorenzo in Lucina (these annotations were not quoted by Barberini 1991). One suggested dating of the inventory to the year 1685 (Barberini 1991, p. 16) should be understood as terminus ante quem only. The inventory was definitely not produced in 1685, although this dating has often been given by various scholars since 1991. The dating to 1623/1631 can best be comprehended using the example of the unique pasticcio *June in the Clouds* (Antikensammlung Dresden, inv. no. Hm 216, fragmented; Geominy 2011). This sculpture is mentioned for the first time as an exhibit in the Villa Montalto by the Undated Inventory, ASC, Fondo Cardelli, app., n. 91, fol. 57r, and subsequently as an exhibit at the Palazzo di San Lorenzo in Lucina in an inventory dated 1655, ASR, notary A.C. Simoncelli, vol. 6645, fol. 1309v. The piece left the Montalto Collection shortly after 1655. It is then documented in an inventory of the Chigi Collection dated to the period 1662 to 1672, referring to the property of Cardinal Flavio Chigi at Santi Apostoli (BAV, AC, n. 702), fol. 58v (quoted in Cacciotti 2004, p. 75, no. 168).

9   *Descrizione della raccolta del cardinale Francesco Peretti*, ASR, notary A. C. Simoncelli, vol. 6645, fols. 1181r–1376v (in the following: "Inventory 1655"), an (erroneous) abstract published in *Documenti Inediti* 1880, pp. 2–16; and an abstract published in Wázbiński 1991. A fair copy that follows a different classification system is dated 14 May 1655: *Inventario delli Mobili dell'eredità della F.eM.a dell Card.* [...] *Franc.co Peretti Montalto* (ASR Archivio Giustiniani, busta 84).

10   Inventory 1696, *Inventario de' mobili esistenti nei Palazzi e Giardino di Termini,* ASR, notary A.C. Marco Giuseppe Pelosi, vol. 5616, *Inventario dei beni di Giulio Savelli,* 15 January 1696, fols. 131r–134v, 137r–139v, 150r–152v (in the following: "Inventory 1696"), published in Gatta 2010.

11   *Inventario de Mobili del Palazzo del Principe Don Giulio Savelli al Teatro di Marcello, redatto il 21 aprile del 1712,* ASR, Archivio Giustiniani, b. 68, fasc. 273. A transcript published in Danesi Squarzina 2003. There is no accordance with the sculptures named in an inventory compiled on the occasion of the death of Andrea Baronio Peretti in 1629 (*Inventarius singulorum et bonorum hereditatis bona memoria Ill.mi et R.mi Andrea Cardinalis Peretti* [...], ASR, Notai del Tribunale dell'Auditor Camerae, *Dominicus Fonthia,* vol. 3106, published in Granata 2012, pp. 223–231).

12   Martinelli 1969; Daly-Davis 1994.

13   Rossini 1693, pp. 95–97.

14   Pinaroli 1703, vol. 2, pp. 39–42.

15   Further descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteenth century have no source value. Seidel 2016, pp. 26–32.

while other written sources provide additional information on certain artists and previous owners, as well as the final dissolution of the collection sometime after 1784.[16] Among the 278 sculpture drawings of the *Codex Montalto*, which dates from the same period as the Undated Inventory (1623/1631),[17] certain early modern sculptures *all'antica* may remain as yet unidentified, and I would strongly encourage their further discussion (see figs. 13–16).[18]

Historical Background

The collections which were on display at the Villa Montalto have to be interpreted in the context of Sixtus V's activities to establish his family in Rome for posterity. His intention of securing his family's notable position within the ruling classes of the Eternal City had already become apparent when, in 1576, he began to acquire estates at the gates of the city to build the Villa Montalto (fig. 4).[19] Immediately after his election, Sixtus V appointed his young great-nephew Alessandro cardinal[20] and arranged marriages for Alessandro's siblings, Flavia, Orsina, and Michele (1577–1631). Each marriage was a diplomatic move. Following an agreement between Sixtus V and Cardinal Ferdinando I de' Medici (1549–1609), Flavia was married to Virginio Orsini, who was the son of Isabella de' Medici and the Count of Bracciano. Orsina was married to Marcantonio III Colonna (1575–1595) and later became wife to Muzio Sforza Marchese di Caravaggio. Michele Peretti Montalto's first marriage with Margherita Cavazzi della Somaglia (?–1613) strengthened the family's ties with the court of Philip II of Spain; following Margherita's death, Michele married Anna Maria Cesi who belonged to the Roman elite.

Cardinal Felice Peretti was elected pope in 1585. He is understood to have been a nominee upon which the Medici faction and the Farnese faction were able to compromise.[21] Yet even before the decisive papal conclave, when he was still a cardinal, his ties to the Florentine dynasty were already reflected in his art collection at the Villa Montalto: An altarpiece that hung in the villa – Alessandro Allori's (1535–1607) *Sacra Conversazione* (1583)[22] – was a gift from Ferdinando I de' Medici,[23] and a monumental *tavolo commesso* with floral decoration (approx. 261 × 136 cm)[24] also entered his collection as a gift from the Florentine grand duke.[25]

This latter piece of furniture was an example of the style of craftsmanship so successfully promoted in Florence under Ferdinando, much revered by the renowned collectors of the age, and repeatedly put to good use as a tool in

16 Florence, ASF: Miscellanea Medicea I (buste 1-200), inventario S/48/I; Manova, ASMN, Archivio Gonzaga: Correspondence of the Duke of Mantova with Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto, esp. 1601–1620; Rome, ASC, Archivio generale urbano, Sezione I, notary Valterius De Tul, vol. 266.1 1584–1618; Vatican, AAV, Fondo Origo – del Palagio; London, British Museum, Paul Hamlyn Library, Townley Papers.

17 Rausa 2005; Seidel 2016.

18 All drawings from the *Codex Montalto* are reproduced in Seidel 2016, pp. 289–356.

19 Regarding the Villa Montalto, see Massimo 1836; Matthiae 1939; Luciani 1991, p. 291; Quast 1989; Quast 1991.

20 See Pastor 1958, p. 52; Seidler 1996, pp. 94–95, 102; Wieland 2004, p. 441; Granata 2012, pp. 23–25. See also Seidel 2017, pp. 208–209.

21 For a recently published summary of the pontificate of Sixtus V and his dynasty, see Jervis/Dodd 2014, pp. 117–121.

22 National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

23 Ostrow 1996, pp. 10–11.

24 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 8.

25 Massimo 1836, p. 164. Regarding the *pietre dura* tables from the collection of Francesco I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Florence, see Jervis/Dodd 2014, pp. 47–48; on the *pietre dure* from Florence, Ferdinando I de' Medici's patronal support for them, and the subsequent demand for such works among collectors in the seventeenth century, see Giusti 2005.

Florentine diplomacy. It is furthermore possible that two landscape representations[26] executed in the Florentine *pietre dura* technique were also collection accessions resulting from a diplomatic gift, and other *pietre dure*, such as various *piedestalli* for sculptures and multicolored marble tables, may have stemmed from Florentine workshops.[27]

Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto did not break with the network of allegiances he inherited from his great-uncle and essentially sought to deepen them. Far from being a matter of one-sided dependency, the relationship between Ferdinando I de' Medici and the Roman cardinal was in fact mutually sought and mutually maintained. Records attest, for instance, to favors made by Ferdinando I de' Medici – such as a delivery of firewood[28] or the granting of free access to and use of his gardens in Rome whenever he was not in town. No evidence has yet been found in support of the thesis that Cardinal Alessandro Montalto's loyalty was tied to a *pensione segreta*, but the weight of scholarship clearly sides with this view.[29] Acquisitions that entered the Montalto Collection after Sixtus V's papacy and during Cardinal Alessandro Montalto's cardinalship included panel paintings, paintings on stone, tapestry designs, and other works of art by Florentine artists. The cardinal actively promoted Florentine musicians and Florentine musical styles in Rome and underscored his commitment as a collector and patron by cultivating personal ties with members of the immediate circle of the Medici, not just in Rome, but in Florence itself.[30] Such ties through patronage and collecting notably remained unaffected even when the diplomatic bonds between the two families ebbed – brought on, on the one hand, largely by the conclave of 1605 and its outcome, and the death of Ferdinando in 1609 on the other.[31] In the Villa Montalto, most of the movable works of art (as opposed to the frescoes) dated to the time of Cardinal Alessandro Montalto, and in them the link between the Peretti Montalto and Florence remained on ostentatious display for decades.

Display of the Collection at the Villa Montalto in 1623/1631

Renaissance and Baroque sculptures were primarily exhibited in the buildings, while the gardens were filled with antique sculptures and early modern sculptures *all'antica*. In the gardens, the sculptural decoration established a visual connection to the owners by integrating coats of arms[32] and isolated heraldic elements, such as the Peretti pears[33] and the lion. The latter, the Peretti's heraldic animal, was especially omnipresent, taking the form of full-figure animal sculptures,[34] as well as lion's heads,[35] lion herms,[36] statues of Hercules with a lion's skin – besides two actual live lions in the *stalle de leoni*. Inside the buildings, frescoes decorated with several heraldic motifs took up the panegyric note, while

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26   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 13.

27   Undated Inventory (1623/1631). As we know nothing of the decorations on each individual piece, their origin and manufacture in Rome cannot be excluded.

28   Seidel 2016, p. 18.

29   Wázbiński 1991, p. 133; Hill 1997, p. 5; Granata 2012, p. 26.

30   Chater 1987, pp. 180, 184, 190, 207, 211–216; Wázbiński 1991, pp. 324–325, 327–338; Hill 1997, pp. 4–6, 45–47; Tordella 2012; Wieland 2004, pp. 440–452; Granata 2012, pp. 26, 30, 44–45, 136–37.

31   Hill 1997, p. 47.

32   The coat of arms was mainly positioned on seats, see Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fols. 30v, 31, but also on the collars of the lions of the *Lion Fountains*, Undated Inventory (1623/1631).

33   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 36v.

34   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fols. 36r, 40r, 42v, 53.

35   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fols. 31r, 46r.

36   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 25r.

GIARDINO DEL EMₒ CARD. MONTALTO
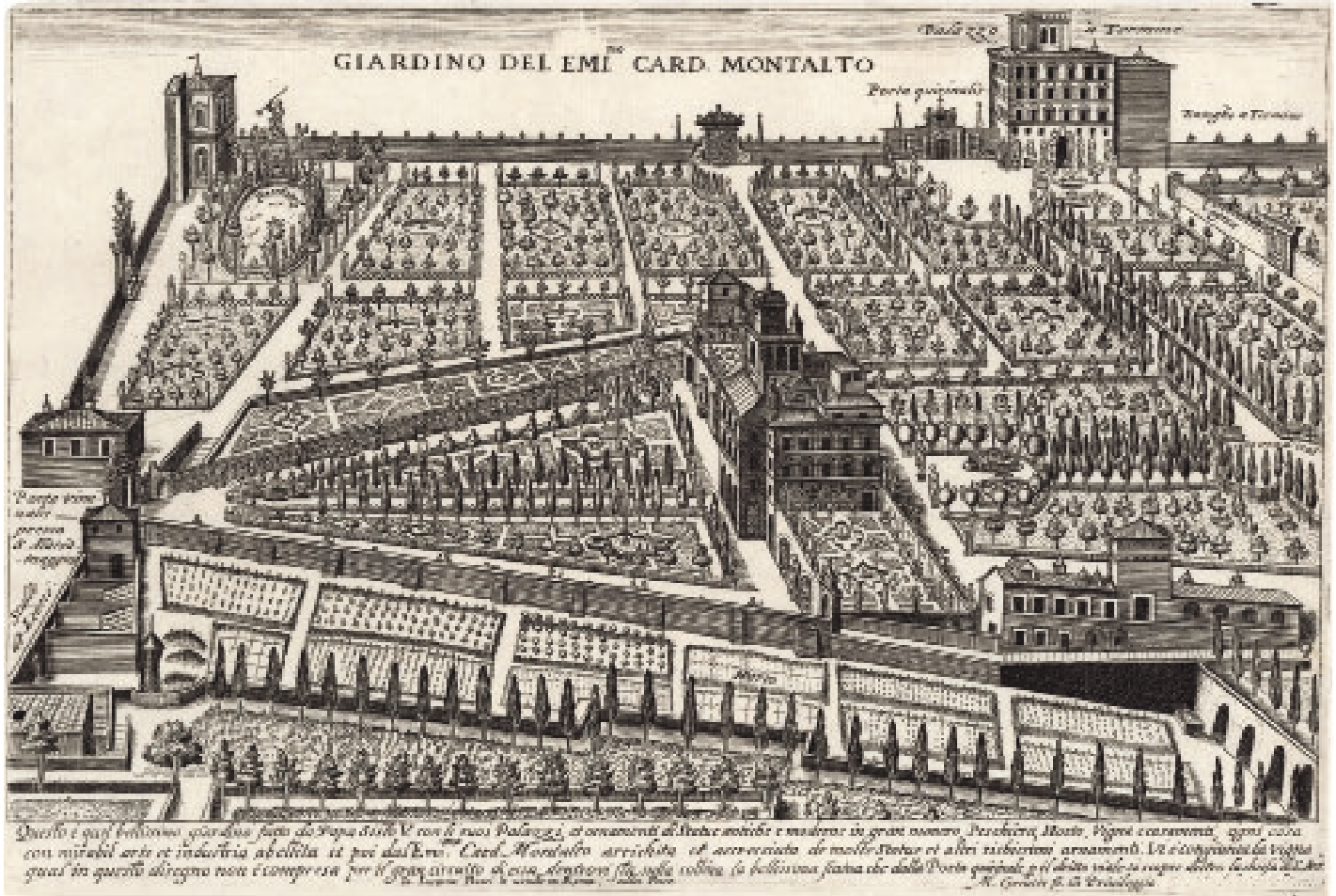
4 Matthäus Greuter/Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, *Giardino del Ill. Card. Montalto*, ca. 1623–1638, engraving, 243 x 357 mm. Rome, Art Collection of the Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max Planck Institute for Art History, inv. no. D20034 (photo Bibliotheca Hertziana)

selected contemporary sculptures within the collection featured the lion symbol in specific display contexts. For example, in the gardens, statues bearing some reference to the Peretti and Sixtus V in particular were deliberately placed in certain prominent positions. The allegories of *Nobilitas* and *Virtus*[37] served as a visual prelude to the exhibition of statues in the villa. The pair crowned two *Lion Fountains* at the villa's main entrance. Accordingly, the two Virtues referred to the Peretti Montalto family in general and Sixtus V and his cardinal-nephew in particular. At the opposite end of the villa, a monumental seated statue of *Roma*[38] symbolized the peace-bringing guardian of the city while also hinting at the Roman Catholic Church, which was intimately connected with the beneficial impact of Sixtus V's far-reaching urban reform program in Rome.[39] Furthermore, a more subtle panegyric interpretation can also be assumed for Gian Lorenzo Bernini's first fountain sculpture, *Neptune and Triton*. It introduced an ensemble of sixteen sculptures of antique subjects that decorated the water basin of the great *peschiera* (fig. 4, upper left corner).[40] To what extend the central figure of Neptune referred to Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto and whether a specific incident from mythology would help shed light on the symbolic meaning of the fountain ensemble is still open to debate.[41] The iconography of the fountain

37 Seidel 2016, pp. 61, 63–64, 95–96.
38 Today, the statue is set up in the gardens of the Castello Massimo in Arsoli. See Rausa 2005, pp. 102–103 and fig. 10; Seidel 2016, pp. 142–144.
39 Benocci 1996, p. 123.
40 Regarding the sculpture ensemble surrounding the *Fountain of Neptune*, see Benocci 1989 (1990), p. 83; Benocci 1996, p. 119; Marder 2004; Seidel 2010.
41 Seidel 2010, p.162.

decoration revolves around the subject of nature – a suitable iconographic choice for the gardens of a villa. At the same time, it captures the ensemble's panegyrical aspect, which links the figure of Neptune to the deeds of Sixtus V. Perhaps this link was established to memorialize Sixtus's restoration of the Acqua Felice, whose *mostra*, with its central statue of Moses, was situated close by. The display of the small bronzes from the collection in the rooms of the Palazzo Termini and Casino Felice added a further aspect to the self-aggrandizement of the Peretti Montalto.

Palazzo Termini

The Palazzo Termini's *piano nobile* has been interpreted as a space with mainly representative purposes.[42] The precious decoration of the rooms certainly supports this reading. The entire floor was filled with numerous sculptures.[43] An enfilade on the side of the garden was composed by the *sala grande*, the two small *sala delle stagioni* (fig. 5, room E), the *sala dei paesaggi* (room F), and, finally, the library. The wall painting's iconographic program was immediately dedicated to the glorification of Sixtus V as founder of the Peretti Montalto dynasty. It attributed the legitimization of the family (a family of immigrant descent and humble beginnings) to his unceasing and successful efforts.[44] A frieze in the large, ostentatious *sala sistina* (fig. 5, room D) depicted his construction projects and public works in Rome, interspersed with allegories of the Virtues.[45] In the middle of the ceiling was the coat of arms of Sixtus V and directly underneath it a table with a floral stone mosaic from Florence, already mentioned above.[46] In the seventeenth century, Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto had exhibits added that foregrounded his person through his namesake: He commissioned eleven panel paintings with scenes from the life of Alexander the Great. Alessandro identified himself with the Macedonian hero in the sense of an *exemplum virtutis*.[47] The bold analogy served to elevate the cardinal and his family in status. In the same room, the subject of Alexander the Great, the cardinal's alter ego, reoccurred in a portrait relief.[48]
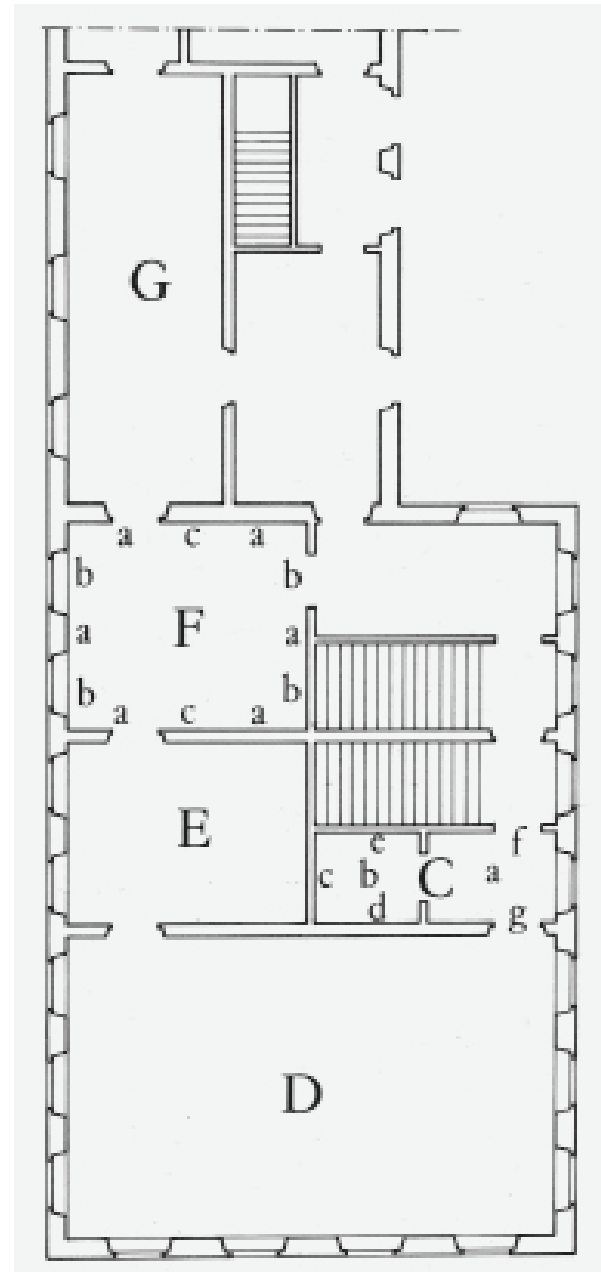
5   Palazzo Termini, first floor ground plan by S. Roberto with M. Bevilacqua, from Bevilacqua 1993, p. 160

42   Granata 2012, pp. 113–114.
43   The second floor was dedicated to private use. Its furnishing was accordingly somewhat more modest and it contained only very few small bronzes (Appendix I, nos. 24, 25, 36, 37). Here too, however, the exhibits were valuable, but were not arranged according to an overarching program.
44   Bevilacqua 1992, pp. 726–727, 732–733; Bevilacqua 1993, pp. 159–160. Granata 2012, pp. 118–119; Tosini 2015, pp. 110–111.
45   Reproductions of the frescoes in Roberto et al. 1993, pp. 152–155, pl. XX–XXIII, and Tosini 2015, pp. 63–69.
46   Massimo 1836, p. 164.
47   Regarding the *Cycle of Alexander*, see Schleier 1968; Volpe 1977; Tuyll 1982; Loire 1996; Culatti 2004; Schleier 2001; Caciorgna/Guerrini/Sanfilippo 2007, p. 110, no. 16; Granata 2008; Granata 2012, pp. 113–114, 120–126; Granata 2013, p. 10. I would like to thank Stéphane Loire for our exchange about Domenichino's painting *Timoclea before Alexander the Great* from this cycle (Louvre, inv. no. 796); a comparison of the relief referenced in the painting with reliefs from the Montalto Collection did not yield any results. Culatti 2004, p. 76, refers to a series of tapestries with depictions of scenes from the life of Alexander the Great, which so far are only known via payment records. Their appearance, authorship, and display contexts are still unknown.
48   See Seidel 2016, p. 188, cat. 226.
49   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 9.

6   Bastiano Torrigiani/Baldo Vazzano (?),
Bust of Sixtus V, ca. 1585–1590,
cast 1601–1602(?), bronze, 85.7 cm.
London, Victoria & Albert Museum,
inv. no. A.40:0,1-1950 (photo Victoria &
Albert Museum)

7   Bastiano Torrigiani/Baldo Vazzano (?),
Bust of Sixtus V, ca. 1585–1590, cast
1601–1602(?), bronze, 84 cm. Treia, Con-
cattedrale della Santissima Annunziata
(photo Alinari Archives, Florence)

The installation of sculptures in the following rooms continued the panegyric theme defined in the *sala sistina*. In the adjacent *sala delle stagioni* (fig. 5, room E) a decorative stone table held many statuettes and portraits, mostly small in size, with many presented on colorful socles.[49] Framed by four bronze figures (Appendix I, nos. 21, 29, 32) with a centralizing intent both in terms of subject and position, was a life-size, partially gilded bronze, *Bust of Sixtus V* (Appendix I, no. 4). The work united the theme of self-aggrandizement underlying the collection's display and its panegyric allusions (figs. 6, 7). In addition to this bust was an antique *Statue of a Shepherd*.[50] A Christian interpretation of the subject hinted at the caring role of the pope, while two Medici busts (Appendix I, nos. 5, 6) referred to the political inter-relations of Sixtus V and his descendants to the Medici dynasty.[51] The main exhibit in the adjacent *sala dei paesaggi* (fig. 5, room F) was the life-size *Bust of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto* by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (Appendix I, no. 2). It under-lined the reference to the Peretti Montalto family and their claim to power in Rome, as already expressed in the bust of the pope. Just as the *Cycle of Alexander* reinterpret-ed the iconographic program in the great hall by shifting the focus from Sixtus V to his cardinal-nephew Alessandro, the portraits of the pope and the cardinal placed special emphasis on these two most important members of the family. This strategy was echoed by the display of sculptures in the adjacent library (fig. 5, room G). The arch of the library's ceiling combined wreaths of laurel and heraldic symbols,[52] while figural frescoes alluded to the room's function.[53] The main exhibits were two antique portraits: the *Portrait of Trajan*[54] and *Portrait of Alexander the Great*,[55] each

50   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 9; *Codex Montalto*, fol. 208; Seidel 2016, p. 181, cat. 208.
51   Wieland 2004, pp. 442–451; Schütze 1998, p. 173; Granata 2012, pp. 26–27.
52   My description follows Tosini.
53   Tosini 2015, pp. 77, 117.
54   See Seidel 2016, p. 184, cat. 217.
55   Prado, inv. no. 110-E; Schröder 2004, pp. 188–193, no. 132; Seidel 2016, p. 184, cat. 216.

slightly larger than life-sized, each presented on a pedestal in the shape of a lion's paw.[56] To contemporary visitors, the comparison of Alessandro to Alexander the Great here was, as in the *sala sistina*, striking and unmistakable. In a similar vein, the figure of Emperor Trajan was interpretable as representing the alter ego of Sixtus V.[57] On their respective pedestals, the busts formally and symbolically blended into the family's coat of arms and thus served as a double reference to Sixtus V, Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto, and their *exempla virtutis*. The overall sculpture display in the *primo piano* of the Palazzo Termini stressed the dynastic and political importance of the Peretti in Rome.
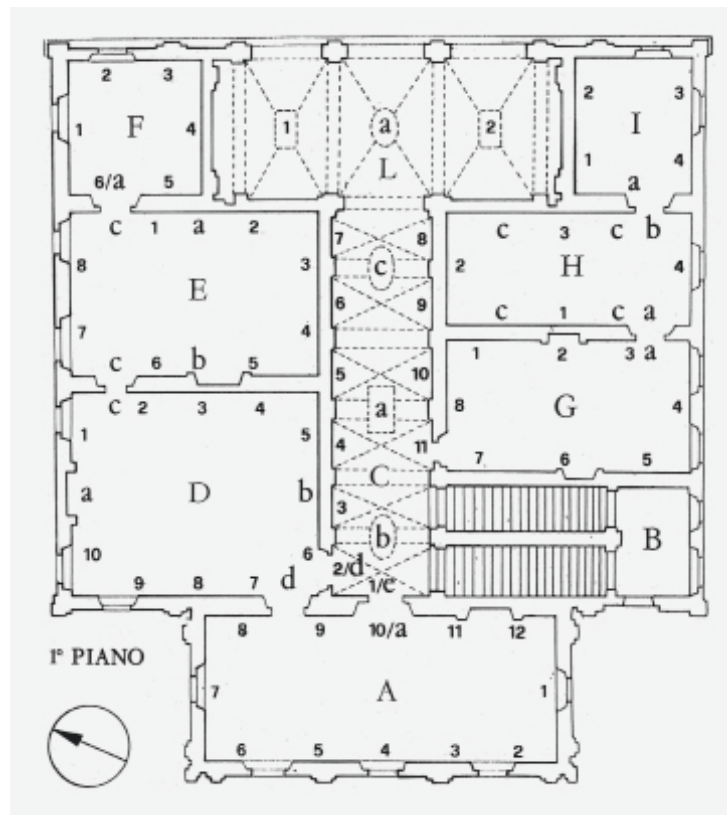
Casino Felice

Most of the sculptures dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth century are documented as belonging to the decorative program of the Casino Felice, as conceived by Alessandro. The architecture and the frescoes, meanwhile, date from the papacy of Sixtus V.

On the first floor, the frescoes' program reflected both Sixtus's theological aspirations and his claim to power. While the loggia, corridor, and the two *apparta-menti* were decorated with numerable antique sculptures, antique ensembles, and pasticcios, the only significant group of then-contemporary sculpture was situated in a *sala delle stagioni* (fig. 8, room I). Bronze bird statuettes (Appendix I, no. 22) were a response to the overall nature theme introduced by the older wall paintings, especially by a frieze depicting personifications of the seasons.

The sculptural decoration of the second floor of the Casino Felice, where most of the small bronzes were displayed, was ostentatious. On this floor, too, the wall paintings referred to Sixtus V. Thus, the *galleria* (fig. 9, room M), facing toward the Porta Viminalis, was painted with frescoes of individual figurative scenes, such as a depiction of *Saint Frances Receiving the Stigma* and of *Saint Eustace*, with allegories of the cardinal virtues integrated into the scheme. It is worth noting that this ostentatious hall contained only a single sculpture: the antique *Drunken Old Woman*[58] carved in marble. Whether its singled-out positioning was a conscious decision or whether the sculptural decoration of the room was still in the process of development when the inventory was written is still an open question and will be returned to later in this article.

The decoration of the rooms in the north of the *galleria* echoed the earlier references to Sixtus V. The programmatic exhibit from the sculpture collection in the first *camera* (fig. 9, room P) was, again, a bronze *Bust of Sixtus V* (fig. 10) (Appendix I, no. 3).[59] Besides this, highlighted by its exposed position on a table,[60] was a small bronze of a *Hercules Slaying a Centaur* (Appendix I, no. 11).[61] As an epitome of virtue, the antique hero was here again used to allude to Sixtus V. The

8 Casino Felice, first floor ground plan by S. Pelle and S. Roberto with R. Torchetti, from Pelle/Roberto/Torchetti 1993, p. 154

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56 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 12.

57 This interpretation has already been suggested by Tosini 2015, p. 109, with regards to a painting from the cycle of frescoes in the great *sala* showing Iustitia and the Colonna Traiana. Similarly charged references to historical examples are quite rare among the known frescoes of the Villa Montalto from the sixteenth century. This tradition was only established by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto. Regarding the wall decorations of Roman palaces, see the recent publication Hoppe 2015.

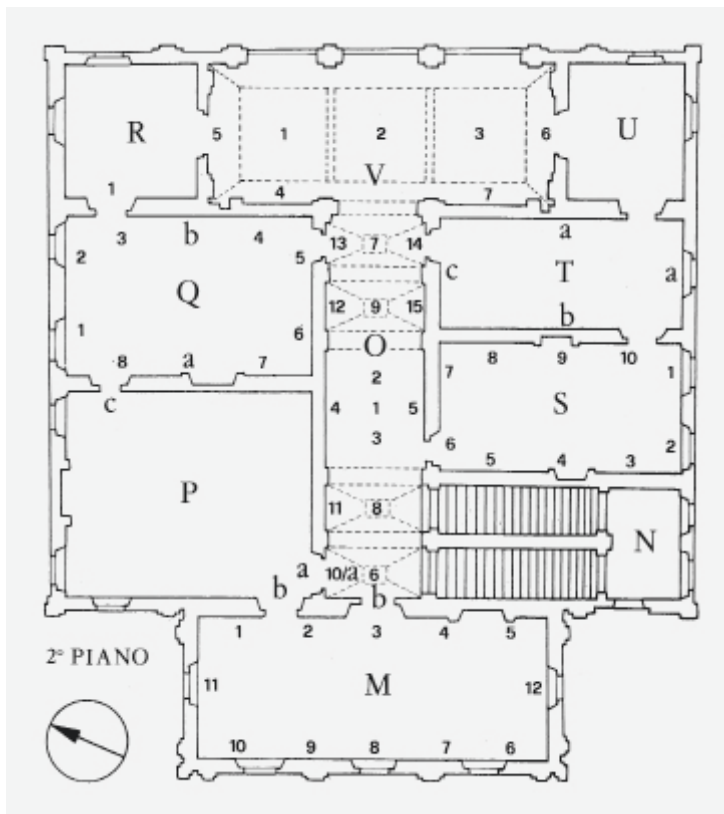58 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 65. *Codex Montalto*, fol. 74; Seidel 2016, pp. 121–122, cat. 74. Munich, Glyptothek, inv. no. 437.

9 Casino Felice, second floor ground plan by S. Pelle and S. Roberto with R. Torchetti, from Pelle/Roberto/Torchetti 1993, p. 155

sculptural group might even have been intended to undergird the connection between the two if the *Hercules* were understood as an embodiment of Fortitude[62] – a figure that was already represented by a statue on one of the *Lion Fountains* at the main entrance of the villa. An allusion to the Medici would equally not have been unlikely, given their lasting importance to the family of Sixtus V and the establishment of Hercules as an allegorical figure within the Medicean program of self-representation.[63] The Hercules group found its counterpart in the following *camera* (fig. 9, room Q). Among a group of seven bronzes (Appendix I, nos. 17, 23, 30, 31, 33[?], 34[?]) in an ebony *studiolo*, the central group of *Hercules and Cacus* (Appendix I, no. 17) was clearly emphasized as the central exhibit of that room.[64] Additionally, a bronze group of a *Centaur Abducting a Nymph* (Appendix I, no. 10) – probably Giambologna's *Nessus and Deianira* – was singled out on a table entirely of its own.

The adjacent northern corner room (fig. 9, room R) was frescoed with landscapes, Virtues, and a *Veduta of the Villa Montalto* dating from the papacy of Sixtus V and was richly adorned with sculptures.[65] Their display followed the same conceptual arrangement as in the previous room: On an ebony table, a version of Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabine Woman* (Appendix I, no. 7) stood in the middle of four small bronzes, again arranged in pairs (Appendix I, nos. 18 and 19, 16 and 35).[66] The positioning of the figures strongly accentuated the central group.[67] Equally dominating the display was the bronze statuette of a *Fowler* (Appendix I, no. 9), which was placed on a separate table.[68] The immediate function of both this and the previous room was the display of the art collection itself. Its staging gave pride of place to individual bronzes, singling them out for special admiration. The outstanding wealth and quality of the presented exhibits distinguished the collector as a connoisseur of art.

The *appartamento* opposite contained a few but nonetheless precious sculptures. In one more *gabinetto dei paesaggi*[69] (fig. 9, room U), pride of place was afforded just two bronzes, both valuable collector's items: Giambologna's bronze

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59 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 66.

60 Maybe this colorful table came to the collection of Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia via Erdmannsdorf, see *Articles qui ont ètè travaillés et acquis à Rome, par Ordre du Roi*, quoted in Harksen 1977, pp. 142–149, p. 147: "VI. Tables, 1) Une Table de pietra Paragone avec un bord de rouge d'Egypte. C'est une piéce rare pour la grandeur de la pierre et encore intéressant comme s'étant trouvé parmi les meubles de Sixte quint à Villa Negroni." The table had already gone missing by the end of the nineteenth century.

61 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 66.

62 Regarding the use of Hercules as a symbol of Fortitudo, used by the Medici, see Hessert 1991, p. 35.

63 See Hessert 1991.

64 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 67 r.

65 Massimo 1836, pl. III. The decoration of the room probably remained intact until 1655, see Inventory 1655, fol. 1185 r.

66 The sculptures are named following the Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 68.

67 The interpretation by Jervis/Dodd, p. 117, who suggest that the *Rape of the Sabine Woman* was singled out in the middle of this room and who trace the sculptural program back to Sixtus V, has to be corrected on the basis of the sources assembled in the present article.

68 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 68.

69 In the Undated Inventory (1623/1631) named "4. camera".

group of a *Sleeping Nymph with a Satyr* and the bronze statuette of *Mercury* (Appendix I, nos. 8, 14). The *Mercury* was presented on a unique, specially made socle made of reddish stone that was raised on a pedestal in the form of a lion's paw, from which a *Siren* emerged.[70] This tripartite ensemble measured 180 cm in total. With the lion's paw and the emerging Siren, the sculpture's substructure made use of two heraldic symbols at once. Sirens were also integrated into the frescoes at the Palazzo Termini,[71] referring to the Colonna family, to whom the Peretti were related by marriage.[72]

The last two rooms in the enfilade, the former chapel (fig. 9, room S) and its antechamber (fig. 9, room T), already featured Christian motifs in the frescoes, and corresponding subjects were thus selected from the collection of contemporary sculptures to match them (Appendix I, nos. 38, 39, 40).

The decoration of the *galleria* (fig. 9, room V) at the back of the *casino* contrasted with the *galleria* on the opposite side in terms of its extensive collection of sculptures.[73] Wall and ceiling paintings, too, were more abundant, consisting purely of figural scenes: The three scenes *Birth of Jupiter*, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, and *Hercules Crowned by Virtus* covered the ceiling. Again, the central figure of Hercules as the epitome of virtue would have been seen as relating to Sixtus V. The Herculean scenes were surrounded by images of *David in the Lion's Pit*, *Samson Slaying a Lion*, and a *Prophet Killed by a Lion*. Correspondingly, it is reasonable to assume that the fourth scene, which is recorded as a *Landscape with Hermit*, was a depiction of Saint Jerome in the desert, with the saint's attribute, the lion, as a reference to Sixtus V's coat of arms. The pictorial allusions to the family also found expression in the small sculptures, which were displayed in two groups:[74] the small bronzes of a *Lion Attacking a Horse* and a *Lion Attacking a Bull* (figs. 11, 12) (Appendix I, nos. 12, 13) were each placed between two matching animal sculptures (Appendix I, nos. 15, 20).[75] It

10 Taddeo Landini/Domenico Ferrerio, *Bust of Sixtus V*, ca. 1585–1590, bronze with patches of gilding at the cope, marble socle, 65 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum, without inv. no. (SMB – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, photo: Jörg P. Anders)

70 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 70.

71 Granata 2012, p. 113.

72 In the Inventory 1655, the Siren is not mentioned.

73 Jervis/Dodd 2014, pp. 113–115, erred when they claimed that the frescoes and figures were located in the loggia on the first floor of the Casino Felice. This happened probably due to the fact that the casino was built on a slope, so that the floors could have been counted differently at the front and rear of the building. Their suggestion that the *Rape of the Sabine Woman* might have been placed in this room now stands to be corrected, since it is documented for another room.

74 The *galleria's* decoration with small bronzes remained unchanged until 1655, see Inventory 1655, fol. 1185v.

75 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fols. 69r–v.

76 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 69v. It might well have been a mythological group, for example a three-figured bronze reduction of a group of Samson slaying the Philistine. For comparison, see *Samson Defeats Two Philistines*, after Michelangelo, bronze, 36.3 cm, early seventeenth century, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, inv. no. 2389.

77 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 69r.

78 Jervis/Dodd 2014, p. 118.

79 Jervis/Dodd 2014, pp. 65–97, esp. pp. 96–97.

80 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 69v. Seidel 2016, pp. 116–117, cat. 66. Because the figure's standing pose seems slightly imbalanced, a bronze cast seems likely. However, the only reference to the sculpture's material is given by a list of marble sculptures which includes the *Mercury*: "Una Statua alta palmi tre figura Mercurio col Drago sotto i piedi e testa di Medusa in mano", Giulio Savelli, *Inventario de Mobili del Palazzo del Prencipe Don Giulio Savelli [...]*, 21 April 1712, ASR, Archivio Giustiniani, b. 68, fasc. 273, no. 67, quoted in Danesi Squarzina 2003, p. 202.

would not have escaped contemporary viewers that each middle group echoed the heraldic animal of the Peretti Montalto, which was already present in the room's wall paintings, but now seen in action, subduing its prey. The subject of the largest exhibit of the small sculptures, a three-figured bronze that was presented in the middle of the room on its own table is unknown.[76]

Two further exhibits are worth pointing out here, which, strictly speaking, did not belong to the collection of modern sculpture but were rather connected with it. Also exhibited in the *galleria* was the *Sixtus Cabinet*, an ebony *studiolo* decorated with geometrical ornaments made of precious stones, along with columns, gilded statuettes, and herms.[77] This cabinet has been dated to 1580–1585 and is thought to have been commissioned by Sixtus V.[78] From its figural decoration, attributions have been established for only two putti thus far, as being the work of Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert (1530/1535–1615), a longtime employee of the workshop of Guglielmo della Porta (ca. 1515-1577).[79] Since hardly any attributes of the figures have survived, the program of sculpture decorations in the *studiolo* remains unknown. Whether it was included in the display scheme of Cardinal Alessandro Montalto's sculpture collection can therefore not be clarified. We do know that the so-called *Mercury over a Dragon, Holding a Head* was shown in the same room. A drawing in the *Codex Montalto* (fol. 66) documents the composition, which is based on an antique design and does not depict Mercury but rather Perseus with the head of the Medusa (see fig. 13 here).[80] Formally, the sculpture differs decisively from Benvenuto Cellini's (1500–1571) bronze of *Perseus and Andromeda*, especially since there is a notable lack of grace in its posture and proportions. Did contemporary viewers still read the sculpture as a visual reference to Cellini's famous statue? If so, it would make the *Mercury/Perseus* belong to the group of exhibits in the Villa Montalto that referred to statues created in the sixteenth century for the Medici for display on the Piazza della Signoria and in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence – the *Rape of the Sabine Woman*,

11 Antonio Susini, *Lion Attacking a Horse,* bronze, 20.6 cm (39 cm incl. pedestal). Rome, Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica di Palazzo Corsini, inv. no. 679 (photo Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica – Biblioteca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

12 Antonio Susini, *Lion Attacking a Bull,* bronze, 20.4 cm (36 cm incl. pedestal). Rome, Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica di Palazzo Corsini, inv. no. 680 (photo Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica – Biblioteca Hertziana/Enrico Fontolan)

Bernini's *Neptune*, and his (planned but not executed) *David* were part of that same group.

Broadly speaking, it is possible to make the tentative assertion that, when considered in the context of the entire display of works of art in the Casino Felice, the early modern sculptures seem to have reflected the general themes of the frescoes, but maintained a degree of narrative independence in terms of subject. The presentation of small bronzes was carefully devised in terms of formal correspondences as well as subject matter. This can be observed, for instance, in the group of bronze bird statuettes, which harmonized with the landscape wall paintings as well as the small bronzes depicting Christian motifs ornamenting rooms frescoed with sacral themes. At the same time, placed on precious socles (some bearing heraldic decorations, others bearing a polychrome painted finish, or executed in the *pietre dura* technique from various stones), the small bronzes were assembled to show off the abundance of Cardinal Alessandro Montalto's art collection. Their grouping underlined the artistic judgement and ambition of the collector and were a reflection of his wealth. On another level, the veneration of the pope in the form of life-size portraits made of precious materials long after his pontificate emphasizes his crucial role in establishing the Peretti family and the family's public position. With the bronze portraits of two Medici grand dukes, acquired by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto in 1610 (Appendix I, nos. 5, 6), the sculpture program underscored the allusion to the Florentine ruling dynasty, as already expressed in the most prominent place in the Palazzo Termini, for example with the *tavolo del commesso* of Sixtus V.

Panegyrical allusions to the Peretti family in the form of many lion figures and the allegorical equation of Hercules with Fortitudo recurred in several places throughout the villa, in sculptures and paintings alike. In the light of the recurring references to Florence, it seems likely that the figure of *Mercury*, too, was indeed yet another allusion to the Medici, who appropriated the messenger of the gods in their programmatic self-representation,[81] and who interpreted Mercury, like Hercules, as an epitome of virtue. This would support the thesis that both figures recalled the close connection between the Peretti Montalto and the Florentine rulers, in that they drew from a tradition of Medicean self-stylization. The potential provenance of the bronze designs as originating from the court workshop of the Medici would certainly support this interpretation.

13   *Codex Montalto*, fol. 66, ca. 1615–1631, black chalk, 41.8 x 27.2 cm, private collection (photo Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance/Antonia Weiße)

Provenances and Suggested Attributions

A glance at the list of official positions and the diplomatic network of the Peretti Montalto suggests that family members might have received small bronzes as diplomatic presents.[82] However, so far, none can be proved as being gifts of this kind. About thirty early modern sculptures entered the collection as acquisitions made by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto "per nostro giardino" (the wording refers to the entire Villa Montalto grounds, including the interiors). For these thirty, each previous owner as well as the year of accession can be named. The year 1610 marks the acquisition of a small metal (presumably bronze) pair of portraits – the *Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici* and the *Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici*

(Appendix I, nos. 5, 6) – from Alessandro Rondoni (ca. 1562–1634).[83] Active as a sculptor, restorer, and primarily as a dealer of antique sculptures in Rome, Rondoni added to the collections of the Aldobrandini, Borghese, Ludovisi, and Mattei,[84] as well as to the collection of Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587–1626).[85] As nothing is known about Rondoni as a creator of figures in metal, it is likely that he acted as an intermediate dealer when selling the *bronzetti* to Cardinal Alessandro Montalto. From 1609 to 1615, he was more involved in the expansion of the Montalto Collection of antique sculptures than any other restorer and dealer of antiquities.[86] Within this period, Piero Guicciardini (1560–1626), then ambassador of Florence to Rome, is said to have established the close ties between Rondoni and the Florentine court.[87] The two Medici portraits from the Montalto Collection possibly came to Rome as a result of this contact. From 1612 to 1615, Cardinal Alessandro Montalto paid the *fonditore* Alberghetto Alberghetti (active in Rome around 1610)[88] for a series of small bronzes of antique subjects (see Appendix I, nos. 24–28).[89] Alberghetto came from a Venetian family of bronze founders and had close ties to Florence, where his brother Giovanni (born around 1560?)[90] served as bronze founder to the grand duke alongside

81 See Brink 1987.

82 The claim that Sixtus V was endowed with the bronzes *Rape of the Sabine Woman*, *Lion Attacking a Bull*, *Lion Attacking a Horse*, two *Bull* statuettes, and two *Horse* statuettes either by Francesco I de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, or by Cardinal Ferdinando I de' Medici, as suggested by Jervis/Dodd 2014, pp. 114–115, is mere speculation and, according to the sources quoted here, securely refutable. The authors' reference to the close connection between the Medici and Sixtus V is nonetheless important, see Jervis/Dodd 2014, p. 123.

83 Rondoni 1934; Brown 2002; Rangoni 2009; Rangoni 2011a); Rangoni 2011b.

84 See Brown 2002, p. 76, notes 1–6; Rangoni 2009, p. 21; Rangoni 2011b.

85 ASM, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 1018, 1019 (letters from the years 1618 and 1619). Documents were published by Brown, 2002, pp. 68–74; Rangoni 2009, p. 21; Rangoni 2011a, pp. 51–52; Rangoni 2011b. As late as 1619, Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto approached the duke on behalf of Rondoni, when the correspondence between the sculptor and the Mantuan ruler had ceased. ASM, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 1035, letter dated 2 April 1619. The document has been published by Bertolotti 1885b, p. 83, and by Brown 2002, p. 74. Both authors erroneously date the letter to 1629.

86 Benocci 1995 and Benocci 1996; Seidel 2016, p. 17. Still in 1621 Michele Peretti paid for sculptures of Hercules and Apollo by "mastro Giacomo Spagna" (?–1626), who was Rondoni's son-in-law and collaborator or partner in trading antique sculptures. ASC, Archivio Cardelli, vol. 53, Registri di mandati spediti dal Principe D. Michele Peretti, 1619–1621, quoted in Granata 2003, p. 55. Regarding Rondoni and Giacomo Spagna, see Rangoni 2009, pp. 23–24.

87 Brown, pp. 65–66.

88 Morin 1992; Gualandi 1844, vol. I, pp. 238–239, no. 105; *Della statua equestre* 1868; Boeheim 1884; Avery 2003; Seidel 2016, pp. 13, 17, 89, 95.

89 Alberghetto also produced metalworks, including some bronze figures to add to the garden's sculptural decoration: AAV, Fondo Origo – del Palagio, vol. 17, fol. 242 (payment record from 1608). ASC, Archivio Cardelli, Appendice I, vol. 37, fols. 57r, no. 56/343 (payment records from 1613 and 1614); ASC, Archivio Cardelli, Appendice Savelli, vol. 35 (payment records from 1608, 1609, 1611). See Benocci 1995, pp. 271, 274, and 281, note 59. The delicate statuettes and two falcons that were held by the pair of allegorical statues situated on the two *Lion Fountains* (*Codex Montalto*, fols. 3 and 4) might have been identical with "due figurine e due aquile tutte dorate", for which Alberghetti received payment. See Seidel 2016, pp. 63–64, 95–96.

90 Morin 1992; *Della statua equestre* 1868, p. 14, note 5: "L'Alberghetti nell'entrare ai servigi del Granduca di Toscana avea fissati tra gli altri i seguenti patti: 1. Che la sua provvisione fosse di scudi 200 all'anno. 2. Che dovesse avere l'abitazione, la bottega e una fornace mantenuta in buon grado. 3. Che avesse una partecipazione d'un tanto per migliaio di libbre del lavoro che consegnerebbe. 4. Che fosse obbligato a fondere ogni anno circa 100,000 libbre di lavoro. 5. Che dovesse lavorare in Firenze, Pisa o Siena a queste stesse condizioni ec." Alberghetti is supposed to have received the foundry La Sapienza. Further historical records naming Alberghetti as Giambologna's collaborative partner document the casting process of Giambologna's *Equestrian Sculpture of Cosimo I* and a *Crucifix*. These are quoted in *Della statua equestre* 1868, pp. 17–19, 20–22, app. I, III, V, VI; Boeheim 1884; Weitzel Gibbons/Corti 1978, pp. 508–509, quotes further documents regarding the collaboration between Giambologna and Giovanni Alberghetti; see also Zikos 2002, p. 387.

Giambologna. As early as 1596, Giambologna had recommended Alberghetto to the secretary of Ferdinando I de' Medici.[91] Commission and payment records referring to the restoration and completion of busts and sculptures prove that Alberghetto was active in Florence, too.[92] He is documented in 1610 as the owner of a foundry in the Via Lungara in Rome on a receipt issued for advance payment made regarding seventy small bronzes "cavate dall'antico".[93] This record deserves our closer attention since it refers to bronzes whose descriptions are similar to those of sculptures from the Montalto Collection: Bronze reductions of the *Farnese Hercules*, *Hercules with Centaur*, as well as *Centaur with Deianira* were paid for, amongst many others. To our current knowledge, Alberghetto was appreciated first and foremost as a founder who produced bronze reductions of antique as well as early modern compositions and was much admired for the quality of his technical workmanship.

Undoubtedly connected to the city of Florence is, furthermore, Alessandro Peretti Montalto's acquisition of nine small bronzes from the Florentine Alessandro Del Nero (1568–1659)[94] in 1616 (see Appendix I, nos. 7–9, 15, 18–20, 23). Some of the "figure di bronzo mandatoci per servitio del nostro giardino, cioè un gruppo delle Sabine, una femina che dorme e satiro, un cavallino, un toro, un pastore che va a fregnolo, un porco cignale, un lione e dui cani"[95] sold by him were among the most valuable early modern exhibits of the Montalto Collection. Del Nero belonged to a family that was internationally active. His grandfather, Agostino di Piero Del Nero (1504–1576), and Agostino's brother Francesco (1487–1563) both held the office of the papal treasurer (*tesoriere pontificio*) under Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici, 1478–1534, pope from 1523) and established

91   Gualandi 1844, vol. I, pp. 238–239, no. 105, quotes a letter from Giambologna dated 30 October 1596 to Cav. Belisario Vinta, in which Giambologna answers a request by Vinta regarding a brother of Giovanni Alberghetti with a recommendation: "[…] da suoi conoscenti […] mi viene informato […] che esercita la deta Arte [bronze foundry, AS] deligentemente dipoi mi sono voluto informare dal fratello al quale mi dice il medesimo e piu che si prometera per lui in qualsivoglia cosa […]" (Archivio Mediceo, Carteggio di Cosimo II, filza 213 a carte 967). *Della statua equestre* 1868, p. 14, points out that Gualandi confused Alberghetto Alberghetti for his brother, Antonio Alberghetti.

92   Florence, Archivio Niccolini di Camugliano 106, vol. 4, fol. 1 and fol. 5; Seidel 2016, p. 17.

93   ASC, Archivio generale urbano, Sezione I, notary Valterius De Tul, vol. 266.1 1584–1618, fols. 309r–v, 313r: "[(309) Promessio et quietantia. Die X septembris 1610] Dominus Alberghettus Alberghetti veneto, traiettore in Urbe in via detta la Lungara, sponte etc. omnibus etc. confess. habuisse e recepisse […] a d. Nicolao Vidale gallo, mercatore […] presente scuta 300 monetae […] tante figure di bronzo cavate dall'antico cioè – due statue d'imperadori alti dui palmi et mezzo con li loro cavi scudi 30. – Un Lacoonte et Hercole con il centauro con il cavo di detto Hercole scudi 30 – Due Roma e quattro imperadori con li suoi cavi scudi 36 – Hercole da Farnesio alto 2 palmi, et due figure di un palmo et più con li cavi scudi 20 – Cinque vertu tre in piedi e due colche con li cavi scudi 20 – Figure 20 diverse di un palmo incirca con li cavi scudi 50 – Un centauro con la Diamira con il cavo scudi 15 – Dodici imperatori con petto e li cavi scudi 36 – Un toro con l'Europa compagno del centauro con il suo cavo scudi 15 – Duoi putti che si cavano la spina dal piede con il cavo scudi 12 – Uno Imperadore ignudo alto duoi palmi et mezzo con il cavo scudi 15 – Una Roma grande con il cavo scudi 15 e altre figure ascendenti alla suddetta somma di scudi 300, come di sopra havuti et ricevuti. Et di più convengono se detto Alberghetto farà più figure che amontassero detta somma di scudì 300 esso m. Nicola Vidale mercante promette pagarli il sopra più secondo saranno […] valutate qui a Roma liberamente […] Actum Romae in domo solitae habitationis domini Nicola Guglielmi a Lotharingie [Nicola Guglielmi Alforae] olim aromatarij situm in regione Parionis propre palatium excellentissimi ducis Sorae [Giacomo Boncompagni] ibidem presentibus dicto domino Nicolao Guglielmi et Henrico Cugino parisien. aurifex [Enrico Cugino, died Rome, 1614] in via Peregrinum testibus". I would like to thank Lothar Sickel for helping me to decipher the document and commenting on the individuals mentioned in the contract. Abstracts of the document are already quoted in Bertolotti 1884, p. 64.

94   Regarding Alessandro Del Nero, see Catalucci 2013, pp. 157–158; Goudriaan 2015, esp. pp. 83–86; Sosa/Jurado/Franco 2016.

95   See note 150.

their family's affluence.[96] Alessandro is documented as being active as a merchant in Seville in the last third of the sixteenth century. From 1622 onwards, he again lived in Florence and held several offices at the Medici court. On numerable occasions, he traveled as ambassador of the grand duke. His sale of small bronzes to Cardinal Montalto was very likely connected to his diplomatic journey to Rome, in 1616, in the entourage of Carlo de' Medici (1595–1666). He met Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto in Bagnaia while en route.[97] The deal they struck (the background of which remains unclear) might have been initiated there. Alessandro Del Nero and the Peretti family stayed in contact long after that occasion.[98] This is reflected, for instance, in their correspondence regarding a secret agreement that led to the financial support of Michele Peretti by Cosimo II de' Medici (1590–1621). Indeed, Del Nero proved to be a vital diplomatic anchor for Michele Peretti in Florence.[99] An inventory of either his property or a possible art collection, in keeping with his family's known art patronage, has not been found and there is no evidence that Del Nero sold pieces of art owned by his family.[100] Therefore, it is possible that in his dealings with Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto, he was acting upon the request of a third party.

In addition to this excerpt from the provenance history of the Montalto bronzes, the iconography of a number of sculptures also points to Florence, most explicitly in the case of the two aforementioned portraits of the grand dukes Cosimo II and Francesco I de' Medici (1541–1587), but also in the small bronze *Samson with a Donkey's Jaw* (Appendix I, no. 21). It is imperative that other bronzes also be associated with Giambologna's Florentine court workshop, while others can only be associated with him more tentatively.

The short titles given in the inventory correspond with thirteen of the seventeen motifs of small bronzes by the sculptor that were reported by his biographer Baldinucci: Besides the *Rape of the Sabine Woman*, Baldinucci names Giambologna's designs of *Hercules Slaying a Centaur*, *Centaur Abducting a Nymph*, *Lion Attacking a Horse*, *Tiger Attacking a Bull*, *Sleeping Nymph with Satyr*, *Flying Mercury*, two variants of a *Horse*, the *Fowler*, a *Woman Washing Herself*, four *Deeds of Hercules*, as well as a *Lion*.[101] Some of these compositions can undoubtedly be traced to the

96 Arrighi 1990; Toccafondi Fantappiè 1990.
97 BAV, Urb. Lat. 1084, Avvisi di Roma, Avviso di Roma, 13 April 1616, quoted in Goudriaan 2015, esp. pp. 83–86 and app. I, p. 333; BAV, Urb. Lat. 1084, Avviso di Roma, 20 April 1616, quoted in Goudriaan 2015.
98 See Wieland 2004, pp. 442–452; Thiessen 2010, pp. 338, 341.
99 ASF, Miscellanea Medicea I, 30/30.
100 Scholarship into the Del Nero family as patrons of artists has primarily been conducted by Valentina Catalucci. But even Catalucci has not found documents on the possessions of Alessandro Del Nero. Catalucci 2013, pp. 157–158 and notes 95–105. A series of inventories from the Del Nero collections has already been published by Catalucci 2014, pp. 115–144. Some of these lists date from before 1616. Most of these documents relate to premises in Florence and Rome and hardly any bronzes are named in them, with the notable exceptions of: "uno crocifisso di bronzo con cornice di ebano con monte di marmo mistio col/tabernacolo di noce intagliato" (inventory 25 May 1576, ATM, Del Nero, 276, fasc. 2, cc.s.n., fol. 6v) and "Un ritratto di bronzo con baso di marmo di Francesco del Nero" (Inventory 25 May 1576, ATM, Del Nero, 276, fasc. 2, cc.s.n., fol. 5r; quoted in Catalucci 2014, pp. 115–120); "Due medaglie di argento", Inventory 1606, ASF, Magistrato dei Pupilli del Principato 2716, fol. 25v (Catalucci 2014, p. 123). The most extensive inventory, dated 24 June 1600, ATM, Del Nero, 276, fasc. s.n., cc.1r–14r, rarely specifies the material of the sculptures. The given dimensions and iconographies neither suggest, rule out, nor prove that there were any small bronzes (e.g. the following description might equally refer to bronze figures: "Due apostoli antichi moderni d'un palmo per scudi quindice scudi 15", inventory dated 24 June 1600, ATM, Del Nero, 276, fasc. s.n., cc.1r–14r, fol. 2v [Catalucci 2014, p. 121]). None of the quoted objects is connected to those bronzes that Alessandro Del Nero sold to Alessandro Peretti Montalto. I would like to thank Valentina Catalucci for sharing information on the sources regarding Alessandro Del Nero.
101 Baldinucci 1846, vol. 2, p. 583.

Montalto Collection, as they are unique, among them *Sleeping Nymph with Satyr*, the *Fowler*,[102] and the *Centaur Abducting a Nymph* – which is most probably *Nessus and Deianira*.[103] The *Hercules Slaying a Centaur*,[104] *Hercules and Cacus*, the bronzes *Lion Attacking a Horse*, *Lion Attacking a Bull*, two *Horse* statuettes,[105] and two *Lion* statuettes[106] in the Montalto Collection could well fit in this series, but might likewise have been created by other sculptors. The same applies to the small bronze *Venus Washing Her Feet*, the composition of a *Mercury* (on a lion's paw with a Siren emerging), a *Boar*,[107] two *Bull* statuettes,[108] a *Pair of Dogs*,[109] a *Little Owl That Has Caught a Mouse*, and three *Bird* statuettes, all from the Montalto Collection. They recall further designs by Giambologna, but there is not sufficient evidence to support their attribution.

In owning a considerable collection of small bronzes made by Giambologna and his followers, Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto would have been in good company. Indeed several of his contemporaries in Rome could boast of owning similar sculptures. Only a few small bronzes are known to have been part of the collection of Ferdinando I de' Medici at the Villa Medici in Rome, four exhibits among them can be connected with Giambologna on the basis of their iconographic classification.[110] Cardinal Maria del Monte (1626–1628), who was personally acquainted with the sculptor, owned 117 bronze sculptures, presumably seven of them produced in Giambologna's workshop.[111] Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi possessed fifty small bronzes, half of which are claimed to have been made by Giambologna and his successors.[112] In his appreciation of Florentine bronzes, Cardinal Montalto joined the ranks of other such collectors. For example, the group *Sleeping Nymph with Satyr* (Appendix I, no. 8) can be

102 For comparison: Antonio Susini, *Fowler*, bronze, 32 cm, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. no. 56; and Antonio Susini, *Fowler*, bronze, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. no. 50B.

103 For comparison: Giambologna, *Nessus and Deianira* (type A), bronze, 42 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, inv. no. H2 3/95; Giambologna, *Nessus and Deianira*, bronze, 42.1 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 11896; Giambologna, *Nessus and Deianira*, bronze, 42.4 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. KK 5847.

104 For comparison: Antonio Susini after Giambologna, *Hercules and Centaur*, bronze, 39.4 cm, Rome, Galleria Colonna. This version is the earliest cast known so far, it was mentioned in an inventory dated 1609 (following the death of Lorenzo di Jacopo Salviati) and was commented on as the work of Susini.

105 For comparison: Giambologna, *Horse with Cropped Mane*, bronze, 23.5 cm, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. no. 348 B; Antonio Susini, *Striding Horse*, bronze, 29 × 35.25 cm, signed, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.11-1924; Giambologna, *Striding Horse with Flying Mane*, bronze, 23.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.148-1910. Avery/Finn 1993, p. 268, no. 132, assume that Susini subsequently mass-produced this design.

106 For comparison: Giambologna, *Lion*, bronze, 16 cm, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. no. 361B; Giambologna, *Striding Lion*, around 1590, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum – Kunstkammer Wien, inv. no. KK 5876, 13.3 cm.

107 For comparison: Giovanni Francesco Susini (cast?)/Antonio Susini (design), *Boar*, bronze 47.6 cm, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. nos. 115–119 (bronze reduction of the antique marble at the Uffizi); see Avery 1978.

108 For comparison: Giambologna, *Bull* (type A), bronze, 22 cm, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 287. Zikos 2006 points toward a discussion of the versions known in the seventeenth century, which also include pairs of a bull and a horse.

109 For comparison: Giambologna, *Spaniel*, 1567, approx. 20.5 × 28.4 cm, private collection; Avery/Finn 1993, p. 268, no. 130.

110 See *La Villa Médicis* 2009, cat. 57 (attributed): *Venere dormiente von un satiro*, p. 66, cat. 62.1 (suggested attribution): *Venere al bagno* (today at The Huntington Library, Art Collection, and Botanical Gardens), p. 72, cat. 62.2 (suggested attribution): *La Notte* (after Michelangelo), cat. 131.2: *Mercurio*, p. 128.

111 Wázbiński 1991, p. 323. Documents regarding the dispersal of the collection of Cardinal Maria del Monte name sculptures only summarily, they are quoted in Lorizzo 2006, app. I, pp. 105–115.

112 Amadio 1992, p. 9; Palma 1983, pp. 65–67; Coppel 2013, p. 144.

understood as an especially exclusive collector's item. A similar cast from the workshop of Giambologna was first documented in 1587 in Dresden, where it had been received as a present from Francesco I de' Medici.[113] In Rome, a similar group was first documented in 1588, as an exhibit in the collection of Ferdinando I de' Medici.[114] In 1627, an equivalent group was documented as appearing in the Roman collection of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, who was friends with Francesco I de' Medici and knew Giambologna personally.[115] It is certain that Alessandro Peretti Montalto bought his cast of the *Sleeping Nymph with Satyr* in 1616 from a seller who belonged to the network of the Florentine Medici court.[116] By doing so, Cardinal Alessandro Montalto became part of the exclusive circle of collectors of his day. It is possible that Del Monte motivated Cardinal Alessandro Montalto's collecting activity, as has already been suggested,[117] or perhaps he was inspired by the collection of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), his predecessor in the office of *vicecancelliere della chiesa* and an outstanding example of the *homines novi*, which included the Peretti cardinals. The Farnese Collection also included small bronzes, such as replicas by Guglielmo Della Porta (ca. 1510–1577), after ancient works. Giambologna had already made three casts after his own designs in 1579 for Alessandro Farnese's brother Ottavio Farnese (1524–1586), including *The Rape of the Sabine Woman*.[118] In contrast to the Roman Farnese Collection or the Florentine Medici Collection, the choreographed arrangement of the works of art in the Villa Montalto reveals no underlying intellectual statement or ambition.

For sculptures whose titles are not specific enough to allow scholars to securely attribute them to Giambologna, especially for the figures about whose provenance nothing is yet known, other creators are likewise to be considered and there is even a possibility that some of the designations may even refer to ancient bronzes rather than early modern ones. Alberghetto Alberghetti's contribution as a caster (did he provide copies or his own designs?) cannot yet be determined with certainty. In keeping with the tradition of Sixtus V, who sourced his commissions for public places from a tight-knit group of sculptors and bronze casters, we can also presume that sculptures from the Roman workshop of Bastiano Torrigiani (ca. 1542–1596) would also have featured in the collection at the Villa Montalto.

Sixtus V had tasked Torrigiani, for example, with executing the casts of the bronze statues of Peter and Paul (1587 and 1588) for the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. So far, however, the only record of Torrigiani's work in the Montalto Collection is of a posthumous cast after his portrait of the pope (Appendix I, no. 4). Torrigiani also kept in his workshop the *modelli* of Guglielmo Della Porta, whose collaborator and follower he was.[119] Many of the bronzes in the Villa Montalto's collection could also have been sourced from this workshop stock of Torrigiani, but so far no work of art can be attributed to this possible line of provenance.

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113 Giambologna (*Sleeping Venus*) and Adriaen de Vries (satyr), *Sleeping Venus and Satyr*, bronze, 21 × 34 cm, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. IX 34. Leithe-Jasper 2006 offers a list of the current and historic whereabouts of a number of casts of the same subject, with and without satyr, whose provenances are not clarified in detail.
114 Ebert-Schifferer 2006.
115 Inventory of the possessions of cardinals Francesco Maria del Monte (1627), ASR, 30 notary Cap., Paulus Vespignanus, Uff. 28, vol. 138, fols. 574r–598v, fol. 597r, quoted in Frommel 1971, p. 41, and quoted again in Wázbiński 1991, pp. 332–333. See also Wázbiński 1991, p. 325. Present whereabouts of the sculpture is still unknown.
116 ASC, Archivio Cardelli, app. I, vol. 52 (fols. 6r–6v, without foliation).
117 Wázbiński 1991.
118 Naples, Capodimonte, inv. no. 10524; Dhanens 1956, pp. 40, 75; Riebesell 1989, p. 53.
119 Lamouche 2012, p. 208.

Bernini's *David in* the Context of Its Originally Intended Setting

Reconstructing the collection of the Villa Montalto raises the question of to what extent it can help shed light on Bernini's unfinished commissioned work for the villa, the statue *David* (fig. 3). Bernini's sculptures for Cardinal Montalto were site-specific exhibits, specifically made for the cardinal. The history of the reception of the *Neptune* group has made that abundantly clear.[120] While the *David* has been considered in connection with the three marble groups made by Bernini for the Borghese Collection as well as with regard to the statue's positioning in the Villa Borghese,[121] less attention has been paid to the parallels between the *David* and the *Neptune.* What is still unknown is the site destined for the installation of the *David.* However, it can be claimed with certainty that, unlike in the case of the *Neptune*, advance preparations had not been made for its erection anywhere in the villa's gardens.[122] The first floor and the *sala* on the second floor of the Casino Felice were, by contrast, left conspicuously empty in comparison to the rest of the building. Could it be that the *David* was intended for display in the *sala* on the first floor, which faced the villa's main entrance and was decorated with frescoes of *Moses* and the *Calling of the Apostles*? Or was the statue supposed to be placed in the *sala* above, which was characterized by a program of frescoes showing saints and Virtues that were connected to Sixtus V – and that held just one sculpture, the *Drunken Old Woman*? An interpretation of the *David* as the harbinger of the Messiah and as a figure that interlinks the Old and New Testament makes the former option seem plausible. However, Alessandro Montalto's revision of the fresco program initiated by Sixtus V supports the second suggestion. It is a compelling thesis that Bernini's creations would have served as showpieces in the villa – *Neptune and Triton* in the gardens, in the Casino Felice the *Bust of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto* and, eventually, the *David* in the Palazzo Termini.

It is unknown to which extent Bernini had finished the *David* before his client Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto died in June 1623. Documents reveal that the cardinal had already paid for the block of marble in March and a considerable payment for the sculptor's ongoing work on the statue was made in May – the sum corresponds to the overall price of the group of *Neptune and Triton*.[123] Based on this evidence, we can assume that the size and general form of the sculpture were already artistically and contractually defined.[124] Neither chance nor the desire to save on labor can account for the striking likeness between the two statues in terms of physique and posture. Any divergence in details stems more from the figures' difference in age. Their twisting pose, broad stance, the balancing of the feet at the very edge of the plinth, and even the modelling of the toes are, however, near-identical. Their upper bodies' movements differ in only one aspect, motivated by the handling of the trident and the catapult respectively: In each figure the left arm crosses in front of the torso while the body leans heavily forward. In the *David*, the figure gathers potential energy and momentum by means of a powerful lateral torsion; he is about to sling the stone while shifting his weight to his front leg, whereas the *Neptune*

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120 Regarding the *Neptune* in the context of the Villa Montalto, see Benocci 1996, pp. 126–128; Marder 2004; Schütze 1998; Seidel 2010; Seidel 2016, pp. 64–66.

121 Preimesberger 1998, p. 209.

122 The group of *Neptune and Triton* crowned the *peschiera,* whose installation had been prepared since 1607 when earthworks began. The site's construction was completed with the *Neptune and Triton.* Benocci 1995, pp. 268–270, 274, Benocci 1996, p. 119; Hill 1997, p. 17; Seidel 2010, p. 170, note 7.

123 ASC, Fondo Cardelli, app., vol. 55, c. 41r and 47r; Benocci 1989 (1990), p. 83.

124 Only minor details of the sculpture are known with certainty to have been subsequently adapted to fit the Borghese Collection. The head of an eagle – the heraldic animal of the Borghese – at the end of the harp has already been analyzed in this context.

leans forward while drawing his trident up, to then thrust it with both hands from a great height. This difference in posture might also explain the difference in size between the two statues. The head of the old *Neptune* with his full beard differs from the young, aggressively focused *David*, and yet even their profiles and sharply curved noses with small humps bear a striking similarity. The figures are furthermore similar in the immense potential energy they are about to unleash, with their projectile or weapon aimed at a target that is not represented. It is this aspect that considerably distinguishes the *David* from the Borghese sculpture groups. The narrative element in both *Neptune and Triton* and the *David* remains strangely open, which has always made their interpretation more difficult. If they were indeed both exhibited in the Montalto Collection, *Neptune* and *David* would have been perceived as a formal pair that stood in relation to each other. The comparison of the mythological figure with the biblical one may hold the key to their interpretation in the context of the Montalto Collection.

Bernini's *David* is always viewed in a wider frame of reference with Michelangelo's monumental *David*, which was situated in front of the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence. Bernini's version of the subject is characterized by its eschewal of Michelangelo's calm, statuesque form in favor of a multi-perspectival movement and the strong expression of emotions. Bernini's interpretation of *Neptune*, commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto, is marked by an all-round design and a form that strongly conveys emotional intensity. This statue, too, can be understood as an artistic continuation of figures that had likewise been commissioned by the Medici – most notably the fountain figures of *Neptune* by Giambologna (Bologna) and Stoldo Lorenzi (1534–1583; Boboli Gardens, Florence) and the *Neptune* by Bartolomeo Ammanati (1511–1592; Piazza della Signoria, Florence) in particular. The present reconstruction of the display of sculptures in the Villa Montalto has repeatedly brought to light allusions to the Medici. The two major commissions of statues by Bernini also fit into this context. They both pick up themes of prominent statues previously commissioned by the Medici in Florence. Thus, Bernini's statues for the Montalto Collection combined an artistic powerplay with a diplomatic reference to the Medici, perhaps even a statement of the political ambitions of the Peretti Montalto dynasty.

Conclusion

The sculpture collection at the Villa Montalto consisted mainly of small bronzes. It contained thirteen of the seventeen subjects that Baldinucci passed down as motifs of Giambologna's small bronzes in his vita of the sculptor.[125] Both their iconography and their provenances link these sculptures to Florence. It has become possible to identify sellers more closely here that were formerly only known by name, such as Alessandro Del Nero, Alberghetto Alberghetti, and Alessandro Rondoni. All of them were in direct contact with the Medici court and some with Giambologna's workshop. If the majority of the exhibits was indeed based on the Florentine court sculptor's designs – as can only be assumed in some cases – it would mean that Cardinal Alessandro Montalto owned one of the largest collections of small bronzes by Giambologna in Rome at the time. Given the wealth and size of his collection and the exclusiveness of certain exhibits, Cardinal Alessandro Montalto deserves to be considered an independent patronal figure amongst the collectors in his circle, to a greater degree than previously suggested.[126] His activities as a collector of small bronzes are in keeping with his role as commissioner and collector of paintings, as explored by Belinda Granata, and shed new light on his commissions to Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

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125 Baldinucci 1846, vol. 2, p. 583.
126 Wázbiński 1991, pp. 327–328.

Research into the Montalto sculpture collection is still in its infancy. For about half of the exhibits, no more is known than their subject. Given the background of the other works of art in the villa, it can be assumed that works by the most illustrious sculptors of the day are also concealed behind their titles or descriptions. It is quite possible that alongside the Florentine bronzes and Bernini's works in marble, there was a third focal point to the collection.

The decorative program, including the display of sculptures from the sixteenth and seventeenth century at the Villa Montalto formed a visual statement on the Peretti Montalto family's aspirations for power and prestige. This ambition was reflected in the visual program of the frescoes in both *palazzi*, as initiated by Sixtus V. The sculpture ensembles in the villa's gardens and palaces were primarily assembled by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto and perpetuated this visual program and its underlying political agenda. In the Palazzo Termini, the self-stylization of the Peretti Montalto culminated in Bernini's marble bust of Alessandro. At the same time, the affluence and wealth of the exhibited sculptures evoked the cardinal's competences as a connoisseur and discerning art collector. This aspect dominated the display of sculptures in the Casino Felice, where numerous small bronzes were presented. Individual figures were systematically placed on isolated display – for instance the *Fowler* or the *Mercury* – or formed the center of a smaller group arrangement – as was the case, for example, with the *Rape of the Sabine Woman*, so as to make them stand out from the vast quantity of objects on view. In such instances, the sculptures either demonstrated remarkable artistic and technical skill or presented some kind of iconographic innovation.

It is my assertion that contemporary viewers would have recognized the Florentine provenance of many of the exhibits, and this would have been seen as an expression of an appreciation of Giambologna's art and, simultaneously, an allusion to the diplomatic ties of the Peretti Montalto family. Several other sculptures contained similar references to the Tuscan rulers. A cultured visitor would have read the sculptures of *Hercules* and *Mercury* as allegories of virtues, a link established by the Medici family, while Bernini's *Neptune* and *David* vied with the public sculptures in Florence.

Originally the decoration of the villa impressed upon contemporary visitors the achievements of Sixtus V; its expansion by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto added references to the circle of his political friends and, ultimately, to the future of the Peretti Montalto dynasty. In the light of this, Wázbiński's thesis that the art collection was assembled to praise the owner and his family[127] can only be underscored. Thus, the collection illustrates the family's past and at the same time embodies a foundation for future development. Bernini's *David* would have perfectly emphasized this objective. At the time of its commission, the abrupt end of the family's dynastic aspirations could not have been foreseen.

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127 Wázbiński 1991, p. 331.

Appendices

Appendix I

Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Sculptures of the Montalto Collection Exhibited in the Villa Montalto before 1655

Included in the list are small bronzes whose dating to the early modern era is probable though not yet proven. Measurements refer to the height of the sculptures; it is not always clear if they include the socle. The palmi unit of measurement is converted to centimeters here, using a scale given in the *Album Canini*:[128] 1 palmo architettonico romano = 22.7 centimeters.

1. Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), *Neptune and Triton*, 1622–1623, marble, 183 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.18:1-1950.[129] Provenance: Commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Bernini (fig. 2).

2. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Bust of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto*, ca. 1621–1623, marble, with socle 88 cm, Hamburger Kunsthalle, inv. no. S-1918/60[130] (fig. 1).

3. Taddeo Landini (1561–1596)/Domenico Ferrerio (?–1630),[131] *Bust of Sixtus V*,[132] dated to 1585–1590, bronze, patches of gilding at the cope, marble socle, 65 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung, without inv. no.[133] (fig. 10).

4. Sebastiano Torrigiani (ca. 1542–1596)/Baldo Vazzano (active in Rome 1582–1609),[134] *Bust of Sixtus V*,[135] design 1585–1590, cast 1601/1602, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.40:0,1-1950[136] (bronze, gilded, 85.7 cm);

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128 Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, inv. no. RF 36.716, dating from around 1633.

129 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 32r; Inventory 1655, fol. 1216r; Inventory 1696, fol. 137r. Pope-Hennessy 1964, vol. 2, pp. 596–600, no. 637; Benocci 1989 (1990); Benocci 1995, p. 261; Benocci 1996, pp. 119, 125–129; Marder 2004; Seidel 2010; Avery 2010.

130 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 32r; Inventory 1655, fol. 1188v. Lavin 1984; Syamken 1988, pp. 101–102; Seidel 2017, pp. 410–417; Desmas 2017. The thesis that the bust was made in compensation for the rates already paid on work done for the *David* does not seem convincing to me. See Pierguidi 2013, p. 36.

131 Baglione 1642, pp. 326–327; Bertolotti 1885a, p. 188; Montagu 1992, pp. 49, 60; Cola 1996; Kämpf 2003. Preimesberger 1997a; Preimesberger 1997b. On Ferrerio's participation in the decoration of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, see Economopoulos 2013, pp. 186, 203. Economopoulos 2013, p. 186, note 135, quotes from archive material that names Ferrerio as "orefici" (ASR, Fondo Benedettine Cassinesi di Santa Cecilia, Libro de Mandati, 1604, b. 4092, fasc. 4, c. 5r). Ferrerio is believed to have been a student of Bastiano Torrigiani and, following the latter's death in 1596, he became an employee at the papal foundry. It is already known that Ferrerio and Landini collaborated on creating the bust *Clement VIII* (San Giovanni in Laterano). Baglione 1642, p. 326; Preimesberger 1997b. So far, no scholarly attempt has been made to compare the original sculptures in terms of technique and execution.

132 Martinelli 1969, p. 323: "Il busto con la testa di metallo di Sisto V che stà nel palazzino sudetto è getto di Domenico Ferrerio"; *Life of Domenico Ferrerio in Baglione* 1642, p. 324, "nella bella vigna degli Eccellentissimi Peretti, dentro il casino verso termini, fece di bronzo il busto del Pontefice Sisto V".

133 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 65, p. 46; Inventory 1655, fol. 1184v; Inventory 1696, ASR, fol. 139; British Museum, Paul Hamlyn Library, TY7/450, Thomas Jenkins offers the sculpture for sale in a letter to Charles Townley dated 30 January 1787: "[...] Two Busts in Bronze the Portraits of Sixtus Quintus [...]". Preimesberger 1997a; *Skulpturensammlung* 2006, p. 164, no. 216; Krahn 2006.

134 Baldo Vazzano (1582–1585), goldsmith and caster, first apprenticed to Bastiano Torrigiani, then to the silversmith Pietro da Prato. Bulgari 1959, p. 519; Lamouche 2011, pp. 54–55.

135 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 9; Inventory 1655, fol. 1188; Baglione 1642, p. 324; Pinaroli 1725, vol. 2, p. 41; De Lalande 1790, p. 365; British Museum, Paul Hamlyn Library, TY7/450 Thomas Jenkins offers the sculpture for sale in a letter to Charles Townley dated 30 January 1787: "[...] Two Busts in Bronze the Portraits of Sixtus Quintus [...]".

136 The museum traces the provenance of the bust to the Villa Montalto, a claim first published by Pope-Hennessy 1964, vol. 2, pp. 494–495, cat. 523. See previous note.

(fig. 6), or Concattedrale della Santissima Annunziata, Treia[137] (bronze, partially gilded, approx. 84 cm);[138] (fig. 7).[139] Provenance: Cast commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Baldo "tragitatore" in 1601/1602,[140] here identified as Baldo Vazzano.

5. *Portrait of Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici*, bronze, 11.4 cm.[141] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Rondoni in 1610.[142]

   The bust is reminiscent of Giambologna's small bronze *Bust of Cosimo de' Medici*,[143] but also of Baccio Bandinelli's (1493–1560) bronze *Cosimo*.[144]

6. *Portrait of Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici*, bronze, 11.4 cm.[145] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Rondoni in 1610.[146]

   The bust recalls a small painted terracotta bust of Francesco I de' Medici[147] and the larger *Bust of Francesco I de' Medici*[148] by Giambologna.

137 A Villa Montalto provenance was suggested by Blasio 2010. A complete account of the provenance is also lacking for the bust in London and the bust in Treia. Ostrow 2015, pp. 419, 423–424, suggests that Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto commissioned the statuette of Saint Peter. His thesis is not bolstered, however, by any documents on the Montalto Collection.
138 Measurements taken by the author in 2011.
139 Both show the same portrait of the pope as the above-mentioned bust by Landini and Ferrerio, but differ in the treatment of the material, or rather, in the chasing and finish of the cast's surfaces. The documentary evidence and a study of both bronzes in situ does not conclusively answer the question of which of the two is from the Villa Montalto. I was able to study both original busts in 2011. The comparison of the two objects was surprising. The bust in Treia was thin-walled, it has dents and even small holes in the surface. At its back, several rusty pegs, nails, and wires, and hollow, bent metal tubes were visible. These are either remnants of the casting process (sprues not removed in the final chasing), or random pieces of metal used to close the small holes that formed during the casting process. In contrast, the bust in London has accurately wrought metal plugs with screw threads for this purpose. The technical differences raise doubts as to whether the busts stem from the same workshop. Due to its placement, a final study and documentation of the bust in Treia would require scaffolding and the sculpture itself would have to be dismantled to expose its entire back. On their suggested identification, see Pope-Hennessy 1964, vol. 2, pp. 494–495, cat. 523; Massinelli 1992; Blasio 2010, pp. 278–280. The Istituto Massimo in Rome no longer has in its possession a plaster version of the bust (as stated in Angeli 1904, p. 9). It does, however, own a simplified and reduced-scale bronze replica, probably dating from the nineteenth century.
140 ASC, Fondo Cardelli, Appendice Savelli, vol. 33 (1601–1602): "SS.ri Herrera e Costa pagherete a Baldo tragitatore s. centoventicinque di moneta quali sono per resto et a compimento de s. 170 che importa il busto di bronzo indorato et altro del ritratto della Santa memoria di Papa Sisto V che gli altri s. 45 l'ha havuti in due partite a buon conto". I would like to express my gratitude to Belinda Granata, who handed on her transcript of this document to me. If the traditional attribution of Landini's *Bust of Sixtus V* with marble socle (Appendix I, no. 3) to the founder Domenico Ferrerio proves to be right, it would make Baldo responsible for the casting of the second bust of Sixtus at the Villa Montalto, which is currently ascribed to the sculptor Sebastiano Torrigiani. The acquisition would then fit the collection's documentation chronologically, since the bust was exhibited in the *primo piano* of the Palazzo Termini in the context of a programmatic display of paintings and sculptures initiated by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto in the early decennia of the seventeenth century. At the same time, according to the payment record, the bust would be identified as a posthumous cast of a design by Torrigiani.
141 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 10.
142 ASC, Fondo Cardelli, Archivio Savelli, vol. 35: "SS.ri Herrera vi piacerà pagare a m.ro Alessandro Rondoni scultre scudi venticinque di moneta quali sono per pagare dui ritratti del Duca Cosmo e Ferdinando di metallo, e due statuette pure di metallo compre per servitio del nostro giardino a S. Maria Maggiore e datecene debito. Dalla Cancelleria il di 8 di luglio 1610". Benocci 1995, p. 273; Rangoni 2011b, p. 51.
143 Bargello, inv. no. 59.
144 Baccio Bandinelli, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, around 1544, Museo del Bargello.
145 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 10.
146 See note 142.
147 Attributed to Giambologna, *Bust of Francesco I de' Medici*, dating from after 1587, terracotta, painted, with eyes of glass, 11.3 cm, private collection. See Gallo 2019, p. 70, fig. 13.

7. Giambologna, *Rape of the Sabine Woman* (three-figured), bronze, 34.1 cm.[149] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Del Nero in 1616.[150]

8. Giambologna (attribution suggested here), *Sleeping Nymph with Satyr*, bronze, 34.1 cm.[151] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Del Nero in 1616.[152]

9. Giambologna (attribution suggested here), *Fowler*, bronze, 45.4 cm (including wooden pedestal).[153] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Del Nero in 1616.[154]

10. Giambologna (attribution suggested here), *Centaur Abducting a Nymph* (*Nessus and Deianira*), bronze, 45.4 cm.[155]

11. *Hercules Slaying a Centaur*, bronze, with pedestal 56.8 cm.[156]

12. *Lion Attacking a Horse*, bronze, 45.4 cm.[157] An identification with a sculpture by Antonio Susini (?–1624) in the Corsini Collection (inv. no. 679) has been suggested (fig. 11).[158] This attribution is based on the putative identification of the lost bronze from the Villa Montalto with a small bronze in the Corsini Collection – a collection which also comprises panel paintings formerly at the Montalto Collection. This identification is, however, questionable, since the size of the exhibits at the Galleria Corsini (20.6 cm, 39 cm including pedestal) differs considerably from the size given in the Undated Inventory (1623/1631).

13. *Lion Attacking a Bull*, bronze, 45.4 cm.[159] An identification with a sculpture by Antonio Susini (?–1624) in the Corsini Collection (inv. no. 680) has been suggested (fig. 12).[160] This attribution is based on the putative

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148 Giambologna, *Bust of Francesco I de' Medici*, marble, 68 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi.

149 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 68; Martinelli 1969, p. 323.

150 ASC, Archivio Cardelli, app. I, vol. 52 (fols. 6r–6v, without foliation): "A Francesco Santolini nostro sotto maestro di casa scudi 36 bajocchi 85 moneta per resto et acomp.to di scudi 316.85 simili ch'egli ha pagato ad Angelo Horio a nome del signor Alessandro Del Nero fiorentino per il prezzo dell'infrascritte sculture di bronzo mandatoci per servitio del nostro giardino, cioè un gruppo delle Sabine, una femina che dorme e satiro, un cavallino, un toro, un pastore che va à fr[u]gnolo, un porco cignale, un lione e due cani, che li scudi 280 l'ha havuti à bonconto da Giovanni Domenico nostro maestro di stalla, che li ha havuti dal Duca Cesarini a buon conto di cavalli vendutoli di quelli di casa, e datecene debito, dalla Cancelleria il dì 27 giugno 1616". I would like to thank Lothar Sickel for helping me decipher this entry. The document was already hinted at by Benocci 1996, p. 118. Details of the sale are unknown. The payment record disproves Simon Jervis's theory that the group entered the Montalto Collection as a diplomatic present (Jervis/Dodd 2014, p. 115).

151 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 70; Inventory 1655, fol. 1186r. See Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2. I would like to suggest identifying this sculpture with a note in an inventory dated 1712: "Una Statuina di metallo figura Venere che dorme Su Carro di Legno dorato Longo palmi Uno e mezzo pesa libre Sedici oncie Sei", Giulio Savelli, *Inventario de Mobili del Palazzo del Prencipe Don Giulio Savelli* [...], 21 April 1712, ASR, Archivio Giustiniani, b. 68, fasc. 273, no. 100, quoted in Danesi Squarzina 2003, p. 204.

152 See note 150.

153 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 68; probably to be identified with "una Statuetta di metallo che rappresenta un Cacciatore", Inventory 1655, fol. 1185r.

154 See note 150.

155 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 67; Inventory 1655, fol. 1185r. See Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2.

156 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 66.

157 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 69; Inventory 1655, fol. 1185v. See Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2.

158 Gatta 2010, pp. 105–106, 117–118, note 165. See also Jervis/Dodd 2014, pp. 114–115, the attribution and suggested provenance of the bronze are not convincing, however.

159 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 69; Inventory 1655, fol. 1185v.

160 Gatta 2010, pp. 105–106, 117–118, note 165. See also Jervis/Dodd 2014, pp. 114–115, the attribution and the suggested provenance of the bronze are not convincing, however.

identification of the lost bronze from the Villa Montalto with a small bronze in the Corsini Collection – a collection which also comprises panel paintings formerly at the Montalto Collection. This identification is questionable, however, since the size of the exhibits at the Galleria Corsini (20.4 cm, 36 cm including pedestal) differs considerably from the size given in the Undated Inventory (1623/1631).

14. *Mercury* (on a lion's paw with a Siren emerging), bronze, height of entire ensemble including socle: 181.6 cm, height of the *Mercury* alone: 56.8 cm.[161] The sculpture evokes one of the most prominent bronzes by the court sculptor of the Medici, his *Mercury*,[162] who is depicted ascending from a head personifying one of the winds. However, it still remains unknown whether the lion's paw and the Siren were integral to the bronze's figural conception or rather formed the base. Furthermore, the figure's height differs from the extant casts known to be by Giambologna.[163]

15. Two identical *Horse* statuettes, bronze, 34.1 cm.[164] Provenance suggested here: One of the horses might have been bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Del Nero in 1616.[165]

16. *Venus Washing Her Feet*, bronze, 17 cm, with bronze pedestal.[166] The sculpture might be considered reminiscent of a "femina che si lava"[167] by Giambologna mentioned by Baldinucci.

17. *Hercules and Cacus*, bronze, 45.4 cm,[168] with yellow marble socle.

18. *Lion*, bronze, 17.3 cm.[169] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Del Nero in 1616.[170]

19. *Boar*, bronze, 22.7 cm.[171] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Del Nero in 1616.[172]

20. Two *Bull* statuettes, bronze, 34.1 cm.[173] Provenance suggested here: One of the horses might have been bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Del Nero in 1616.[174]

21. *Samson with a Donkey's Jaw*, bronze, 34.1 cm.[175]
The bronze could be derived from Giambologna's marble group *Samson Slaying a Philistine*[176] or from Michelangelo's design of a sculpture group for the city of Florence.[177]

161   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 70; Inventory 1655, fol. 1186 r. See Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2.
162   Gasparri 2009.
163   For comparison: Giambologna, *Mercury*, around 1580, bronze, 170 cm, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. no. 449B; Giambologna and collaborators, *Mercury*, before 1587, bronze, 61.9 cm (height with socle 73.4), Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, inv. no. IX 94, see Syndram 2006. The earlier commissions of figures of Mercury and their variants have lately been discussed by Warren 2016, vol. 2, pp. 366–473.
164   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 69; Inventory 1655, fol. 1185 v. Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2.
165   See note 150.
166   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 68.
167   Baldinucci 1846, vol. 2, p. 583. The note might furthermore be linked to a series of *Female Figures after the Bath*, a group of models tentatively associated with the sculptor that is, however, not documented in detail. See Warren 2016, cat. 103, *Woman after the Bath*, pp. 446–451. The comparative examples (Warren 2016, cat. 103, pp. 448–449) are all approx. 13 cm high, which might have equaled the Montalto *Venus* without socle.
168   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 67.
169   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 68.
170   See note 150.
171   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 68.
172   See note 150.
173   Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 69; Inventory 1655, fol. 1185 v. See also Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2.
174   See note 150.

22. *Little Owl That Has Caught a Mouse* and three more *Bird* statuettes, bronze, life-size.[178] These sculptures recall the veristic birds in bronze that Giambologna made to decorate the *grotto* of the Medici estate in Castello.[179]

23. Two *Dog* statuettes, each seated, bronze, 45.4 cm.[180] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alessandro Del Nero in 1616.[181]

24. Alberghetto Alberghetti (?; active in Rome around 1610), *Jupiter*, bronze 45.4 cm.[182] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alberghetto Alberghetti in 1615.[183]

25. Alberghetto Alberghetti (?), *Neptune*, bronze, 45.4 cm.[184] Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alberghetto Alberghetti in 1615.[185]

26. Alberghetto Alberghetti (?), *Head of a Faun*, life-size. Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alberghetto Alberghetti in 1615.[186]

27. Alberghetto Alberghetti (?), *Mercury,* bronze, 45.4 cm. Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alberghetto Alberghetti in 1612.[187]

28. Alberghetto Alberghetti (?), *Bronze Bust of Ganymede*, bronze, life-size. Provenance suggested here: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Alberghetto Alberghetti in 1613.[188]

29. *Farnese Hercules*, bronze, 34.1 cm.[189]

30. *Belvedere Antinous*, bronze, 34.1 cm.[190]

31. *Faun Leaning on a Trunk*, bronze, 34.1 cm.[191]

32. Two *Gladiator* statuettes, bronze, 56.8 cm.[192]
    Any attempt at identifying these two must take into consideration a

175 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 10.

176 Giambologna, *Samson Slaying a Philistine*, marble, 210 cm, about 1562, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. A.7-1954.

177 See Schmidt 1996.

178 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 62; Inventory 1655, fol. 1184r. See Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2.

179 Now exhibited at the Museo del Bargello, Florence. Micheletti 1977; Heikamp 2006.

180 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 67. The same bronze dogs might be named in the Inventory 1655, fol. 1185r.

181 See note 152.

182 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 18.

183 ASC, Archivio Cardelli, app. I, vol. 37, 4 March 1615: "Adi detto s. 30 moneta ad Alberghetto Alberghetti fonditore quali sono per il prezzo d' una testa d'un fauno di bronzo del naturale col suo petto e due statuine pur di bronzo di due palmi alte di un Giove, et d'un Nettuno compre da lui per servizio del nostro Giardino a Santa Maria Maggiore", already quoted in Granata 2003, p. 52.

184 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 18.

185 See note 183.

186 See note 183.

187 ASC, Fondo Cardelli, Appendice Savelli, vol. 37, 30 December 1612: "Adi detto s. 12 moneta ad Alberghetto fonditore e per lui a Giacomo nostro despensiero quali sono per la valuta di una statua di metallo di un Mercurio alta palmi 2 compra per servitio del giardino".

188 Payment record dated 20 May 1613. ASC, Fondo Cardelli, Appendice Savelli, vol. 37, nos. 305, 343: "SS.ri Herrera e Costa pagheret a m.ro Albergetto Alberghtti fonditore s. 16 moneta quali sono per prezzo d'una testa di metallo col suo petto e peduccio di un Ganimede del naturale compro da lui per servitio del giardino. Dalla Cancelleria il di 20 di maggio 1613", quoted in Benocci 1995, pp. 274 and 281, note 58.

189 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 10.

190 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 67.

191 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 67.

192 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 9; Inventory 1655, fol. 1188r. See Seidel 2016, p. 182, cat. 209.

drawing in the *Codex Montalto* (fol. 209) that reproduces a figure whose slim contours and fragile standing pose make a casting in bronze very likely (fig. 14).

33. Female figure, bronze, 17.3 cm.[193]
34. Female figure, bronze, 17.3 cm.[194]
35. *Victory Holding a Wreath*, bronze, 34.1 cm.[195]
36. Panel (*quadro grande*) with eight octagonal metal reliefs and an oval painting in the center, 68.1 × 113.5 cm.[196] Pinaroli 1703, vol. 2, p. 40, is probably referring to them when suggesting that scenes from Ovid might be the subjects.[197]
37. Panel (*quadro grande*) with eight oval metal reliefs and an octagonal painting in the center, 68.1 × 113.5 cm.[198] Pinaroli 1703, vol. 2, p. 40, is probably referring to them when he suggests that scenes from Ovid might have been the subjects.
38. Girolamo Cola (active in Rome in the early seventeenth century), *Flagellation of Christ*, three-figured, silver, partially gilded, 11.4 cm.[199] Provenance suggested here: Commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto from Girolamo Cola in 1617.[200]
39. *Statuette of Christ* with turquoise cloak and gilded bronze nimbus, on a column and colored stone socle (34.1 cm).[201]
40. *Statuette of Saint Mary* with a cloak of pink marble, on a colored stone column and socle (34.1 cm).[202]
41. Three-figured group, bronze, 68.1 cm.[203]
42. Two statuettes, bronze, 56.8 cm. Provenance: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto in 1610 from a widow named Eufrasia.[204] These statuettes might be identical with some of those already mentioned above.[205]
43. Four metal sculptures, bronze(?). Provenance: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto in 1614 from Pompeo Piccolomini.[206] These statuettes might be identical with some of those already mentioned above.

14   *Codex Montalto*, fol. 209, ca. 1615–1631, black chalk, 41.8 x 27.2 cm, private collection (photo Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance/Antonia Weiße)

193 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 67.
194 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 67.
195 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 68.
196 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 18.
197 Number, form, and subject are reminiscent of *modelli* by Guglielmo della Porta, see Gramberg 1960; Gabhart 1968/1969, pp. 35–38.
198 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 18.
199 AAV Fondo Origo – Del Palagio, vol. 29, fol. 93, 4 February 1617: "Sig.ri Herrera e Costa vi piacerà pagare, à Girolamo Cola Argentiero s. venti di moneta quale sono à buon conto d'un Cristo e doi manigoldi d'Argento, che'l battono alla Colonna, ch'egli fa per seruitio nostro, e datecene debito. Dalla Cancellaria il di 4 di Febraio 1615 [...]"; Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 71: "la flagellatione di Christo N.S. in tre figurine di metallo tutte sopra un basetto di Ebano longa p.mi 1 le figurine sono alte palmi ½"; Inventory 1655, fol. 1186r: "Un Cristo alla Colonna di Argento dorato con 2. manigoldi con sua base d'ebbano ad ottangoli", see Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2.
200 See note 199.
201 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 72r; Inventory 1655, fol. 1306r.
202 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 72r; Inventory 1655, fol. 1306r.

44. Two metal sculptures, bronze(?). Provenance: Bought by Cardinal Alessandro Montalto in 1614 from Alessandro Rondoni.[207] These statuettes might be identical with some of those already mentioned above.

45. Fifteen white heads with colored busts of *marmo finto* which decorated library shelving (Palazzo Termini).[208]

46. *Satyr with a Dragon*, 113.5 cm, peperino.[209] The sculpture was a fountain figure installed in the gardens of Villa Montalto. An eighteenth-century drawing[210] reveals its early modern origin.

47. François Duquesnoy (?; 1597–1643), *Putto*, terracotta.[211] It can be neither proven nor ruled out that the sculpture featured in the Villa Montalto in 1623/1631.

48. After Michelangelo(?), *Self-Portrait in a Medallion*.[212] It can be neither proven nor ruled out that the sculpture featured in the Villa Montalto in 1623/1631.

49. Michelangelo(?), *Marsyas*.[213] It can be neither proven nor ruled out that the sculpture featured in the Villa Montalto in 1623/1631.

203 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 69. See Wázbiński 1991, p. 332, app. 2.

204 ASC, Fondo Cardelli, Appendice Savelli, vol. 35: "SS.ri Herrera vi piacerà pagare a Eufasia vedova s. trenta di moneta quali sono per prezzo di due statuine di bronzo dui pami e mezzo di altezza da lei compri per servitio del nostro giardino a S. Maria Maggiore e datecene debito. Dalla Cancelleria il di 5 di maggio 1610".

205 The size is similar to two bronzes named in the Montalto Collection's inventory whose provenance is unknown, namely the groups *Hercules and Cacus* and a *Centaur Abducting a Nymph*.

206 ASC, Archivio Cardelli, app. Savelli, vol. 37, 21 July 1614: "Adi detto s. 24 moneta a Pompeo Piccolomini quali sono per il prezzo di quattro statuette di metallo havute da lui per servitio del nostro giardino a S. Maria Maggiore". Benocci 1995, p. 281, note 69.

207 See note 142.

208 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 12.

209 Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 30.

210 Copenhagen, Kunstakademiets Bibliothek, Wiedewelt-Sketchbook C 6, fol. 149; see Barberini 1991, fig. 4.

211 Rossini 1693, p. 97. There is a possibility that this figure is documented in the *Codex Montalto* (fol. 78, see fig. 16 here); see also Undated Inventory (1623/1631), fol. 12 (although until recently it had been presumed that the drawing referred to "Una Statua d'un fanciullo nudo di marmo bianco p.mi 2½", see Seidel 2016, p. 123, cat. 78). Further putti drawn in the *Codex Montalto* cannot be ascribed to Duquesnoy with certainty: fol. 270 (fig. 15) documents a putto balancing on one foot. This design could not have been produced in terracotta without adding structural support. Therefore, I suggest that the material of this figure was bronze.

212 Rossini 1693, p. 97. However, the *Portrait of Michelangelo* might be mentioned in the Inventory 1655, where a similar exhibit is documented for the Peretti's Palazzo di San Lorenzo in Lucina. The object is described as 51 cm in height, made of black stone and multicolored marble, but no name of the artist is mentioned: "Testa efficie [sic] di Michelangelo Bonarotta a modo di medaglio ouata commessa in pietra di paragone con giro di marmo macchiato alta p.mi 2¼ piedestallo di marmo nero macchiato", Inventory 1655, fol. 1299v. The medallion was mentioned again in 1836 by Vittorio Massimo. It is said to have been sold at the end of the eighteenth century, and to have been used to decorate the Campo Santo in Pisa in 1821, see Massimo 1836, p. 164. However, a bronze portrait of Michelangelo on a stone bust was mentioned in an inventory dated 1712: "Un Busto di Pietra con Testa di metallo Ritratto di Michel Angelo alto palmi tre pesa la testa di metallo libre trenta", *Inventario de Mobili del Palazzo del Principe Don Giulio Savelli al Teatro di Marcello, redatto il 21 aprile del 1712*, ASR, Archivio Giustiniani, b. 68, fasc. 273, no. 131, quoted in Danesi Squarzina 2003, p. 206.

213 Pinaroli 1703, vol. 2, p. 40; Pinaroli 1725, p. 378.

15 *Codex Montalto,* fol. 270, ca. 1615–1631, black chalk, 41.8 x 27.2 cm, private collection (photo Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance/Antonia Weiße)

Appendix II

Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Sculptures from the Montalto Collection Documented in the Palazzo di San Lorenzo in Lucina in 1655

1. Giuliano Finelli, *Half-Length Portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto,* marble, 91 cm, SPSG, Skulpt.slg. 5483, GK III 1151, exhibited at the Bode-Museum, Berlin.[214]
2. Giuliano Finelli, *Half-Length Portrait of Principe Michele Peretti,* marble, 95 cm, SPSG, Skulpt.slg. 5483, GK III 1150, exhibited at the Bode-Museum, Berlin.[215]
3. Two *Angels with Lance and Sponge,* bronze, with socle 30.3 cm.[216]
4. Seated Madonna with Christ and Saint John the Baptist, bronze, 34.1 cm.[217]

214 Inventory 1655, fol. 1306v; Martinelli 1969, pp. 323–327; Rossini 1693, pp. 95–96; Pinaroli 1703, vol. 2, p. 40; de Lalande 1790, p. 365. Rossini is cited by Volkmann, 1777, vol. 2, p. 247 and by Magnan 1779, vol. I, p. 18, pl. 70. On this and the following bust, see Schottmüller 1923; Schottmüller 1933, pp. 221–223; Nava-Cellini 1964, p. 35; Heimbürger Ravalli 1973, pp. 99–100, cat. 26 and p. 179; Avery 1974; Harksen 1977, pp. 137–138, 146; Montagu 1985, vol. 2, p. 475, cat. R. 53; Dombrowski 1997, pp. 337–338, cat. A.45 and A.46; Bacchi 2009, pp. 146–147, 149–150, 153–154; Seidel 2017, pp. 397–398, 402–403, and notes 8, 39–43.
215 Inventory 1655, fol. 1306v. Rossini 1693, pp. 95–96. See the previous note for literature.
216 Inventory 1655, fol. 1299v.
217 Inventory 1655, fol. 1299v.
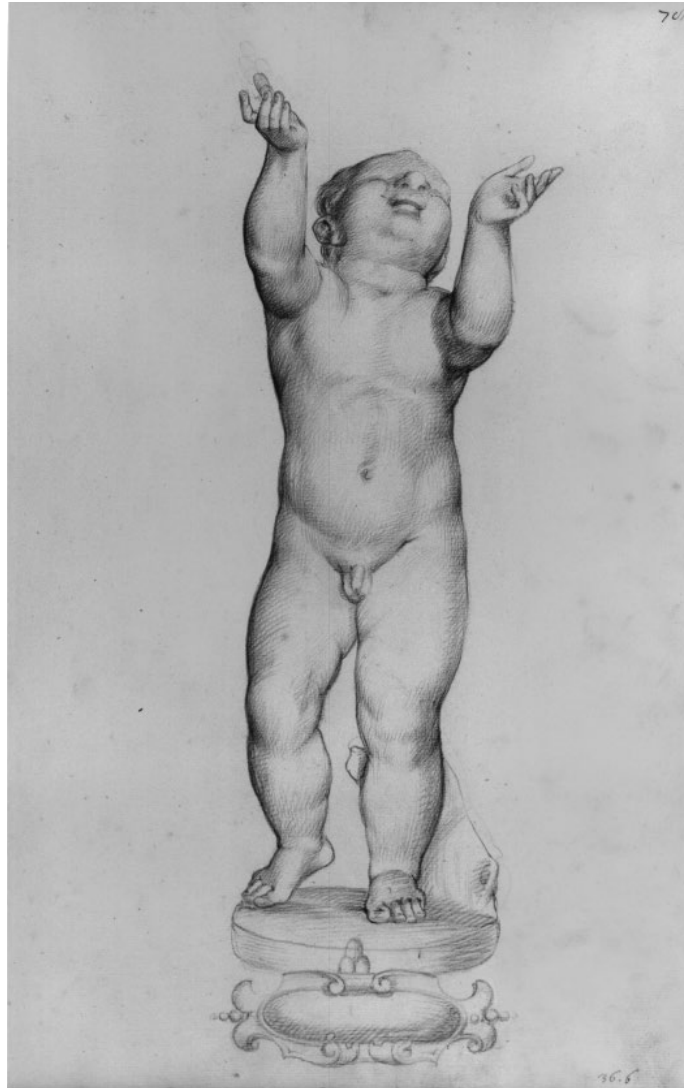
16 *Codex Montalto*, fol. 78, ca. 1615–1631, black chalk, 41.8 x 27.2 cm, private collection (photo Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance/Antonia Weiße)

5. *Pietà* (after Michelangelo), *color di bronzo*, approx. 30 cm.[218]
6. Head of a putto, bronze.[219]
7. Saint Michael and Lucifer, bronze.[220]
8. Salvator Mundi, marble.[221]
9. Putto with a conch shell, bronze[222] (**see fig. 15**, *Codex Montalto*, fol. 270).

218 Inventory 1655, fol. 1299v. The bronze reduction of Michelangelo's *Pietà* seems to have remained in the Villa Montalto and became the property of the Massimo family, since a similar figure is named in an inventory dated 1783 (Rome, Archivio Massimo, 298/1/18, *Collezione degli Avori, Porcellane e Bronzi appartenenti all'Eccellentissima Famiglia Massimo*, senza fol.).
219 Inventory 1655, fol. 1306v.
220 Inventory 1655, fol. 1306v.
221 Inventory 1655, fol. 1306v; Giulio Savelli, *Inventario de Mobili del Palazzo del Prencipe Don Giulio Savelli* […], 21 April 1712, ASR, Archivio Giustiniani, b. 68, fasc. 273, no. 93, quoted in Danesi Squarzina 2003, p. 203.
222 Inventory 1655, fol. 1308r.

List of Abbreviations

AAV
Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Vatican City

ASC
Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome

ASF
Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Florence

ASMN
Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Mantova

ASR
Archivio di Stato di Roma, Rome

ATM
Archivio Torrigiani Malaspina, Montecastello Pontedera (Pisa)

BAV
Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City

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Adele Anna Amadio, "La Villa Ludovisi e la collezione di sculture", in *La collezione Boncompagni Ludovisi: Algardi, Bernini e la fortuna dell'antico* (exhibition catalogue Rome), ed. Antonio Giuliano, Venice 1992, pp. 9–18.

Angeli 1904
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