LE **GALLERIE**
DEGLI **UFFIZI**

imagines

The Magazine of the Uffizi Galleries

Gli **Uffizi**
Corridoio **Vasariano**
Palazzo **Pitti**
Giardino di **Boboli**

2
august 2018

LE GALLERIE DEGLI UFFIZI

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Eike Schmidt

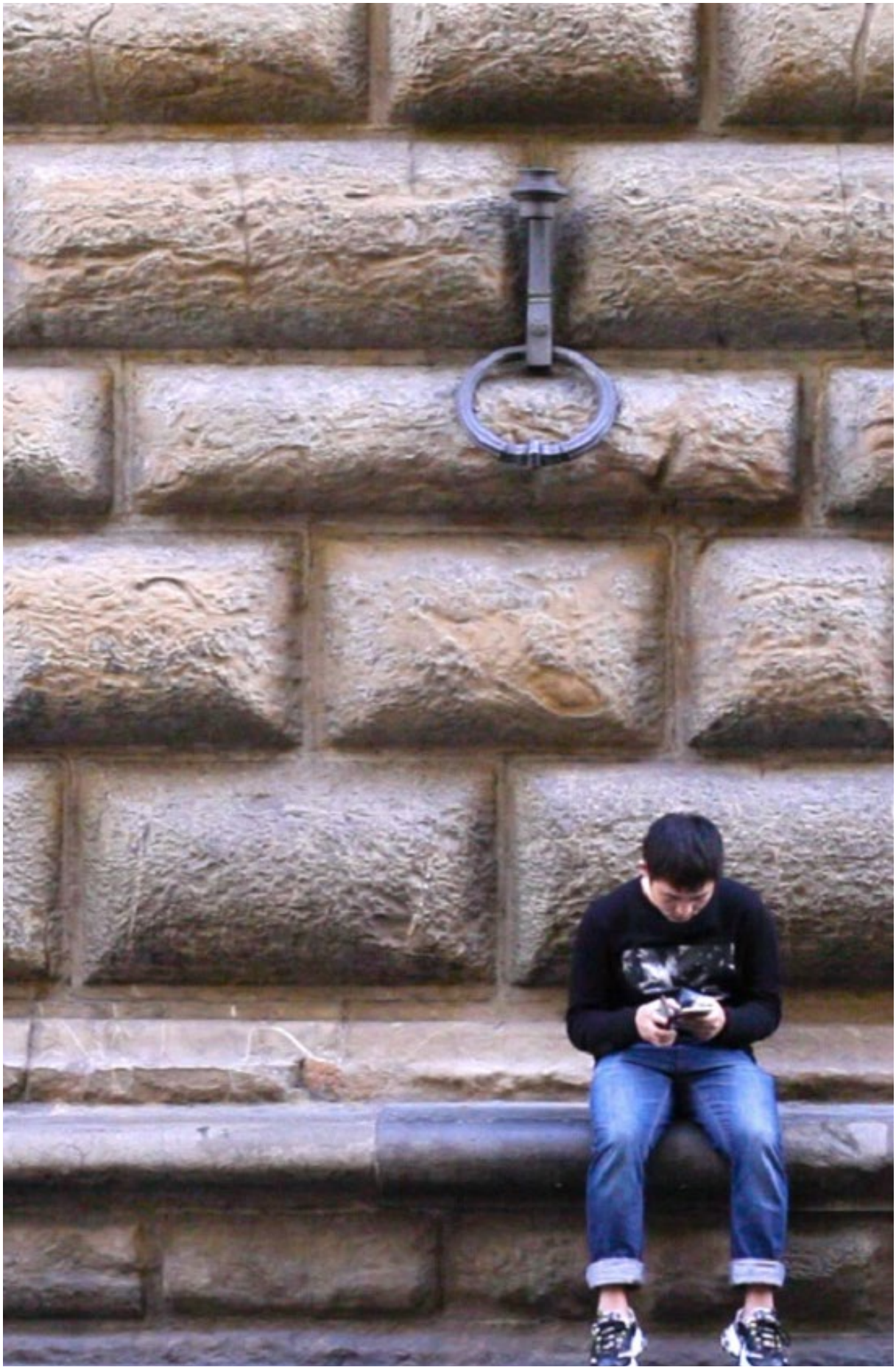
DIGITAL REFLEXIONS

In Abbas Kiarostami's film *Shirin* (2008), for an hour and a half we see women in a theatre in Iran watching a fictional movie based on the tragic and twisted medieval epic romance of Khosrov and Shirin. The story itself is conveyed through the spoken word and soundtrack only, like in a radio play, whereas the close-ups of the women's faces, watching a movie that we cannot see, register their emotional reactions to the narration, and their participation in it with a variety, richness and intimacy, which at moments seems to approximate Leonardo da Vinci's mastery in expressing a host of human (and equine) emotions in the Uffizi's recently restored *Adoration of the Magi*. While it is hardly the first film that turned the camera back onto the beholder in the movie theatre – a classic example is the opening sequence of Woody Allen's *Play It Again, Sam* (1972), which lays the ground for the film's implicit variation on Oscar Wilde's quip that life imitates art more than art imitates life – no other filmmaker has been as radical as Kiarostami in doing so. By foregrounding the reactions of contemporary Iranian viewers and relegating the underlying action and narrative to the audio channel, an emphasis on emotion, reflection and contemplation ensues. In fact, to quote the archetypical epic of a different nation, it is as though the sentimental, contemplative and interpretive *Nibelungenklage* (Lament of the Nibelungs) – the poem's much lesser known second half, which describes the mourning over the dead heroes, while addressing questions of guilt and responsibility – would have been superimposed upon its famous first half, the action-packed *Nibelungenlied* (Song of the Nibelungs). Or if the Byzantine Virgin's *threnos* would have been recited in parallel with the Gospel's account of the Passion.

None of this emotional engagement is seen in Giacomo Zaganelli's three videos on view from summer 2018 to September 2019 in gallery 56, at the juncture between the Uffizi's two gallery floors. *Illusion* (2017) documents the strange choreographies of tourists taking selfies or photos of one another in Piazza del Duomo and before the Loggia dei Lanzi. They appear to be totally absorbed by their digital equipment but not in touch at all with their surroundings. Giotto's belltower and the statuary on Piazza della Signoria seem to be downgraded to wallpaper in a photographic set. Even the church bells have become a random noise, which does succeed to wake up the visitors caught within the repetitive, somnambulist patterns of self-referential movements. The tool, indeed the medium seems to be the only message. This is even more evident in *Uffizi Today*, filmed in our Botticelli galleries on one Sunday with free admission in July, 2018. Here we observe the ritual raising of the camera-phone before an admired (or at least recognized) masterwork, an action that has become sort of a real world equivalent for clicking a "like" or a heart button. And we see selfies before an iconic painting, with stereotypical faces or gestures made to resemble emojis.

Many visitors in Zaganelli's installation, upon realizing that they see other people behaving exactly as they did only minutes before, start to smile. Surprised, and as though caught having done something they weren't supposed to, they often start speaking to one another – while others take out their phones yet again in order to imitate the ritual they see, removing themselves by another layer from the original masterpiece, which is however kept in the very same building. These extremely basic and habitual reactions to great paintings of the past are even more worrying, if we compare them with the *Gogglebox* conversations in the eponymous British reality tv show aired since 2013 – a contemporary version of Dutch 17th century genre painting, with people of mostly humble social and economic standing filmed as they react to and talk about what they see on television. The tv set at the center of people's homes as primary conveyer of meaning and an originator and occasion of conversations (rare, brief and irrelevant as they may be) in fact has taken a role akin to that of a framed canvas in a museum.

The most touching of Giacomo Zaganelli's videos is perhaps "*Everywhere but Nowhere*" (2017), which consists of a single take, which is several minutes long. Behind busses, cars and passers-by who cross in the foreground left to right and right to left, we see a young boy seated on Palazzo Strozzi's *pietra serena* bench before its heavy *bugnato* façade. The boy is totally immersed in the world of his smartphone. He never looks up – in fact we never get to see his face – but he swipes and types with his thumbs on the small device in his lap, in such a concentrated manner that is reminiscent of the famous *Spinario*, the boy pulling a thorn from his left foot: another action of little consequence for the surrounding world, neither heroic nor even unusual, but certainly the reason for his total mental absorption. The boy on the bench of Palazzo Strozzi is equally detached from his surroundings, and fully concentrating on his messanging app, as it seems. Or is he? Might he not be consulting the Uffizi's databases instead, which are now handily united in the section "Digital Archives" on our website? Of course, almost certainly he actually isn't. But others may, and all are invited to take advantage of almost 150,000 entries on works of art in and around Florence, now available anywhere in the world; to experience our HyperVisions; or to virtually turn around at your fingertips ancient statuary scanned and made available in the "Works" section of our website. And of course, to follow us on Twitter and Instagram. Learn and Enjoy!



Silvia Mascalchi

SCHOOL/WORK PROGRAMMES AT THE UFFIZI GALLERIES. DIARY OF AN EXPERIENCE IN PROGRESS.

"Art Ambassadors" is the group name for the School/Work programmes proposed by the Uffizi Galleries and which, after two years of growth and experience, it is possible to reflect upon, pointing out some of the characteristic features that, with the support of ongoing contact and dialogue with those involved (teachers, students, staff with different roles in the projects), are more innovative and qualifying.

In late autumn of 2015, we began talking about the need to propose projects to schools - the area that is traditionally most important in terms of clients from the Department of School and Young People - which would correspond to that stated in Law 107, known as "La Buona Scuola" [Good School], regarding the School/Work programmes (now referred to as SW). The department, like the rest of the country's museum system, was dealing with the changes introduced by the Franceschini reform. The arrival of a new director had just been announced, the museum centre was being organised into what is now known as the Uffizi Galleries, and there was some uncertainty as to the administrative fate of a department that had been dealing with the educational aspects of all of Florence's state museums for the last 45 years.

New features seemed to be the characteristic feature of the period and it was up to us to offer the right ideas to meet these new needs, and to come up with answers to the demands of the moment. One crucial factor was our collaboration with the Regional School Department for Tuscany, with which we had been working through a memorandum of understanding since 2012. Together we began to face the challenge of school/work programmes and, using a previous project known as "Art Ambassadors" that was offered to schools as an opportunity to get hands-on experience in art history skills and foreign languages, we were able to bring a new version to schools, based on new requirements. At the same time, we were committed to understanding the complex order of new regulations on school/work projects thoroughly, both for schools and for the bodies hosting students. The sheer hard work from this first year led to the Memorandum of Understanding, MIUR-MIBACT "Civic Life - TUSCANY SYSTEM", an essential tool for subsequent successful developments in this field. The agreement includes joint commitment from the MIUR [Ministry of Education, Universities and Research], Florence's autonomous museums and the Tuscany Museum Hub to develop SW programmes that combine education aims with professional training in the specific field of cultural heritage.

As partial satisfaction for all of our efforts and doubtless appreciation for the work of the department is the fact that, although in a brief period of mere months we had to change reference institute, name and email three times, we still were contacted by 24 schools intending to take part in our SW initiatives.

In the second year of the "Good School" Reform, we produced a dossier of specific bureaucratic documents for teachers, which are essential to the smooth operation of the programme. We also extended the offer to school/work programmes specifically for "Green Ambassadors" and "Music Ambassadors", as well as a new project, the "Fairy Tale Bench".

If the "Green Ambassadors" and "Music Ambassadors" were a direct progression of the original project - the first with a more specific accent on the history and ▶

botanical aspects of historic gardens, and the second aimed expressly at music high schools - the "Fairy Tale Bench" was the result of an existing collaboration with the Teatro della Pergola, training students to be able to tell children stories of their choice, or written by them, in an appealing manner, taking their inspiration from the garden. Young people learn to appreciate the historical and artistic aspects of the garden in which they are working - in our case, the Boboli Gardens - and working alongside those whose job it is to care for the garden, they come to understand both its value as a museum and its destination as a place of leisure for the resident population, above all families with children who represent the users of reference. This project has also made it possible to collaborate with the summer centres run by Florence City Council to guarantee children a good opportunity for recreation and also to get to know the splendid Medici gardens.

Introducing the "Fairy Tale Bench" we have begun collaboration with the Centro di Avviamento all'Espressione, the theatre school of the Teatro della Pergola, a collaboration that has been strengthened to the point of becoming a strategic part of the training of all students taking part in our work experience programme. Together with the educational services of Teatro della Pergola, we have also focused on the possibility of boosting skills linked to speaking, which are useful for the activities to be carried out in the museum, but also in other personal and professional environments in the future. The proposal was not ini-

tially easily accepted by schools, but it has been a great success with students and, after an initial period of lessons in the theatre, teachers were able to report back that their students were even performing better in oral tests in class.
Skill-based work has also led us to think more about gradually adapting the spirit of SW activities as envisaged by the Law 107/2015: we thus included meetings with museum staff in training for students to provide them with better awareness of the operations in the areas in which they work. The "Art Ambassador" or "Green Ambassador" activities place young people in an actual work situation: visitors from all over the world come with their varied needs and requests for information; the approach to adults who will be using the guided visit service is already not an easily managed aspect of the programme, but taking charge of and managing unfamiliar spaces and situations, boosts their abilities in terms of collaboration and problem solving. However, the true success of this programme, the genuine aim, is the integration of young people with permanent museum staff, in an interaction that is both functional and able to promote mutual understanding. The desire to qualify the professional element of our SW programmes in an evident manner was also at the origin of an innovative programme entitled "Cultural Heritage Professionals", set up as an experiment in the 2016-17 school year, thanks to collaboration with the Istituto Peano, and now an integral part of our programme for this year, for eight classes from Florence's schools.

The programme follows the guidelines from the MIUR for a coherent three-year implementation of the SW programme to allow students to present a well thought-out report on the experience during their examination. In the first year of the programme, which is free in terms of the services offered by the Uffizi Galleries, there is a full calendar of training meetings to teach the students not only about the operation of a large museum, but also the specific activities such as those carried out by the Protection Unit of the Carabinieri; at the end of the training stage, students are placed in some of the offices and departments or used for Info Desk activities at the Uffizi and Palazzo Pitti.

In the second year of the programme, students become Art and Green Ambassadors according to the now established training and operational procedures and in the final school year, which concludes with a state examination, students write their own report on their experiences at the Uffizi Galleries, always with the aid and collaboration of the Department of Schools and Young People.

The "Cultural Heritage Professionals" programme, dedicated to students from schools in Florence or the immediate vicinity, has inspired another programme, open from this school year to all of the schools in Italy and already quite a success: a totally free project, "A day at the Uffizi, on stage and in the wings", open to all Italian schools with an SW programme in Cultural Heritage. It allows all participants to achieve certification for six hours of work experience. This of-

fer includes a visit to the Uffizi Galleries or, on request and for special educational needs, to another museum in the group such as, for example, an institute in fashion, the Museum of Fashion and Costume. The day will continue with a lesson on the workings of a large museum, including explanations of the different offices and departments. It will end with a visit to one or two of the areas not usually open to the public, such as the Collection of Prints and Drawings, the Uffizi Library, or the Photographic Archive.

During this school year, we are working with a group of students from the Liceo Michelangelo in Florence, to develop a new SW programme specifically developed for students attending high school specializing in classical studies but also suitable for other schools, and known as ""What the Statues narrate. From ancient rhetoric to modern narrative". Starting from the now lost knowledge of the iconological reasons for placing specific statues in certain contexts in order to remind our educated visitors of ethical, civic or moral teachings. With the precious help of our archaeologist, Fabrizio Paolucci, we have imagined finding these cultural references and analysing them with students, who, with the aid of other lessons in the Gallery, take them on board, learning to recognise the importance of the collection of ancient statues in the Uffizi and creating brief narratives for specific groups of statues, metaphorically giving them a voice. At the end of this part of the historic, artistic, philosophical and literary educational process, there is a period of training

at the Centro di Avviamento all'Espressione, educational service of the Teatro della Pergola, with the aim of creating an event/show to take place at the Uffizi Galleries, where the ancient sculptures are preserved and which this year, inaugurated the "Uffizi Live" season.

This school year too, conditions are right for the development and trial of a new proposal from autumn 2018. This is inspired by the transmission of intangible cultural heritage, a strongly innovative project that will affect a type of work to characterise the ideal of excellence that is Florence. We don't intend to say too much about this new programme, which will be presented to schools and local people by Director Eike Schmidt during a press conference.

Diversifying the SW programmes, adding to the opportunities for relationships and contact with those employed in museums, simplifying bureaucracy as far as possible. This all sums up the commitment of the department for a work experience project that combines education in cultural heritage with career orientation, and cultural growth with a new awareness of career opportunities and responsibilities. Students become interested in the places where they carry out their tasks and at the same time, they realise how many operating functions and positions are needed to ensure the smooth running of such a complex, fascinating mechanism as a museum or other cultural centre, such as a historic garden, a library, an archaeological dig, a theatre or an archive. To make valid proposals for SW experience in the Cultural Heritage sector means not only "Good School" but also showing students - and others - just how much our sector has to offer for the economy and how much it needs new input from people willing to commit to safeguarding and making the most of our cultural heritage. The Uffizi Galleries aim to be an example of best practice for the sector and this is confirmed by constant growth in applications and the positive reviews from teachers and students who have worked with us and who have become, more than just users of our programme, genuine co-protagonists.

This consideration has led to a series of observations made during the course of the programme. The Department work group, which is highly committed to understanding the spirit behind and the practices of SW, started to appreciate certain conduct and group dynamics only when activities have been implemented in the different areas. Thus we discovered some extremely important but unexpected results. The programmes did not only achieve the targets, they went far beyond our expectations in psychological and sociological terms. While processing this situation, it was very useful for us to listen to the stories from teachers but above all, from direct observation of the way in which the students reacted when put to the test, not only by exhaustive training but also and above all by activities with a significant degree of responsibility.

During the first training meeting, generally held by me, students are reminded, tactfully and with lightness, to present themselves for work in clothing that reflects their respect towards the specific location in which they will be working and towards the visiting public.
Students surpassed our most optimistic expectations. They often arrived in jackets (even their parents were astounded and in at least one case reported by a teacher, called in to ask the reason for such unusually smart dressing) and the girls wore pretty, professional clothing. Some groups even invented a kind of uniform and got changed before they started work. This is a small gesture but it does communicate their wish to carry out their assigned tasks to the best of their abilities.
Another interesting aspect that it was possible to ascertain during the work experience, was the way in which the groups of students organised themselves to manage their work spaces and to make sure that each of them could have contact with visitors. Museum locations often have obligatory routes, presenting attractions to the public which can create assemblages or induce visitors to undervalue some works and areas, in spite of these being of great interest. Some groups invented a type of relay, bringing tourists to their companions from room to room and therefore constructing a varied narration with flow.
Many of these ideas were suggested by the museum educators who were in charge of training, but the students were able to put them into practice and to work as a team in a way that was not just good for the service but above all, it created a brand new class or group cohesion that would have been more difficult to achieve within the school building.
On more than one occasion, teachers told

us about students who were not particularly brilliant or hardworking becoming particularly active and responsible in performing their Ambassadors' activities. In some cases, these were students who had on more than one occasion expressed a wish to abandon their studies, but who found a new motivation from this work experience, going back to normal school work with improved self-esteem, convincing them to continue with their chosen studies.

This element seems particularly important, since abandoning studies is one of the most serious problems in the school system and not only in Italy. Young adults often have problems when it comes to looking at themselves and often enter into a spiral where a lack of success at school leads them to wishing to leave, to gain independence more quickly at work but without the necessary acquisition of a valid cultural preparation. A gratifying experience such as the one offered by the "Art Ambassadors" school and work experience, with contact with people who will not label you since they do not know you and who are, in general, full of compliments for what you do, helps you to find a new faith in yourself, build up your reputation with other students and find motivation to complete your studies.

Last, but by no means least, is the unexpected result from placing first-generation Italian students in work groups with the precise instruction to use, when the opportunity presented itself, their native language, as they normally speak at home. This happened after we were able to observe a pair of Russian students who accompanied four groups of tourists to the Boboli Gardens and who translated the visitors' comments from the original Russian into Italian. Their enthusiasm at being able to convey a cultural heritage that they considered their own, since they lived in Florence, into their home language had a profound effect on them. After this experience, we made it customary to proceed this way and the effect has been to increase the validity of the project, expanding it into cultural mediation.

All progress, as is evident from the above, comes from continued dialogue with all of those who have taken part in the experience: students, teachers, office staff, museum educators and parents, who in some cases wanted to let us know how much they have appreciated the project. This way of proceeding is a characteristic of the way that the educational department at the Uffizi Galleries works, guaranteeing results in a regime of full sharing and transparency, ensuring any critical issues for the SW programmes are minor and significantly below the percentages recorded for failing at school.

Working with students within the age range involved in the SW programme is not always easy and the best results are achieved when they are made to feel responsible and protagonists of actions that require everyone to do their job well.

Simone Rovida

WHEN ART TAKES CENTRE STAGE

Uffizi Live and live performance arts as a means to capitalise on museum resources.

The successful season of live performances Uffizi Live began in summer 2016, a great festival of events and performances shown with great success in the Gallery of Statues and Paintings during the museum's period of evening openings. It began as an attempt, a trial, a brand new experiment in cultural promotion, and an alternative means to capitalise on the art works at the Uffizi, strongly advocated by museum director Eike Schmidt. Today, at the start of the 2018 edition, this experiment can be seen to be bringing in results, which can be summed up as an initial balance sheet that in two years has shown a gradual increase in numbers and success with public audiences (an increase in visitor numbers of 114.25% compared to the previous edition, which had already shown a considerable increase of 81.21% compared to 2015). This also applies to the artists, who submitted some 580 projects for the call for entries in 2018, for a total number of just 15 available places, or rather, more than double the submissions received for 2017 and 25 times more than those submitted for the pilot edition of 2016.

The figures are extremely encouraging and not just in quantity terms. The average quality of the performances has increased, becoming ever more professional and aesthetically admirable. It has also been possible to extend the cultural and geographical pools of performers. In fact, compared to the two previous editions, 2018 stands out above all for the greater and more evidently international and intercultural vocation of its performances and artists, who this year are coming from all over the world, including Burkina Faso, Russia, China, France and Slovenia, without forgetting a varied and numerous group of talents from all over Italy: Piedmont, Sicily, Liguria, Veneto, Apulia, and Tuscany.

This Uffizi Live is therefore a small event that continues to grow, waiting to be explained. At the start it was referred to as a "brand new experiment". Why? Basically, setting up performance art shows inside museums is nothing new: galleries and cultural sites all over the world have been organising events of this type for years. Therefore, what is the innovative aspect of the idea behind this event? How can we say that Uffizi Live is an alternative museum experience, a starting point for the development of new models for using and capitalising on the art in our museums?

Moving towards the construction of a semiotic model for capitalising on art works

During the summer, every week - generally on Tuesdays - the Uffizi Galleries are open until 10 p.m. and from 7 p.m., there are live performances in the museum rooms, developed especially to dialogue with the art works in the collections and the spaces in the Gallery. The first significant new

element compared to like operations in similar art institutions is this: the Uffizi Galleries do not offer their rooms to host an event, to become the stage, backdrop or frame within which actors, dancers or musicians can exhibit themselves. The museum itself is the protagonist in the performances: artists are therefore stimulated, through a selection process, to create their own contribution to a real, deep, and specific dialogue with the art works shown in the Gallery, for the purposes of enhancing views and usage. It is almost like a commission from other times.

The performance arts included in the invitation to submit entries are truly varied in the attempt to interest a vast pool of users, with specific focus on a public that is as international as possible, on young people and on their language. So far, we have held theatre performances, dance, music, singing, happenings, juggling, illusionism, digital art, and new technologies. We have encouraged the use of the most diverse expressive means and registers, from traditional through to experimental, classic and contemporary, sacred and profane, drama to comedy, provocation and crossover, etc. There are no exclusions, other than to respect decorum and public decency, religious belief and sensibility towards different cultures.

From questionnaires given out to analyse the target and the relevant feedback from spectators at the event, it has emerged that the public choosing to remain and watch the performances - which are all free of charge, in the normally open rooms along the visiting route of the Gallery and without cordoning off any of the performance space - is mainly international, young (under 35) and in 90% of cases leaves positive feedback on account of being more used to seeing this type of experience in large international museums.

There has been some reluctance - albeit in sporadic, but interesting cases - from the Italian public, due to a lesser familiarity with this type of museum experience. It is a figure that is probably affected by a cultural trend that has been historicized in Italy for several decades. After the boom in the 1970s and '80s, when the performing arts were flourishing everywhere - even more so, if outside theatres - to meet a range of totally different people, in terms of culture, class, language, ethnicity, condition, with a markedly social function and vocation, we have seen, in the last forty years, a gradual ebb of said arts to back within the confines of their natural, original setting - the theatre. Technology has played its part in this, requiring dedicated and increasingly equipped stage settings, but there has also been a sea change in social and cultural attitudes and customs that have revolutionised the trends, languages and codes of all communication media, and last but not least, live performances.

Common opinion, therefore, would have it that the activities "cut out" of the chosen site - the theatre - are not always considered "art" by everyone, as if they were by-products or overly commercial or amateur offerings of a lesser level, which, "if

1
Stefania Stefanin,
Niobe, 28.06.2016

they were worth anything they would be in an important theatre instead of here". We are therefore not really surprised if some visitors in the questionnaire data considered the arts from the performances inside the museum - and therefore, outside the theatre, the only legitimate and legitimised location for such - not as genuine art forms able to dialogue with the other arts (paintings, sculptures, etc.) but rather as a more or less appropriate form of entertainment, a diversion, a divertissement.

In actual fact, the essence of the Uffizi Live experiment is to bring different - sister - arts together, so that one can legitimise and increase the value of the other, continuously. The difference is that figurative arts are known for being the ones to leave a mark, since they are a visible, tangible legacy of the past. The performing arts, however, are by their very nature "such stuff as dreams are made on", to borrow the words of Shakespeare - they are immaterial, without form. They leave no mark because they live, compared to paintings or sculptures, in an eternal present. They live in the very moment in which they are performed "strutting and fretting their hour upon the stage, and then being heard no more", to paraphrase Shakespeare in one of his famous quotes about acting. Compared to the figurative arts, theatre leaves no visible trace behind it; it does not live in any way within the realm of form or matter, and nor is it subject to the laws of time.

In the wake of this awareness, the projects selected for Uffizi Live must all be based on an intriguing semiotic intervention, where the codes of permeation, integration of signs, and the mixing of figurative and performance art languages come together to create multiple meanings, suggestions and perspectives on the works in the Gallery: new, creative and personal views that put forward hypotheses and stimulate thought, both through contemporary language - more appealing to the younger target museum audience - and through transnational languages, avoiding projects that are exclusively in Italian or consist-

ing merely of words, in a single language or dedicated to a single target.
For this purpose, to create and bring one's own art to one or more pieces, each artist is asked first to study, to let themselves be permeated and inspired by the masterpieces in the Uffizi and then, later, to choose the ones they can use to create a dialectical overlap with their own contemporary world, their "live" performance language, and last but by no means least, their own artistic feeling, and the different - because part of other codes - figurative arts by great geniuses of the past: painters, sculptors and architects who have made history and who now live again in the rooms of the Galleries.
Usually, each artist selected to give a performance will do more than study the pieces from books; they come for preliminary visits, to meet the works in person and to listen to them in their "live" contexts. They ask our staff for information, devise their own performance with regard not only - conceptually - to the works chosen, but also logistically, with regard to the specific areas in which they can perform in the Gallery, which need to be open so that visitors can move freely, without creating obstructions or bottlenecks, and without needing limits to or cordoning off of spaces, even during performances. The public must always be able to choose for themselves whether to continue with their visit or to stop and watch the performance, for as long as they wish. If visitors choose to remain, it will be only because the artist is able to capture their attention - for as long as they are able - in front of the art work featured in their performance piece.

"Four traps for the artist": the difficulties in performing at the Uffizi

The task requested of the artists performing at Uffizi Live is by no means an easy one. In substance, while developing their projects, they need to prepare for and manage a series of problems linked to the specific nature of the setting that is the Uffizi and which, in the wake of experiences to date, we can list in terms of semiotic function and signs, into four "traps" that they will have to negotiate if they are not to frustrate their creative efforts: the temptation of the mirror, the echo effect, the aquarium effect and the call of the sirens.

1. The perils of the mirror

Experience of previous editions has shown us that if to multiply the fascination of an artwork, the artist chooses to represent it, imitating it simply by proposing the subject and almost mimicking it physically to bring it to life in a sort of mirrored tableau vivant, this type of display is usually seen as weak and its impact on the public is mainly on the limits of déjà vu.
Paradoxically, what happens is that by visually reproducing a subject in a mir-

ror-like fashion or in any case, imitating it, tends to trivialise the art work rather than emphasise it. This is because it takes the work out of its own time, an absolute period in which onlookers project their different, multiple suggestions, perceptions and emotional, personal apperceptions. When an artist chooses to "mimic" or in any case reproduce the gestures and expressions of a painting or sculpture under the illusion of giving it life, they are in actual fact merely giving it a shape. And suddenly, all of the multiple rivulets of hidden meaning that a work encapsulates, are trivialised, losing their power and ability to charm.

Torn from its absolute time and catapulted into a present through simple "mimicry" and mirroring, the art work is forced into a single, unique form. It is "explained", given a single interpretation; an operation that, paradoxically, humbles its connatural polysemy and has the opposite effect to that hoped for, a "boomerang effect" for the artist. It is like pulling a single thread from a ball full of other threads in different colours; the whole length can be used but doubtless, its multi-coloured, overall effect will be lost, along with its charm and its increased potential compared to the single thread in a single colour. Imitating or copying the shapes of an artwork is a genuine trap for an artist seeking to establish an interesting dialogue and new flavours. The convulsions, torsions and spasms of a performer's body, based on or inspired by those carved in marble of the Laocoön by Baccio Bandinelli can never convey the same plastic intensity or the same "real" and boundless dramatic power, if this was the intention of the performance artist. Unless it is an educational or style exercise, it is never right for the performer to "give in" to the temptation to "copy" and to set him or herself up as a mirror for the art.

2. The echo effect

The "echo effect" that performances can create with regard to the art work the artist has chosen for establishing a rapport, is complementary to but also the opposite to the "mirror trap". If, the performer is being an externalobserver in the case of mirroring, in a sort of symmetrical representation of the world, or an imitation from the front or back, in the case of echoing, the artist seeks to identify him or herself with the work or space, becoming an observer, this time from the inside, almost a part or an appendage to the piece: like an "amplifier of meaning" or semantic megaphone. Let's look at an example.

Performing a concert of mediaeval music in the 13th -14th century Sala delle Maestà, or a baroque dance before the St Lawrence by Bernini, is not enough on its own to add a surplus of meaning.

At times it is - wrongly - believed that by overlapping time in the choice of programmes to be performed, above all by great composers and artists in the fields of music, dance and theatre, in line with the eras of the painters and sculptors displayed in the Gallery, the event cre-

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Versiliadanza,
Looking for visions, 14.06.2016

ates itself. The performances may be of the highest prestige and in the best possible cases, will contribute to creating an atmosphere that is perfectly in line with the artwork being viewed. However, these are not the right projects for Uffizi Live. In this context, it is not a great idea to rebuild what is inside the work or its historic context or cultural humus, in a perfect, philological manner. There should also be no attempt to identify with the genius loci of the Uffizi.

It can occur that when a performer limits him or herself to illustrate the route of chronological consonance, without adding anything but just bringing together artists from different fields, such as musicians and painters, solely because they lived in the same period, rather than multiplying meanings and signs (which as we mentioned is the ultimate aim of the Uffizi Live model), all that happens is that they overlap. Overlapping does not mean multiplying. The effect is often that of "accompanying" the art work, amplifying or stressing the content or subject of a painting or a sculpture, or a piece of architecture, without providing a new or alternative perspective. An "echo effect" is therefore essentially identical voices, one over the other, with no change to the original and with an end result that consists merely of amplifying the "volume" of the original message, as when using a megaphone. There is no process that constructs new meaning.

3. The aquarium effect

The risk of the "aquarium effect" concerns the logistic hazard of insufficient space, an incorrect spatial relationship between the artist's body and the art inside the Uffizi. This is why every project needs to be preceded by a considerable amount of time studying the area as well as inspec-

tions on site and not just carried out over the internet or using virtual tools. The risk is otherwise that of not capturing the "sense of size".

For example, it is not possible to think about a piece of choreography for ten dancers when choosing a Flemish painting that is 20x20 cm, and in the same way it is not possible to design a performance around a piece if this is in a place that is logistically difficult to manage, perhaps in a small space or a passageway where the flow of visitors would be obstructed.

However, even the choice of the larger rooms does not always take into account that the space in question is not in any case "theatrical", where - as the Greek root of the word suggests, seamless vision is guaranteed from any point. Here the artist is actually called upon to interact on the same visual level as the work (and therefore, not from a raised stage that can be seen from a distance) or even below or above the work itself. If one is not skilled in transforming these minuses into pluses in performance terms, there is a risk of creating an "aquarium effect", where the spectator, viewing from a distance that is both physical and emotional, is as if behind glass. This means an experience without empathy, without understanding or seeing, watching the artists "drown" in the space, and being limited to seeing him or her move and interact from a distance, without understanding the meaning.

The Sala della Niobe, for example, attracts many artists who would like to perform in a larger margin of space. It is also true that it is a room where it is always difficult to identify a proper area for the performance since, in spite of the size, there is no raised platform and the public - which is often standing to watch the performance - can gather in large numbers, limiting viewing to the first two or three rows of lucky people. Therefore, the fact of having so much available space risks penalising the performance, especially if it is non-moving, i.e., it is taking place in a single point with a single perspective focus. It is true that a large audience can fit into the room, but it is also true that if the performance is not properly arranged, the majority of those present will not see much. Viewing problems will always create disaffection, irritating the audience and causing people to abandon the atmosphere and break the silence, the "narrative pact" that bonds performers and their public at every performance. Considering that there are no chairs, no stage and no cordoned off stage, or privileged viewpoints and areas set out specially, the only way to create a performance area is with the performance in progress, with no other aids.

4. The call of the sirens

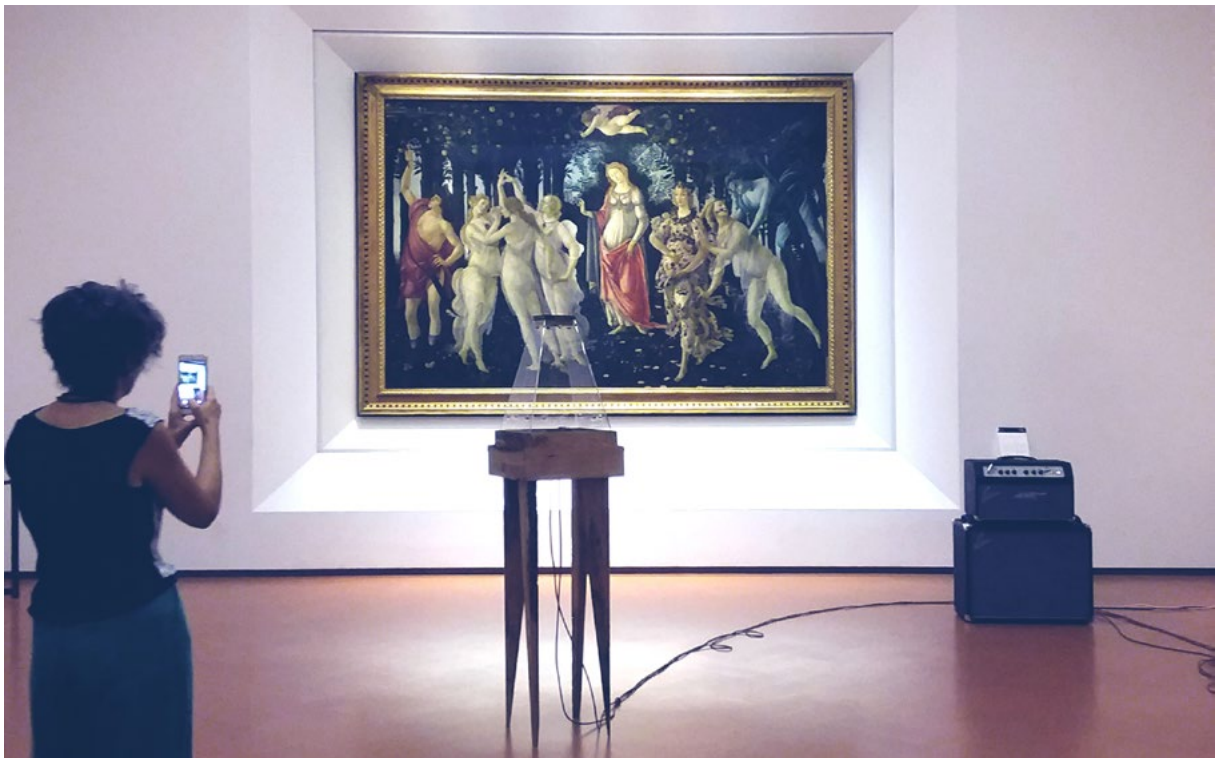
The reference here is to the sirens in the Homer's myth, and it refers to the hidden dangers of the artist's choice to become caught up in the powerful and seductive call of the most famous works in the Uffizi. Without considering that it is the performance that needs to

3 Naomi Berril, *Ritratti di donne*, 11.07.2017

shed new light on the artwork, not the other way around.

For example, when choosing The Birth of Venus by Botticelli as the centre of a performance, the artist needs to be well aware that it is not the masterpiece that needs to enhance the performance, but exactly the opposite. And to achieve this result, the project has to be completely original, calibrated, and studied in detail. What new things are there to say about Botticelli's Venus without risking the opposite effect, i.e., that the visual and communicative power of this absolute masterpiece - which is a genuine cultural icon of our times - risks dominating and swallowing up the work of the artist and their performance, just like the case of the sailors on the island of the Sirens in the Odyssey, crushing them, making them become small, and ruining what looked like being a promising success? The risk is always that the "consummate", "hyper-celebrated" work of art prevails and steals the scene, and a great masterpiece almost never accepts the role of co-star. It will also never be a backdrop or set, since it lives a life of its own.

These are works that "speak", in a strong voice that is both recognisable and powerful, with their own seductive magnetism that risks prevailing over any other thing or person in the vicinity. It is the power of the absolute masterpiece. "For no one has ever sailed past this place until he has listened to the honey-sweet voice that issues from our



4 Gli Impresari & Giacomo mercuriali, *Fauna-concerto per insetti*, 26.09.2017

lips", these artworks seem to say to the visitors who gaze on them, enchanted, "then goes on, but well pleased, knowing more than he ever did". And in the meantime, however, "all about is a great heap of bones of men, corrupt in death, and round the bones the skin is wasting" (Odyssey, book XII).

Botticelli's "Insectophone"

What we can say though is that the creative humus of the artistic and performance panorama is surprisingly fertile and that the final projects selected for Uffizi Live are unexpectedly dense and relevant, as well as having excellent aesthetic quality, even when measured against the great masterpieces in the Gallery, including its modern-day "icons". One such example is a performance that was a great success with the public last year.

An experimental contemporary music collective built a network of oxymoronic relations with Botticelli's Allegory of Spring.

The artists first created a clear glass case into which they brought real insects from the meadow of Spring to live and move (crickets, grasshoppers and beetles). After amplifying the case to the maximum and placing it in front of the painting, where all visitors could see it, like an installation, they stimulated the insects to move. When the

5
Collettivo ARTEDA,
Innesti plurali, 13.06.2017

insects jumped about, crawled, ate or chirruped, their movements produced sounds (hence the name "insectophone"), which when amplified, were sampled by musicians in real time, creating melodies and adding sounds and life to the green carpet of Spring. This is an operation that not only achieved a significant aesthetic quality in terms of music, but which was also dense with meaning. This is because against the neo-Platonist vision of Botticelli's painting, where the ideas of Beauty and perfect, idealised Form are triumphant against the background of a floral meadow with its many symbols and allegories, it pitted an anti-Platonic, empirical, material vision. The starting point of the naturalist's observation, i.e., the inevitable vital, invisible and formless principle that literally comes before the idea because it is the starting subject - the inspiration - is then separated from the perfect, idealised and neo-Platonic Spring. It is what we fail to see in the world's most famous meadow, but which necessarily does exist. It is what perhaps threatens and undermines it from below; what cannot be seen but can be heard: the sound of the mysterious meadow.

This was a fascinating operation and a great success with the public on many levels, breaking many binomially opposed vectors of sense: up-down, shape-shapeless, sight-hearing, beautiful-ugly, ideal-necessary, spirit-matter, flora-fauna, etc. The performances built on an oxymoronic relation with the art work are, of all the projects presented at Uffizi Live, those that have been most successful with the public. We might say, they are the ones that work best. "Breakdowns" pay: the mark of discontinuity, friction, polarity and the coincidence of opposites, if done intelligently and with sensitivity, finally seem to reward the audacity of the artists that propose them.

On-site dimension + Online dimension: the paradigm of Uffizi Live communication

Up to now, we have described the perception and experience of Uffizi Live seen by the public and the artists, as we have brought together and identified it in the past editions and up to today. From an in-house viewpoint, seen by the Staff and Management at the Uffizi, what is the aim and the expected result of a collection of performances of this type, designed especially according to a formula and a model as described here?

The aim is twofold but related. First of all, there is a definite desire to promote and enrich the on-site dimension of the museum experience, making suitable, original and detailed use of the collections in the Uffizi to improve the quality of the cultural offer and at the same time, attract a larger number of visitors, bringing in different sectors of the public, including - and why not? - those who don't go to museums much, but who might be attracted by a varied range of performing art styles, or those who enjoy the idea of a more "personal" museum experience, with the emotional involvement that can be stimulated by performance. It is an experience that is also offered at unusual times for a museum - the evening, when the atmosphere changes, when dialogue with the artworks is different, and more intimate, when the light of the summer sunsets in Florence adds glorious view upon glorious view to the Uffizi. It is also an extra opportunity for those who are simply - as it was - seeking new, alternative ways to enjoy institutions and places of culture across the board.

On the other hand, there is also the wish to promote an online dimension for the museum experience, communicating events in a collection of performances broadcast on digital channels and by live streaming. The aim is to attract public and followers who are geographically

6
Compagnia Simona Bucci,
Sussurri, 05.09.2017

distant, through the social networks of the Uffizi Galleries, which serve to promote both artistic heritage and the desire of users to be "there", in a temple to art, to share in the all-round experience of a large museum, even from a distance. It is a way to make everyone feel as if they are taking part, even on a more emotional level. In this way, we are boosting the numbers of "virtual visitors", together with the desire to live the experience in situ one day, incentivising the organisation of trips to the Uffizi, from all over the world, perhaps thanks to the content transmitted through the Gallery's social networks and website.

This is why, as already mentioned, the two dimensions - on-site and online - for promoting the museum experience must always be considered in a correlated, seamless manner. If this is true, as a general part of a constructive and sound use of the museum's artistic heritage, it is even more so in the communication of a series of live shows inside the museums where word of mouth, as triggered by social media, is now an essential means of promotion, appeal, and "communication of new features".

The "Circle of the Muses". The Uffizi's historic vocation as a "meeting place"

In conclusion, in this look at the thus far successful "case of Uffizi Live" it is worth remembering that through an operation of this type, the Uffizi has actually rediscovered a "vocation" that is already written in its genes since it was built in the 16th century and beyond, at least until the 18th.

The Uffizi was historically created as a meeting point and a place of conver-

gence and cultural, social, economic, political, administrative and juridical exchanges. From an architectural viewpoint, this - completely humanistic - vocation for contamination is restored in the creation of spaces dedicated to a wealth of different activities, brought together, to be adjacent and in some cases, intermeshed. It is certainly true for the spaces dedicated to the display of masterpieces of art and science, adjacent to the "uffizi", the building for economic and legal affairs, together with the spaces dedicated to the performing arts. A complete autonomous universe that encompasses itself.

On the second floor of the building designed by Vasari, the architect Buontalenti created the Tribuna to house the works of art from the Grand Dukes's private collection, while his collection of scientific instruments is housed in the adjacent Stanzino delle Matematiche. On the first floor, he built the so-called Teatro Mediceo, a theatre just a few metres away from another, pre-existing and more popular theatre, the Teatrino di Baldracca, which is now part of the modern-day Uffizi Library. The Niobe Room, on the second floor of the Gallery, was for a long time known as the Theatre of Niobe. All of these examples show us that in fact we are talking about a place where, in the full humanist spirit of the Renaissance, the arts and sciences conversed and were mutually influenced, much before there began to be any of the specialisation of knowledge we see in the modern era. The sense of the experience and the new nature of the Uffizi Live project are therefore paradoxically in the rediscovery of the oldest and almost philological value of the term "museum" which - as the etymology suggests - is the "place of the Muses", of all the Muses, not just some

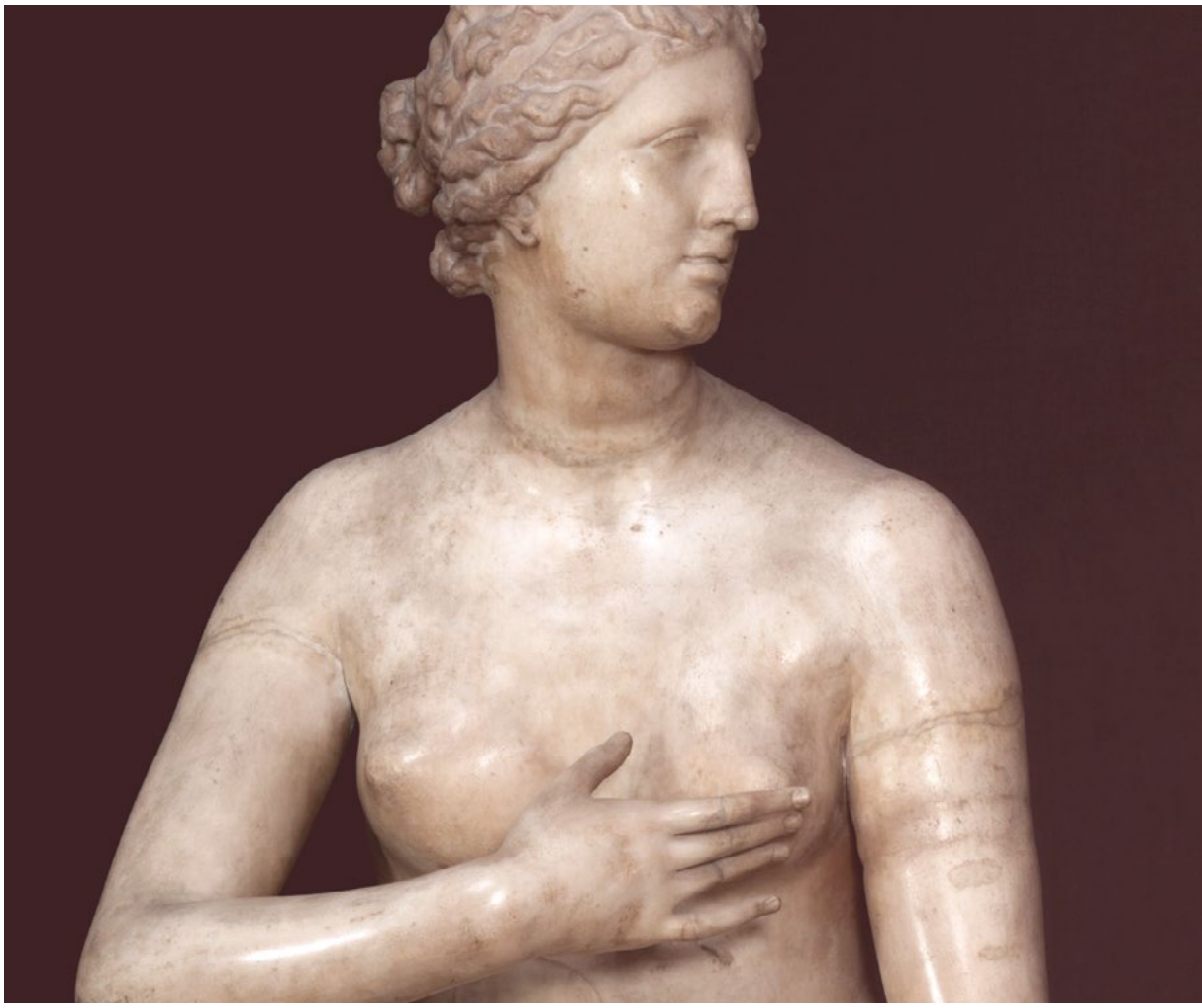
7
Dummies Project,
Perseus Room, 25.07.2017

8
Gabin Dabirè, *Note more: una metamorfosi musicale*, 12.06.2018

of them: art, literature, science, song, theatre, dance and more. Therefore, it is a place that is not just about preserving memory (it is no coincidence that in mythology, the Muses are the daughters of Memory and museums are mainly set up as places for memory): a "museum" may also be a meeting place, a place for exchanges, aggregation, research, contamination between areas of knowledge and ideas. It is a place in which to rediscover a collective, lay ritual that may - among other things - be the experience itself of being inside a museum. This is because the Muses have "dancing" among their prerogatives, i.e., movement; mixing together, touching, and creating movements with their thoughts. It is no coincidence that the Muses often have an aptitude for exchanging positions in their dancing circle.

Exchanges of content: global connections and interconnections, hyper-connections, cross-media systems... This also seems to be what the circle of dancing Muses is all about: examples and models that, mutatis mutandis,echo from the ancient world (almost an archetype of the myth), through to our times, to offer new ideas on which to build new ways of looking at and experiencing museums in the 21st century.

The rediscovery of certain archetypes can have the value and flavour of something avant-garde and this is the successful case of Uffizi Live.



Elvira Altiero, Federica Cappelli
Lucia Lo Stimolo, Gianluca Matarrelli

AN ONLINE DATABASE FOR THE CONSERVATION AND STUDY OF THE UFFIZI ANCIENT SCULPTURES

The idea of digitising the restoration documents for the ancient sculptures in the Uffizi, using SICaR goes back to 2014. SICaR is an open-source software that makes it possible to collect, organise and consult, online, all types of documents about an intervention, with the added possibility of being able to map the information on a measurable 2D image of a sculpture.

www.sicar.beniculturali.it:8080/website

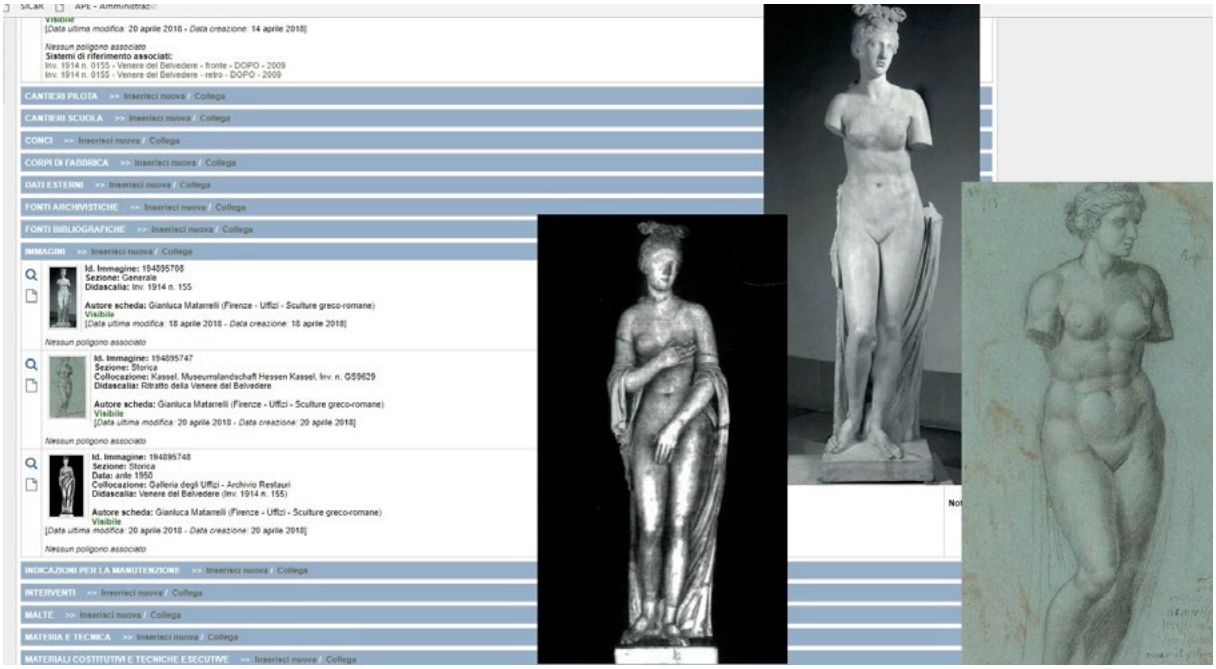
Over the last decade the restoration work of the Department of Classical Antiquity of the Gallery of Statues and Paintings has been particularly intense, with more than 200 interventions carried out on works of various types, ranging from full figure statues, to busts, sarcophagi, urns, funerary altars, altars and epigraphs. Almost all of them were handmade objects in white marble and, in rare instances, small bronzes and breccia or coloured marbles.

Exhibitions devoted to sculptures from the deposits, the opening of new rooms reserved for the display of ancient statuary, the restoration of historic areas of the Gallery containing the best pieces of the archaeological collection (Niobe Room, Tribuna and the Stanzino delle Matematiche) and the growing number of requests for loans for national and international exhibitions of the museum's marbles all gave rise to this work.

Public and private funding has supported this concentration of initiatives. In the fortunate case of the Uffizi, the latter was particularly significant thanks to the generosity of non-profit organizations, both Italian and foreign, such as Italia Nostra, Amici degli Uffizi, Friends of Florence. Moreover, at the same time, the management has organized special tours of Greek and Roman sculpture, offering visitors a number of opportunities to get to know and admire the dozens of classical statues, portraits and reliefs, which for centuries have made the Medici collection and the "Gallery of Statues" so well-known.

Insofar as it was possible to tell, this conservation project has had, in addition to scientific repercussions, a positive effect on the Gallery's communications programme. The Uffizi's public, which is normally attracted almost exclusively to the Renaissance masterpieces, has shown a growing interest in the renewed prestige of the archaeological nucleus, thanks to the restoration work that has returned it to its full splendour.

These interventions have been carried out almost exclusively by external professionals who since 2016 have been chosen directly by the management, together with the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence. Restorers are contractually required to provide documentation of the work carried out upon completion of the work – as foreseen by Italian legislation – including a final report on the restoration and photographic documentation of the state of the artefact before, during and after the intervention. All the documentation is kept in the Gallery's Restoration Archive, which consists of paper copies and traditional photographic materials (negatives, slides, photographs) as well as digital materials, collected in files organized using a progressive numbering system (known as GRU, i.e. Gabinetto Restauri Uffizi), allocated based on the date of entry of the documentation and the classification of the object (paintings on canvas and wood panels, sculptures and tapestries). The experimental digitization of the Uffizi's ancient sculptures restoration documents in the SICaR in-



1
Venus of Belvedere (inv. 1914 n. 155), the Levante Corridor,
historical photographic documentation attached to the Mobile Works data sheet

formation system dates back to the end of 2014. The decision was taken as a result of the determination of MiBACT to make the use of the database habitual in the programming and management of restorations, encouraging us to test its effectiveness and usefulness in the context of the ordinary and extraordinary conservation activities of our collections.

What is SICaR

SICaR (*Sistema Informativo per i Cantieri di Restauro,* Information System for Restorations) is an open-source software dedicated to restoration. It is an online working database for the collection, organization and consultation of all types of documents (text, graphic, photographic, video) regarding the intervention, with the ability to map this information onto a 2-D image of the object. The web-based GIS system essentially permits the creation of a single "container" for a set of heterogeneous – and where appropriate geo-referenceable – data (technical, scientific, administrative, historical, artistic) produced during a restoration: the preliminary provisions laid down in the planning phase, the state of critical studies, the results of diagnostic investigations, descriptions of the phases of the intervention, the maintenance plan and monitoring.

The aspects of the programme that seemed to be the most interesting right from the start and that persuaded us to use it systematically were without doubt the opportunity to share the information entered in real time and the

interoperability with other online digital archives. In fact, when the works were initiated, we decided to use SICaR on one hand as a freely accessible database to store the technical and scientific information that came to light during the most recent restorations, and on the other hand, to facilitate communication with other digital archives adopted by management. Therefore, it was decided in agreement with MiBACT to transfer to the SICaR system all the documentation regarding the restoration of ancient sculptures since 2009 directed by Fabrizio Paolucci, curator of the Uffizi antiquity collections.

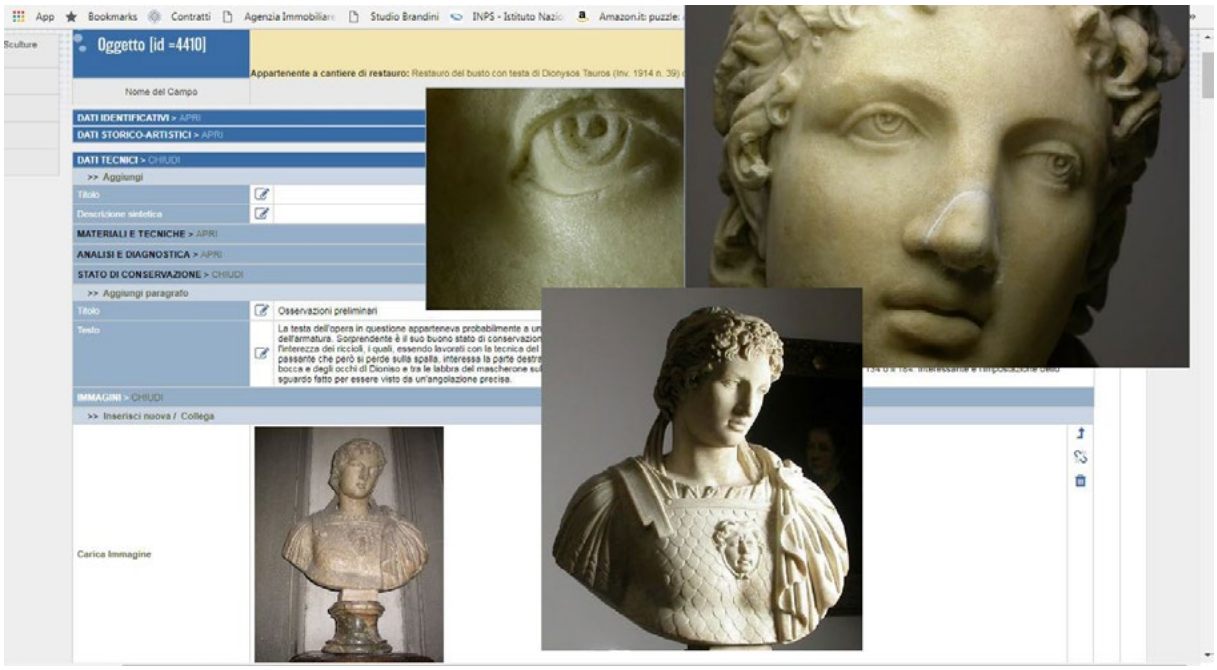
After an initial phase of consultation and comparison with storage models we had already tested, during which the modalities of the conceptual organization of the data were defined in principle, we proceeded with the training of operators specifically dedicated to the entry of the documentation into the database. From the outset we realized that, in most cases, we would be working with documentation for already completed restorations, which meant that on the one hand digitization would be quick and on the other hand that there would be an inevitable dwindling of new, collectable information.

With regard to the compilation criteria it was decided to adopt a coded scheme organized into three interconnected sections, "Mobile Works", "Restoration" and "Reference System", referring respectively to the cataloguing of the object, the description of the restoration and its graphic representation.

Mobile Works

This section presents the main fields of the ICCD data sheets and can be considered to be the identity card of the work. It contains the essential information (author or cultural sphere, title, inventory number, dating, material and technique, measurements, legal status, etc.), the description of the object (what it portrays and which are the ancient parts and modern integrations), historical and critical information (iconography and history of the work, with an indication of the places in which has been exhibited or kept) and bibliographical references. Generally the data sheet is linked to an image and where possible to other historical photographic documentation, as in the case of the *Venus of Belvedere d*ata sheet (inv. 1914 no. 155; fig. 1), to which the following have been linked: reproduction of a sixteenth-century drawing by a Flemish author depicting the statue still in one piece after the Ammannati restoration and a photo of the sculpture taken before the Fifties depicting it with the eighteenth-century integrations which were removed later .

Another example of historical data is the data sheet of the *Funerary altar of C. Telegennio Antho* (inv. 1914 no. 973) to which the reproduction of a Gaspar Van Wittel painting and a Giovanni Francesco Venturini incision are linked. Both the seventeenth-century works depict the



2
Bust with head of Dionysos Tauros (inv. 1914 n. 39),
ground floor of the monumental staircase entrance,
Restoration Object sub sheet with images of the intervention phases.

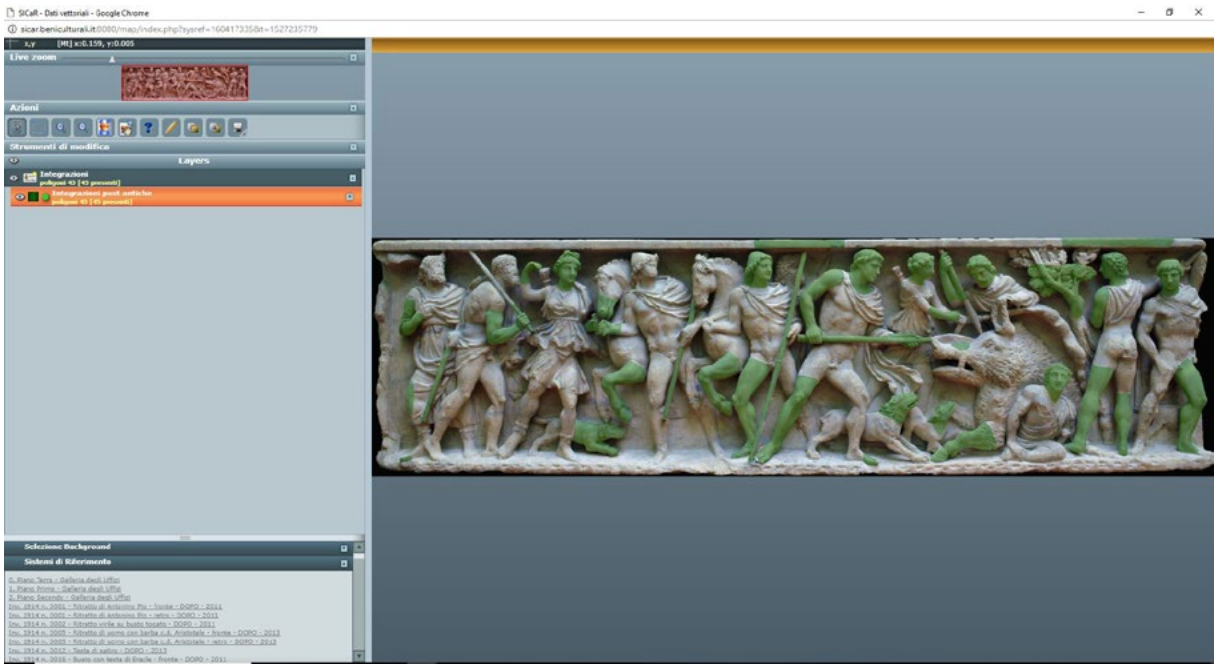
rear façade of the Villa Medici in Rome, where in the centre in front of the staircase a Flavia era altar is shown, used as the basis of Bartolomeo Ammannati's *Marte Gradivo*. A connection has also been established with a photo of Marino Marini's *Pomona* statue, which was also on an altar in the past.

The "Mobile Works" section is georeferenced on the Gallery's floor plan where the work is located; therefore, the user can immediately see the exact location of the sculpture in the museum.

Restorations

This section contains all the information regarding the restoration, from the date of execution to the administrative data (who funded, carried out and supervised the work), and the actual report in the "Object" sub sheet (fig. 2), where the process of the intervention is illustrated in detail, accompanied by extensive photographic documentation. The initial paragraphs are dedicated to the constituent materials of the work and the technique employed; followed by a paragraph on the diagnostic analysis undertaken, a description of the state of conservation of the sculpture before restoration and any previous interventions and, lastly, the work phases, specifying the tools and materials used by the restorer.

Three clear, descriptive images of the restoration are attached to the "Restoration" sheet, one for each of the main stages of the operation ("Before", "During" and "After"), so that the user has an instant and concise overview of the whole operation carried out.



3
Sarcophagus Calydonian hunting scene (inv. 1914 n. 135), Room 34, reference system with the mapping of post-ancient integrations.

It is interesting to note that among the many benefits that SICaR offers with respect to traditional documentation is the opportunity to add archival and historical iconographic input from external sources, for a better understanding of the work upon completion of the restoration documentation. For example, in the case of the *Hercules and Nessus* sculpted group (inv. 1914 no. 77), comparison with the print in Gori's book on Florentine sculptures and the drawing from the illustrated inventory put together by the abbot De Greyss (both works from the middle of the 18th century) has proved to be particularly important in defining the antiquity of props visible in the group today.

Reference System

The "Reference System" is the graphic base on which the mappings are drawn, which in turn refer to information relating to the state of conservation and restoration of the object. Unlike the previous purely alphanumeric sections, this shows the intervention, projecting it directly onto the measurable image of the object. In order to give a comprehensive and exhaustive overview of the work carried out on three-dimensional objects, four photos of the sculpture are usually employed (front, right side, left side, back), normally relating to the next step of the restoration and on which the polygons are traced with different colours, highlighting the additions, alterations, damage found and the operations performed. Each polygon refers to a

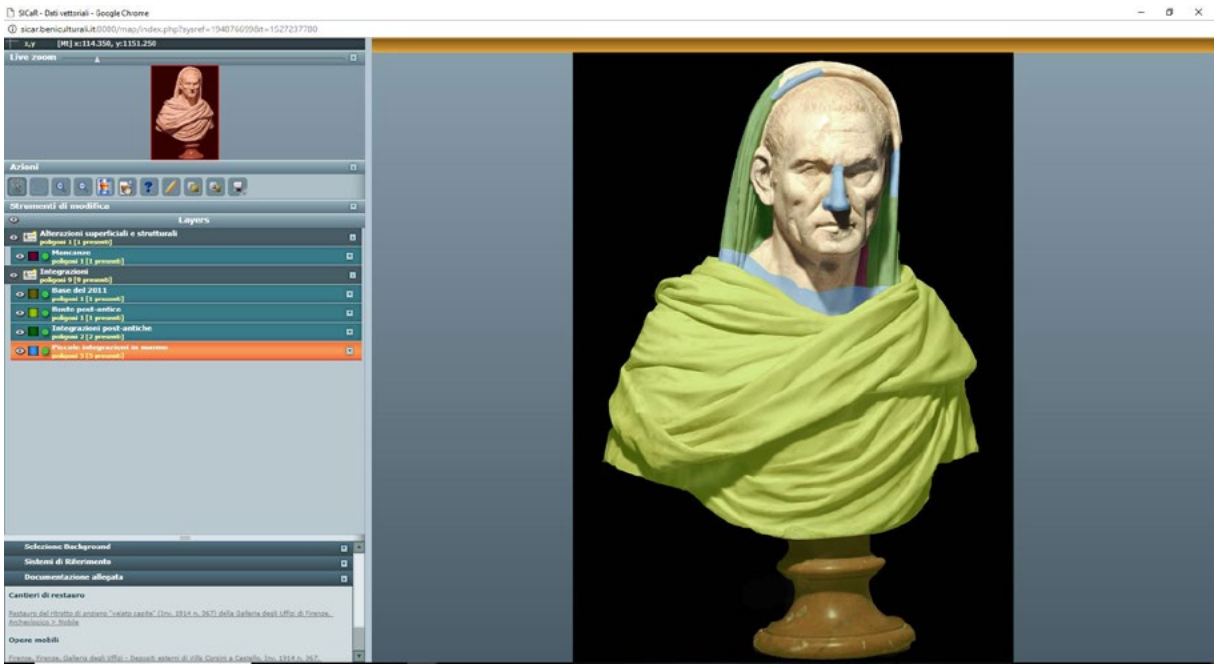
legend of categories and "subcategories" (i.e. the levels or layers of work), which the user decides to activate or deactivate according to need.

Of the main categories identified as essential for the implementation of the database, the integrations carried out on the antique marbles stand out (post-ancient and/or modern). Thanks to the completeness of the restorer's graphic reports, they have been shown in all the reference systems realized (figs. 3-4).

Given the documentation in our possession, the structuring of the layer category related to the state of conservation is more complex, since in most cases the completion report does not include a corresponding image. In particular, it has been difficult to carry out the mapping of the surface deterioration or deposits that were highlighted in the course of the intervention. Not having been reported in the mappings they were no longer recognizable and consequently not geo-referenceable. This was the case for *Apollo Sauroktonos restaurato come Liricine* (inv. 1914 no. 249), where it was impossible to limit areas affected by more resistant dirt or the protective layer applied during the previous restoration (probably fluorinated copolymer).

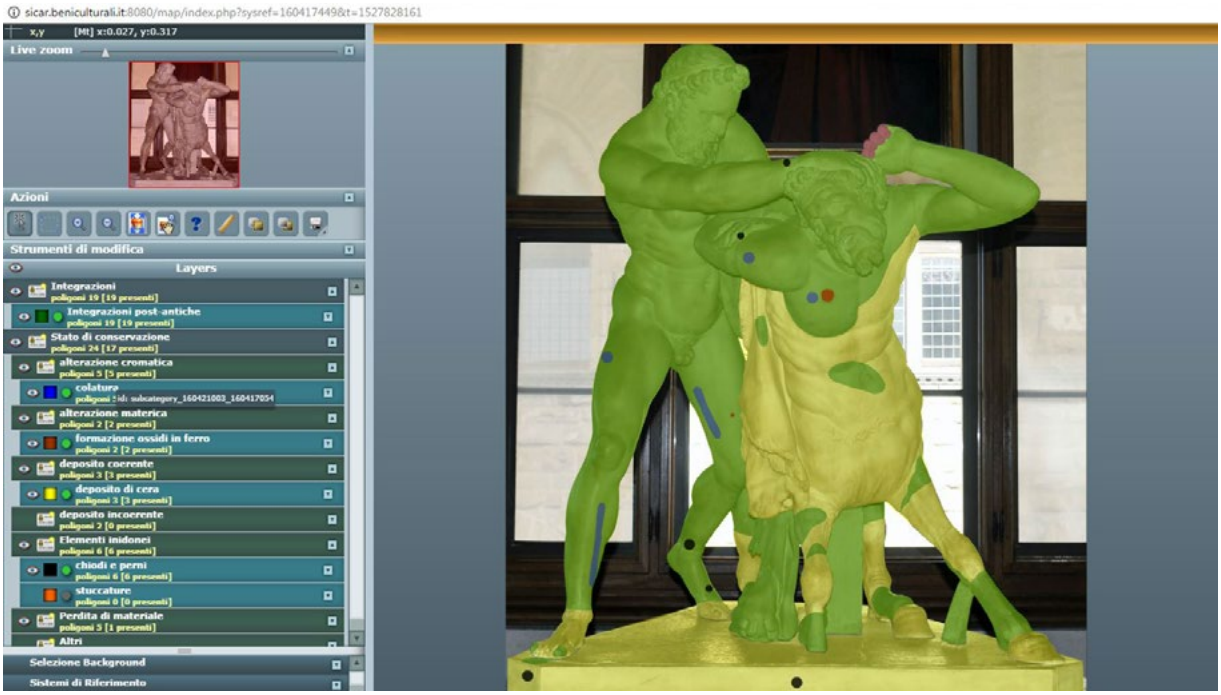
A good example, which attests to an important exception with respect to the above-mentioned difficulties in mapping the state of conservation, is seen in the group sculpture of *Hercules and the Centaur Nesso* (fig. 5), whose restoration constitutes a model of the use of SICaR simultaneously with the execution of the restoration. In this intervention, the restorer Paola Rosa managed to gather a considerable amount of important information concerning the conservation conditions and to carry out, in the course of the work, mappings of the decay and deterioration, identifying them with the GIS employed. It would be helpful if operators in the sector were to contribute to the drafting of the IT data sheets, at least for the technical aspects. A further opportunity for fruitful collaboration occurred during the restoration of the *Hora* statue (inv. 1914 no. 136), for which the restorer herself, Miriam Ricci, carried out the digitalization as she worked. Therefore, it is not too much to hope that in the near future, the SICaR cataloguing model will replace traditional documentation completely.

The mappings highlighted, among other things, any traces of ancient colours detected in the analysis. In fact, in the documentation entered in SICaR the data derived from the results of archaeometric surveys carried out on the Gallery's sculptures converge, both at the time of the restoration and in other years. In particular, many years of active cooperation between the Uffizi Gallery and the Department of Chemistry of the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia team, coordinated by Professor Pietro Baraldi, has allowed us to carry out systematic research on the traces of ancient colours with extremely good results. Given that it is possible to create one or more connections between polygons and data sheets of all kinds in the system, in the



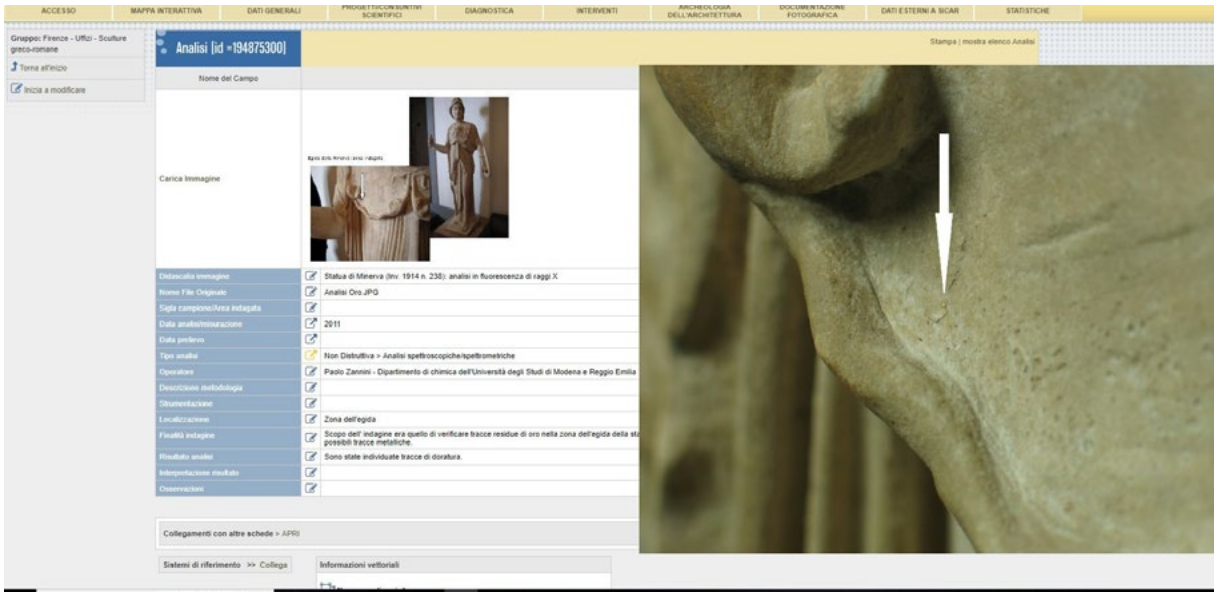
4

Portrait of elderly person "velato capite" (inv. 1914 n. 367),
Villa Corsini a Castello external deposits,
reference system of the front with the mapping of alterations and additions.



5

Hercules and the Centaur Nessus (inv. 1914 n. 77), the Levante Corridor,
reference system with the mapping of integrations, of chromatic and textural changes,
of deposits of wax and unsuitable elements.



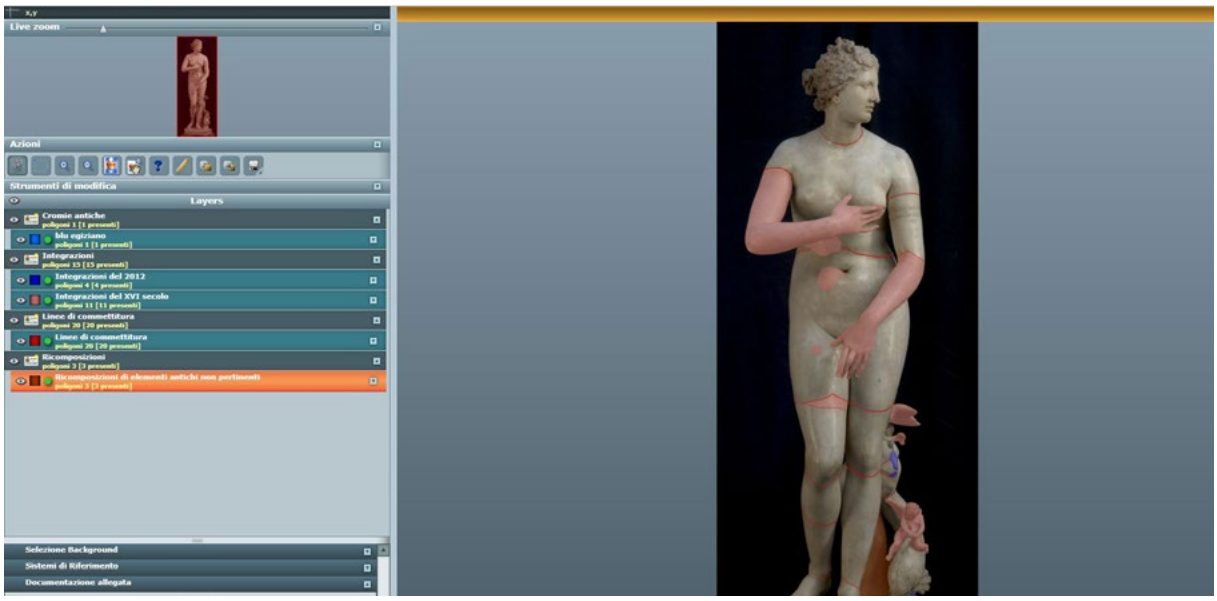
6
Statue of Minerva (inv. 1914 n. 238), Room 96, Analysis data sheet with photos of the traces of gold.

case of the colours we have chosen to connect the polygons representing the traces of colour with the relevant previously compiled "Analysis" data sheet and, where possible, also with a corresponding image (Fig. 6). Examples include perhaps the most famous Uffizi statue, the *Medici Venus* (inv. 1914 no. 224; fig. 7), where traces of gold were found on the hair (fig. 8) and Egyptian blue on the wave under the dolphin; or the *Bas-relief with Maenads* (inv. 1914 no. 318; fig. 9), surprising for the quantity of colorimetric data found, in particular for the traces of the original coating of gold leaf used for the women's hair, jewellery and the thyrsus, as well as for the residue of purple on the garments.

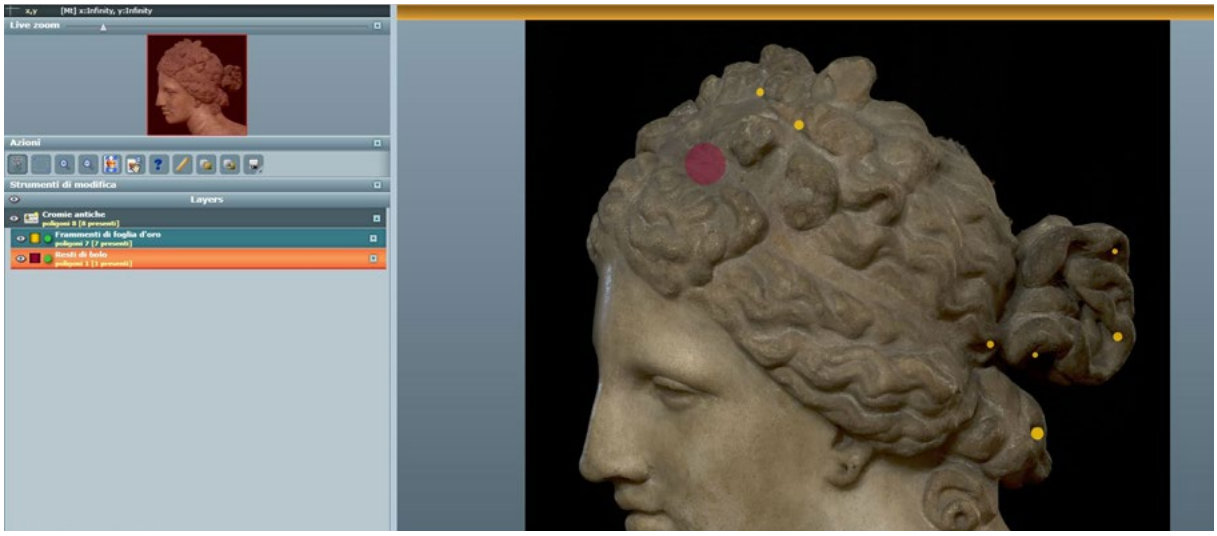
Lastly, it should be mentioned that in this respect two important interventions took place between 2015 and 2016. The first was the *Medicean Vase* (inv. 1914 no. 307), the precious marble vessel of the 1st century B.C., which is in the process of being entered in SICaR. During the restoration analyses were carried out that revealed several traces of colour including gold, Egyptian blue, cinnabar red and various shades of ochre. In the second, the restoration of the already cited *Funerary altar of C. Antho Telegennio*, ancient remains of colour were also found: red and green on the leaves of the tree carved on the right side and red near the epigraphic mirror in the front (fig. 10).

Future Projects

There are now 133 Uffizi works catalogued in SICaR, many of which can already be freely accessed by external users. The others are still not visible either because they are incomplete or being revised. As regards future projects, very soon we will enter into SICaR the mappings of the "grotesque" frescoes in the



7
Medici Venus (inv. 1914 n. 224), Tribuna, the front reference system with the mapping of ancient colours, integrations, joinings and recompositions.



8
Medici Venus (inv. 1914 n. 224), Tribuna, reference system of the head with the mapping of ancient colours.

Gallery's Levante Corridor, thus contributing to the spread of knowledge on the extraordinary sixteenth-century pictorial decorations of the Uffizi.

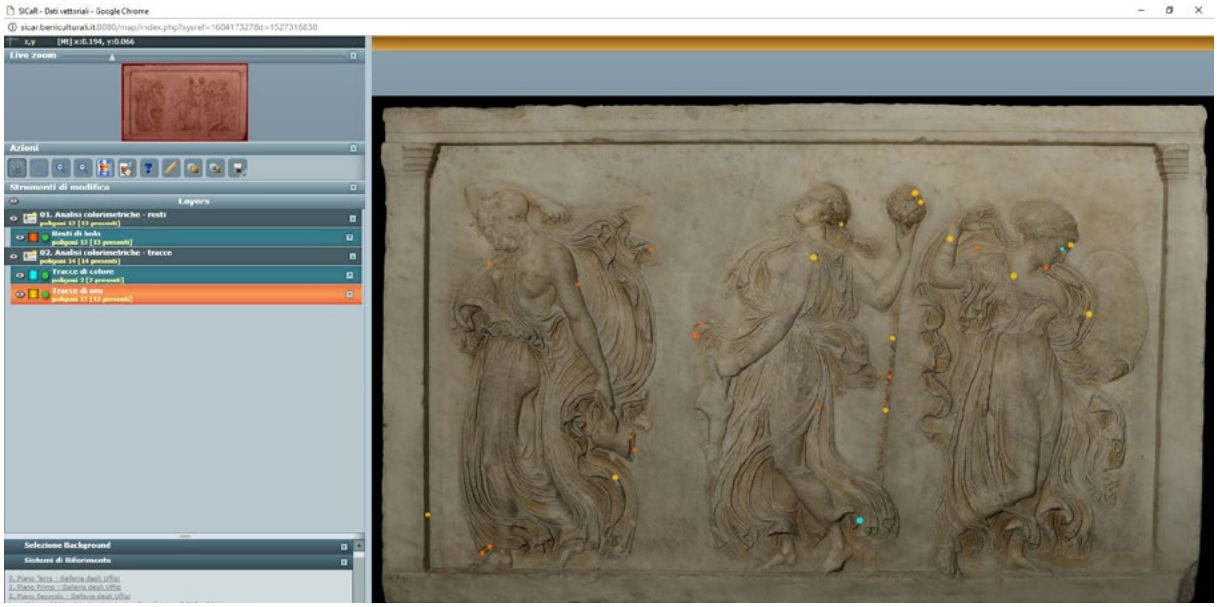
Moreover, thanks to the willingness of the Gallery to invest in the programme, shortly some system developments will be implemented, including new commands and, consequently, simpler data entry and structure. It will then be possible for external users to navigate in a more simple and intuitive way, and to better visualize links, attachments and external data of various kinds.

Within a museum context as important as the Uffizi, the use of SICaR could be

able to offer a significant contribution to the management of the state of the works and the programming of future initiatives. In fact, the system is also congenial to monitoring the condition of assets in the exhibition spaces, the planning of ordinary maintenance and the recording of movements. The synoptic display and chronological history of the conservation of the work will enable experts to find past reports immediately when planning any subsequent interventions.

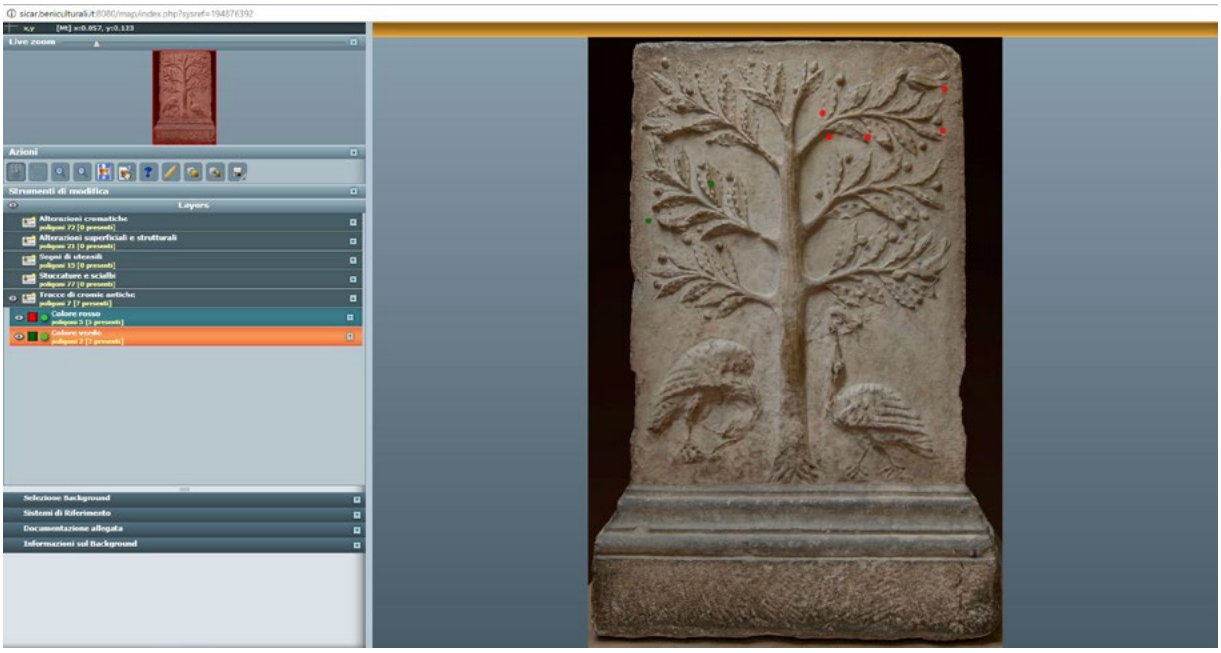
Lastly, we plan to make SICaR a fundamental experimental tool. Thanks to the collaboration with the University of Indiana, in the person of Professor Bernie Frischer, since the summer of 2015 3-D mapping has been, and is still being, undertaken, of all the Uffizi–Palazzo Pitti ancient sculptures. The signed agreement affects the entire Uffizi Gallery collection of stone works, and will allow the State to archive, free of charge, hundreds of 3-D models which can be used for more precise mapping of the Gallery's sculptures. However, the entry methods of the digital representations into our database is still to be clarified.

Other museums have already implemented this approach (for example, the Vatican Museums) but with this initiative MiBACT and SICaR will be the protagonists for the first time, with a project specifically designed for the study and preservation of the Uffizi Gallery's collection of antiquities.



9

Bas-relief with Maenads in orgy (inv. 1914 n. 318),
Room 33, reference system with the mapping of ancient colours.



10

Funerary altar of C. Antho Telegennio (Inv. 1914 n. 973),
Palazzo Pitti external deposits, reference system of the right side
with the mapping of ancient colours.

NOTES

1 The main opportunity was offered by the Faces Unveiled. The Ancient and a Passion for the Ancient exhibition held in the Uffizi Gallery's Sala delle Reali Poste between 2011 and 2012, which made a selection of 45 antique busts of exceptional quality available to the public (see Conticelli - Paolucci 2011).

2 In particular, rooms 33 and 34, dedicated to Greek portraiture and the evocation of the ancient in the Garden of Saint Mark respectively, and Room 56, devoted to Hellenistic marbles, in which some of the most famous sculptures of the collection are on display, such as the Gaddi Torso and the Spinario.

3 See Natali - Romualdi 2009 and Natali et al 2014.

4 For a quick overview of the activities related to the Gallery's ancient marbles from 2009 to today, see the annual Bollettino degli Uffizi. More limited interventions were published in the series entitled Studi e restauri. I marmi antichi della Galleria degli Uffizi(from 2006).

5 As established by Convention 4.7 of 9 March 2016 "Agreement of institutional cooperation between the Uffizi Galleries and the Opificio delle Pietre Dure".

6 See the Ministry of Public Education, Italian Restoration Charter, Circular no. 117 of 6 April 1972; MiBACT-MIT Decree no. 154, 22 August 2017, "Regulation for public works contracts regarding protected cultural heritage within the meaning of Art. 26 of Legislative Decree no. 42, 22 January 2004".

7 With the Directorate General for the Landscape, Fine Arts, Architecture and Contemporary Art Circular no. 31/2011 of 22/12/2011, subject "Project RE.ART (Restorations Online): dissemination and use of SW for Restoration (SICaR)", MiBACT officially invited the local heritage authority to activate and use SICaR on a regular basis to record ongoing or planned restorations, encouraging them to enter both the restorations of protected heritage objects promoted and funded directly by the Ministry and those financed by third parties. For more information, see Fabiani et al, 3-4.

8 SICaR was started in 2003, within the scope of the Optocantieri project, promoted by the Tuscany Region with the advice of the Pisa Heritage Authority, intended to assist small and medium-sized enterprises with the use of advanced technologies for diagnostics and restoration of cultural heritage assets. Developed by Liberologico SRL, with the coordination of MiBACT and the scientific support of the Pisa Scuola Normale Superiore, the system was the subject of extensive experimentation carried out between 2005 and 2007 on a national scale within the wider ART-PAST programme, with the aim of achieving a web-based GIS system for the management of the restorations. In the wake of the results achieved, the Ministry has officially adopted SICaR, supervising its dissemination among heritage authorities and state museums through a special project called RE.ART (2008). The intention was to teach staff to use it for the documentation of restoration projects in progress or in the design phase (Circulation no. 31/2011 op.cit.). For a summary of the genesis of SICaR and numerous related activities, see Fabiani et al 2016. For a detailed bibliography of the system, see http://sicar.beniculturali.it:8080/website/bibliografia/

9 To consult the data published in SICaR, go to http://sicar.beniculturali.it:8080/website/, open the window "Consultation" and click on "Search in SICaR". To narrow the search, choose the working group (in our case "Florence–Uffizi–Greek and Roman Sculptures"), then enter the keyword in the "Search Text" field or opt for "Advanced Search". In order to be able to work in SICaR, go to http://sicar.beniculturali.it:8080/index.php address and enter the ID and password assigned by the MiBACT administrator, after approval of the request for the creation of a dedicated work area.

10 For example, there is now a link to the 1914 Sculptures Inventory, currently not accessible because the website is being updated. We hope to restore this connection, as well as create one with the SIGECweb Cultural Heritage General Catalogue. The SICaR "Mobile Works" data sheets could be used as a starting point for the compilation of the RA (Archaeological Finds) data sheet catalogue, considering that the Uffizi sculptures have not yet been documented within the General Information System Catalogue.

11 Francesca Fabiani, national coordinator of SICaR web, with whom the working group is in contact, and Raffaella Grilli, who has supported us since the first phase of the activity.

12 At the beginning of the work, the only existing example of digitization of archaeological stone restoration material in SICaR was the documentation inserted by the Restoration Laboratories of the Ravenna SBAP Heritage Authority, which provided an excellent theoretical model from which

to draw inspiration. The first step was to test SICaR on a recent restoration, the Bas-relief depicting a chariot (inv. 1914 no. 539), which allowed us to create georeferenced mappings of a planar sculpture, with minor issues with respect to those found in a three-dimensional work and, therefore, congenial to a first phase of use of the tool.

13 The first SICaR work phase, which lasted about 12 months, involved the collaboration of interns working in the Department of Classical Antiquity. Subsequently the project was, and still is, entrusted to the staff of the Uffizi Restoration Archive, directed by Claudio Di Benedetto and coordinated by Valentina Conticelli. The working group, under the scientific supervision of Fabrizio Paolucci, both writes the text, and revises the material already inserted and implements it.

14 Infra.

15 Two books published at the end of the Fifties by Guido Achille Mansuelli on the Uffizi Gallery sculpture collection are an essential source for a prior knowledge of the works. We also found more precious information in the fourth volume of La Villa Médicis, dedicated to the sculptures once kept in the well-known villa on the Pincio Hill in Rome. Lastly, catalogues of exhibitions where some of the Gallery's marbles were exhibited have proved to be essential (see Mansuelli 1958-1961; Cecchi - Gasparri 2009).

16 For the history and vicissitudes of the statue, see Paolucci 2013.

17 Gori 1734.

18 De Greyss 1759.

19 An important example of SICaR experimentation with showing polychromy data with polygons and the "Analysis" data sheet can be seen in the "Rome–Vatican Museums Polychromy" working group's experience, which built on the analysis of the Lateranense Sarcophagus no.150, in the Vatican Museums Pio Cristiano Museum. For more details see Siotto et al 2016.

20 For a review of the ancient colours of the Uffizi marbles see Paolucci 2014b.

21 Therefore, the user can select the polygon, click on the command "Interrogate Polygon" in the window "Actions" and open the links that appear upon scrolling down.

22 For further information on the restoration of the sculpture, see Paolucci 2014a.

23 Romualdi 2006 explains the history and iconography of the vase in depth.

24 See Paolucci 2016 on the restoration of the altar.

25 The work carried out was presented for the first time on the occasion of the Ferrara Restoration Fair in 2016, with the contribution The Example of the Uffizi Ancient Sculptures, as part of the seminar Fifty Shades of SICaR: Information System for Restorations (6-8 April 2016). The group also took part in the last edition of the Florence Art and Restoration Fair (16-18 May 2018), explaining their activities in the talk, SICaR: the System Adopted by MiBACT for the Documentation of Restorations. The latter saw the participation of many experts in the field, who were intrigued and interested in understanding the potential of SICaR for other types of assets as well.

26 Very soon it will be possible to consult the data sheets online, on the Uffizi Gallery website.

27 The way of entering documentation on the grotesques in SICaR is being defined and is under the scientific coordination of Valentina Conticelli.

28 The 3-D models of about 1,260 works of art will be available online by 2020, for both research and conservation purposes.

29 We will be able to use the "External Data" data sheet to create a link with the Indiana University website where it will be possible to view the 3-D models, or upload them directly as video clips. It would be very interesting to work only in a 3-D environment if future developments of SICaR allow it, mapping the decay or integrations directly onto the 3-D system employed.

30 See http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/it/eventi-e-novita/iniziative/il-giovedi-dei-musei/2017/digitalizzazione-modellazioni-3d.html. For 3-D experimentation in SICaR, see Siotto et a 2016, 148-149.

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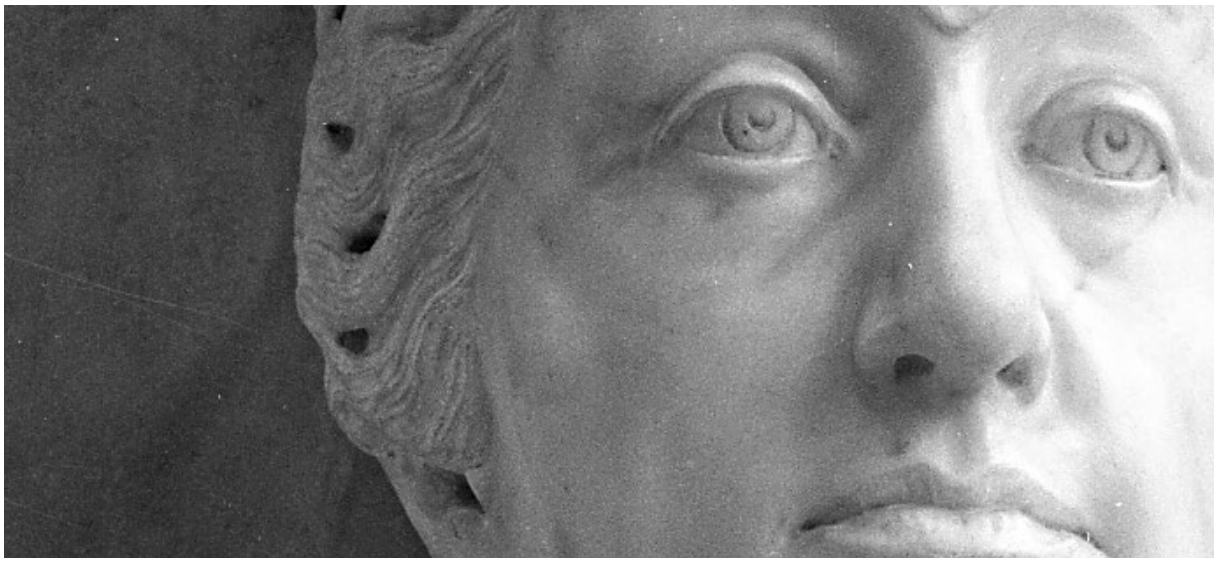
INSIGHTS



Alessandro Muscillo

THE FORGOTTEN GRAND DUKE

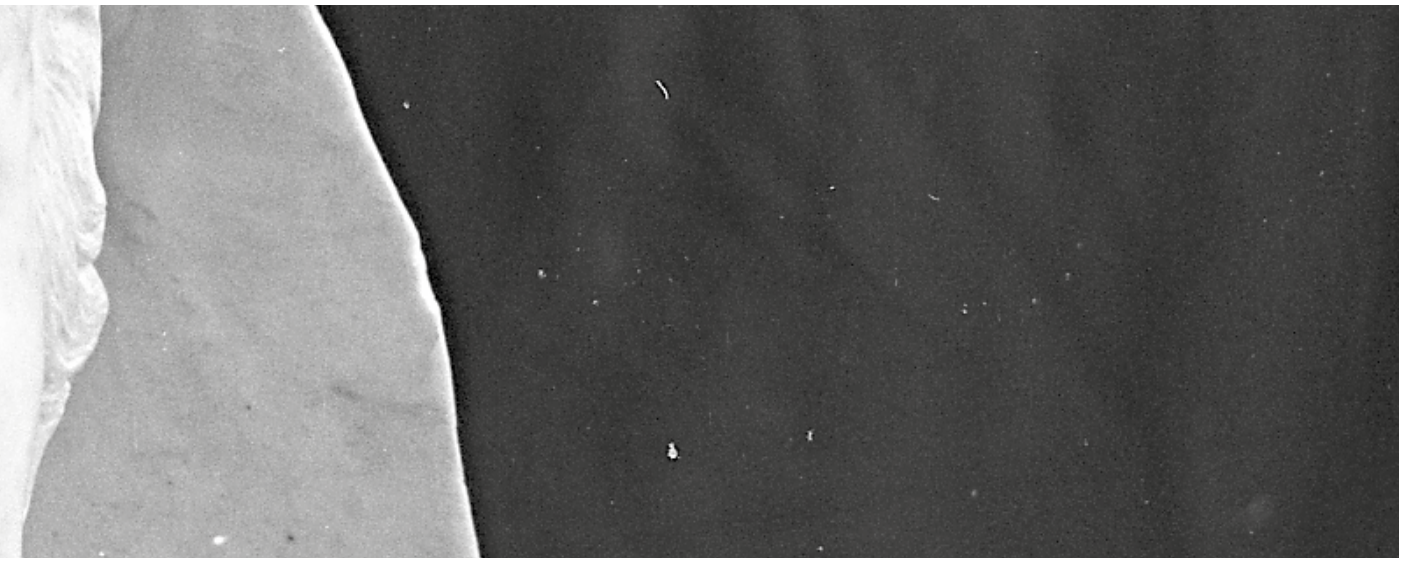
The series of Medici-Lorraine busts and their commendation in the so-called Antiricetto of the Gallery of Statues and Paintings

The article reconstructs the significance and structure of the theory behind the Medici-Lorraine busts which have been on display in the antiricetto of the Gallery of Statues and Paintings since the 1880's, each one accompanied by an encomiastic text (from the Latin term elogium) regarding the contribution to the development of the museum and its collections.

This display came about thanks to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Peter Leopold to honour the by then extinct Medici family in a period in which the study of pictorial history began to reflect on a period in Florentine history that had come to an end.

Over time the number of portraits and the order in which they are displayed has undergone changes, eventually losing the original meaning of the Gallery's emblematic 'historical introduction'.

The early years of the twentieth century saw a loss of esteem for Cosimo III and the elimination of his portrait once it had been ascertained that the bust did not really portray him. The discovery of the absence of this 'forgotten Grand Duke' from the collection of portraits, which are still exhibited in the same area, was the starting point of this analysis. In the appendix, for the first time, there are explanatory notes and a translation of the descriptions of each portrait.



Any visitor anxious to enter the Gallery, queueing under the eyes of *Peter Leopold* by Francesco Carradori, and waiting to have their ticket checked mostly end up ignoring this bust or looking hurriedly and distractedly at the works in the so-called "Antiricetto", on display there to welcome them at the top of the main stairway, where the busts of the great personages responsible for the wealth of art works that have made the Uffizi such an extraordinary museum are located. The busts are placed on wooden stands, each bearing a shield, on which golden letters show a brief elegy in Latin commemorating what each individual did for the Gallery, with reference to purchases of works, the creations of rooms and the promotion of works to popularise the museum's heritage. The overall impression is that it brings together parts of the "compendious"[1] story which Lanzi was aiming for when he set out the inscriptions and which he refers to in his guide to the Gallery, without however including the texts of the single *elogia*, referring to the slightly earlier *Saggio Istorico* by Pelli, published in 1779 – for "more complete news" (Fig.1).

To have a first printed edition of Lanzi's *elogia*, it would be necessary to wait for the following year, 1783, when they appeared in the *Description de la Galerie Royale de Florence* by Francesco Zacchiroli, which shows them without any translation or comment[2]. In 1807, Lanzi published his *elogia* again in a collection of his Latin texts, to correct small errors that in his opinion, were present "in several descriptions of the Gallery" – probably the different editions of Zacchiroli's work[3]–, accompanying some of the transcripts with brief explanatory notes[4].

Today in the Antiricetto, Latin commendations to accompany the effigies of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and Ferdinand II of Lorraine and his son, Leopold II, the last Grand Duke have been added to Lanzi's *elogia*. If it is permissible that with

1
Current view of "Antiricetto lorenese" (Hall arranged by the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty)

passing time and the establishment of a new ruling dynasty, the layout of the busts described by Zacchiroli may have seen some additions, there is an element that does however lead to some questions about the meaning and the forms of this collection, i.e., the absence of Cosimo III from the series of Medici busts. This is made even more curious when we consider that Zacchiroli also mentions Lanzi's *elogium* to this Grand Duke, the longest ruler from the dynasty - 53 years, from 1670 to 1723 – and promoter of a large number of works for the Gallery.
The aim of this study is therefore to take another look at the series of Medici-Lorraine busts in the Antiricetto and to explain the complex variations over the years, offering, for the first time, a translated and annotated version of the *elogia*, presented in the appendix.

The new entrance

The first vestibule, or Antiricetto, took shape during the renovation works commissioned by Peter Leopold of Lorraine: a report presented to the Grand Duke on 19 April 1780 – drawn up by Angelo Tavanti, Giuseppe Piombanti, Giuseppe Bencivenni Pelli, and Luigi Lanzi – provides an initial overall idea of the floor[5]. The idea of a distinction between a first and second vestibule took shape at a later stage; the initial project included the building of a "square vestibule" almost twenty *braccia* on each side" that, set at the top of the new stairs, leads directly onto the first corridor. As for the decoration of this area, it was decided to make use of antique sculptures: "it can be decorated with statues within niches, old bas-reliefs, busts of deities, urns of good

design and sculpture. In the middle, will be the Horse, which until now has been with the group of Niobids and at the door, the two Dogs that are now in the old Ricetto"[6]. One of Pelli's first ideas was to move the epigraphs walled in the old entrance to the third corridor, known as the "Room of the Inscriptions", to this new entrance. However, this aspect of the design was also grounds for dispute between Pelli and Lanzi, between whom, as it is well known, there was no love lost[7].

The preliminary report on the Medici busts from 1780 dedicated a vague mention in the part dedicated to the arrangement of the corridors: "The series of portraits of the Medici house cannot cleanly be placed behind the statues as they have been until now, and must be moved elsewhere"[8]. In any case, this placement seems to have become definitive in 1782, when on 14th March, Pelli was able to note that the reordering of the Gallery was now "at an end"[9]; however, a bill presented by marble worker Bartolomeo Buoninsegni shows that the stands for the busts had already been installed in the Antiricetto just over a month before[10]. In fact Buoninsegni states that he is forced to trace Lanzi's "compositions" on the stands "awkwardly", once they are already in place.

The creation of a "sanctum" to commemorate the Medici seems even more important if compared with the almost contemporary publication of the *Istoria del granducato di Toscana sotto il governo della casa Medici* by Riguccio Galluzzi, published in nine volumes in 1781[11]. To this regard, it is once again emblematic of a note that Pelli set down in his *Efemeridi* on the 19th March in that same year.

> "Reading the *Storia medicea* keeps my mind off all other things. I had been desirous of seeing it for a long time. There are those who also print the *Vita del duca Alessandro*, and a series of historical facts that are strictly Tuscan, from 1300 onwards. It seems, therefore, that the work has reawakened a desire to illustrate our things and there is sufficient to do so rather well, to the shame of the many books already brought to light. If I were younger, I would join this spirit and make the effort, but it is late and I have things from the Gallery of which I need to think, above all, having already undertaken a public obligation[12]."

The early 1780s in Florence seem therefore to be characterised by a wish to draw up a balance sheet for the Medici period, now considered as being at an end. This trend, which is well evidenced by the flourishing number of historical works, produced and reprinted in the wake of Galluzzi's success – which Pelli sums up in his notes as "Medici history," - is beautifully expressed at the entrance to the Gallery in the slow procession of Medici busts and above all, in the writing out of a brief history of the contributions made to the museum by each eminent member of the family, for whom each *elogium* represents a single chapter.

Connecting this layout further to a particular area in this part of Florentine history - exclusive to the Medici period - is a part of what was to be Lanzi's initial project: in addition to the eight inscriptions used on the Medici busts, in 1807, he published a ninth, dedicated to Francis Duke of Lorraine which, according to the model used for the others, commemorates his merits as the first member of the Lorraine family to guide the Grand Duchy with regard to the Museum[13]. It is possible that the idea to reserve the Antiricetto exclusively to the Medicis led to the exclusion of Francis' effigy and *elogium*, which are never mentioned in the inventories or the guides[14].
What is most striking about the portraits that were the first to be placed in the Antiricetto is the variety of the materials, from the bronze *Cosimo I*[15] by Giambologna to the porphyry *Ferdinand I*[16] and *Cosimo II*,[17], both by Tommaso Fedeli, through to the fine mix of porphyry and white marble of the *portrait of Ferdinand II*[18], sculpted by Raffaello Curradi. The *Francis I*[19] by Domenico Poggini, the *Cardinal Leopold*[20], by an unknown Florentine artist, and the *Gian Gastone*[21] attributed to Antonio Montauti are in white marble. There was also another bust, which the *elogium* by Lanzi identified as Cosimo III, penultimate Medici Grand Duke.

Cosimo III, the forgotten Grand Duke

A marble effigy of Cosimo III is listed here in the inventories from 1784. The inventory for that year records, for the "Vestibule": "An armed bust with head in white marble and alabaster pedestal depicting Cosimo III as a young man, with cloak over his left shoulder. It is 1 1/2 b(racci) a [Florentine unit of measurement, from 550-700 mm] high and sits as above"[22], that is, above a "carved wooden stand, coloured in white with an inscription on the front". The following inventory, written in 1825, records the work in these terms: "Cosimo III de' Medici. Looking leftwards: his hair worn long, with sideburns and a goatee beard. He is wearing metal armour with a fabric collar and a mantle, which from his left shoulder, drapes under his right arm. The bust is in white marble with pedestal in yellowish mixed marble"[23]. The inventory of 1881 is more succinct, simply recording: "Cosimo III in marble"[24]. Cross-consultation of inventories and guides from the Gallery show that the bust of Cosimo III was regularly a part of the sequence until the early 20th century, since Pieraccini records it still in place in 1910[25]. However, the inventory of 1914[26] records a significant transformation, with the bust of "Cosimo III" being rechristened "don Lorenzo de' Medici (1599-1648)", and moved into the "lift compartment": the bust was therefore removed because it was considered "spurious", the inscription on the stand disappeared and

2
Followers of Andrea Ferrucci del Tadda, Francesco di Ferdinando I de' Medici, The Uffizi, Depository.

therefore, Lanzi's "compendious" history lost an important chapter.
The identification of Lorenzo, younger brother of Cosimo II, was however challenged in the 1980s by Karla Langedjik who, based on comparison with a 1614 print by Jacques Callot[27], recognised in this work, a posthumous portrait of another son of Ferdinand I, Francis (1594-1614)[28]. This identification was in fact based on the profile and the shape of the armour. Recent critics have attributed the work to the circle of Andrea Ferrucci del Tadda[29] (Fig. 2).

Lorenzo the Magnificent, Ferdinand III and Leopold II

Of the most recent additions to the series of busts in the Antiricetto, the two effigies of Ferdinand III[30] and Lorenzo the Magnificent[31] represent the exceptional case of works created especially for this area and not brought here from other places. In the official request to Grand Duke Leopold, dated 10th January 1825[32], it is stressed how the placing a bust of his father – to be made by the sculptor, Stefano Ricci, professor of sculpture at the Academy of Fine Arts - in the Antiricetto would be a suitable adaptation for the "noble and delicate provision" that led Peter Leopold of Lorraine to dedicate

the first room in the Gallery to the memory of the Grand Dukes from the Medici family and to mention of how much they had done for the Museum. The document, which continues by listing the merits of Ferdinand III for the Galleria, which are echoed, almost to the letter, in the *elogium* written by abbot Zannoni along the lines of those already written by Lanzi[33]. Only towards the end does the author of the document take the opportunity to ask for the creation of a marble bust with the "true Portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent to replace the false one that is currently displayed in the aforementioned vestibule", which was commissioned from sculptor Ottavio Giovannozzi, in view of taking, from a plaster cast made by Ricci and taking as his model, the funeral mask of the Lorenzo, previously in the Capponi home and in Palazzo Riccardi, and now in the Treasury of the Grand Dukes in Pitti Palace[34].

The bust of Lorenzo the Magnificent was added first, on 20th June 1825, when it was immediately placed in the Gallery, "in place of the apocrypha that was exhibited"[35]. The original, from a previous model, is stressed by the author himself, signing the back and adding the unequivocal expression "Copied" before the date: although the documents talk about a plaster cast, Langedijk recognised Ricci's model as coming from a terracotta in Oxford's Ashmolean Museum[36], the features of which are evidently taken from the Lorenzo's death mask – and however, according to critics, already partly re-elaborated based on a bust, now in Prague but in Florence until at least 1859[37] – would have been successively idealised by Giovannozzi into this marble bust, referring to the 18th-century bust by Carlo Faucci[38], from which the sculptor took the thicker hair, the more energetic features and the fuller mouth, as well as some details of the clothing. This process of contamination can be explained in view of the idealisation of the person, whose great virtues as ruler and protector of the arts contrasted, embarrassingly, in the eyes of his 19th century descendants, with the awkward features passed down from him. The "correction" of Lorenzo's bust also reveals a peculiar attention to the personage, found in the publication, also in 1825, of the *opera omnia* of Lorenzo de' Medici, at the wishes of Leopold II, who also edited the preface[39]. The documents emphasise the authenticity of Lorenzo the Magnifico's facial features, saying that the bust for the Antiricetto was itself a "true" portrait of the person and reminder that it came from a secure source, like the death mask: these hints become more meaningful when we consider that the work was destined to replace a "fake" an "apocryphal" piece already in situ. The authenticity is realistically measured in this context of similarity with the personage, which makes Giovannozzi's portrait a "true" portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent, even if made more than 330 years after the subject's death. It follows that the "'apocrypha " was a 15th-16th century bust of a personage identified as Lorenzo the Magnifi-

cent, mistakenly or due to the lack of an authentic effigy to place in the sanctum of Medici glories at the entrance to the Gallery, in homage to the man who inspired his grand ducal descendants and their Lorraine successors to add to the art and beauty of Vasari's building.

A guide to the Gallery published by Fabbroni in 1798 - but presumably inspired by then director Tommaso Puccini - mentions a recent addition in the Antiricetto (then called the "Antivestibule") of "deux bustes de Laurent et de Jean de Medicis surnommé le Grand- Capitain".[40] In the guide published in 1810, the artistic value of these two works - especially the latter - appears diminished[41].

We should, however, look briefly at these two additions from the late 18th century. The bust of Giovanni de' Medici, known as "Giovanni delle Bande Nere" ("Giovanni of the Black Bands") (1498-1526), can be plausibly identified as the one now in the Bargello museum[42], a posthumous portrait by Francesco da Sangallo after 1526 and the only known marble work in the Medici collection to depict him. The name "grande capitano" [great captain] mentioned in the gallery guides fits this armoured bust very well.

As far as regards the effigy of Lorenzo the Magnificent, sources which relate the collection history of this bust by Giovannozzi mention the "fake" or "apocryphal" piece that it replaced, although they advance no hypothesis as to the identity of the work or its current location, stating only that all traces have been lost. An examination of the inventory allows us to make some hypotheses to this regard. The Gallery inventory that is closest in time terms to the movement of the two marble busts to the Antiricetto, is the one from 1784, which also mentions a bust of the Lorenzo the Magnificent "dressed in civilian clothes" in the Cabinet of Coins[43]. Notes in the margin state that the work was later moved to the "first vestibule", i.e., the Antiricetto". The next marble bust recorded in the inventory is that of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere, also moved to the Antiricetto, according to a note in the margin. Following the notes in the inventory, the bust of Lorenzo the Magnificent recorded in the inventory of 1784 corresponds in the subsequent inventory of 1825 to a portrait of Giuliano de Medici, brother of Lorenzo, placed in the "First Vestibule": "His gaze is resigned, his hair is worn long, with a small lock on the front; his neck is bare; he is dressed according to the custom of the time", says the description[44]. The inventory does not fail to state that the bust has a square pedestal inscribed "Laurentius Medices", written by error, following incorrect identification. The inventory mentions a subsequent movement of the bust from the first vestibule into the so-called "Stanzino del Pozzo" and then to the "Plate Store", smaller rooms used for storage. In the light of the description and the measurements offered in the inventories, it is possible to identify the "apocryphal" bust previously thought to be Lorenzo the Magnificent with the posthumous portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, now in the Bargello

3
Master of Sistina Apostles (attr.), Giovanni de' Medici, Firenze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

museum, dated to around 1480 and attributed by Caglioti to the "Maestro degli Apostoli sistini"[45] (Fig. 3). The pedestal inscribed with the name of Lorenzo is no longer present, a frequently occurrence on busts once in the Uffizi and then moved to Bargello, such as the portraits of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici by Mino da Fiesole[46] or the so-called "Gentildonna" [Noblewoman] by Desiderio da Settignano[47].

Before the request for the two busts to be made by Ricci and Giovannozzi, the Gallery Antiricetto therefore contained effigies of the seven Grand Dukes of the Medici family, the portrait of Cardinal Leopold and lastly, the two busts of the Medici who lived "before the principality". Successively the bust of Lorenzo the Magnificent by Giovannozzi was put in place of the "apocrypha", but it was not until 1827, when the bust of Ferdinand III was completed by Ricci, that documents allow us to reconstruct a further intervention within the museum. A request to the minister for Property dated 11th December 1827[48] concerning the bases to be prepared for the portrait of Ferdinand III, offers useful information on the arrangement of the Medici busts in the Antiricetto: "The busts of the Grand Dukes around the walls of the first vestibule of this Royal Gallery are raised *[sic]* above large brackets in richly carved wood that start from the floor, all in the same shape, and all decorated in the same way, with the exception of the two on the side of the stairs, which

not having that type of support, to be placed against the pilasters that project from the plumb line of the wall, sit on two old, misshapen stands". The busts on the "misshapen" (i.e. different form the others) stands may reasonably have been the busts of Lorenzo and Giovanni de' Medici, the last additions in terms of time to the series of Medici portraits before this time, and it is equally reasonable to suppose that, while waiting to add the bust of Ferdinand III – for which a special base had been agreed – in 1825 the bust of Giovannozzi simply took the place of the "apocrypha", and therefore, was set at the side of the stairs.

The document continues with a proposal: "In the circumstance in which the bust to commemorate the glorious memory of G. D. Ferdinand III should be added to that series of busts, and that your illustrious self be appointed to build the base to support it, I would ask you to examine whether, within the costs necessary to build a bracket to add to the aforementioned other brackets, it is possible to prepare two simple truncated columns to replace the two stands. And in the event that this is possible, I would like it to be this change, which, without altering the above arrangements in substance, seem to me to be able to give a more elegant look to that vestibule, since on this occasion, some of the busts are to be moved; one, which strictly does not belong to that series will be excluded, and this would pleasingly settle the rest...". If the bust to "exclude" is the one of Giovanni de' Medici, which is actually no longer mentioned for this area in the Gallery[49], then the "movement" of some busts is to be understood as a change to the arrangement of the Medici busts inside this same room. The provisions linked to the definitive setup in the room raises the question of the Latin praises under the new effigies: if the inscription for Ferdinando III was composed by the gallery's then antiquarian, Abbot Zannoni, and was also submitted to the approval of his son[50], it is reasonable to wonder who wrote the inscription for Lorenzo the Magnificent, which can still be read under the marble bust, or since the archive documents do not contain any notes, when it was placed there. A Gallery guide from 1832 lists Lorenzo's bust as first in the series of Medici portraits and therefore, it seems to include the what the guide says before listing them: "Les inscriptions latines de l'abbé Lanzi, qu'on y a ajoutées au bas, marquent ce que chacun de ces grand Princes a fait. C'est un hommage que la reconnaissance des beaux arts rend à leurs bienfaiteurs."[51] It is true that Lorenzo did not wear the crown of Grand Duke, for obvious reasons, but due to his merits in enriching the art collections of the Medici family, there is no reason to exclude him from the group of Medici "princes", and if he was the only one without an inscription, then this would have been included in the guide. This reference is therefore precious even if partly incorrect, because not all of the elegies were written by Lanzi, not the one to Ferdinand III, written by Zannoni or the

one for Lorenzo the Magnificent, whose effigy was not intended for this room. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the *elogium* for Lorenzo the Magnificent was placed out of a need for completeness in 1827, when the bust of the Grand Duke of Lorraine was added, but that it was not included in documents as it was not considered very important from a "political" viewpoint, while the elegy to Ferdinand III was submitted to no less than royal approval and as such, it is officially listed in documents and then archived.

The second Lorraine portrait in the Antiricetto depicts Leopold II and is the work of Giovannozzi, signed and dated 1846[52]; it arrived almost twenty years later in the form of a marble bust brought to the Uffizi from Turin in 1865. On 29th December 1864, the Minister for Public Education, after receiving the offer "for some Gallery" from the Ministry of Finance, of a bust of Leopold II belonging to the Royal Department of Taxation, wrote to the Gallery Director asking if the work had any real artistic worth and if there was a location in which to place it[53]. The bust of the ex-Grand Duke[54], "carved in white marble with decorations on the chest" was delivered on 18 January 1865, examined by the director of the Uffizi and judged to be of "very little artistic merit", being a decorative work made in the Sculpture Studio of Professor Pampaloni by his worker, Giovannozzi"[55]. It was finally decided to place the bust in the warehouses of the Gallery, "not believing it to be convenient to place the aforementioned bust on public display". The type of bust is an official portrait and it depicts the Grand Duke with the decorations connected to his rank: an example of the same type was also present before this date among the grand ducal collections and is now in the Gallery of Modern Art in Pitti Palace[56].

Of course, at a certain point, it was decided to place this Lorraine bust in the Antiricetto, too, since it is noted in the Gallery guides as far back as the 1870s[57]. In the catalogue by Pieraccini, the encomiastic epigraph is attributed to Giovanni Crisostomo Ferrucci[58], which reasonably dates it to the period of the bust's placement *in situ*.

Maria Maddalena of Austria and Vittoria della Rovere

The last important museum intervention can be dated with precision to 1896, the year in which then director Enrico Ridolfi had a new staircase added which, symmetrical to the existing stairs, climbs from the floor of the Collection of Prints and Drawings to a central flight onto the Gallery floor[59]: it was thus decided to refurbish the Antiricetto, which could now be seen in all its glory from the bottom of the last flight of stairs. As shown in a report, Ridolfi then had the two walls decorated with hangings, while "the marble, porphyry and bronze busts (which had already been placed in this vestibule on awkward brackets) representing Lorenzo the Magnificent, to

whom the start of the Medici collection is due, and the subsequent Grand Dukes of Tuscany, who most promoted the increase of the Gallery were arranged on antique style stands, in walnut wood, highlighted with gold"[60]. This intervention, which brought the wooden stands, still used today into the room - and leads us to suppose that the two "truncated columns" proposed in 1827 were never put in place – was followed by a further addition of marble, the last in chronological order in the series of Medici-Lorraine busts. The director records that he added the busts of Maria Maddalena of Austria[61] and Vittoria della Rovere[62], which the he describes as "beautifully sculpted", and noting the provenance "they had previously been, like things with no worth, provided by the Gallery to decorate the entrance of a public department"[63]. In June of the same year, a request was sent to the Gallery by educator, Giuseppe Lelli, asking to make a cast of the "two busts representing Ladies of the Medici Family ... recently collected from the Court of Cassation in Florence"[64]. The addition of the two busts increased the collection by two excellent pieces by Giovanni Battista Foggini on one hand, and on the other, it marked the end of that which had been the main theme of the series of Medici and Lorraine personages. The two grand duchesses were also given inscriptions, but these merely mentioned their names and little more, with no reference to any contributions to the Gallery. The series of Medici busts therefore lost its educational and informational value with regard to the history of the Uffizi, becoming nothing more than a collection of ancient portraits with a self-important, distant air, similar to the ancestors of Don Rodrigo in the room in which he discusses with his father, Cristofore. The "compendious" history written by Lanzi was forgotten, as clearly shown by the elimination of Cosimo III and his *elogium* from the series, once it had been discovered that it was not actually a portrait of the penultimate Grand Duke, and with no plans to fill the empty space coherently.

APPENDIX[65]

The art patrons from the Medici family

The Latin *elogia* written by Luigi Lanzi[66]

4
Giambologna,
Cosimo I de' Medici

Cosimo I de'Medici[67] (Fig. 4)

(1519-1574, Grand Duke from 1569)

I
Cosmas I Medices M. D. E.
Cujus studio et impensa,
Imagines hominum
ex omni memoria illustrium
e probatissimis exemplaribus depictae
Signa marmorea coempta,
maxime auri, argenti, aeris antiqui copiae
avito gentis sue[68] thesauro aggregatae sunt,
quae ornamente harum medium
Posteri ejus dicaverunt.

I
Cosimo I de' Medic[69]i Grand Duke of Tuscany
Th[70]anks to whose passion and expense
the images of all of the
most illustrious men in history
were depicted by the most esteemed exemplars,
and together marble statues were purchased,
the greatest riches in gold, silver and antique bronze
were added to the ancient treasures of his family,
and his successors destined them
to decorate this palace.

Aside from the general references to the purchase of precious objects, Lanzi's attention seems more specifically focused on the "Imagines hominum illustrium" (lines 3-5). In his own edition of 1807, he explains the passage: "(Cosimo) Ordered Cristoforo dell'Altissimo to depict the faces of illustrious men and he dedicated them to the Museum"[71]. With reference to the so-called "Serie Gioviana", called this because it came from the collection of effigies of the greatest figures in history, put together by doctor and philosopher from Como, Paolo Giovio (1486-1552). The collection, commenced around the middle of the 16th century at the wishes of Cosimo I, who sent painter Cristofano dell'Altissimo to Como to copy the originals, was added to over the years until 1840, arriving at some 492 examples.
It is useful, however, to note that contrary to Lanzi's affirmations, the "Gioviana" collection was not devolved to the museum or Gallery by Cosimo, since it arrived there at the time of Francis I. The collection of paintings had in fact previously been displayed in the Hall of Maps in Palazzo Vecchio[72].

5
Domenico Poggini,
Francesco I de' Medici

Francesco I de'Medici[73] (Fig. 5)
(1541-1587, Grand Duke from 1574)

II
Franciscus Medices M. D. E.
quum hasce aedes
a Cosma I ad commoditatem domesticam positas
gazae antiquae collocandae primus destinasset,
ambulationem a regia vetere ad Arni ripam
adjecto conclavi cum tholo
excolendam pictura atque omni ornatu curavit,
museum mediceum
tabulis, signis, numismatis, gemmis
locupletatum aperuit.

II
Francis de'Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany
Having first destined this palace
-assigned by Cosimo I to domestic comfort-
to the placement of the ancient treasures,
had paintings and all ornaments to embellish the
passage from palazzo vecchio on the banks of the
Arno, added a room with dome,
opened the Medici Museum
enriched with paintings, statues,
coins and gems.

The text focuses on the significant change of use to the rooms on the top floor of Vasari's building in the passage from Cosimo I to his son Francis. This latter transformed the covered loggia wanted by Cosimo I was into a "Gallery" in the true sense of the word. As well as to the increase in the number of rooms containing the collections of this immense artistic heritage - here referred to as *gaza*, a Latin word of Persian origin - Lanzi does not fail to refer to the decorations on the ceiling of the first corridor from Palazzo Vecchio (here literally, "the old palace", line 5) to the River Arno. Buontalenti's Tribuna is generally referred to as the "room with dome" (line 6), in the general tone of someone referring to something well known[74].

6
Tommaso Fedeli,
Ferdinando I de' Medici

Ferdinand I de' Medici[75] (Fig. 6)
(1549-1609, Grand Duke from 1587)

III
Ferdinandus I Medices M. D. E.
qui numerum conclavium museo auxit
pecuniam veterem duplicavit
et pocula e gemmis cavatis multa superaddidit,
ejusdem felicitate
Niobe cum liberis marmorea symplegma pugilum
signum juvenis ferrum acuentis ad cotem,
Cratera cum Iphigenia e fabula anaglypta,
et Veneris atque Apollinis
venustissima orbis terrae simulacra
comparata Romae sunt,
quibus alii principes arcessitis
hanc urbem spectabiliorem
fecerunt.

III
Ferdinando I de' Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany
Who increased the number of rooms in the museum,
doubled the ancient wealth
and added many cups in cut gems
Thanks to his wealth
the marble Niobe with her sons, the combat of boxers,
the statue of the youth sharpening his tool on a whetstone,
the bas-relief krater with the story of Iphigenia,
and the statues of Venus and Apollo,
the most beautiful on earth,
were purchased together in Rome:
other princes with these, after bringing them here,
made this city more splendid.

Of the works added to the collections, Lanzi focuses on the ancient sculptures; her refers, in order, to the purchase of *Niobe*[76] with the group of her sons, the groups of the Wrestlers– the "combat of boxers" as mentioned in line 6[77]–, to the *knife sharpener,* also indicated with periphrasis in line 7[78], to the *Medici vase*, decorated with that considered at the time to be the sacrifice of Iphigenia[79], to the *Medici Venus* – of which Lanzi records in 1807 the location, at the time in France[80] – and the *Apollino*[81], which had remained for a long time at the Medici Villa on the Pincian Hill, bought by Ferdinand in 1576. The *elogium* ends with a general reference to "other princes", alluding to Cosimo III, who moved the *Venus*, the *Wrestlers* and the *Knife Sharpener* to Florence in 1677, to decorate the Tribuna[82], and to Peter Leopold of Lorraine, to whom we owe the arrival in Florence of the *Niobids*[83] and the *Apollino*[84] in 1770, and the *Medici vase* in 1780[85].

7
Tommaso Fedeli,
Cosimo II de' Medici

Cosimo II de' Medici[86] (Fig. 7)

(1590 - 1621, Grand Duke from 1609)

IV
Cosma II. Medices M. D. E.
hic opus conclavium
quae spectant ad orientem solem
a Francisco patruo suo ceptum
et a Ferdinando patre ampliatum
consummavit[87], adornavitque,
et pictis tabulis ditavit.
Idem Thomae Dempstero
Librorum de tuscis antiquitatibus
scribendorum auctor fuit,
per quos ad novum eruditionis genus
via munita est.

IV
Cosimo II de' Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany
He completed, adorned
and enriched with painted panels
the creation of the cabinets
that overlook the east,
undertaken by his paternal uncle Francis
and enlarged by his father Ferdinand.
He was himself a supporter of the
writing up of ancient Etruscan books by Thomas Dempster,
through which the way has been paved
for a new generation
of erudition.

As well as completing the cabinets in the first corridor (lines 2-5), what is remembered in this *elogium* is particularly the support given by the Grand Duke to the creation of the *Hetruria regalis* by Scottish scholar Thomas Dempster (1579-1625, lines 8-10), a work commissioned by Cosimo II and written between 1616 and 1619, but which had undergone a long period of oblivion before publication, which only took place in 1726 by Thomas Coke and Filippo Buonarroti. The importance of the work, which justifies the emphasis placed on it by Lanzi, is exactly in the dual nature it assumes in view of publication, since Coke and Buonarroti integrate the wide collection of ancient literary sources from Dempster with illustrations used - i.e. with archaeological evidence – and with further explanatory apparatus, publishing it under the title *De Etruria regalis*: as summarised by Camporeale, "Dempster's work on the content closes a period - the Renaissance - but the publication itself opens another - Enlightenment"[88].

At the origin of such a delay in publication was Dempster's fall from Cosimo II's graces, for a series of motives, including the scholar's dispute with Sir Robert Dudley, geographer and engineer in the service of the Grand Duke from 1606 and trusted consultant in matters of ports and ships[89]. After being placed in a bad light in the eyes of Cosimo, Dempster was expelled from Tuscany in July 1619, and went to Bologna, where, for five year, he taught literature at the university, continuing to make known to Cosimo II that he intended to finish the work, to name one of the most recent contributions to the question, "*the Hetruria regalis* no longer interested the Grand Duke"[90].

8
Raffaello Curradi,
Ferdinando II de' Medici

Ferdinand II de' Medici[91] (Fig. 8)
(1610-1670, Grand Duke from 1621)

V
Ferdinandus II Medices M. D. E.
hic marmora litterata et opera veterum figlina,
et immagines nummosque augustorum
et antiquam omnis generis suppellectilem
ex haereditate principum urbinatium
atque ex sumptu [92]suo in museum intulit,
conclavia
mensis musivi operis gemmatis instruxit,
ambulationem
ab Arni ripa ad porticum helvetiam
ex forma Francisci propatrui sui
pingi atque ornari jussit.

V
Ferdinand II de' Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany
He introduced into the museum
ancient marble inscriptions and vases,
and images and coins of the Caesars
and antiquities of all types,
from the inheritance of the princes of Urbino
and at his own expense,
he filled the rooms
with tables adorned with gems and decorated with mosaics,
he ordered the corridor from the banks of the Arno to the Lanzi Loggia according to designs by Francesco, brother of his great-grandfather, to be painted and decorated.

Aside from the introduction of prestigious furnishings during Ferdinand's time as Grand Duke and the mentions of the decorations in the third corridor from the "bank of the Arno to the Lanzi Loggia" (lines 9-12: in 1807 Lanzi is sure to translate the expression "porticus Helvetiam" with the expression that is still in use)[93], it is obvious that the element to which Lanzi dedicated most attention is the so-called "Urbino inheritance", a vast collection of weapons and art works that came into Ferdinand's possession in 1631, when he married Vittoria della Rovere, sole heir of Francesco Maria della Rovere[94]. The most famous works of those brought to the Uffizi included the bronze statue, the *Idoline di Pesaro,* now at the Museum of Archaeology in Florence[95], the *diptych of the Dukes of Urbino* by Piero della Francesca[96], a *Self Portrait* and the *Portrait of Julius II* by Raphael[97] and the *Venus of Urbino* by Titian[98].

9
Ignoto artista di ambito fiorentino,
Leopoldo de' Medici

Cardinal Leopold de' Medici[99] (Fig. 9)
(1617-1675)

VI
Leopoldus Cosmae II F. Medices card
qui gemmas caelatas
et numismata augustorum missilia
supra cetero[100]s gentis suae principes coemit,
itemque pictorum maxime eminentium
imag[101]ines miniacas formas archetypas is absent
tabulas, qu[102]eis suam quisque
effigiem atque artem expresserat,
eo successu et laude collegit
quae aemulatore apud posteros caritura fit.

VI
Leopold, son of Cosimo II de'Medici, Cardinal,
who purchased engraved gems
and coins of the Caesars, thrown as gifts to the people,
more than the other princes of his line,
and at the same time, he collected miniaturised
images, original images and paintings
in which each one
expressed its own origins and art,
with success and appreciation to the extent that he
could have no rival in posterity.

In a brief space, the *elogium* offers a panorama of the vast interests of the Cardinal when it comes to collecting, from the engraved gems to the *missilia* – Roman coins that were usually thrown to the people from an imperial carriage –[103] to illuminated miniatures[104]. The core of the collection for which Leopoldo is best remembered, however, is the collection of self-portraits[105], which he commenced and which today continues to enjoy numerous additions.

Cosimo III de' Medici[106]

(1642-1723 , Grand Duke from 1670)

VII
Cosmas III Medices M. D. E.
a quo multa priscae aetatis monumenta
ex haereditate Leopoldi patrui atq. avorum
ad celebritatem musei tranelata,
nummi urbium veterum conquis[107]iti,
series Augg. e marmore suppleta
operibusq. ampliatis
Conclavia cum omni ornatu suo III
ad occidentem solem addita sunt.

VII
Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany
Under whom many works of antiquity
from the inheritance of his paternal uncle Leopoldo
and his forefathers, were transferred, for the fame of
the museum,
coins from ancient cities were sought in every
location,
the series of Caesars in marble was increased
and the building was enlarged,
with the addition of three roomd and all their
decorations to the west.

As mentioned at the start, Cosimo III was ruler of the Medici Grand Duchy for the longest period, and he is commemorated here as a passionate collector, of family heirlooms[108] as well as of objects purchased *ex novo*. It is interesting to note how Lanzi makes no mention of collecting interests regarding modern art - it is known, for example, that Cosimo III was a passionate collector of Dutch painting[109] – but emphasises attention to antiquities, from coins to imperial busts. Lanzi himself is careful to emphasise the "marble Caesars" to the extent that he uses them, during the refurbishment in 1780, to create the "third museum" of the Gallery, with the addition of three corridors that were the subject of great attention, and of careful study to identify or rename the portraits already there during the extensive increase to the collection, thanks to the addition of private collections or objects from other grand ducal homes[110]. The *elogium* mentions the creation of three rooms on the west corridor: the Room of Painters' Self-portraits[111], the Room of Inscriptions[112] and the Room of Coins and Medals[113]. The first room, created between 1707 and 1708 and conceived to display the self-portraits from the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo, was commissioned to Giovan Battista Foggini, who also sculpted a statue of the Cardinal that was placed in a niche on the back wall[114]; the second, decorated with epigraphs and sculptures, was also the work of Foggini and became part of the Gallery in 1780 (the so-called "old entrance", from which, as mentioned at the beginning, Pelli wanted to remove the inscriptions to place them in the new entrance); the third room was wanted by Cosimo to contain the vast collection of coins and medals which his family had been passionately collecting since the 15th century: the oldest known reference to this regard are the letters that Piero di Cosimo de' Medici ("the Gouty") father of Lorenzo wrote to his illegitimate brother Carlo, Prelate of Prato, about the purchase of Roman coins[115]. Cosimo III increased the collection by 13,000 pieces[116].

10
Antonio Montauti,
Gian Gastone de' Medici

Gian Gastone de' Medici[117] (Fig. 10)
(1671-1737, Grand Duke from 1723)

VIII
Io Gasto Medices M. D. E.
hic gemmas antiquae caelaturae CCC
et opera ex aere permulta
veteris novique artificii
museo donum dedit,
mediceisque monumentis
per Antonium Franciscum Gorium
interpretandis vulgandis
consilia rem auspicia contulit.

VIII
Gian Gastone de'Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany
He gave the gift to the museum
of three hundred ancient carved gems
and many works in bronze
of old and new workmanship,
and to the exegesis and publication
of Medici works of art
by Anton Francesco Gori
he granted intention, argument and assistance.

The last Grand Duke of the Medici family is remembered as a sensitive collector of gems and bronze statues but also, as in the case of Cosimo II, it is the promotion of a popular work on the museum collection to offer a place in the "compendious history" skilfully outlined by Lanzi, i.e., the *Museum Florentinum* by Anton Francesco Gori (1691-1757), a work in six volumes published between 1740 and 1742, destined to illustrate the art works in the Medici collection, represented by Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (1692-1775)[118].

More recent additions[119]

11
Ottavio Giovannozzi
su modello di Stefano Ricci,
Lorenzo de' Medici

Lorenzo de' Medici, known as the Magnificent[120] (Fig. 11)
(1449-1492)

I
Laurentius Medices
vir magnificus
et ad omnia summa natus
philosophiae columen
litterarumque et artium optimarum
cuius opera impensaque
museum
quam ditissime incepit
cuiusque exemplo
studia mediceorum principum
Austriacorumque
in id augendum
sic sunt incensa
ut iam concedat paucis
antistet compluribus

I
Lorenzo de'Medici
Magnificent man
born to all greatness
supporter of philosophy
of letters and the fine arts
thanks to the work and expenditure of whom
the Museum
had its beginning in the richest manner possible.
Following his example
the wishes of the Medici and
Austrian princes
to increase it
were lit to the point
that it is inferior to few
and excels over many.

The *elogium* for Lorenzo the Magnificent, thought to have been written in around 1827, is generally circumstantial, without specific references to single pieces purchased or specific merits regarding the Medici collection, apart from having initiated it. The figure of Lorenzo – defined in line 3 by the author as "ad omnia summa natus", taking many references from Cicero to Pompeo in *Brutus*[121] as well as (and perhaps above all) the way in which Poliziano refers to Lorenzo in in the letter of 18 May 1492, in which he describes to Jacopo Antiquario the last moments before death[122] – he was placed at the head of the series of Medici-Lorraine busts, as an addition in line with Lanzi's original project, as a prologue to the "brief history" of the Gallery, seen through the contributions of its patrons.

12
Stefano Ricci,
Ferdinando III di Lorena

Ferdinando III di Lorena[123] (Fig. 12)

(1769-1824, Grand Duke from 1790 to 1799 and from 1814 to 1824)

XI
Ferdinandus III M. D. E.
qui
genera musei opum universa
sed praesertim numismata,
lineares picturas,
easque ex aerea lamina charta impressas
adauxit
conclave tabulis tuscorum artificum
praestantibus adservandis exstruxit
spirantia marmora
ab iisdem in instaurationem artis exsculpta
empta vel aliunde traslata
in unum collegit
locum ornatu novo
spectabiliorem effecit

XI
Ferdinando III Grand Duke of Tuscany,
who added to every type of work in the museum
but above all coins, drawings
and the depictions printed on paper using bronze foil,
he built rooms to store
the excellent paintings of Tuscan artists,
collected in a single place, marble statues that seem to
be living, sculpted by Tuscan artists to renew art,
purchased or transferred from other places,
with new decoration, he made this place
more beautiful

The *elogium* dedicated to Ferdinando III, composed in 1827 by Abbot Zannoni, antiquarian at the Gallery[124], closely recalls, as already mentioned, the the official request sent to Leopoldo II to create a bust of his father to add to the other effigies of the Museum worthies[125]. The room of Tuscan paintings and the room of Tuscan sculptures in the text were opened in 1822 by Gallery director Giovanni degli Alessandri (1811-1828)[126].

13
Ottavio Giovannozzi,
Leopoldo II di Lorena

Leopold II of Lorraine (Fig. 13)
(1797-1870, Grand Duke from 1824 al 1859)

XII
Leopoldus II Lotharingius M. D. E.
Annor XXXV principatum ornavit
optimis ad praeclara quaeque meritis
musaei gazam adauxit tabulis sanctianis
opere ac pretio nobilissimis
laudatorum diagrammatum copiam ex omni
artium magisterio comparatam et ordine
digestam publici usus esse iussit
musaeum etruscum aedibus adsignatis
memorabili in aevum munificentia fundandum
aperiendum cur(avit)

XII
Leopold II of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany
headed a government of thirty-five year
with excellent merits in each illustrious undertaking.
He added to the Museum treasure with paintings by Raphael
most noble in workmanship and deed,
he ordered that the abundance of prestigious
drawings, put together from every branch of art and placed in order,
could be made available to the public.
With memorable munificence, forever,
he had the Etruscan museum
founded and opened.

In the *elogium*, considered to have been dictated by Giovanni Crisostomo Ferrucci[127], it is possible to notice a camouflage effect, aiming to harmonise this new text with those of Lanzi, as seen in the use of the term *gaza* to refer to the "treasure" of the Grand Ducal collections, used by Lanzi in his praise of Francis I. The last Grand Duke of Tuscany is remembered for his purchase of portraits of Agnolo and Maddalena Doni, painted by Raphael in 1506 and given to the Grand Duke by his heirs in 1826[128], then kept for a long time in the Palatine Gallery of Pitti Palace, and recently moved to the Gallery of Statues and Paintings. The *elogium* also mentions the opening to the public of the collection of drawings and the foundation of the Etruscan Museum, both of which occurred in 1853, as mentioned in archive documents[129] and guides. Regarding the first, it is useful to remember what is written in a guide from 1860: "At the end of the third Gallery, three rooms behind the Orcagna, loggia were opened in which to house a precious collection of original drawings by Italian masters, from Giottino through to the 16th century, and which number some 20,000 examples. The most interesting were selected for framing and display in chronological order. To examine the drawings and prints in the various folders, which number more than 30,000, permission from the director is required"[130]. The Etruscan Museum was placed along the circuit of the Vasari Corridor, in two rooms leading from the third corridor stairway, in the section of corridor alongside the Archibusieri embankment along the Arno [131].

14
Giovan Battista Foggini,
Maria Maddalena d'Austria

Maria Maddalena of Austria[132] (Fig. 14)
(1589-1631, Grand Duchess from 1609 to 1621)

VI
Maria Magdalena Austriaca
Caroli Archiducis Austriae filia
Cosmi II Magni Ducis Etruriae uxor

VI
Maria Maddalena of Austria
Daughter of Charles, Arch Duke of Austria
Wife of Cosimo II Grand Duke of Tuscany

Vittoria della Rovere (Fig. 15)
(1622-1694, Grand Duchess from 1633 to 1670)

VIII
Victoria Roborea
Federici principis Urbini Filia
Ferdinandi II Magni Ducis Etruriae uxor

VIII
Vittoria Della Rovere
Daughter of Federico prince of Urbino
Wife of Ferdinand II Grand Duke of Tuscany

The inscriptions accompanying the busts of the two grand duchesses cannot be considered of any strictly encomiastic value since they only show the names of the two women and those of their fathers and husbands.

A missing elogium: Francis Stephen of Lorraine[133]

(1708-1765, Grand Duke from 1737)

IX
Imp Franciscvs Lotharingivs Avg M D E
cvivs mvnificentia Mvsevm Medicevm
signis Aegyptiis nvmmis veteris Mediiqve Aevi
titvlis monvmentorvm Latinis
atqve accessione opvm antiqvarvm
qvas Lotharingiae Principes congesserant
locvpletatvm
item ex ea parte qvam violentia ignis deleverat
restitvtvm
et lineari pictvra per artifices
pensione perpetva condvctos expressvm est

IX
Emperor Francis of Lorraine, Noble Grand Duke of Tuscany
By whose generosity the Medici Museum
was enriched
with Egyptian statues, ancient and mediaeval coins
with Latin inscriptions from monuments
and with the addition of antiquities
which the princes of Lorre had put together
And in the same way, restored in part
What the violent fire
Had destroyed
And was shown in drawings by
artists.

We have included the *elogium* for Francis I, written up by Lanzi but not placed in the Antiricetto, perhaps - as would seem plausible - to dedicate this area exclusively to the Dei Medici and to the history of their contribution to the Gallery.
Aside from the additions to the collections, it is interesting to see how the commendation refers to the restoration work following a fire on 12 August 1762[134] and to the creation - beginning in 1749 – of the *Designated Inventory*[135], the work of a team of illustrators coordinated by Benedetto Vincenzo de Greyss. The project remained unfinished and the pencil versions are kept in the Collection of Prints and Drawings in the Uffizi, while the definitive versions, in pen and ink, are at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek di Vienna. These show the three corridors and five of the eight walls in the Tribuna, the Self-portrait Room and the Inscription Room[136].

Balleri 2005: R. Balleri, *Il Settecento e la cultura antiquaria tra Firenze e Roma: il Museum Florentinum*, in *Proporzioni*, n. s., VI, 2005, pp. 97-141.

Barocchi 1983: P. Barocchi, *La storia della Galleria e la Storiografia artistica*, in *Gli Uffizi. Quattro secoli di una galle-*

ACRONYMS

AGU: Archivio della Galleria degli Uffizi, Firenze.

ASF: Archivio di Stato, Firenze.

BGU: Biblioteca della Galleria degli Uffizi, Firenze.

BNCF: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze.

FL: Fabbriche Lorenesi, Archivio di Stato, Firenze.

SFF: Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Archivio di Stato, Firenze.

NOTE

1 Lanzi 1782, 12: "So the guest can read, in the first vestibule a compendious story of the Museum, but one that is however, imperfect, until we add the inscription of a Sovereign who certainly contribute to a its beauty and dignity more than any predecessor." A reference, with an almost courtier-like intention to Peter Leopold, whose bust - accompanied by a large celebratory inscription - would be added later, in 1790, crowning the Lorraine Ricetto (See Spalletti 2011, pp. 176-177).

2 Zacchiroli 1783, pp. 24-28.

3 Lanzi 1795-1796, p. 273, n. 121.

4 Lanzi 1807, pp. 49-51.

5 AGU, XIII (1780) to 30.

6 *Ibidem*

7 In a note dated 7th October 1780, Pelli writes: "Certain things in the Royal Gallery are yet to be estabished, such as how to place the Latin, Greek, and Etruscan stones, the bas-reliefs, the busts of the philosophers, etc., etc. Why? Because there are too many of us in charge and this is the time that the second part is considered first and that... While I do not want any trouble, I voice my opinion strongly, then I leave them to get on with it, and laugh." *Efemeridi*, Serie II, Volume VIII (1780), 1441v- 1442. The epilogue to the matter is known from another note of the 20th February in the following year: "The old entrance to the Royal Gallery remains as a room for inscriptions and heads of illustrious men. Said inscriptions have been distributed according to their classes, but I have always believed the place to be dark, and I still believe it to be so, since without the Jesuit opposition of Abbot Lanzi, I would have decorated the new entrance with these inscriptions. They are miserably located in their spaces, becoming confused with one another and nor are they easy to read. These defects I note so as not to be blamed for them." *Ibidem*, Serie II, Volume IX (1781), 1542v.

8 AGU, XIII (1780) to 30.

9 *Efemeridi*, Serie II, Volume X (1782), 1768.

10 ASF, SFF, FL, 123: "On this day, 18th February 1782. *The Scrittoio delle Reali Fabbriche e Giardini* [department in charge of conservation of the royal buildings and gardens] must give Bartolommeo Buoninsegni for having written 8 signs over wood covered in tempera, placed on the stands of the Marble Busts in the New Atrium of the R. Gallery representing the Portraits of the Princes of the Medici House and all in Accordance with the Compositions of the Most Reverend Abbot Lanzi, with said letters being three *piccioli di Braccio* [around 8 mm] and others half a *soldo* in height. Since it was agreed to mark them before sharing the verses, marking them again in pencil to form the letters, and then colouring these in black, since it was necessary to mark them by hand, with difficulty, in situ, including some names in marble on the pedestal of a bust, which together make 2260 letters, which in at 15 *soldi* per hundred, means 339 *soldi*". See Spalletti 2011, p. 67.

11 Galluzzi 1781.

12 *Efemeridi*, Serie II, volume IX (1781), 1560 v.

13 Lanzi 1807, p. 51, no. IX.

14 It is necessary, however to remember that Francis Stephen's elegy was published in 1824, in the second volume of the *Reale Galleria di Firenze illustrata* (Florence 1824, 7): the inclusion of this epigraph, together with the one later placed under the effigy of Peter Leopold in the Lorraine Ricetto (*Ibidem*, 8), most likely aims to praise the "magnanimous Austrians" who succeeded the Medici family as rulers of Tuscany and "who have placed us at the height of the most longed-for happiness" (*Ibidem*, 1).

15 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 50.

16 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 48.

17 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 47.

18 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 45.

19 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 49.

20 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 43.

21 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 42.

22 BGU, Ms.113, no. 11.

23 BGU, Ms.175, no. 342.

24 BGU, Ms.381, no. 36.

25 Pieraccini 1910, p.44.

26 Florenze, Inventario Soprintendenza Beni Artistici e Storici, no. 7: "Bust of Don Lorenzo dei Medici. Looking leftwards: his hair is worn long, with sideburns and a goatee beard. He is wearing metal armour with a fabric collar and a mantle, which from his left shoulder, drapes under his right arm. The bust is in white marble with pedestal in yellowish mixed marble".

27 Langedijk 1981-1987, II (1983), pp. 922-923, no. 12; see also D. Pegazzano in *L'arme e gli amori* 2001, 132, no. 15.

28 Langedijk 1981-1987, II (1983), p. 924, no. 13.

29 D. Pegazzano in *L'arme e gli amori* 2001, p. 131, no. 14.

30 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 41.

31 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 51.

32 AGU, 1825, a 2.

33 *Ibid*. "In fact, as well as enriching it with monuments of all kinds, such as statues, paintings, cameos, prints, drawings and medals in silver and gold, he built the beautiful new room where the masterpieces of Tuscan painting, hung in good light, are as if covered with new beauty, to the great admiration and delight of the public and especially, by cultured visitors; he founded a small but precious gallery of Tuscan sculptures; and provided the propriety and elegance of the building with painted floors, carpets in the cabinets, new bases for the busts of the Caesars and other similar orders".

34 Langedijk 1981-1987, II (1983), p. 1154, no. 25.

35 On the bust of Lorenzo the Magnificent it is possible to see Langedijk 1981-1987, II (1983) pp. 1163-1164, no. 30 with previous bibliography; I. Dalla Monica in *Itinerario Laurenziano* 1992, pp. 12-13, no. 2; A. V. in *Borgia* 2002, p. 104 no. I. 43

36 Langedijk 1981-1987, II (1983), pp. 1164-1165, no. 31. See also Warren 1998, in particular p. 6.

37 Langedijk 1981-1987, II (1983), pp. 1154-1156, no. 26.

38 *Ibid*, p. 1158, no. 26b.

39 *Works* 1825, I, III-VII.

40 Fabbroni 1798, p. 11.

41 "Quoique ces deux Bustes appartiennent à la Maison des Medicis, il ne paroit pas que le second surtout ait contriubue à l'embellissement de la Galerie" *Galerie* 1810, p. XII. This opinion - placed in brackets together with the mention of the two busts - is also included in the edition for 1813 (p.13) but it does not appear in the guide published in 1816 (p. 13, where there is just a reference to the two busts without any brackets).

42 Inv. 90S.

43 BGU, Ms.113, no. 34

44 BGU, Ms.175, no. 334.

45 Inv. 360S.

46 Respectively, Inv. 75S and Inv. 117S.

47 Inv. 62S.

48 AGU, 1827, a 44.

49 The last reference is in the guide *Galerie 1825* (p. 15), evidently prepared before the movements described here.

50 AGU, f. 1827 a 44.

51 *Galerie* 1832, p. 15.

52 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1914, no. 40.

53 AGU, 1865 a 6.

54 See the relevant report, AGU, *ibidem*.

55 AGU, *ibidem*, 19 January 1865.

56 Inv. OdA 1911, no. 361.

57 For example, see *Catalogo* 1875, p. 8.

58 See, for example Pieraccini 1897, p. 16. This information is repeated in subsequent editions; in this text too, the other commendations are incorrectly all attributed to Lanzi.

59 Ridolfi 1895-1896, 171; *Idem* 1906, pp. 9-10.

60 *Ibidem.*

61 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 46.

62 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914 no. 44.

63 Ridolfi 1895-1896, pp. 171-172.

64 AGU, 1896, N.2, Ins. 14.

65 Nella galleria fotografica (Fig. 16) si riporta una tabella relativa ai riscontri da inventari e guide Gli inventari sono contrassegnati dalla

sola indicazione dell'anno: i numeri d'inventario riportati in corsivo indicano una collocazione nell'Antiricetto. Le guide di Galleria sono invece contrassegnate dall'anno e dal nome dell'autore o del titolo (Z= Zacchiroli; C= Catalogue de la royale galerie de Florence...; R = Rigoni; P= Pieraccini): i numeri romani riportati sono i numeri d'ordine con cui i busti sono registrati nelle guide. Si è scelto di riportare nella tabella unicamente le Guide che fanno menzione dei busti ordinandoli numericamente.

66 La numerazione posta all'inizio di ciascun elogium è quella riportata da Zacchiroli 1783, pp. 24-28.

67 Zacchiroli 1783, pp. 24-25, no. I; Lanzi 1807, p.49, no. I

68 The line is absent in Lanzi 1807.

69 Incorrect: in Zacchiroli 1790, p.44 the form "ornamenta" is used, while in Lanzi, 1807 the form "ornamento" is used, which is preferred here.

70 Lanzi 1807 uses "eius".

71 Lanzi 1807, p. 49, note *ad loc.: "Imagines ecc.* Vultus clarorum hominum a Jovio collectos jussit exprimere Christophorum dell'Altissimo, eosq. In Museo dedicavit".

72 For the Serie Gioviana, see De Luca 2009, in particular, pp. 19-23 and 27-30.

73 Zacchiroli 1783, p. 25, no. II; Lanzi 1807, p. 49, no. II.

74 For the decoration of the Tribuna by Francesco I, see Conticelli 2016.

75 Zacchiroli 1783, pp. 25-26, no. III; Lanzi 1807, p. 50, no. III.

76 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1914, n. 294.

77 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1914, note ad loc.: "*Symplegma* etc. La lotta".

78 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1914, no. 230.

79 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1914, no. 307.

80 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1914, no. 224; Lanzi 1807, 50 note "*Veneris* Quae nunc in Gallia".

81 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1914, no. 229.

82 Bocci Pacini 1989, p. 222.

83 Capecchi – Paoletti 2002, p. 8. Also see Spalletti 2011, pp. 15-89 *passim.*

84 Lanzi 1782, 175: "The Apollino resting on a trunk is a new gift, which S. A. R. gave to Florence when he enriched it with the Niobe".

85 Capecchi – Paoletti 2002, p. 19. See Spalletti 2011, p. 55: Pelli notes the arrival of the work on 31 October 1780 (*Efemeridi* VIII, c. 1466, 1 October 1780).

86 Zacchiroli 1783, p. 26, no. IV; Lanzi 1807, p. 50, no. IV.

87 Incorrect: the correct form "coeptum" is given in Zacchiroli 1790, p. 46 and in Lanzi 1807, p. 50, no. IV.

88 Camporeale 2000, p. 21. For the publication of *De Etruria regali*, see Cristofani 1978.

89 For Sir Robert Dudley, see the profile in Paolucci-Romualdi 2010, pp. 94-96. Regarding the disagreement between Dempster and Dudley, see Leighton-Castelino 1990, pp. 349-350: convinced that Dudley had reported him to the inquisition and had spread calumnious rumours about him and his wife, Dempster went so far to threaten him at sword point and then refused to present his apologies.

90 Gialluca 2014, p. 283.

91 Zacchiroli 1783, p. 27, no. V; Lanzi 1807, p. 27, no. V.

92 In Lanzi 1807 "hereditate".

93 Lanzi 1807, p. 50, note *ad loc.: la loggia de' Lanzi*".

94 Pelli 1779, I, pp. 234-244.

95 Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. MAF no. 1637.

96 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1890 nn. 1615, pp. 3342.

97 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, Inv. 1890 no. 1706 and no.1450.

98 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings , Inv. 1890 no. 1437.

99 Zacchiroli 1783, pp. 27-28 no.VI ; Lanzi 1807, p. 51 no. VI.

100 In Lanzi 1807 the alternative form "nomismata" is used.

101 In Lanzi 1807 the "-que" enclitico.

102 In Lanzi 1807 the words "imagines miniacas formas" are missing and the set out of the remaining text looks different: the inscription is distributed over nine lines in place of ten –with the exception of the line with the roman numeral of its order - and the text in lines 5-9 by Zacchiroli 1783 is ordered differently compared to lines 5-7 of Lanzi 1807, shown as follows: "ITEM PICTORVM MAXIME EMINENTIVM TABVLAS/ QVEIS SVAM QVISQVE/ EFFIGIEM ATQVE ARTEM EXPRESSERAT".

103 For *missilia* and their distribution in the imperial age, see Simon 2008.

104 Pelli 1779, I, p. 256 and no. 316.

105 Pelli 1779, I, pp. 256-258 and *Idem,* II, pp. 195-197, no. CXXIII.

106 Zacchiroli 1783, p. 28 no. VII; Lanzi 1807, 51 no. VII.

107 Incorrect: the correct form, "translata" is listed in Zacchiroli 1790, p. 47 and in Lanzi 1807.

108 See Paolucci 2017.

109 Meijer 2013, p. 19.

110 See Paolucci 2011.

111 Spinelli 2003, pp. 262-264.

112 Spinelli 2003, p. 334; See Paolucci 2010 and Romualdi 2010 and also Muscillo 2016.

113 Pollard 1983, p. 284.

114 Florence, Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. 1914, no. 350.

115 Pollard 1983, p. 272.

116 Pollard 1983, p. 284.

117 Zacchiroli 1783, p. 28, no.VIII; Lanzi 1807, p. 51, no. VIII

118 For the publication of *Museum Florentinum*, see Balleri 2005.

119 The numbering referred to each *elogium* is the one currently in use, placed on the bases supporting the busts.

120 In the absence of other sources, the text of the *elogium* has been taken from the inscription on the support of the bust.

121 Cic. Brutus, p. 239: "Meus autem aequalis Cn. Pompeius vir ad omnia summa natus maiorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum maioris gloriae cupi ditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset."

122 Garin 1952, 894: "Vir ad omnia summa natus, et qui flantem reflentemque totiens fortunam usque adeo sit alterna velificatione moderatus, ut nescias utrum secondi rebus constantior an adversis aequo ac temperantior apparuerit".

123 AGU f. 1827, a 44.

124 AGU f. 1827, a 44.

125 See note 32. [AGU, 1825, a 2.]

126 Barocchi 1983, p.130.

127 Pieraccini 1897, p.16.

128 Prisco-De Vecchi 1966, p. 95, nn. 55-56.

129 AGU, filza 1853, to 55 "Bills for Manufacturers for the establishment of the Etruscan museum", to 68 "Pini Carlo, Serafini Pasquale. Gratification obtained for establishment of the Etruscan museum".

130 *Guide* 1860, pp. 88-89.

131 *Ibidem,* pp. 90-91.

132 The order number in Roman numerals that precedes the inscriptions for the two Grand Duchesses is the one currently seen on the supports in the Gallery.

133 Lanzi 1807, p. 51, no. IX.

134 Fileti Mazza-Tomasello 2008, pp. 21-22.

135 Heikamp 1969.

136 For the methods used on the work, see Muscillo in course of publication.

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Francesco I	II	6	336	III	III	31	III	III	III	III	III	III	49	III
Ferdinando I	III	7	337	IV	IV	32	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	48	IV
Cosimo II	IV	8	338	V	V	33	V	V	V	V	V	V	47	V
Maddalena d'Austria	-	-	-	-	-	44	-	VI	XIII	VI	XIII	VI	46	VI
Ferdinando II	V	9	340	VI	VI	34	VI	VII	VI	VII	VI	VII	45	VII
Vittoria della Rovere	-	-	-	-	-	43	-	VIII	XII	VIII	XII	VIII	44	VIII
Cardinal Leopoldo	VI	10	343	VII	VII	35	VII	IX	VII	IX	VII	IX	43	IX
Cosimo III	VII	11	342	VIII	VIII	36	VIII	X	VIII	X	VIII	-	7	-
Gian Gastone	VIII	12	344	IX	IX	37	IX	XII	IX	XII	IX	XI	42	X
Ferdinando III	-	-	1125	X	X	38	X	XI	X	XI	X	X	41	XI
Leopoldo II	-	-	-	-	XI	40	XI	XIII	XI	XIII	XI	XII	40	XII

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MAESTRA ELISABETTA SIRANI, "VIRTUOSA DEL PENNELLO"

Baroque painter and printmaker Elisabetta Sirani (1638-1665) was one of Bologna's most innovative and influential artists, especially on the women artists of the city. Considered by her contemporaries as the "best brush in Bologna" and an established "maestro", she developed an elegant and expressive style. This article will examine Elisabetta's artistic agency and legacy: her promotion to head of the Sirani workshop and establishment of an art school for girls; and propose some new attributions.

On the occasion of the exhibition recently held at the Uffizi's Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Dipingere e disegnare "da gran maestro": il talento di Elisabetta Sirani (Bologna, 1638-1665) I take the opportunity to write about this erudite and prolific painter, printmaker and draftswoman. Elisabetta Sirani was the more famous daughter of the established Bolognese artist and art merchant, Giovanni Andrea Sirani (1610-1670), who taught her the art of the pennelli. Giovanni Andrea's own master had been Guido Reni, the most important painter of Italy, and Elisabetta was initially taught in Reni's classical style, before she developed her own independent expressive and intimate manner, "far maniera da sé" as her biographer and mentor Count Carlo Cesare Malvasia put it.

Elisabetta was born on Friday 8 January 1638 in post-tridentine Bologna, the most important city of the Papal States after Rome. The Counter-Reformation assured artists continuing employment that came from not only the Catholic Church but also private patrons who sought devotional pictures for their homes. Bologna's more prominent families also desired secular paintings to decorate their patrician palaces, whilst the city's university intelligentsia sought portraits of its most celebrated doctors, scientists and lawyers. Elisabetta was able to satisfy this demand for both sacred and secular pictures in a variety of genres and subject matter, from history painting, large-scale religious altarpieces and smaller devotional works (fig. 1), classical mythologies (fig. 2), literature (fig. 3) and allegories, to portraits.

Women in Europe during this period did not have many opportunities to pursue a profession or career, as they were normally denied an education or training, expected to become wives, mothers or nuns. But Elisabetta was fortunate in that she lived in a progressive city with a liberal attitude towards female education. Most women wanting a professional career in the arts had a male relative who taught them in the family workshop. Having an artist-father helped Elisabetta establish herself as a successful professional painter in a male-dominated profession. What is remarkable about Elisabetta Sirani, however, is that she developed a new teaching model whereby girls and young women were taught to draw and paint by the artist herself, rather than by their fathers, husbands or brothers. She thus is revolutionary as one of the first woman artists outside of a convent to establish a professional art school for female students, which included her two younger sisters Barbara and Anna Maria as well as Ginevra Cantofoli, an already established artist who became Elisabetta's friend and assistant. Malvasia claimed a number of Bolognese young girls and women followed her artistic example "seguono l'esempio di questa tanta degna pittrice", listing eleven in all, including Elena Maria Panzacchi, Veronica Fontana, Lucrezia Scarfaglia, Teresa Coriolano and An-

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Elisabetta Sirani, Sacra Famiglia con Santa Teresa,
Modena, collezione privata L. Zanasi

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Elisabetta Sirani, Orfeo salva Euridice dagli inferi,
Modena, collezione privata L. Zanasi.

gela Teresa Muratori. Whether taught by Elisabetta directly at "la sua scuola", as contemporaries such as her dear patron and agent Marchese Ferdinando Cospi referred to it, or influenced by her pioneering example, as Muratori likely was, all of these young women went on to work as established professional artists in Bologna and throughout Italy.

Despite dying unexpectedly young at 27, Elisabetta completed over 200 canvases, fifteen prints and innumerable drawings and wash sketches in a career that barely spanned more than a decade (1654-65). This averages about twenty canvases a year, a remarkable number for any artist. Not only was Elisabetta extremely productive, she also demonstrated an extraordinary speed of execution (facilità), reputed for being able to complete a portrait bust in one sitting. Elisabetta was thus considered a highly talented High Baroque virtuoso, admired for her technical bravura and artistic virtuosity.

Rumours, however, circulated that being a woman she could not have possibly painted all the works that bore her signature, so to dispel these Elisabetta let her clients watch her paint in her studio, an obvious strategy of self-promotion. She also documented her paintings and prints in a work diary Nota delle pitture fatto da me Elisabetta Sirani, later published by Malvasia in his Felsina Pittrice of 1678. This diary is an extremely important primary source, as no female artist before Elisabetta is known to have kept such a record of

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Elisabetta Sirani,
Venere castiga Cupido,
Modena, collezione privata L. Zanasi.

their work. Via this document we can establish the range and breadth of her artistic production, because Elisabetta carefully described each commission and its subject matter, identifying the patron for whom each work was painted. She further provides important insights into the daily operation of the Sirani studio and her own artistic practice, and sets out the ideas and concepts for her many inventive and varied works.

By the time Elisabetta reached her artistic maturity between 1662-64, she had become one of the most important and sought-after artists in Bologna. Everyone desired to own a work painted by this talented woman so that her paintings, prints and drawings were in high demand amongst all levels of Bolognese society: mercantile, commercial, professional and intellectual circles, as well as the aristocratic, ecclesiastical and political élite. The artist also developed an international reputation, feted by royalty and diplomatic leaders throughout Italy and Europe. The Medici of Florence, for example, became important patrons, with the women of this dynasty in particular launching her international career: Margherita de' Medici with her Madonna and Child with Saints Elizabeth and Margaret (San Lorenzo in Fonte, Rome) and Vittoria della Rovere with the famous Amorino Trionfante (Bologna, Private Collection) both from 1661, the latter intended as a wedding gift for Vittoria's new daughter-in-law Princess Marguerite-Louise d' Orléans of France. Inspired by these two women's example the great Medici collector Prince Leopoldo (Margherita's brother) was to later commission his Allegory of Medici Good Government (Justice, Charity and Prudence) (1664, Comune di Vignola).

Capomaestra of the Sirani Studio

A sure indication of Elisabetta's professional standing and acceptance by the male art establishment was her election as a full Professor of the Accademia di San Luca, Rome. The Roman academy had admitted women since 1607, as full professors but without the permission to attend meetings (Statute 20), but by 1617 they were fully integrated into the institution's functions. Being a full professor meant that Elisabetta was considered a "maestro", that is she could be head of her own studio and teach, taking on students and apprentices, for whom she was to provide food and guild dues. We know that Elisabetta did indeed become a master of her own workshop by her early twenties taking over her father's primary role.

Giovanni Andrea Sirani had been both the household head of the Sirani family, as well as the capomaestro of the Sirani workshop located in Via Urbana, Bologna. Whilst relatively less known now than his famous and more talented daughter Elisabetta, Giovanni Andrea was considered one of the key figures of the Bolognese School. After training as Guido Reni's closest assistant Sirani ran a busy and productive workshop

of his own, one of the most successful in seventeenth-century Bologna, later described by Luigi Crespi as a "flourishing school". Malvasia identified Giovanni Andrea, professor also at the city's drawing academies, as one of Bologna's pre-eminent painting and printmaking teachers, "second to none". Sirani's many assistants and apprentices included his daughters Elisabetta, Barbara and Anna Maria, whom he initially trained and who all worked as professional artists in the family business. Its production ranged from high-end public altarpieces, history painting and private devotional and allegorical works, portraiture and presentation drawings, commissioned from Bologna's religious and aristocratic élite, and emerging bourgeoisie of merchants, to prints, religious prayer sheets and santini for the lay populace, and book frontispieces, illustrations and thesis conclusions for the university city's humanists and intellectuals.

An important change in this household and bottega occurred around 1662 when already an established artist, Elisabetta became head of the Sirani family workshop, after her father became seriously ill. The older artist suffered from arthritic gout that greatly distorted his hands. The earliest documented reference to Giovanni Andrea Sirani's illness is found in a letter from Pietro Antonio Davia in Bologna to Antonio Ruffo in Messina, dated 19 June 1649, after which the artist's condition worsened progressively over the years until he could no longer paint. Elisabetta took on Giovanni Andrea's apprentices and assistants, at the same time teaching in her female art school.

In effect Elisabetta, being now the main economic source for the Sirani family, can be considered the head of the household, usurping the traditional patriarchal role of both studio maestro and family head. This gender role-reversal was unique in that no other Italian woman painter is known to have run and taught in a male workshop. Malvasia and Cospi both acknowledged her status as a maestro, claiming that the income from Elisabetta's much-in-demand work supported her entire family: "la figliola la quale in oggi quì è ritenuta maestra et è lei che mantiene con sua lavori tutta la sua numerosa famiglia". With the money earned it is documented that the artist not only paid for her own music lessons, but also purchased household goods, and paid for medical care for her mother and siblings. As Malvasia was to write, Elisabetta's ab honorarium payments (which comprised mainly expensive jewellery) counted "a comun beneficio della Casa", which, as I have discussed elsewhere, consisted not only of the extended Sirani family of nine, and their retainers, but also the bottega apprentices and assistants, which numbered at various times over twenty. According to Bologna's artist guild regulations the capomaestro was to be responsible for payment not only of the wages of workshop assistants and apprentices, but also their guild membership dues. And they would have had to be fed whilst at work in the Sirani

bottega, thus as Capomaestra and Sirani household head Elisabetta came to hold not only a large degree of independence but also economic, material and moral responsibility in this artistic dynasty.

Being first-born also gave Elisabetta the added responsibility of primo-genitura, yet another example of gender role-reversal. Sandra Cavallo has stressed the economic obligations of the eldest brother in artisan households towards his younger siblings. In the Sirani family's case, although female, Elisabetta's role as household head and capomaestra enabled not only her two younger sisters to finish their artistic training with her and develop as independent professional artists, but also assisted her brother Antonio Maria (b. 1649) to study under the renowned university professor Luigi Magni from 1664, and eventually graduate as a doctor of Medicine and Philosophy from Bologna University in 1670.

Thus running the Sirani workshop meant that Elisabetta not only headed the family business, with her father as her manager, but also the household, maintaining her large family with the economic proceeds of her work. This was a unique position for a woman at the time; usually only men were considered household heads and provided economically for the family. It was no wonder that her father Giovanni Andrea was devastated when Elisabetta died suddenly in the flower of her youth. Overcome with grief as he undoubtedly was, he had also lost the business's primary producer. Giovanni Andrea had to reinstate himself as capomaestro of the Sirani studio, which he now ran again assisted by Lorenzo Loli and his two remaining daughters, Barbara and Anna Maria.

Themes and additions to Elisabetta's œuvre

Elisabetta Sirani's popular and professional success and critical acclaim in her time and her subsequent fortuna, firmly established her significance in the history of art, and her contribution to reworking existing artistic traditions. She was very inventive and innovative, developing new and unusual subject matter with unique content and iconography with narratives featuring female heroes from Biblical and Classical History (known as femmes fortes - strong and brave women: Judith, Delilah, Portia, Timoclea, Artemisia (fig. 4), Cleopatra, Circe, Iole, Pamphile). In these history paintings, Elisabetta depicted her heroines with positive virtues, as independent active beings, intelligent, courageous and dignified. The artist learnt about these strong historical women and prepared for her canvases by reading the ancient texts and handbooks in her father's extensive library, including the bible, and studying the visual sources in the Sirani family art collection.

A newly found example of such a femme forte is Elisabetta's Cleopatra (1664) in an Italian private collection (fig. 5), which highlights the artist's virtuosity,

her technical bravura, dramatic colour orchestration and strong chiaroscuro. Elisabetta has carefully arranged the light to fall on Cleopatra's exposed flesh (breasts, arm, and face), as well as picking up the reflected light on the glass cup held in the queen's left hand and on the vase in the right background. This displays Elisabetta's mastery of the paint medium and brush (she was considered a "Virtuosa del pennello" by her contemporaries), being able to so realistically depict the transparency of glass. Also beautifully and gracefully rendered are Cleopatra's hands, in their elegant pose, as they hold the large baroque pearl (one of her earrings) and cup in which it is about to be dropped. Her right arm reveals a pentimento, showing how the artist rethought her compositions as she worked on them. Elisabetta was known for these iconic images of powerful women, in which she gives prominence to the dignified figure of the heroine, both thematically and visually, often excluding the male protagonist "hero" through whom these women's identity had come to be defined, in this case Cleopatra's absent lover the Roman general Marc Antony.

In her novel representations of these femmes fortes Elisabetta operated in an equally virile painterly manner which contemporaries gendered as masculine, "da gran maestro". Malvasia claimed that she painted "più che da uomo" in a "virile and grand manner (ebbe del virile e del grande)". Elisabetta was one of the first women artists to be publicly acknowledged by colleagues and critics as a female "virtuoso" possessing artistic genius and invenzione, which since Aristotle was considered beyond the scope of women. She was also one of the few Bolognese artists to sign her work, in an age when women's signatures held little legal status, developing ingenious ways of asserting her professional artistic and social identity and authority. She did this by "embroidering" her name onto buttons, cuffs, necklines and cushion braiding or tassels, or incised in the architectural elements of her canvases, with the form of the signature often bearing direct relation to the content and meaning of her images.

Elisabetta was also renowned for producing allegorical society portraits, that is, portraits of Bolognese nobility in the guise of some mythical, religious or abstract concept, such as Contessa Anna Maria Ranuzzi Marsigli as Charity (Bologna, Fondazione Ca.ris.bo, 1665), Vincenzo Ferdinando Ranuzzi as Cupid (Warsaw, National Museum, 1663) and Ortensia Leoni Cordini as St Dorothy (Madison, Chazen Museum of Art, 1661). She also produced allegorical self-portraits as La Musica (Fort Worth, private collection, 1659) and La Pittura (Moscow, Pushkin Museum, 1658). A recent addition to her catalogue is the Self-portrait painting a portrait of her father (St. Petersburg, The Hermitage, c. 1665, fig. 6), long considered lost, one of two versions Elisabetta painted for the Hercolani and Polazzi families. The Hermitage example I believe to be the

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Elisabetta Sirani, Artemisia,
Modena, collezione privata L. Zanasi.

version Malvasia recorded as being in Palazzo Polazzi in the 1670s, and which the following century was found in the Boschi collection, whilst the Hercolani version was displayed at Elisabetta's civic funeral.

According to Malvasia, Elisabetta's paintings of the Virgin and Child and the Holy Family represented some of the most beautiful and divine Madonnas of the period, and were the artist's staple form of income. These were known as quadretti da letto, small paintings used for private devotional use for meditation and prayer, in which maternal images dominate in intimate and affective interactions between mother and child, through sweet exchanges of looks and delicate interchanges of hand gestures (Madonna della Rosa, 1664 (location unknown), Madonna del Cuscino, 1665, Bologna, private collection), what Vera Fortunati has defined as a "teologia in lingua materna". Elisabetta thereby developed an emotional intimacy in her works, based on emotive and affective rapport between artist and her subject.

Even in her paintings of male saints we find this intimacy and feminine sensibility, such as the St. Anthony in Adoration of the Christ (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale,1662) and the previously unpublished St Joseph in an Italian private collection (fig. 7). The latter painting can be dated to the middle of Elisabetta's career, by which time she had successfully developed her religious works for the private devotion of Bologna's nobility. The Counter Reformation, as seen in Archbishop of Bologna Gabriele Paleotti's Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane (published 1582), generated a demand for holy images to inspire devotion of

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Elisabetta Sirani,
Cleopatra,
Modena, collezione privata L. Zanasi.

the faithful, and Elisabetta was able to furnish the city's private homes and palaces with beautifully rendered scenes of the Holy Family or Madonna and Child, her speciality. Joseph as a witness to Christ's coming had traditionally been seen as a marginal figure where paintings often show him in the shadows or background, but during the Counter Reformation his presence came to be seen as more central to God's divine plan. The Holy Family developed as an important iconography of the period, and in the 17th century we also see images of St Joseph on his own or with the Christ Child. This was especially due to the writings of Teresa of Avila, for Joseph was her patron saint; she dedicated the new convent of the discalced Carmelites which she founded in Avila in 1562 to him, thereby promoting the cult of St Joseph during this period. In her Libro della mia Vita St Teresa wrote of a vision of the Holy Family, with Mary and Joseph placing upon her a dazzling white cloak and a golden necklace with a cross.

Elisabetta, in this painting, has chosen to present the saint as the main subject in his important role as the earthly father, in adoration of the Infant Christ whom he embraces lovingly in protection. Christ is seated on a blue cushion resting on a table, and is nestled into Joseph's left arm, whilst He reaches out to accept the pink carnation that the saint offers with his right hand, itself beautifully and delicately rendered by the artist. Elisabetta was to produce another version of this theme, in 1664 (Faenza Pinacoteca), in which we see the same sculptural treatment of the folds of Joseph's yellow cloak that envelops both father and son, and similar colour orchestration. Another work that can

be compared to the painting is the so-called Holy Family of the Cherries (Milan, private collection, 1662) that Elisabetta produced around the same period. The head of St Joseph in this holy family is almost identical to that of our Joseph, and indicates that Elisabetta utilized the same model and preliminary drawings for both paintings.

Conclusion

Remaining unmarried and thus a single working artist, Elisabetta Sirani was a particularly significant figure in the professionalization of women's artistic practice in Italy in the Early Modern period. Her agency lies in the establishment of alternative avenues for the education of women, opening her studio up to young girls - not all from artist families, there were noblewomen as well – who wished to pursue a career in the visual arts. As a professional practicing artist, a maestro, teacher and a woman, Elisabetta offered a radical alternative to the established male mentor (male-to-male/male-to-female) model of art education, developing a matrilineal transmission of artistic training. In this way professional, technical knowledge and cultural capital were mediated by and through women, not only men. Bologna in particular proved to be a fertile ground for such developments, with its humanist tradition of famous women who had taught at the university, wrote and published, as well as painted and sculpted. Elisabetta is the epitome of this rich cultural patrimony. Elisabetta Sirani "Virtuosa del Pennello" thus represents the "exemplum" of the successful professional woman artist in Northern Italy, her own artistic practice serving as a paradigm of women's cultural production during this period, with her work overall leaving a lasting impression and having major influence in the development of Bolognese painting in the second half of the Seventeenth Century.

ASF, Carteggio degli Artisti XVI.

ASF, Mediceo del Principato 5532, filza 35.

6
Elisabetta Sirani,
Autoritratto dell'artista che dipinge
il ritratto del padre (Doppio autoritratto),
San Pietroburgo,
The State Hermitage Museum.
Ph. Alexander Lavrentiev.

NOTES

1 Curated by Roberta Aliventi and Laura Da Rin Bettina, under the academic co-ordination of Marzia Faietti, 6 March - 10 June 2018.

2 Malvasia-Arfelli 1961, p. 105.

3 Malvasia (1678) 1841, II, p. 407.

4 In a letter to Prince Leopoldo de' Medici, Bologna 27 January 1665, ASF, Mediceo del Principato 5532, filza 35, fol. 298r.

5 For Sirani's pupils see Graziani 2004; Modesti 2014, pp. 67-79.

6 Malvasia (1678) 1841, II, pp. 393-400.

7 Ghezzi 1696.

8 Missirini 1825, p. 83 and appendix.

9 Crespi 1769, p. 73.

10 Malvasia (1678) 1841, II, p. 407: "nell'insegnare ancora ha pochi uguali".

11 Cospi to Leopoldo de' Medici, letter dated 19 August 1662, ASF, Carteggio degli Artisti XVI, fol. 34.

12 Malvasia (1678) 1841, II, p. 400.

13 Modesti 2013.

14 See Statuti 1670, especially Cap. XI, XII, XIII. BCABo, MS B 2443.

15 Cavallo 2009, pp. 327-350. See also Cavallo 2010, pp. 1-13.

16 For the Sirani library and art collections see Sabatini 1995; Modesti 2014, pp. 93-96, 101-105, 113-115.

17 Malvasia, Felsine Pittrice...cit., II, pp. 386, 402.

18 I have discussed Elisabetta's strategic use of her signature throughout my publications on the artist: e.g. Modesti 2004, pp. 20-22. See also Bohn 2004, pp. 107-117.

19 For a discussion of these see Modesti 2014, pp. 11-12. The St Petersburg painting was first published by Sokolova 2012.

20 Malvasia (1678) 1841, II, index, p. cx: "Ritratto della Sirana, che mostra di dipingere il padre in un quadro di mano del detto suo padre, e, di questi da lei dipinto in un solo quadro appresso il Polazzi".

21 Malvasia (1678) 1841, II, pp. 400–01.

22 Fortunati 2004, pp. 21, 26-27.

23 Elisabetta herself painted a Holy Family with St Teresa for the Cremonese jeweller Gabriele Rizzardi in 1664 (fig. 1). On Counter-Reformation iconography, see Mâle 1984.

24 Preliminary drawings for the Holy Family are located in the Uffizi, on display at the exhibition Dipingere e disegnare "da gran maestro": il talento di Elisabetta Sirani (Bologna, 1638-1665) held at the Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe (6 March - 10 June 2018).

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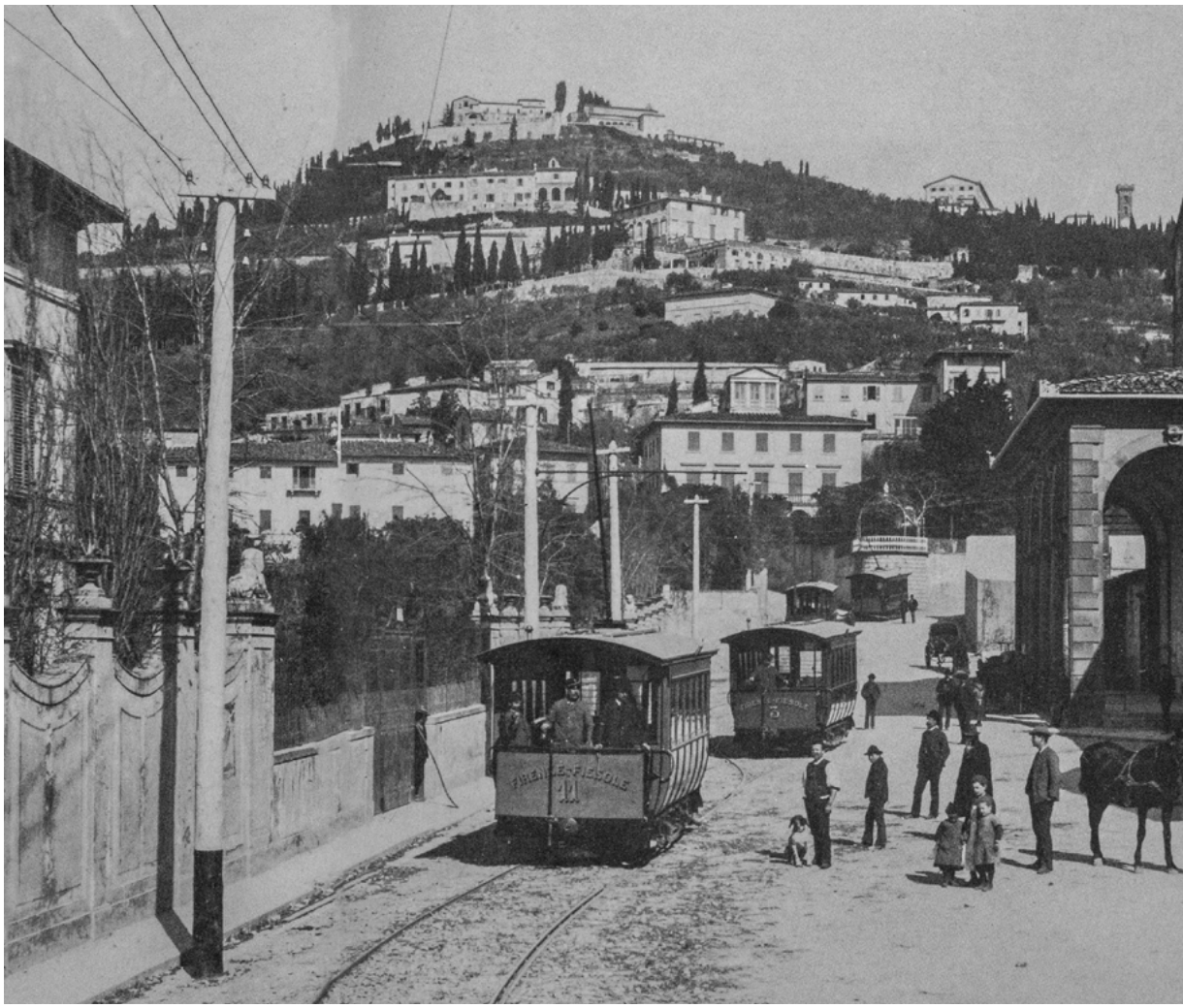


Carla Basagni, Pablo López Marcos

TRACES OF THE "MUSEO FIRENZE COM'ERA IN THE UFFIZI: THE ARCHIVE OF PIERO ARANGUREN (PRATO 1911-FLORENCE 1988), DONATED TO THE LIBRARY

Piero Aranguren (Prato 1911-Florence 1988) was the architect who brought back the "Museo Firenze com'era (Museum of Florence as it was)", after a long period of oblivion and directed it for twenty years, from 1955 to 1975. The Uffizi Library has received the donation of his archive, precious documents concerning the transformation of the city during the 19th and 20th centuries. The archive contains a wealth of curious facts and information about bridges, roads, piazzas, theatres, transport, lighting and buildings of different types.

We know that in the period in which Florence was the capital, there was a regular service of 122 horse-drawn omnibuses (fig. 1) around the city streets and surrounding areas and then, on 11 September 1890, the "Florence-Fiesole" electric tram service was inaugurated, with "electric lighting supplied to each carriage" and "an effect that was ... stupendous" . These are just some of the curious pieces of information available from the archive of transcribed articles and cut-outs from newspapers belonging to Piero Aranguren , director of the "Museo Firenze com'era", and recently donated to the Uffizi Library.

The archive groups items according to subject, seeming almost to accompany and integrate the sections into which the museum was organised, under the 20-years direction of Piero Aranguren, from 1955 to 1975. We find, in fact, general divisions, such as "Streets" , "Various Piazzas" , "Bridges" , "Cinemas and theatres" , "Railway" and then more detailed, news-related subjects, such as "Sorgane" , about the birth of the Florentine district of the same name in the 1960s, "Town Planning" , "Telephones and telegraphs" , "Florentine tramways" .

When Aranguren was appointed to direct the "Museo Firenze com'era", the Museum was a heterogeneous complex, where the transformations of the city over the centuries were documented above all through the maps, plans and pictures showing Florence from above, paintings, watercolours, engravings and period photos that illustrated scenes of daily living and customs in the city. The museum was founded in 1909; the idea came from Corrado Ricci, when he was still superintendent at the Florentine Galleries , under the name "Museo Storico-Topografico (Historic and Topographical Museum)". It collected together up to three thousand works, including drawings and paintings, mainly from the Royal Galleries and Collection of Prints and Drawings of the Uffizi , but it was not destined to be a great success in the decades to follow.

In 1927, it was in fact transferred to the Museum of San Marco, alongside the "Museo di Firenze Antica", devised by Guido Carocci in the early 20th century, in contrast with the unscrupulous demolitions resulting from the so-called "redevelopment" of the city centre (fig. 2), in the late 19th century, which changed the appearance of the old centre forever .

In the cultural climate of the post-war period, characterised by works to rebuild what had been destroyed during the Second World War, Florence City Council looked with new interest at the old Museo Storico-Topografico and decided to move it to the newly restored premises in the Oblate Complex .

In 1955, the Museo Storico-Topografico, to which the more expressive name of "Firenze com'era", was newly inaugurated in the eight large rooms on the first floor of the Oblate Complex (fig. 3), with about 1500 works . Architect Piero Aranguren - first collaborator and then employee of the City Council

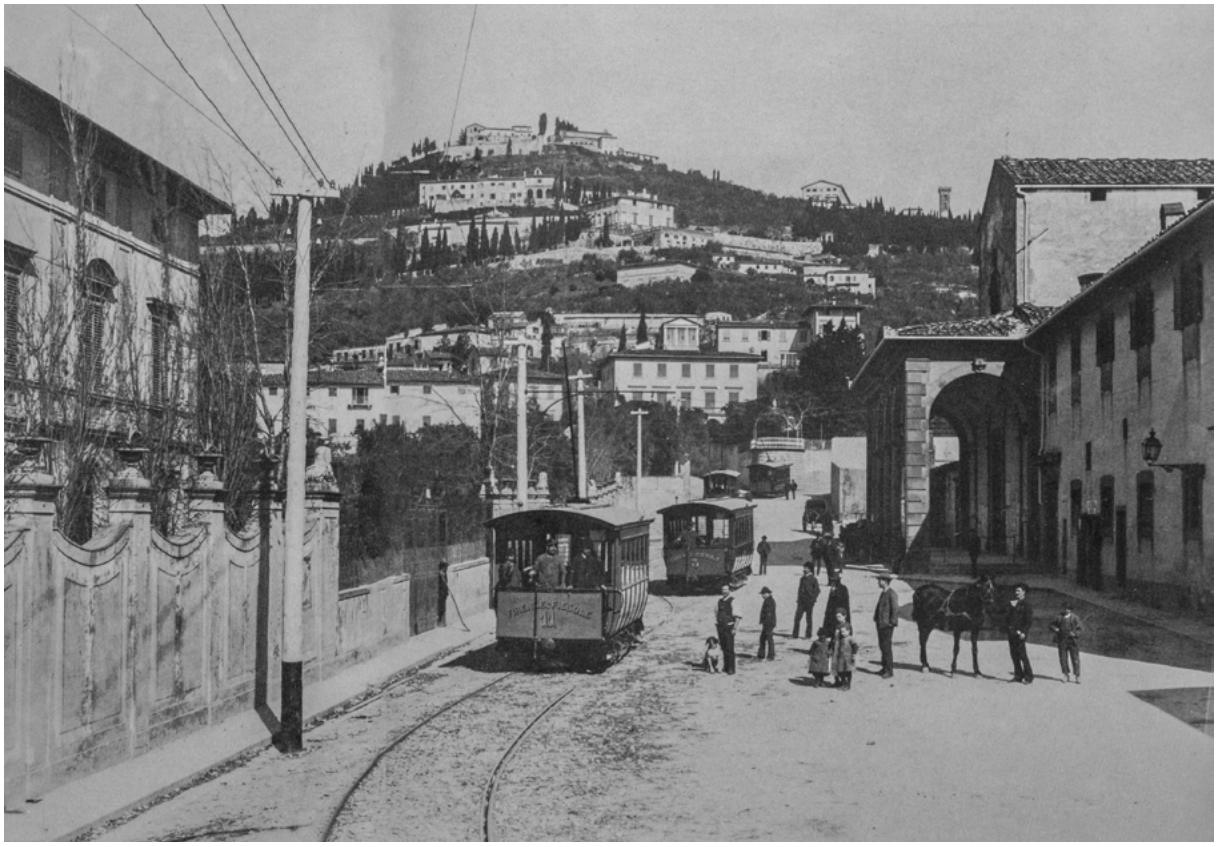
1
Omnibus a cavalli fotografati in Piazza della Signoria nel periodo di Firenze capitale (particolare, tratto da: Alinari 1865-1870?, tav. [3]).

2
La Piazza del Mercato Vecchio di Firenze (attuale Piazza della Repubblica) com'era prima del 1885 (tratto da: Commissione Storica Artistica Comunale 1900, [13]).

3
Il Museo di Firenze com'era, nell'allestimento al primo piano del Complesso delle Oblate, nel 1955 (tratto da: Lucchesi 2012, 121).

was appointed to direct the museum, as it was probably thought that his was the professional position needed to relaunch the old collection. Aranguren dedicated himself with great enthusiasm and energy, not only to fitting out the new museum and increasing the collection, but also to the information about the history of Florence's urban development and the many transformations of the city's daily life, especially in the period in which it was Italy's capital and after.

He soon became known as "Professor Aranguren", due to his activity as a conference speaker, which he carried out in different locations throughout the city, from the Università Popolare at the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa, to the Casa Guidi Museum, and the Florence Lyceum, as well as the museum of which he was director .



4
Veduta di San Domenico con la tramvia elettrica della linea Firenze-Fiesole (tratto da Pucci 1969, pp. 86-87).

Aranguren was equally attentive to communicating these themes to a public of specialists, participating often - including as speaker - at conferences organised by the Society for the History of the Unification of Italy .

The introduction to the documentary exhibition "Florence after Unification" , in which he explained the most important transformations to the urban layout of the city from 1865 to 1896, offers an example of the clear, pleasing style with which Aranguren would usually entertain audiences interested in the city's history. Many of the works on show at that exhibition were listed as being from the so-called "Aranguren Collection", which does not reflect the documentation in the archive - textual only - donated to the Uffizi Library. Unfortunately, the precious iconographic part of the collection - with its many period photographs, engravings, and watercolours that Aranguren would personally buy from antiquarians and similar - was scattered after his death, mainly sold by his heirs to the Alinari archive and similar buyers .

In the 1970s, the city council decided for a drastic downsizing of the"Museo Firenze com'era", beginning a systematic process of returning the paintings, watercolours, and engravings to their museums of origin. The emergence of a new

cultural awareness, which considered it a good idea to reconstruct the integrity of museum collection, went wholly against the climate that had promoted the establishing of the museum in the early 20th century, bringing together works from a host of different collections. To this we can add that it was common use to free up spaces needed by the local administration for other purposes. Thus the "Museo Firenze com'era" was set up on the ground floor of the Oblate Complex, in a smaller edition of no more than 300 pieces .

Unfortunately, Piero Aranguren was not involved in this stage and the return of the works, to his great disappointment, was carried out by another officer from the City Council. He later retired from his post and continued to expand his own collection of curiosities and news about the city's past as a private individual.

Professor Giuseppe De Juliis, Aranguren's trusted friend and pupil, tried to accomplish his "post mortem" wishes by recently donating what remains of his collection to the Uffizi Library, which already preserves many published and unpublished sources about the image of the city over the centuries.

The "Museo Firenze com'era" continued to exhibit in the Oblate Complex until 2010, the year in which it closed its doors for the last time. In 2012, the current section of the Museum in Palazzo Vecchio, "Tracce di Firenze (Traces of Florence)", located in two areas on the ground floor, is a pleasant exhibition but truly much reduced, of works from what was once the "Museo Firenze com'era".

More than a century on from the Museo Storico-Topografico, it seems, unfortunately, that there is very little left of the passion and enthusiasm with which Corrado Ricci and Pasquale Nerino Ferri had created their museum of the city; an important legacy that Piero Aranguren was able to take and continue, with the same commitment and dedication, enriching the museum's collection under his directorship. ◆

NOTES

1 Aranguren Archive, folder 55, transcriptions from "La Nazione",1865-1971.

2 The Registry Office of Florence City Council records that Piero Aranguren was born in Prato on 22 January 1911. His family inform us that he died in Florence on 1 January 1988. For Piero Aranguren's architectural career, please see Bertocci 1998, 307.

3 Cfr.Ivi, folder 29.

4 Cfr.Ivi, folder 60.

5 Cfr.Ivi, folder 96.

6 Cfr.Ivi, folder 206.

7 Cfr.Ivi, folder 260.

8 Cfr.Ivi, folder 190.

9 Cfr.Ivi, folder 50.

10 Cfr.Ivi, folder 50.

11 Cfr.Ivi, folder 55.

12 Corrado Ricci was Superintendent of the Florentine Galleries from 1903 to 1906 . In 1909, he was the general director for Fine Arts and Antiquities of the Ministry of Public Education in Rome and he returned to Florence especially to inaugurate the new Museum in person, cfr. Lucchesi 2012, 117.

13 Cfr. Ivi, pp. 118. Cfr. also Ferri 1909, the catalogue that Pasquale Nerino Ferri, "founding father" of the Collection of Prints and Drawings in the Uffizi wrote on the occasion of the inauguration of the new museum.

14 Cfr. Lucchesi 2012, 119. On the demolition of the city centre, cfr. as well as Detti 1970 and, recently, Sframeli 2007. Detti's text takes up the title of Carocci's 1897 work, in which the well-known art historian deplored the unscrupulous demolition of Florence's "Old Market" (the modern-day Piazza della Repubblica).

15 Cfr. Lucchesi 2012, 119.

16 Cfr. Ivi, p. 120. Cfr. also Aranguren 1956a.

17 From spoken evidence from Prof. Giuseppe De Juliis.

18 Cfr. Ibidem.

19 Cfr. Aranguren 1956b and Aranguren 1964. In BDU, Aranguren Archive, folder 1 "The Tuscan Society for the History of the Unification of Italy" are the membership cards of Piero Aranguren, dated from 1956 to 1976.

20 Aranguren 1966.

21 From spoken evidence from Prof. Giuseppe De Juliis.

22 Cfr. Lucchesi 2012, 120-121.

23 The "Traces of Florence" museum consists of a permanent exhibition and a temporary section with educational tours organised by the Children's Museum Association (http://museicivicifiorentini.comune.fi.it/palazzovecchio/evento41.htm).

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ROMAN ART
II SEC. D. C.
Sleepimg Ariadne

Inventaries and materials

Uffizi Galleries, Gallery of Statues and Paintings, inv. MAF 13728. The older part is made in Dokimeion marble. The "Milani" head and the lower part of the body are also in Dokimeion marble - additions dating back to the 16th century, while the present head and the base are in Apuan marble.

Size

Length 2.26 m; height 1.29 m; depth 1.03 m.

Origin, critical reception and history in the collection:

More recent studies of this statue of the Florence Ariadne, known for many years as Cleopatra, agree that this marble work come from the Del Bufalo collection and that after a short time in the collection of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in 1572, it joined the group of ancient

sculptures that Ferdinando de' Medici was putting together in his Villa del Pincio (Sthäli 2001, p. 383, note 11; Cecchi-Gasparri 2009, p. 296). Claudia Marie Wolf (2002, p. 88) has, however, rightly emphasised that the lack of any reference to a Cleopatra among the statues bought from the del Bufalo collection by Ippolito d'Este means that this theory, although plausible, is not certain. As already pointed out by Clelia Laviosa (1958, p. 171), Ulisse Aldovrandi, in his treatise on the ancient sculptures of Rome published in the mid-16th century, mentions three other Cleopatras, as well as the del Bufalo. Among these, the sculpture belonging to Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi is an equally plausible candidate, taking into account that important works, such as the Dying Alexander (Gasparri 2004, p. 51) and the Pothos in the third corridor of the Uffizi Galleries (Paolucci 2007, pp. 29 s.) came from this prestigious collection, on a par with that of Cardinal d'Este. If we add other eventualities to this idea, also suggested by Wolf and still yet to be demonstrated but equally plausible, such as the finding of the Florentine Cleopatra in a period subsequent to Aldovrandi's descriptions, perhaps even thanks to research conducted after the permission granted to Ferdinand in 1576 to excavate in Rome and Tivoli (Wolf 2002, p. 88, note 311), it would appear to be more prudent to leave open the question of the Florentine Cleopatra's vicissitudes in various collections before arriving at Villa del Pincio. Once there, the statue was placed in a pavilion created from one of the towers in the Aurelian walls, known then as the "Loggia della Cleopatra", where it is mentioned for the first time in inventories of 1588 (ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 79, inv. 1588, n. 1171). Among this - albeit brief - evi-

dence, such as the note by Francesco Valesio (AStC, Archivio Storico Notarile. Iscrizioni e memorie di antichità. Cred. XIV, tomo 39, c. 330r.), in the early 18th century, and by Luigi Lanzi (AGU, ms. Lanzi 36.3, fol. 45r.), in 1782, we should consider in particular the observations made on several occasions by Johann Wincklemann on the sculpture at the Pincio villa. As is widely known, the Medici collection was the first collection of antiquities that the German scholar visited after arriving in Rome in the autumn of 1755 (Schröter 1990, p. 379) and the Cleopatra, the most famous work in the villa after Niobids, could not have failed to be of great interest to the scholar. Even in the Geschichte (Winckelmann 1764, p. 386), came the inevitable comparison with the Vatican model, although, in Winckelmann's opinion, the Medici statue could boast a far superior head, able to hold its own among the most beautiful heads of ancient times, were it not for the fact that it was definitely modern. The enthusiastic opinion of the added head seems to be defused in the Storia delle arti e del disegno (Winckelmann 1783, p. 367), where it is mentioned as an example of a clumsy attempt by a modern sculptor to imitate the Homeric βοώπις. Moreover, and more than once in his Geschichte (Winckelmann 1764, p. 386) and in his Storia delle arti (Winckelmann 1783, pp. 406, 435 s.), Winckelmann openly declares his scepticism regarding the traditional interpretation of the statue as Cleopatra, wrongly suggested, in his opinion, by the presence of the serpent-shaped bracelet. Instead he prefers to see it as a Nymph or a sleeping Venus. The renovated Cleopatra entered the Uffizi Galleries in 1790, where it was placed in a room off the third corridor (now room 41), where it was noted by the guides (books?) of the period (Zacchiroli 1790, p. 287; Cambiagi 1793, p. 249). The statue's period in the Uffizi was, however, to be quite brief. Confirming the harsh opinion of Puccini in his report a few years later, in the autumn of 1794, the newly appointed director asked for and obtained the removal of the statue, considered to be unworthy of the museum's collections "due to its lack of antiquity" (AGU 1793-1794, Filza XL). It was moved to the Villa del Poggio Imperiale on 8 March 1796 (AGU 1796-1797, Filza XXVI, ins. 40), where it likely remained until 1865, when, in the period that Florence was made capital of Italy (Dütschke 1875, p. 25), it was chosen to decorate a public office, the Tax Office, which was housed in the building annexed to the grand duchy's railway station, still known today as the "Stazione Leopolda". This placement, which was totally unsuited to a piece that had been one of the nobilia opera of the grand ducal collection, was mercifully brief. On 20th May 1870, the statue was recorded at the Pitti Palace (AGU, Inventario Oggetti d'Arte di Palazzo Pitti, vol. 2, order number 234), where it was placed in the rooms frescoed by Giovanni da San Giovanni and where H. Dütschke was able to see it,

probably in 1873. In a meticulous, articulate description (Dütschke 1875, pp. 25 s.) as well as recording the presence of the current head, the German scholar seemed to find the marble in rather good condition, without anything missing or any deterioration worthy of note. In the 1880s, the placement of the statue was still under discussion, since it was no longer considered a Cleopatra, but rather a sleeping Ariadne. In December 1888, Enrico Ridolfi, Director of the Uffizi in that period (AGU 1888, Galleria degli Uffizi, no. 56) submitted an official request to bring the statue back to the Gallery (in a "new room of ancient sculptures", which was never created) and to proceed to replace the head by Carradori with the previous one, found in storage at the Bargello by Adriano Milani in 1883 (Milani 1912, p. 313, no. 40). Thus the 16th-century head of Ariadne came to light (inv. MAF 13727; Romualdi 2004, pp. 191 s., no. 77), which was the one greatly admired by Winckelmann. What had happened to the head, after its removal from the rest of the body by Carradori in the period 1788 to 1790, can only be surmised. In all likelihood, this addition remained in storage at the Uffizi until, after 1865, with the establishment of the National Museum of Bargello, the marble, correctly judged to be modern, was transferred together with other pieces of Renaissance or Baroque sculpture in the Gallery, to the new museum. The head remained in storage until it was found by Milani, who considered it to be a work in "neo-Attic style, from the 4th century B.C." (Milani 1912, p. 313, no. 40), arranging for a specific study in advance of the guide for 1912 (Milani 1912, p. 313, no. 40), which was never published, perhaps due to the realisation of the modern nature of the marble. Ridolfi was also convinced of the antiquity of the head at the time of sending his letter to the Intendant of the Royal House, and he based his argument for replacing Carradori's head on this fact. Ridolfi's wishes were granted only in part. The Ariadne in fact left Pitti Palace early in January 1889 (AGU, Inventario Oggetti d'Arte di Palazzo Pitti, vol. 2, order number 234), but, although it moved through the Uffizi storage, it did not stay there for long and the director's hoped-for restoration never took place. In the late 19th century, the Ariadne, with her 16th-century head displayed alongside her, was to have been placed under the fifth arch in the garden of Palazzo della Crocetta (Romualdi 2000, p. 16), then home to the Royal Museum of Archaeology for over a decade. This placement, which can be seen in photographs from the early 20th century (Romualdi 2000, p. 18), was yet again a temporary one. From 1929, following the building of the Corridoio del Topografico, linking Palazzo della Crocetta with the Innocenti building and encompassing the arches that had overlooked the garden until that time (Romualdi 2000, pp. 22 s.), the marble statues were moved. The most important works, including the Ariadne, were

placed in the Nicchio room at the entrance to the museum and there, they were surprised by the great flood of 1966. The collection of ancient statues, removed from display in view of a radical reordering, was thus placed in storage, first in Palazzo della Crocetta and then, in 1984, in Villa Corsini a Castello, a state-owned property on the outskirts of Florence, and used in those years, to store all of the stone materials from Florence's Museum of Archaeology (Romualdi 2004, pp. 14 s.). In 2001, Antonella Romualdi, as part of a partial arrangement of the villa as a museum, using the material there in storage, returned the sculpture to public view, placing it in a courtyard off the main room of the baroque villa, directly overlooking the Italian garden. This arrangement, similar to the original Loggia of Villa Medici, lasted until November 2012, when the statue was returned, at my initiative, to the Vasari complex to decorate the centre of the newly refurbished Michelangelo Room, just a short distance from room 41 where, in the late 18th century, Ariadne had spent her brief period in the museum. In January 2018, Ariadne was moved to a ground floor room in the Uffizi.

Drawing casts and etchings

A small canvas painted by Diego Velásquez during his visit in 1649-1651, now in the Prado Museum, is the oldest depiction of the sculpture (Schröder 2004, p. 396, fig. 88). In spite of the painter's focus on the architectural setting and of the rapid strokes he uses to show the figure of the Cleopatra, the turn of the head and the position of the right arm are in any case shown with sufficient clarity to identify it with the "Milani Head", i.e., with the 16th-century addition, now separate from the rest of the statue, but which we will go on to discuss. What is debated, however, is whether the Cleopatra used as a model for the marble replica made by Corneille van Clève for Versailles between 1684 and 1688 is the Vatican or the Medici model (Müller 1935, fig. 5). According to Laviosa, with agreement in more recent literature (Rausa 2000, p. 187), the copy is of the Cleopatra from Villa Medici, but, as indicated by Adrian Sthähli (2001, p. 383, note 11), some details, such as the fringe on the cloak, under the left hip of the woman - found only on the Vatican statue - would seem to point to the use of the Roman model, probably mediated by the bronze copy that Primaticcio made for Francesco I. If the rocky texture of the surface on which the Versailles statue is placed can actually be said to be the result of Primaticcio's choice to add this to the bronze copy, then along with other details such as the sculptural effect and movement from the folds of the robe between the woman's feet, there are actual affinities with what we can see on the Florence statue. We might even imagine that van Clève used a combination of ideas from the two Cleopatras on his version for Versaille, since he knew both well, thanks to a lengthy stay in Rome as a guest of the Académie de France. What is definitely based on

the Roman copy is the Madrid gesso by Velásquez, from the period of his second visit to Italy (Harris 1981, p. 537). Mention should be made of the small engraving of the sculpture in the work Le statue di Firenze, published before December 1794 (Le statue di Firenze 1790-1794, II, tav. 31), which, due to the angle of the head and the draping over the right arm, demonstrates its depiction of the current head.

Conservations and restoration

A few years on from Winckelmann's inspection, in 1759, the Medici Cleopatra was part of a reorganisation of the Loggia, and a restoration by Sibilla, which involved the addition of some of the missing fingers (Cecchi-Gasparri 2009, p. 296). In June 1787 (Capecchi-Paoletti 2002, p. 155, doc. VI), the sculpture was moved to Florence and given to Francesco Carradori for a restoration process that would keep him occupied for a long period. The sculptor sent an order to the quarries in Carrara for a block measuring 2.27 x 1.51 x 0.29 metres needed for the "famous statue of Cleopatra" in September 1788 (Capecchi-Paoletti 2002, p. 169, doc. XXI). From documents, we know that in February of 1789, not only was this slab delivered - obviously for use as a base for the figure, as can be seen from the measurements - but so was a second marble block of a different type (Capecchi-Paoletti 2002, p. 40, note 172) which we might reasonably think was used for the current head. The fact that the head is by Carradori has been placed in doubt in literature on more than one occasion (Gasparri 1999, p. 168; Stähli 2001, p. 384, no., 15) due to the signature of restorer, Ludovico Colivicchi, , dated 1877 and carved into the rocky base of the sculpture. However, Carradori's work, which we will discuss further, can be demonstrated by several elements and to this information we can add the report by Tommaso Puccini, sent to Francesco Carradori on 20th December 1797 (AGU, Filza XXVIII (1796-1797, no. 47), in which the Gallery director firmly states the criteria to be followed by the sculptor in the restoration of the Ajax group under the Loggia dei Lanzi. Puccini was strongly opposed to any aesthetic additions in Baroque style, to the extent that he did not hesitate to have them radically removed, as shown in the example of the Venus Victrix (Paolucci 2013, pp. 518 s.). He was also a firm advocate for philological intervention and recommended that the sculptor only began work after studying the other Ajax group in the city, the far better preserved group in the Pitti Palace. According to the director's report, Carradori should have proceeded by taking casts of the ancient parts of the other copy and faithfully reproduce them on the Loggia statue, avoiding his "unhappy interventions such as the restorations of the Apollo and Cleopatra". It is utterly reasonable to conclude that the unwarranted restorations to which Puccini refers are not limited to the insertion of the existing marble base, but rather they include an invasive intervention such as the replacement of the

head. Between 1788 and 1789, Francesco Carradori carried out significant restoration work on the statue to ensure its stability through the insertion of a marble slab, as well as "updating" the appearance with the addition of a new head, with a markedly pathetic character and theatrical pose, which then replaced the previous 16th-century addition, created using the Vatican copy as a model. The type and extent of the intervention carried out by Ludovico Colivicchi is unknown, although he added the signature "L.o Colivicchi scul. Restored 1877" to the rock on which Ariadne rests her head. The name and activities of Colivicchi, an artist from the Florentine Academy, are shown explicitly in one of his proposals to the Directors of the Galleries, sent in 1875 but rejected, to clean the group of Hercules and Cacus in Piazza della Signoria (AGU 1875, Filza C, Direzione delle Regie Gallerie, ins. 7). Taking into account this previous and established impossibility to refer the replacement of the head or insertion of the marble base slab (both the work of Carradori) to 1877, it is possible that Colivicchi's work was limited to cleaning the surface and replacing any previous fillers. The restoration, noted in such a grandiloquent fashion was, in actual fact, something that we would now call in-depth maintenance, probably dictated by the aesthetic requirement of adapting the marble's appearance to its new location in a courtly setting such as the frescoed rooms of Pitti Palace. A similar reconstruction, already conceived by Milani (1912 p. 313), could corroborate this, thanks to photographs from the late 19th century showing the sculpture in the gardens of Palazzo della Crocetta and still with a substantially even colour; this, however, would be lost over the following decades, as can be seen in the reproductions made in the mid-20th century by Clelia Laviosa, due to the fact that the filler had dropped out that seem to date the intervention to 1877. In the summer of 2012, the sculpture underwent maintenance that allowed it to be mapped completely. It also clarified the extent of its antiquity, together with the two distinct stages (16th and 18th centuries) of the numerous additions. A petrographic analysis was also carried out on five samples, taken from Carradori's head, from the "Milani" head, from the ancient portion of the statue, and from the additions on the lower part of the body that can be referred to the 16th-century restorations, and from the marble base added by Carradori. The resuslts of these analyses, kept in the Restoration Archive of the Uffizi Galleries and examined using mass spectrometry by the Environmental Geology and Geoengineering Institute of the NRC in Rome on behalf of the test laboratory of Dr. Marcello Spampinato, classified the oldest part as being made in Dokimeion marble. Surprisingly, the "Milani" head and the bottom part of the body are also in Dokimeion marble - i.e., the integrations dating back to the 16th century, while the present head and the base are

in Apuan marble. Of course the question we should ask here is how 16th-century restorers were able to select Dokimeion marble, which, to the naked eye, is almost indistinguishable from many other fine-grained white marbles, to integrate a fragment of sculpture made in the same marble. In the case of the head, the relatively small size gives credence to the idea that restorers used a part of the statue that could no longer be recovered, following a process that was well known at the time. However, this reconstruction seems difficult to apply in the case of the additions to the lower body, since these are longer than the surviving ancient part.

Analysis

The dependence of the additions to the Florentine Ariadne according to the model offered by her Vatican sister offers an important post quem in terms of timeframe. The front part of the sandals on the statue now in the Uffizi is a perfect copy of the design we see on the statue in the Vatican, which was given these elements sometime between 1538 and 1540, in a drawing by Francisco de Hollanda, when the statue's feet are shown in full for the first time. The addition of the head and right arm, the lower body and part of the left arm, the legs, from just below the hips and almost the whole rock on which Ariadne is lying, date back to between the 1540s and 1580s when the statue joined, probably with all additions in place, to the Medici collections. The Florentine restorations therefore, preserve details that in some cases were eliminated from the Vatican statue by Sibilla's 18th-century interventions. This is probably the case for the rectangular drape of the himation on the front, over the left leg, a point where, on the Vatican statue, we see a semicircular drape due to restoration in the 18th century. Elsewhere, however, it is possible to see greater freedom compared to the model, such as the rendering of the filling on the left thigh or the way in which the folds of the robe drop between the feet, where the fabric takes on a volume and complexity we do not see on the Roman copy.

Important elements for the interpretation of the sculpture's formal quality and its comparison with the Ariadne in the Vatican come from looking at the parts surviving from antiquity. Clelia Laviosa already pointed out how the Florentine copy offered important clues on the correct position of the body, which is more reclining and set back than on the Roman copy, as well as the nature of the terrain that only seems to be given a rocky appearance on the Florentine version (Laviosa 1958, p. 165). The great care reserved, on the Medici Ariadne, to the depiction of the folds of her chiton and himation has not escaped the attention of scholars. The definition is the same on the back, unlike on the Vatican statue (Wolf 2002, p. 91). Moreover, as rightly noted by C. M. Wolf, it is certain that the old portion of the Uffizi Ariadne's torso features an accentuated quest for the colouristic aspects of the

surfaces, created through the insistent pleating of the chiton and with the indication, in the way the himation drapes over the back of the figure, of smart folds. Also worthy of note is the almost virtuoso workmanship of the drapes, with their undercuts that in some points, such as below the left breast, reach a depth of 5 cm. Overall, it seems difficult to get away from the impression of looking at a replica made with a care and attention that are difficult to see in the Roman copy and which lead us to regret the paucity of the ancient part preserved on the Gallery statue. Some particular features, such as the folds or marked pleating, could in fact be convincingly interpreted as clues to a lectio difficilior, suggesting, for the Florentine copy, the possibility of greater fidelity to the original, thought to be the work of Pergamon craftsmen from the second century B.C. (Romualdi 2004, pp. 189 s., nota 12) and shown, as well as the copy in the Vatican and the Prado (Schröder 2004, pp. 392-397, n. 187), by a third copy from Perge (Christine Özgan to be published). This greater adherence to the prototype may also be seen in the hair, styled in a way that is not exactly like the Vatican statue, as demonstrated by the two locks (not the single one of the Roman statue) which, falling over the chest, almost reach the left breast. It is the workmanship of these two locks of hair, separated by deep and continuous drilled grooves and featuring only a few, subtle incisions, seem to echo, rather convincingly, the sculptures of the Antonine age, as comparison with a woman's head from the Hadrian baths of Aphrodisia which can be dated back to the central decades of the second century, would seem to suggest (Therkildsen 2012, p. 49, fig. 1). This timeframe, which fits well with the convincing comparisons made by Wolf for the execution of the drapes (2002, p. 92), does not even call into question the use of white Dokimeion marble, which was most popular and used, as is well known, in the heart of the second century B.C.(Pensabene 2013, p. 372) .

Fabrizio Paolucci

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ROMAN ART
Apoxyomenos
(athlete with a Scraper)

Inventory and materials

Inv. no. 100.
Medium-grain Greek marble; Italian marble additions, with slight grey grain.

Size

Different heights have been given for the statue, ranging from 1.905 to 1.94 m, but scholars with more direct interaction with the sculpture have set it at 1.93 m. These oscillations are not surprising, since the surface of the plinth is not perfectly flat. The comparison between the statue in the Uffizi and the bronze copies found at Ephesus (height 1.925 m) and on the island of Lussino (h 1.92 m). The distance between the right nipple and the navel is 0.245 m, both on the Florence statue and the two bronze copies; the distance between the left nipple and the navel on the Athlete in the Uffizi measures 0.265, and on both the Vienna and Lussino copies, it is 0.285 m. The distance between the inner ankles, which on the Florence statue is 0.195 m, is 0.155 m on the Vienna statue, and 0.175 on the Lussino one. On the Viennese copy, this distance has been reconstructed by restorers and is therefore, hypothetical; on the Lussino statue, the legs have undergone some slight damage but the distance between the ankles is reflected on the bronze plinth or rather, in the prints conserved on the top side, making it likely that this is the measurement closest to the archetype. On the Florentine copy, the greater distance between the feet can be explained by the weight of the statue, which is sculpted in marble, and by the need to increase its stability.

Origin and history in the collection

The statue, which probably arrived from Rome in the mid-16th century, is currently on display in the first corridor of the Uffizi Galleries, where it arrived during the period of the Gallery creation, after being displayed in the Nicchie Room in Pitti Palace. Its presence was recorded in the Gallery inventories and there is no record of its movements. On the plinth and support it is still possible to read the following numbers: a 4 in dark red paint (inv. 1753), a 37 in purple paint (inv. 1769); a 131 in red paint (inv. 1825); a 100 in black paint (inv. 1914).

Drawing and etchings

There are no known drawings of the Athlete with a Scraper, knowledge of which was first guaranteed by engravings, such as the ones published by Gori, David and Zannoni. For the scientific world, the possibility to appreciate its qualities was made easier by the reproduction of the statue in important publications dedicated to the traditional plastic arts.

Conservation and restoration

The statue is generally well preserved. Some cracks, which can be seen on the body of the Athlete, may have occurred during the numerous transportations it has undergone in modern times. Although some have said differently, the face seems to be more or less intact.

On the hair, in the area between the short locks over the forehead and the more substantial ones at the top of the head, there is a rectangular recess, directed crossways and slightly shifted towards the right side of the face. The recess, which is about 2 cm deep, is about 3 cm long and about 2.1 cm wide. According to Amelung, it probably served to set a winner's crown, probably in metal. Regarding this, he mentioned a gem with the engraving of an athlete with scraper, a crown on the right and a vase, with palm leaf underneath that.

The upper arms are old as far as the elbows and guided the 16th-century restorers in deciding the angle of the forearms, both modern and applied using flat joints. The marble vase, held between the hands, is put together from several pieces, some of which, according to Mansuelli, are old, although this is definitely not the case for the long neck, which has been made in the same marble as the forearms. The ribbed body of the vase, carved from a single piece of fine-grain white marble, could be ancient but it is not linked to the statue. On the bottom end, there is no foot, evidently lost and replaced by a shapeless disc connecting it to the left hand. According to Bloch the genitals and plinth - also considered modern by Dütschke - are restorations, but this is not exactly true. The penis has been applied and may be modern, but the same cannot be said for the remainder. The palm trunk, worked only on the front, is one piece with the right leg and the plinth: the three parts are therefore considered as from antiquity. Both ankles have a hairline crack that runs a little above the nut of the foot, although it does not seem to have caused any genuine break. Clearer breaks can

be seen over the left upper arm (halfway along the bicep) and the attachment of the legs, passing above the pubic hair, the top edge of which may have been evened out in modern times. The outer side of the left thigh has a rectangular area that is lighter in colour, which marks the attachment of an old prop, made to support the left wrist. The prop was eliminated when the restorer decided to move the hand lower, which required a new prop that rests on the front of the left thigh. A similar prop supports the right arm, just before the elbow and, although it seems to have been reworked, it is probably old. The front of the big toe on the right foot has also been restored in part, while a small plug has been inserted into the outer side of the left food. On the top and right sides of the plinth, it has been cut along a curved line, perhaps to insert the statue into a niche.

The person in charge of the 16th-century restoration was probably inspired by ancient sources which spoke of the annointing of the athletes, connecting them to ampullae and strigils (Apul. Flor. 1, 9, 22-23). Knowledge of ancient competitions had increased, and not only thanks to treatises such as Girolamo Mercuriale's work on ars gymnastica, published in 1549, and widely read and reprinted.

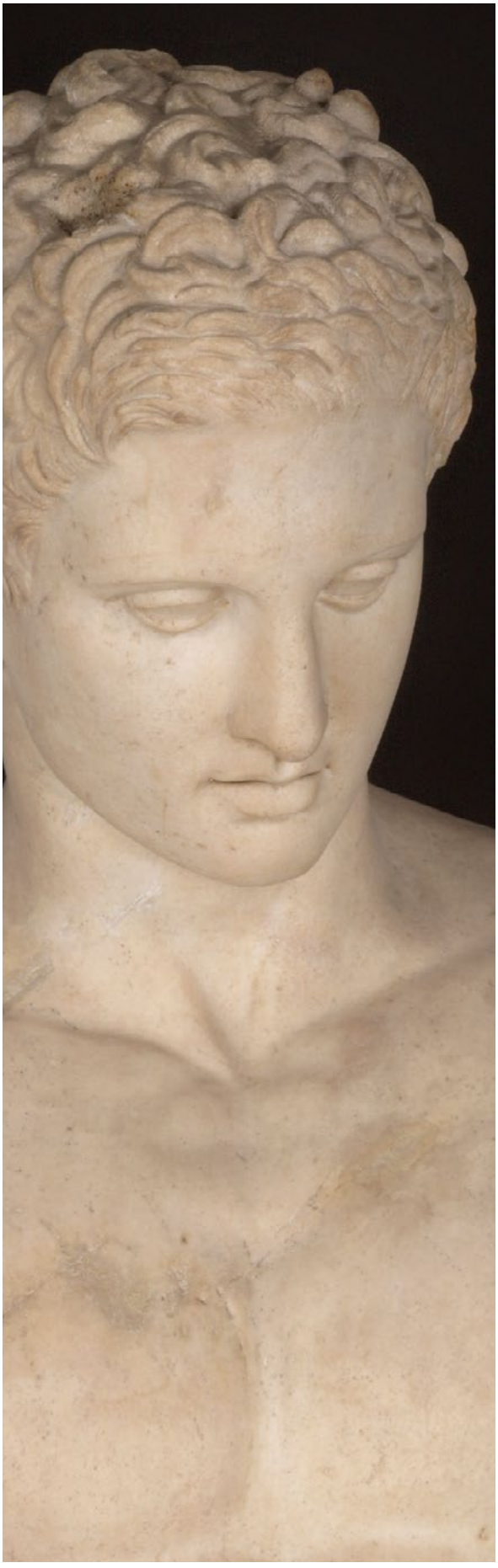
Analysis

The statue, depicting a naked athlete, is a copy of a bronze original that can be dated back to the mid-4th century BC, and has been attributed to a pupil of Polycletus. The subject is portrayed in the act of cleaning a strigil or more likely, of passing it over the back of his left hand. The athlete appears to be focused on his own actions, and draws the onlooker's gaze towards the oval of his arms and the angle of his head. His bodyweight rests on the right leg from which a flow of energy rises and is channelled, at the height of the hands towards the left side of the body, on the side of the leg that touches the ground, but only on the front part of the foot. The elasticity of the pose is balanced by the architecture of the body, where broad shoulders and pectoral muscles top sleek long legs. The face does not abide by the traditional canons of the classical period, especially in terms of cheekbone length. It almost seems as if the artist wanted to give a face with the features of an adolescent to a developing body, which allowed the athlete to be a successful participant in boy's competitions, in a difficult field, possibly boxing, as the slightly swollen ears would seem to suggest. The age limits of these bouts, reserved to athletes still to reach adult age, continue to be the subject of discussion: some think that they were open to athletes up to the age of 19, while others think that the upper age limit was 18 years. What is certain is that the winners would receive honours and celebrations. Suffice to mention Antipatrus of Miletus, youth boxing champion in 388 or 384 B.C. Dionysius I tried to corrupt him into saying he was from Syracuse, but on the statue's engraving, carved by Polycletus II, said he

was the first of the Ions to win in Olympia, where great honours were also received by Athenaeus of Ephysus, winner in the same competition, perhaps in 352 B.C. In this context, it may make sense that two of the bronze copies of the Athlete with a Scraper (that of Ephysus and the Nani head) appear to have been made in the same workshop, located in Asia Minor. Also worthy of note is the fact that Pliny (nat. hist. 34, 55) names an Apoxyomenos, by a Polycletus, which could be the younger one.

The existence of faithful copies in different materials (marble, basanite, bronze), accompanied by smaller versions and by variations, confirms in any case, that the original of the Athlete with a Scraper was a famous work from the classic period; its structure does not seem to have been touched by the quest for a more dynamic insertion of the figure in its space, which we can see in the Young man of Antikythera and the Apoxyomenos of Lisippo. In the Uffizi copy, some of the particular features on the face are smoother; even the hair is less analytical, especially on the top and back of the head. The shape of the eyes and the half-closed lips seem neat and elegant, while the modelled face has a sober classic yet elegant look that points to a period between 130 and 150 A.D.

Confirmation of this comes from the palm trunk support of a type used in statues from the period.



Vincenzo Saladino

SPINELLO DI LUCA
nown as SPINELLO ARETINO
Arezzo, before 1373 – ante 14 marzo 1411

Christ Blessing

Tempera on wood, cm 25.1
Inv. 1890 no. 10609
1384 –1385 circa

Technical description, state of conservation and restorations

A fragment of the frame of an altarpiece portrays Christ Redeemer, a half bust, blessing with his right hand and with a phylactery with EGO written on it in his left hand. The round shape of the panel is the result of the support having been reworked. On the back, in the lower half of the circumference, wooden integrations of approximately 4 cm in the lower part and 2 cm at the sides are visible to regularize the shape of the panel. There is a vertical slit where the two boards that form the support meet on a diagonal. The slit has been reinforced with the application of two wooden butterfly inserts. There is another diagonal opening on the pictorial surface on the right side of Christ's face.

The image reproduced in Procacci's studio (1928) shows the painting in a modern frame and with a background different from the present one, on which the imprint of a compass with a gold background framing the figure of Christ is clearly visible. The bust of Christ appears to have been built up along the bottom edge to adapt it to the circular shape of the panel. At the time the deep scratch that traverses the garment of Jesus was already evident.

The current appearance of the painting precedes the auction in New York on 30 May 1979. The background in excess of the trefoil was painted black. The perimeter of the mixtilinear trefoil was delimited by a thin moulded frame before the sale at auction in New York in 1934.

The very impoverished original pictorial surface has a number of gaps and has been repainted at various points, which are more evident around the top of the head of the Redeemer and in the robes. The gold background seems to have been largely redone, but the engraved lines and simple circular patterns of the decoration of the halo shows through.

On the back there are various inscriptions regarding the collections it has been part of.

The oldest, prior to the restoration of the wood, is the number 103 (or 193) painted in the centre with a brush, partially damaged by the positioning of the wooden butterflies; just below an X 7 is visible. On the original support 1371 A / SD I DB (?) is written in pencil, and BHI-to 978.59 is written on the restored wooden wedges. In addition, on the lower part of the portion of new wood, there is an illegible ink stamp and the number 10709 (?).

Origin and history in the collection

According to most studies (Perkins 1937, p. 386; Ferretti 1993; Weppelmann 2011, p. 139 cat. 18), before leaving Italy at the end of the 1920s the painting was in Florence, part of the antiquarian Ventura's collection. However, Procacci (1928), in the article that made the painting known, stated that it was part of the Volterra collection in Florence. It then went to the Ehrich Galleries in New York before 1930 (Zeri Photographic Archive, card 1785) and was sold at auction in New York to the American Art Association in 1934 (Important Paintings 1934, p. 3 cat. 7). On the basis of that indicated in the archive of the Frick Art Library (FARL 704-B), the opera then passed to the Colsmann collection (Weppelmann 2011). After which all trace of the painting was lost until it reappeared again for sale at Sotheby's in New York in 1979 (Important old master paintings 1979, cat. 250). It came to Italy to the Stefano Ferrario collection at Borsano, Varese (Ferretti 1993), was sold by Finarte in Milan on 13 December 1989 (Dipinti antichi 1989, cat. 138) to become part of the antiquarian Riccardo Gallino's collection, Torino (Ferretti 1993), where it still was in 2003 (Weppelmann 2011, p. 139 cat. 18). Purchased from Blue Art Limited of London, it was presented to the Florence Export Office on 6 August 2012 and bought by the Italian government for the Uffizi Gallery with Ministerial Decree no. 24410 of 10 September 2012.
Exhibited in Torino in 1993 (Antichi Maestri Pittori; Ferretti 1993) and 1995 (Lingotto Fiere; Arte antica '95, p. 4).
For the theories on its original location, see the criticisms.

Critics and analysis

The painting was made known by Ugo Procacci (1928, p. 42) with its attribution to Spinello Aretino. This has never been contested by subsequent studies. However, the studies concentrated on the problem of its origins: an altarpiece where the panel of the Redeemer Blessing would have been inserted – by merit of its size, shape and subject – in the central cusp if it had been part of a polyptych. Procacci suggested it could be the top of the altarpiece seen by Giorgio Vasari, mid-16th century, in the church of Monte Oliveto Maggiore (Asciano, Siena), which included the panels with the Coronation of the Virgin and the Passing of the Virgin of the Pinacoteca Nazionale at Siena (nos.119, 125), as well as the sides with the Saints Nemesio and John the Baptist and Saints Benedict and Lucilla in the National Museum of Budapest (inv. 36) and the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Harvard University (inv. 1915.12 a-b) respectively. According to a reconstruction of Procacci's documentation, it is the sumptuous altarpiece commissioned in 1384 in Lucca to Spinello Aretino, the Florentine carpenter Simone Cini and the gilder from Siena Gabriello Saracini for the Church of the Olivetan Benedictine monks of Santa Maria Nova in Rome, later arrived at the headquarters of the order at Monte Oli-

veto, where Vasari saw it thus transcribing the names of the three authors and the date of completion, 1385 (G. Vasari, Le vite. Edizione Giuntina e Torrentininana, http://vasari.sns.it, pp. 281, 285; for an update of events, Weppelmann 2011, pp. 50-51, 143-158, 374-377 documentary appendix no.7).

The connection of the Christ Blessing with the polyptych from Monte Oliveto, was taken up by Boskovits (Boskovits 1975, p. 439), Damiani (G. Damiani in Il Gotico a Siena 1982, p. 302), Natale (Natale 1991, p. 250), while Fehm (Fehm 1973, p. 265) reserved judgement and Calderoni Masetti (Calderoni Masetti 1973, pp. 13 nota 16, 15) rejected it, holding that the fragment was produced before 1384. Some concern was expressed by Torriti (Torriti 1980 p. 232) and Ferretti (1993), who, while agreeing on the dating circa 1384–1385, considered the trefoil to be too big for The Coronation of the Virgin of the Siena Pinacoteca (width at the base cm 59, height cm 112) and took into account the hypothesis that the Redeemer could have been part of another polyptych, for example the one composed of the Madonna and Child Enthroned in a private Mexican collection and the saints Philip and Chrysanthus, Daria and James in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Parma (inv. 454, 457), perhaps from the church of Saint Simon and Saint Jude at Lucca. Ferretti's proposal was accepted by Silvia Giorgi (in Galleria Nazionale di Parma 1997, p. 52) but rejected by Tartuferi (in Sumptuosa Tabula Picta 1998, p. 138) who considered the panel with Christ Blessing to be slightly later than the polyptych of the church of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, which he dated as circa 1380. Gonzàlez Palacios (Gonzàlez Palacios 1998, p.19) also expressed caution. He thought that the roundel could have been part either of the Monte Oliveto polyptych or of the dismembered altarpiece painted by Spinello before 1384 for the Church of San Ponziano at Lucca (Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Harvard University, inv. 1917.3, the Hermitage in St Petersburg, inv. 272, 275 and the National Gallery of Parma, inv. 452, 439, 430).

Weppelmann (Weppelmann 2011, p. 139 cat. 18), who considers it to be difficult to say what its origins were, emphasizes the affinity with a group of paintings with figures of saints already belonging, in his opinion, to the sides of the polyptych of San Ponziano at Lucca, in which the scholar observes the same fine hatching technique and the same way of outlining the cloaks with a double line of gold. The comparison, which moves the debate on to the still open issue of the reconstruction of the frames of Spinello's polyptychs at Lucca, appears to be convincing especially as regards the three small Holy Apostles in the Shoeri collection in Zurich (Weppelmann 2011, pp. 137-138), even if the connection with the triptych of San Ponziano remains entirely hypothetical. With regard to it allegedly belonging of the Redeemer to the Monte Oliveto polyptych, it should be noted that the prophets who crown the panels – now in Budapest and Cambridge – are inserted in quatrefoils, not

trefoils (but the panel of Christ Blessing has been tampered with considerably), and the perimeter is delimited by a patterned band of which there is no trace in the background of Christ Redeemer. Therefore, the caution expressed by Weppelmann in attempting to locate the origin of the painting is acceptable. On the other hand it could also be inserted into a context different from the Marian image at the centre of a polyptych, such as the Spinello Aretino school panel attests with Saint Anthony Abbot Enthroned at Providence, Museum of Art, the Rhode Island School of Design, cat. 16.423, crowned by a trefoil with the Redeemer (Weppelmann 2011, pp. 161-162).

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NICCOLÒ DI PIETRO GERINI

Florence, documentated
between 1368 and 1414

Crocifixion

1390 – 1395c.
Tempera on panel, 113.5 x 65 cm
(including framing); 112 x 63.5 cm
(without framing)
Inventory 1890 no. 10583

Technical description, conservation and restoration

The rectangular panel consists of a wooden board, probably poplar, with the grain running lengthwise and protected all around with a modern frame.

The panel has probably been cut down, as the cut to the two angels collecting the blood of Christ would seem to suggest. It has also been made thinner and on the back, it has three modern metal battens with wooden dowels. There are cracks that have been mended with "butterfly inserts". The painted surface is much depleted and has numerous retouches, as well as extensive reapplication of the black background. The repainting conceals the original colour, perhaps executed in azurite (Tartuferi 2014), or in gold leaf, as the presence of incisions along the profile of the figures would seem to suggest. The cloak of the Virgin, lined in yellow, today has a certain bright purple colour, iridescent with white areas, although it probably had a finish - now lost - that made it look blue, according to the usual iconography associated with Mary.

The gilding of the halos has been scratched away and there are gaps in the halos of Christ and the Evangelist. The gild decorations on Maria's cloak are mainly reconstructed.

Origin and history in the collection

The painting was part of the Serristori collection in Florence, where it is recorded in between 1927 (Van Marle 1923-

1938:, IX, 1927, p. 219 note) and 1960 (Mostra dei tesori segreti 1960, pp.7-8 cat. 7). It is not mentioned in the sale catalogue for the collection in 1977 (Sotheby's Florence, 9-16 May 1977) and 2007 (Sotheby's Florence, 6 November 2007).

It was presented to the Exports Office of Florence in 2011 on behalf of Arianna and Elisa Magrini, and then purchased through Ministerial Decree 201196 of 17 June 2011 and destined to the Uffizi Galleries, where it arrived in July of the same year.

Exhibited in Florence in 1960 (Mostra dei tesori segreti).

Critics and analysis

The tall, narrow shape of the panel suggests its purpose as a small altarpiece, perhaps for a pillar or alternatively, the central section of a tabernacle. Alterations to the support and the presence of the modern frame along the whole perimeter prevent us from establishing whether or not there are traces of its being fixed to other elements, such as side elements or a pinnacle.

The panel is mentioned by Van Marle ((Van Marle 1923-1938, IX ,1927, p. 219 nota), with dubious attribution to Mariotto di Nardo, while Offner (Offner 1956, p. 171 nota) refers to it to the school of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and figures in the posthumous lists published by Maginnis (Offner 1981, p. 78) among the works of "later and remoter gerineschi" painters, together, however with paintings unanimously considered cornerstones of Gerini's catalogue, such as the Death of the

Virgin in the National Gallery of Parma, inv. 431. It was presented as a genuine work by the master in the catalogue for the exhibition held in Florence in 1960 (Mostra dei tesori segreti 1960, pp.7-8 cat. 7), where it is considered stylistically close to the frescoes in the church of San Francesco in Prato, a work signed by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and datable to the early 1390s. This attribution to the Florentine painter was accepted by Boskovits (1975, p. 408), and dated to 1395-1400 ca. and by Tartuferi (2014, p. 177), who considers the work to be an expression of the re-evocation stage of classic giottism, characteristic of the master's methods in the late 14th century. The painting is recorded

with its attribution to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and dated to 1390-1399 in the Zeri Photographic Archive (card 2998).
The reference to Gerini, an exponent of the most conservative current of Florentine painting in the late 14th century emulating the iconographic and formal models of the early 14th century, revisited through a tendency to simplify forms and accentuate the volumes traditionally used by Orcagna, should be confirmed, as indicated first and foremost by the figures, characterised by square features, a prominent chin and heavy expressions. The composition, although essential and didactic, looks a little compacted and without spatial depth, with the flying angels that brush against the halos of the Mourners. Similar characters return also in monumental compositions of Niccolò Gerini such as the Crucifixion frescoed in the sacristy of the church of Santa Felicita in Florence, dated March 1387 (1388 current style; F. Fiorelli Malesci, La chiesa di santa Felicita a Firenze, Firenze 1986, pp. 60-65). The fresco, like the composition in the Uffizi, shows the cross supported by wooden wedges inserted into the Golgotha, a detail of minute reality already used by Taddeo Gaddi, whose workshop would have been familiar to Gerini during his training (i. e. the Crucifixion in the sacristy of the church of Santa Croce. For the biography of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini see S. Pierguidi, Gerini Niccolò di Pietro, in Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, LII, München-Leipzig 2006, pp. 146-148, for his earlier production see S. Chiodo, A Critical and historical corpus of Florentine painting, Sec. IV, vol. IX, Painters in Florence after the Black Death: the Master of the Misericordia and Matteo di Pacino, Florence 2011, pp. 63-66).
Of the angels flying over the cross, a widespread motif in Florentine art throughout the 14th century, the one on the left side, arms open wide to collect the blood running from both Christ's hand and his rib, has an equivalent in the Crucifixion no. 607 in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena, dated about 1390-1395 (Torriti 1980, pp. 234-235) and which provides us with a valid comparison for the Uffizi panel also for the decorations on the halos, with their undulating vine design that stands out to contrast with the granite surface, according to the artistic idiom of the late 14th century. The contrasting chiaroscuro emphasizes the complex drapes on the cloaks and the shapes of the bodies, even if the Christ crucified in the Uffizi painting has an anatomical molded that is more schematic and perfunctory. The date 1390's seems likely, not far from the Crucifixon in the sacristy of the church of San Francesco in Prato (G. Guasti, La cappella de' Migliorati già Capitolo dei Francescani in Prato dipinta nel scolo XIV, Prato 1871; M. Boskovits, Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento 1370-1400, Firenze 1975, pp. 99-101, 114; B. Cianelli, La Cappella Migliorati in San Francesco e la "Madonna della Cintola" in San Niccolò: due restauri esemplari. Spunti per un confronto, in Prato Storia e Arte, n. 107, 2010, pp. 117-127. Attributed to a

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NICCOLÒ DI BUONACCORSO

active Siena, May 1372 – Siena, 17 May 1388)

Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple

1380c.
Tempera on wood
cm 51 x 34 x 3.2 (with frame)
Florence, Uffizi Galleries,
Gallery of Statues and Paintings
Inv. 1890 no. 3157

Technique and size

The work consists of a wooden panel painted in tempera on a gold background, surrounded by a simple rectangular carved wooden frame. In the upper part the main scene also appears to be framed by an arch made of gold plaster, engraved and adorned with phytomorphic-patterned plumes and resting on two small leaf-patterned corbels. The back is painted with a geometric silver decoration, with a diamond shape (rhombus?) inscribed on a band divided into another nine diamonds. In this ela-

borate scheme the artist has used two types of circular stamps, alternated with freeform engravings. The edges are engraved in the same way as the back and a metal stud is visible on the centre left. On the right, at the same height, there is a metal fragment and on the right edge there are two modern metal hinges. The entirely original overall dimensions of the structure are 51 x 34 x 3.2 cm, while the pictorial part, without the frame, is cm 42.5 x 26.6.

Inventory

The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple is recorded as number 3157 in the 1890 Gallery inventory, with a note saying that it came from the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital in Florence. There are also notes regarding both how it came to be part of the collections of the museums in Florence (1 April 1900), and its subsequent purchase (19 July 1900) and arrival at the Uffizi Gallery. During the war it was first hidden in the Medici Villa di Poggio a Caiano shelter (from June 1940), then transported by the Ger-

mans to Castel Giovo di San Leonardo in Passiria, in the province of Bolzano, to be then returned to Florence in July of 1945. After a short stay at the Museo degli Argenti (now called Treasury of the Grand Dukes) in Palazzo Pitti, the painting returned to the Uffizi on 24 June 1948. It is now displayed in the museum section dedicated to medieval Tuscan panels.

State of conservation and restorations

The overall state of conservation of the work appears to be good, although the frame has some problematic areas where the surface gilding is very worn. The pictorial part is slightly worn in some points (for example, the figures) but it does not have any significant defects, with the exception of a large, irregular abrasion on the gilded background, which renders the underlying red bole visible. Also the condition of the painted decoration on the back is generally satisfactory, even if it has deteriorated more than the front side. In particular, the silver leaf is chromatically altered and partially worn and there are gaps in the painting. The support is largely without any significant damage.

The painting was subject to light cleaning in 1941 (restoration information sheet G.R. 741) and restored by Mario Celesia between February and March 1997 (restoration information sheet U.R. 4535) with the aim of removing the old paint and the pictorial retouches. It was fumigated in 2010 by Roberto Buda and then it underwent a maintenance review, conducted by Manola Bernini in March 2015.

Origin and vicissitudes of the collections

The first document to mention Niccolò Buonaccorso's panel was the 1874 Catalogo dei quadri ed altri oggetti d'arte esistenti nella Raccolta del Reale Arcispedale di Santa Maria Nuova di Firenze e loro approssimativa valutazione (Catalogue of paintings and other art objects of the Royal Santa Maria Nuova Hospital collection in Florence and their approximate assessment), a manuscript kept at the State Archives of Florence and transcribed in full by Esther Diana (2005, pp. 337-347, esp. p. 339). The Presentation of the Virgin is number 14 in the catalogue and it is referred to as Buonaccorsi's panel but a previous attribution is also there ("erased and attributed to the Schools of the Marche"), with the estimate of "lire 500.00". The authors of this register were G. Emilio Burci, Inspector of the R. Gallery of Florence, and the painter Alessandro Mazzanti, who in that decade had attended the opening of the Picture Gallery of the Hospital, which hosted a considerable number of artefacts from churches, oratories, other buildings of the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital and other hospitals and monasteries which had been united as a consequence of suppressions (Ridolfi (1896-97) 1899, p. 162). It is not known where the Sienese panel originally came from, given that there is no information either in the above-mentioned inventory or in the later 1884 Mazzanti-Bianchi catalogue.

However, the archived documentation does allow us to retrace the negotiations

that took place between the hospital administration and the government for the purchase by the Italian State of a part of the collection. Niccolò's painting was recognized as valuable right from the start, although its valuation fluctuated (at a certain point the estimate was reduced to 350 lire). It was listed as one of the works subject to negotiations, which concluded definitively in 1897 with an agreement approved by Parliament on 1 April 1900 (Law no. 125), thanks to which the assets of the institution went to the Uffizi and Palatina galleries (Diana 2005, pp. 314-335, in part. p. 329).

Criticism and analysis

The painting in question was originally part of a more extensive collection, which included at least two other panels with scenes from the life of the Virgin. The collection included the Marriage of the Virgin, signed by the artist and now in the National Gallery in London (NG 1190), and the Coronation of the Virgin at the Robert Lehman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York (no. 1975.1.21). The similar sizes of the panels to other works of the group and other similarities confirm their connection. In particular, the carpentry is identical, with the back of the frame similarly shaped and embellished with a diamond pattern.

We do not know when exactly the works were separated but we have some information about the last few collections that they were a part of. The Marriage was purchased in 1881 for the London gallery by Charles Fairfax Murray, who may have found it in Siena (Perkins 1914, p. 99, no. 1) or, more likely, saw it on sale in Florence in 1877 (Gordon 2011, pp. 380-393, esp. p. 390). Subsequently, Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1885, p. 255) were the first to associate it with the Santa Maria Nuova panel but Ridolfi, the director of the Florentine Gallery, knew of this link and spoke of how the Presentation "was part of a diptych that closed like a book but the two parts were separated. The author's name was on one of them, but it was lost and then came into the hands of antique dealers and went abroad years ago" (Ridolfi (1896-97) 1899, pp. 169-170). The author did not know where the signed part was, but knew that it had been on the art market.

The New York panel was recognized as another component of the series by Frederick Mason Perkins (1914, p. 99, no. 2). He discovered it in Viscount Bernard d'Hendecourt's collection in Paris. The scholar also identified the Assumption in the Sciarra (Rome) collection, cited by Douglas as a possible element of a disassembled triptych, which included the panels of the Uffizi and the National Gallery (Douglas in Crowe - Cavalcaselle 1908, p. 133, no. 1). Bernard d'Hendecourt, in a letter dated June 1914, confirmed its purchase from Prince Sciarra, who had in his turn bought it fifteen years before as the work of Fra Angelico. He subsequently sold it to an American art dealer. The painting had a number of owners before being acquired by Robert Lehman in 1946 (Pope-Hennessy-Kanter 1987, pp. 33-35; Newbery 2007, pp. 14-16).

Following these first instances of recognition, the panels were mentioned in directories dedicated to fourteenth century Tuscan painting (Van Marle 1924, pp. 515-518; Berenson 1932, pp. 391-392 and Id. 1968, p. 294). The suggested date, still recognized today, was established as between the eighth and ninth decade of the century, thanks to rare documents found in Siena referring to the artist (between 1372 and 1388; see Schmidt 2013, with bibliography) and to comparisons with the meagre body of work of which the surviving panels of a polyptych – kept in the nineteenth century in the church of Santa Margherita Costa al Pino in Siena – are a fixed point, bearing the painter's signature and the date 1387 (see Boskovits, 1980).

Subsequent studies have more precisely defined the artistic profile of Niccolò Buonaccorso and the characteristics of his work, distinguished by the elegance of a miniaturist and fine technique (Maginnis 1982 Freuler; 1991; Palladino 1997, Schmidt 2014). In particular, history reveals an affinity between the author and the other painters active in Siena at that time (Paolo di Giovanni Fei, Bartolo di Fredi), a dependence on the older masters such as Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio and Bartolomeo Bulgarini, and the continuous thread with Simone Martini and Lorenzetti, interpreters of the high point of Sienese Gothic (Schmidt 2013).

The Uffizi's Presentation at the Temple comes in the wake of this tradition, the compositional balance of which is to be appreciated: its harmony and the effects of the changing colours and the softness of the shapes, the wise, calibrated use of etching on the garments. These contrivances allow one to fully appreciate the high quality of the minute painting, which sadly is among the few catalogued works by the talented and cultured Niccolò di Buonaccorso.

From an iconographic point of view the panel portrays Mary as a young girl in the temple in the presence of an elderly priest, who receives her at the top of a flight stairs, while her parents Anna and Gioacchino witness the scene together with other people. The subject, taken from the Apocryphal Gospels, was widespread in the Middle Ages in Siena, which had been devoted to the cult of Mary since the time of the battle of Montaperti.

The spatial solutions adopted by the artist, which can be seen, for example, in the space with slender columns and the crown with statuettes supporting a long garland. The illusion of depth is skilfully created both by the foreshortened architecture and the floor with geometrical motifs, clearly citing the famous Purification of the Virgin by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, which was in the Siena Cathedral and today is in the Uffizi (Marcucci 1965, p. 169). It should also be noted that the illustrious iconographic tradition from which the panel descends includes the Stories of the Virgin cycle frescoed by Simone Martini, and Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti on the façade of the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, lost centuries ago but documented in the literature, whose episodes (Nativity; Presentation at the

Temple, by Ambrogio; Marriage; Return of Mary to the Paternal Home), perhaps flanked by an Assumption, were particularly popular and were reproduced in different contexts by younger artists (Caffio 2017, in part. pp. 370-371).

However, a difficult to resolve critical node concerns the primitive assembly of the panels and the related mode of presentation. The Uffizi Gallery's catalogue of Tuscan paintings (Marcucci 1965, p. 169) reasonably supposes that the panels were doors, taking into account the elaborate decoration on the back and that probably there were other Marian scenes related to the three known scenes. While Bellosi (1979) thought that it was difficult to imagine how it was structured, according to Pope-Hennessy e Kanter (1987, p. 33) the complexity of the back implies that it would not only have been visible but also deliberately displayed, advancing the hypothesis that it was a portable altar similar to the Orsini polyptych by Simone Martini or a "case" for a statue of the Madonna with Child. In this regard, Palladino (1997, pp. 47, 51-52) also proposed other models (the elements by Simone in the Cappella dei Nove in Palazzo Pubblico in Siena). Subsequently, Schmidt considered them to be a series of removable and transportable polyptychs, a derivation of other classes of similar objects in ivory or precious metals (Schmidt 2002, in part. pp. 403-406 and p. 414). Studies seem to confirm that at a certain point the elements of the Uffizi and the National Gallery in London were clipped together like a closable diptych. However, this does not prove that they had been conceived as such (in this respect it should be noted that the Lehman panel does not have any signs of a hinge). Gordon (2011, p. 389) suggested that dependence on a frescoed prototype it did not automatically implicate a smaller reproduction of the entire cycle. In his opinion, the panels, arranged in the chronological order of a narrative sequence (with the signed panel in the middle), could alone denote a complete triptych, without the need for additional elements.

As regards its provenance, the fact that the painting in question comes from the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital is considered to be proof of its Florentine origin, given that the hospital was used in the nineteenth century as a deposit for works removed from various Tuscan centres (Pope-Hennessy - Kanter 1987, p. 33). In the same way, the indication of the home town of the painter in the signature on the panel in London (Nicholaus Bonachursi de Senis me pinxit) it does not prove that the work was intended for a location outside of Siena (see Gordon 2011, p. 390, who tends to favour a Florentine patron linked to the Santa Maria della Scala Hospital in Florence). In fact, this style of signature was very common among painters active in Siena in the fourteenth century, in order to attest to their work they tended to specify the origins de Senis even when they worked in the city (Donato 2011-12, in part. p. 11).

Elvira Altiero

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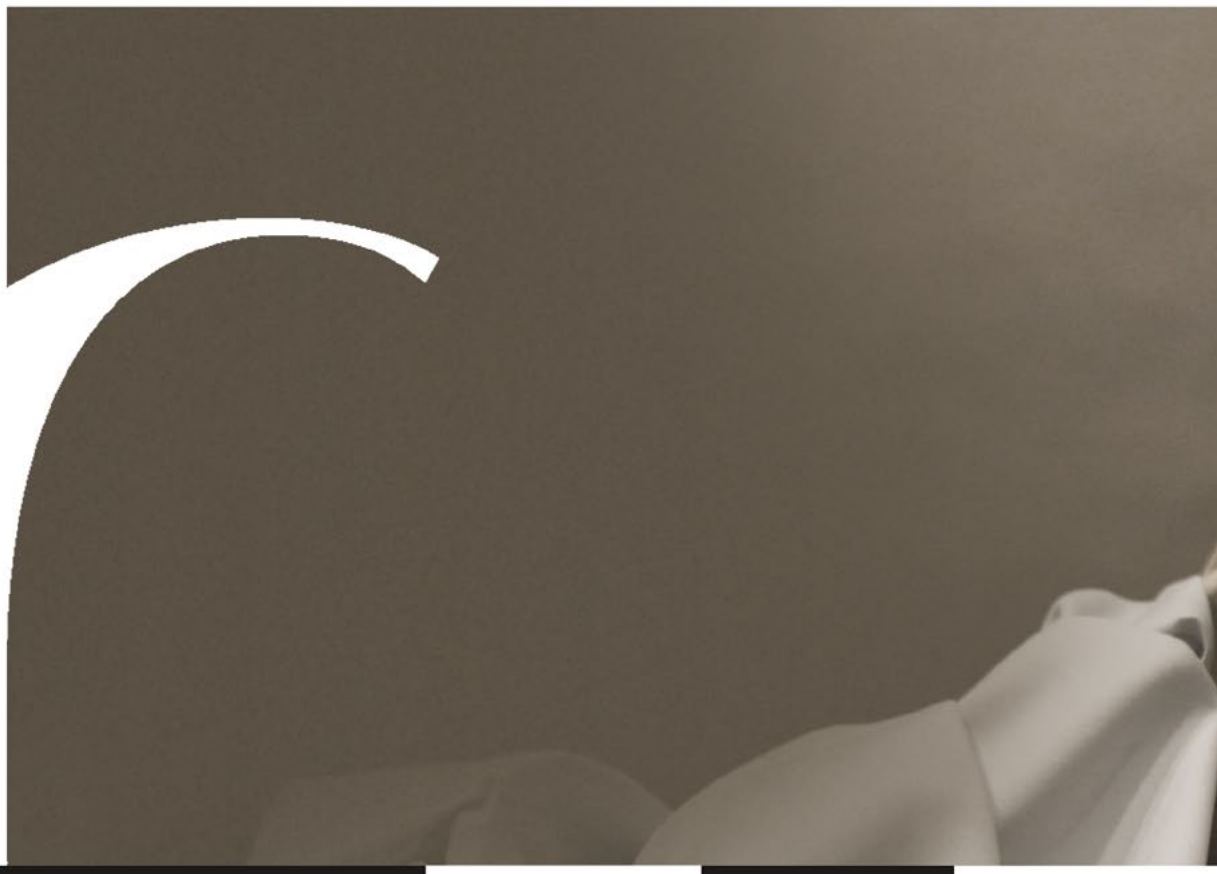

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