

THE MEDICEAN LEGACY AND THE GENIUS OF CARLO GINORI

By Oliva Rucellai

Curator, Museo Richard-Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia Florence

In 1534 the Medici became Dukes and subsequently Grand Dukes of Tuscany, a title that they held until 1737 when Gian Gastone, the last of the Medici Grand Dukes, died without an heir. Their political influence in Europe had been decreasing more and more over the years, but, despite their decadence, their fame and prestige as patrons of the arts endured. Their collections attracted visitors from all over the Western world and Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici, Gian Gastone's sister (she survived him by six years), was so aware of their importance to the city that she left them to the new rulers on the condition that they were never moved. They belonged to Florence and had to remain in Florence forever¹.

With this generous gesture Anna Maria Luisa proved to be more far-sighted than she probably ever imagined (Figure 1). The focus of this article is to show how Carlo Ginori, founder of the Doccia manufactory, took advantage of the cultural and artistic environment in which he lived and which was mainly the result of Medici patronage.

Carlo Ginori² (1702-1757) belonged to an old Florentine family. His father had emigrated to Portugal and, thanks to his ability in trade, restored the family wealth³. He died in 1708 leaving Carlo a substantial fortune which, when combined with his own remarkable personal qualities, made him both powerful and successful too. Highly intelligent and energetic, he was a brilliant politician, so much so that he aroused the envy and rivalry of Count de Richécourt, the Regent's representative. To get rid of him, he made him Governor of Leghorn in 1746. Carlo Ginori was truly concerned with the economic development of Tuscany



Figure 1. Jan Frans van Douven, *Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici*, (detail) c.1711, Uffizi Gallery, Florence

and made many attempts to set up new profitable activities, such as Angora goat farming, coral fishing and land reclamation. In the long run, however, porcelain proved to be by far his most successful enterprise.

Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, the eldest son of the Grand Duke Cosimo III, had a collection of ceramics and a passion for blue and white Chinese porcelain. By 1693, there was a porcelain room in the Uffizi and even Gian Gastone had a porcelain collection, though it is almost entirely lost. Above all, there was a Florentine precedent for the mysterious art of porcelain making. In 1586 Francesco I de Medici, who was famous for his interest in alchemy, had started a

small and prestigious production of soft-paste porcelain which continued at least until about 1610. Carlo Ginori considered himself ideally placed to continue the production of Medici porcelain, which was one of the earliest attempts to make porcelain in Europe. On some extremely rare pieces of Doccia porcelain one can find the mark that was used by Francesco I on his soft-paste porcelain: the Brunelleschi dome, the dome of Florence cathedral⁴. The decoration of objects bearing this mark is in blue under glaze, like most Medici porcelain, and was also stenciled. The use of stencil was an ingenious way to overcome the lack of experienced painters, typical of these early days. As far as I know, no other 18th century porcelain factory adopted it.

Carlo, like Francesco I, was fascinated by the scientific and technical implications of porcelain making and himself experimented with samples of materials that were sent to him from all over Tuscany. He created a vast mineral collection which he called the Museo delle Terre, (Museum of the Earths) also known among contemporary scientists as the 'Museo Ginoriano'.

Unfortunately the kaolin mines that he discovered in the Grand Duchy were of poor quality, therefore he had to import kaolin from Austria and the Veneto. In addition, the first kilnman and the Anreiterers, the painters who taught the porcelain painting technique to the local workers, all came from Vienna.

The Anreiterers brought the decorative style of Du Paquier to Doccia but, in turn were inspired by local sources. K.W. Anreiter painted a famous series of 20 plates (only seven survive to the present day⁵) depicting Turkish figures with animals and flowers: they derive from watercolors by Jacopo Ligozzi, an artist who worked for the Grand Duke between 1570 and 1627. Paintings in the Medici collection by the Flemish artist Otto Marseus Van Schrieck inspired two other unique objects, one of which is signed by Anreiter's son, Anton⁶. They depict with lenticular precision a forest scene with reptiles and insects. Though unusual, both Ligozzi's and Van Schrieck's inspired decorations are remarkable examples of the Florentine influence on foreign artists and of the kind of cultural interaction that a porcelain factory could generate.

Apart from decoration, where Oriental and Viennese influence was predominant, it was in the sculpture from Doccia that the Medicean legacy had the strongest impact.

Sculpture held a very special place in Carlo Ginori's heart: this was highly significant, due to the major role



Figure 2. Giambattista Foggini (after), *David & Goliath*, wax Height: 17 inches (43 cm) c. 1745 Museo Richard Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino

that sculpture played in Florence. The Tuscan city had a long-standing reputation for its sculpture dating back to the Renaissance; the Piazza della Signoria, the city's main square, was then, as it is today, an open air sculpture gallery and Florentine bronze founders were highly regarded all over Europe. The Medici collection of antique statues was one of the most admired and envied by western princes and rulers including Louis XIV⁷. Carlo Ginori was so determined to make sculpture the strength of Doccia that early on he provided the factory with a spectacular collection of plaster and wax models. Around 1744 he acquired from Foggini and Soldani's heirs most of the models they had in their workshops, in many cases with moulds as well. Most of the surviving original waxes are on display in the Museo di Doccia: plaster and terracotta models are also to be found in the museum and factory store rooms. Many were added later, of course, and many are lost, nevertheless the existing models are a wonderful document of Florentine taste of that time, as well as of the history of the factory. Additional major sources are a late 18th century inventory of models, listed room by room, as displayed in the villa of Doccia and the mould archive in the factory.

The 18th century inventory is still kept in the Ginori family archive in Florence and in 1982 K. Lankheit published it and identified many entries⁸. It is extremely precious and useful because it describes many models with the author's name. Unfortunately, recent studies have proved that it was not always accurate⁹. There are



Figure 3. Doccia, Manifattura Ginori (after Giambattista Foggini), *David & Goliath*, porcelain, Height: 14½ (36.5 cm) c. 1750 Museo Richard Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino

some mistakes in attributions and there are also models without any attribution at all.

More important, but not easily accessible, is the factory archive. It consists of a huge hangar filled with tall shelves and includes virtually all the original moulds since the factory's foundation. In the sixties, Leonardo Ginori Lisci and Klaus Lankheit cast some *biscuit* porcelain from the old moulds. Some are published in Lankheit's edition of the inventory even if they are not described as modern casts¹⁰. The original moulds are difficult to study for practical and technical reasons, nevertheless they are of immense importance. The first

moulds were acquired from the heirs of Foggini and Soldani, the Medici sculptors, who might have inherited from their masters original moulds dating back to the 16th century¹¹.

Giambattista Foggini¹² (1652-1725) had been '*Primo scultore della casa serenissima*' or head sculptor of the Medici from 1687 to 1723. In 1694 he was also appointed head architect in charge of all construction and the grandducal workshops. Massimiliano Soldani Benzi¹³ (1656-1740) was technical and artistic director of the Florence Mint (Cosimo III had him specifically trained in Rome and at Paris Mint for this role). Together with Foggini, he was the leading sculptor in Florence.

The waxes that Carlo Ginori acquired from Soldani and Foggini's heirs were probably cast from original moulds by the two artists. It is very important to

understand that they are not studies, or *bozzetti*, but casts. There is no doubt because one can still see the signs of the moulds on them.

Why these casts were made of wax, and not of plaster or terracotta, which would have been more resistant, is not entirely clear. They were probably meant to look like the bronze versions, or perhaps they were waxes ready to be used to cast the bronzes in the 'lost-wax' process. Maybe they were easier and cheaper to make than the terracotta version? (see letter of Soldani to Prince of Liechtenstein¹⁴). We know very little about the use of wax replicas in sculpture workshops in general. We assume that they were not used to make moulds. In many cases the moulds were acquired together with the wax cast.

One of the most impressive and unusual Medici sculpture commissions of the late Baroque period is a series of twelve medium size bronzes depicting religious scenes¹⁵. They were commissioned by Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici, the Palatine Electress. She married the Palatine Elector Johann Wilhelm in 1691 and after his death, in 1717 returned to Florence from Düsseldorf. She lived in the Palazzo Pitti. Lively and cultivated, she was very fond of sports, dancing, and magnificent jewels. As a widow, however, she lived a much more austere and monotonous life than that in Düsseldorf. Following the pious inclinations of her grand mother Vittoria della Rovere and of her father Grand Duke Cosimo III, who had a taste for religious ostentation, she conceived this grand and unusual sculptural project.

Of these twelve bronzes, two were by Soldani, two by Foggini, two by Piamontini and the other six by younger artists.

They offer a fascinating representation of the late Baroque Florentine sculptural school. Of these twelve bronze groups a Doccia porcelain version exists in at least five cases¹⁶. In one case, *Christ, Mary Magdalene and the Pharisee*, based on Soldani Benzi's original, the porcelain version is the only surviving example because the bronze one is lost. Some groups depict scenes from the Old Testament, others from the New Testament, but the series does not appear to have a clear iconographical program.

The *Museo Richard-Ginori* of Sesto Fiorentino has both the wax and the porcelain versions of the group from Foggini's *David and Goliath*¹⁷ (Figures 2 & 3). They make an interesting comparison with the bronze in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg¹⁸ and the terracotta version in the Cleveland Museum of Art¹⁹. The



Figure 4. Doccia, Manifattura Ginori (after Massimiliano Soldani Benzi), *Andromeda and the Monster*, porcelain, Height: 20¾ inches (50 cm) c. 1750 Museo Stibbert, Florence.

bronze and terracotta versions are very similar. The main difference is that the shield covering the arm and truncated neck of Goliath, is missing in the terracotta. In the bronze version, Goliath's scaled armor (a detail that is mentioned in the Bible) is modelled in relief whereas in the terracotta version the scales are simply incised. The wax version is close to the terracotta and bronze but less detailed. It has no scales on the armour, simpler boots, no plumes on the helmet, which is slightly higher in position than in the other two versions. Waxes were usually simpler, less detailed and less well finished in the surface because they were



Figure 5. Antonio Susini (after Giambologna), *Lion attacking a bull*, bronze
Height: 8 ¾ inches (22.2 cm) c. 1600
Galleria Corsini, Rome



Figure 6. Doccia, Manifattura Ginori, 'Caccina', porcelain
Height: 2 ¾ (7 cm) from original 18th century moulds
Museo Richard Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino



Figure 7. Massimiliano Soldani Benzi, *Medici Venus*, bronze with red-brown lacquer patina
Height: 62 inches (158 cm) c. 1699/1702
Sammlungen des Fürsten von und zu Liechtenstein, Vaduz – Wien



Figure 8. Doccia, Manifattura Ginori, *Medici Venus*, porcelain
Height: 52 inches (132 cm) c. 1750
Museo Richard Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino

used to cast the bronze which was later chiselled and finished by hand.

The porcelain shows more substantial variations²⁰: it differs in the inclination of David's chest and the base which is much thinner, altering the position of the plumed helmet. In the upright position, it would have shown its fine chiselling but it also would have been too high changing the whole proportion of the group. For this reason we can assume that the Doccia modellers had the helmet laying on its side with the sword added. For technical reasons it would have been difficult to make the helmet stand as in the bronze version, were it seems suspended, with no support at all; it would have been almost impossible to obtain the same effect in porcelain because of the distortion in the kiln. The draperies of David's clothes; the modelling of Goliath's back and the decoration of his boots appear rougher or are even absent in the wax version compared with the porcelain. These differences call for an explanation. What is the relationship between the wax and the moulds used to make the porcelain? There

are two possibilities: either the wax cast was acquired together with the moulds or the moulds were made in the factory by copying the wax. If the Doccia modellers copied the wax by hand in order to make another model and then make moulds of it, how could their version have details that are missing in the wax itself? We should assume that the wax was damaged in some way later on, after the plaster moulds were made, or that the Doccia artist had another source to copy from.

In the case of *David and Goliath* we have four different versions, but of other groups, we have only one example. In fact the same series made for the Palatine Electress, also includes a group by Soldani, the other leading Florentine sculptor of the time, which is now in Milan at the Museo Civico of the Castello Sforzesco. It depicts *Christ, Mary Magdalene and the Pharisee* and is the only known version of an original bronze group by Soldani. It is not the only case of a Doccia porcelain group documenting a lost bronze, but is particularly important because it belongs to the Palatine Electress

series. We can observe here, more than in the *David and Goliath*, a typical feature of Florentine late Baroque groups: it is meant really to be viewed head on. These groups are often described as 'pictorial' because they are closer in conception to a painted scene or relief rather than to a sculpture in the round. They are narrative and the figures are complemented by props that create a setting. This pictorial character is also to be found in sculptures for table decoration but we must be careful. These groups were not intended as dessert decoration, even though they can be considered as an expression of the same taste.

In some porcelain versions the pictorial quality is enhanced by painted decoration such as in the group of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, after Girolamo Ticciati²¹, one of Foggini's pupils.

Religious subjects were an exception for bronze groups and were strictly related to the taste of some members of the Medici family. Mythological groups were produced more frequently and usually conceived as pairs.

One of the most expressive, yet perfectly well balanced, is the one in the *Museo Stibbert* in Florence, after a pair by Soldani Benzi.

The pair *Andromeda and the Monster* (Figure 4) and *Leda and the Swan* by Soldani Benzi²² show minor differences in the porcelain and bronze version (private collection).

These groups were made with many moulds (*15 for Leda and the Swan*). Some parts were assembled before firing, such as the different parts forming a figure's body. Others were assembled after firing. The porcelain version of *Diana and Callisto*,²³ (*Museo Stibbert*), if compared with the wax model, shows the absence of the dog and the central figure in a different position which, as a recent restoration showed very clearly, is separated from the rest. The restoration was a good opportunity to see how these groups were assembled. In this case, the base was divided into two blocks that were fired separately and then mounted with the help of a sort of porcelain hook, glue and stucco to hide the junction between the two parts. The new restoration



Figure 9. Doccia, Manifattura Ginori, Five Medals from the Medicean series (after Antonfilippo Selvi), porcelain Diam. (approx): 3 inches (7,2 cm) c. 1751-57 Museo Richard Ginori della Manifattura di Doccia, Sesto Fiorentino

left the junction uncovered on purpose²⁴.

As I said before, these groups were not meant as centrepieces or desserts, they were sculptures in their own right. Carlo Ginori bought the models and moulds by the best Florentine sculptors of his time because he wanted to use porcelain as an alternative to bronze.

Nevertheless, some of these models were eventually adapted for table decoration too. An interesting example, existing also in a single figure version, is a group of two people working with an hammer and an anvil²⁵. They are based on a bronze relief by Soldani depicting *Vulcan's Forge, an Allegory of Winter*. This relief formed a series of the *Four Seasons* which was commissioned by the Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, eldest son of Grand Duke Cosimo III, and Anna Maria Luisa and Gian Gastone's brother. He had them made in terracotta for his private collection around 1708 (now *Museo degli Argenti*, Pitti Palace, Florence) and later commissioned a bronze version as a present for his brother-in-law the Palatine Elector Johann Wilhelm.

Another series of the same reliefs was cast by

Soldani for Lord Burlington in 1715 and is now at Windsor Castle²⁶. The Richard-Ginori Museum has the wax versions²⁷. White porcelain versions of the whole series of reliefs exist but seem to be modern or 19th century²⁸. It is difficult to make such large reliefs in porcelain because of the high risk of cracking. This explains why the 18th century derivations are mainly fragments of the whole scene.

One of the most elaborate centrepieces ever produced by the Ginori factory, the so called 'Earth and Sea' centrepiece, is another interesting example of the metamorphosis of a bronze model²⁹. It was the most expensive in the inventory of the Leghorn Ginori shop in 1757 at 1333 lire and was described as "sortù in the shape of a ship aground with porcelain figures". The main figures of the dessert were intended as allegories, but they can be easily identified as *Hercules and Iole* from Foggini's bronze.³⁰ With them is also the *Andromeda* after Soldani Benzi as seen in the Stibbert Museum group. Considering that complex groups were made using several moulds and single figures were then assembled with the bases and other elements, either before or after firing, the idea of combining them in different ways must have come very naturally. This centrepiece is striking also because of its bright polychromy, which is unique to porcelain. In this respect bronze could not compete³¹.

The monumental porcelain chimneypiece³² of the Doccia Museum is another interesting combination of different sculpture models and introduces an important feature of late-Baroque Florentine sculpture: the reference to the 16th century tradition of Mannerism. Models by Giambologna or Michelangelo never went out of fashion, and late Baroque Florentine artists like Foggini or Soldani were still making bronze copies of them or adapting them to new functions. In this case, porcelain reductions of Michelangelo's *Twilight* and *Aurora*, flank an oval relief by Soldani depicting the *Perfume Distillation*³³.

Doccia reproduced a series of small low-relief plaques based on models by the 16th century sculptor Guglielmo Della Porta³⁴. One of them was decorated and signed by Karl Anreiter³⁵. The little groups of fighting animals, typical of Ginori the so called *Caccine*, are a derivation of an original idea by one of the greatest sculptors of florentine Mannerism: Giambologna (Figures 5 & 6). Giambologna is the author of two little bronzes of this subject: *Lion attacking a bull* and *Lion attacking a horse* which were inspired by an antique sculpture³⁶. Doccia produced ten small

size variations on this theme which were used as finials or as separate elements for desserts. They were called *Caccine* which means 'little hunts' of the type that took place in one of the Medici menageries, near S.Marco from 1550³⁷. In this case the sculptural model coincided with a real-life entertainment that in turn was probably inspired by classical, literary descriptions.

Classic sculpture too, mainly from the Medici collections, was part of the Soldani and Foggini repertoire and their bronze copies of famous classical statues were highly praised by patrons from all over Europe.

Copies of the *Medici Venus*, *Dancing Faun* and other famous sculptures from the Tribuna degli Uffizi adorned the garden and interiors of Blenheim Palace, residence of the Duke of Marlborough, or of the Prince of Liechtenstein (Figure 7). They were cast by Soldani³⁸. It was no wonder that Carlo Ginori made them in porcelain too (Figure 8). What is more surprising is that he attempted, with some difficulty, to make them almost life-size (132 cm), stretching the technical possibilities of porcelain to its limits.

Still very little is known about who commissioned the large statues or the mythological groups based on Soldani and Foggini's models. Was their price comparable with that of bronze versions? After Carlo Ginori's death this kind of production was abandoned. The large statues were probably too expensive, but what about the groups like *Leda and the Swan*? Was it also a question of changing taste? All this is still open to discussion.

As a lover of antiquity, Carlo Ginori used to collect cameo impressions well before setting up his porcelain factory³⁹. It was a collecting fashion of the time. The impressions could be of sulphur, plaster or ceralacca⁴⁰. Eventually he used them as a source for porcelain decoration as well and, especially, for snuff-boxes which would bear portraits of philosophers and poets, emperors, (Alexander the Great and his successors) etc. The original cameos were part of famous collections such as that of Baron von Stosch, the Duke of Devonshire, and so on⁴¹.

Carlo Ginori shared his interest in antiquity with many of his contemporaries in Florence and abroad. He was member of the Accademia Etrusca of Cortona and, for this Accademia, he conceived an amazing creation which in a way epitomizes his culture and taste: the *Tempietto* of the Glories of Tuscany. Carlo Ginori gave it to the Academy the year of his Presidency in 1756. It is one of the few documented works by Gaspero Bruschi, head modeler at Doccia. He is a controversial figure because he never signed anything

and, as we have seen, most models at Doccia were based on models by other artists. Anonymous works are often almost automatically attributed to him but not confirmed. In this case we know from a letter that he was responsible for the impressive 'machine' as Carlo Ginori calls the *Tempietto*.⁴² He used models by Foggini for the figures and a series of 76 bronze medals by Antonio Selvi (a pupil of Soldani) for the blue and white Medici portraits (fig. 9). The figure of Mercury on the top is by Giambologna. The way it was conceived is extremely eloquent. Even if Mercury on the top holds a medal depicting the new rulers, the Habsburg Lorraine, Francis and Maria Teresa, the entire structure is covered with a series of 76 medals with portraits of members of the Medici family. Carlo Ginori belonged to the generation in transition, a bridge between an old dynasty and a new one. The production of his porcelain factory reflects this situation very well: loyal to the new rulers, innovative and open to whatever good could come from Vienna but still inevitably and proudly Medicean.

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NOTES

- 1 For the cultural and artistic context of the late Medici see the exhibition catalogue *The Twilight of the Medici. Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670-1743*, Firenze 1974; *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana. Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici*, München 1976; Klaus LANKHEIT, *Florentinische Barockplastik, die Kunst am Hofe der Letzten Medici (1670-1743)*, München 1962
- 2 On Carlo Ginori and Doccia early production see Leonardo GINORI LISCI, *La porcellana di Doccia*, Milano 1963, pp. 23-64; the exhibition catalogue Maria Giulia BURRESI (ed. by), *La manifattura toscana dei Ginori. Doccia 1737-1791*, Pisa 1998; the exhibition catalogue *Lucca e le porcellane della Manifattura Ginori / Lucca and the porcelain Manufactory of Doccia*, Lucca 2001; the exhibition catalogue John WINTER (ed. by) *Le statue del Marchese Carlo Ginori. Sculture in porcellana bianca di Doccia*, Firenze 2003
- 3 See L. L. GINORI LISCI, F. ARESE LUCINI, L. e M.L. PEROTTO, *Il servito Ginori. A study and an exhibition*, Milano 1988, pp. 11-12
- 4 One plate with this mark is in the collection of the *Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris and another in the Museo

- Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza, see Alessandra MOTTOLA MOLFINO, *La porcellana in Italia*, Busto Arsizio 1976, vol. I, fig. 402-3. On the Medici porcelain see Galeazzo CORA and Angelo FANFANI, *La porcellana dei Medici*, Milano 1986
- 5 See Leonardo GINORI LISCI, "Una serie di vassoi di porcellana della prima epoca di Doccia" in *Faenza XLI* (1955), 6, pp. 127-132
- 6 See Fausta FRANCHINI GUELF, "Otto Marseus Van Schrieck a Firenze" in *Antichità Viva* 16 (1977) n.2, pp. 15-26; BURRESI 1998, pp. 96 and 178; Laura CASPRINI, *Dove sbocciano i fiori. I giardini e le porcellane di Carlo e Lorenzo Ginori*, Firenze 2000, pp. 221-2
- 7 See Francis HASKELL and Nicholas PENNY, *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, New Haven-London 1981, pp.53-61
- 8 See Klaus LANKHEIT, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia*, München 1982
- 9 See Sandro BELLESI, *La scultura tardo-barocca fiorentina e i modelli per la Manifattura di Doccia: precisazioni e nuove considerazioni* in WINTER 2003, pp. 9-18
- 10 See figg. 37-46, 79-80, 82-84, 89-92, 111, 119-125, 134, 136-137, 146, 223.
- 11 I thank Dimitrios Zikos for this important remark.
- 12 See Giovanni PRATESI (ed. by), *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del Seicento e Settecento*, Torino 1993, pp.45-6 and 78-81; LANKHEIT 1962, pp. 47-102; *Twilight*. 1974, pp. 48-79
- 13 See PRATESI 1993, pp.; LANKHEIT 1962, pp. 110-153; *Twilight*. 1974, pp.102-143
- 14 See LANKHEIT 1962, pp. 334-5
- 15 See Jennifer MONTAGU, *The Bronze groups made for the Electress Palatine in Kunst des Barock*...1976, pp. 126-36
- 16 *David and Goliath* after Foggini (Museo Richard-Ginori, Sesto Fiorentino), *Christ, Mary Magdalene and the Pharisee* after Soldani (Musei Civici, Milano), *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* after Ticciati (Private collection), *Judith with the Head of Olophernes* after Cornacchini (Trinity Fine Art), *Abraham and Isaac* after Piamontini (Private collection).
- 17 See WINTER 2003, pp. 60-63
- 18 See WINTER 2003, p. 63;
- 19 See *Twilight*... 1974, pp. 48-49 and F. DEN BROEDER "Giovanni Battista Foggini, David with the Head of Goliath" in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 1967 LIV, pp. 22-6
- 20 See LANKHEIT 1982, p. 119 where this model is said to be made of 14 moulds
- 21 See *Twilight*.. 1974, pp. 424-5, LANKHEIT 1982, p. 119 pl. IV, fig. 110, where the necessary moulds are indicated as 18; on Ticciati in general see LANKHEIT 1962, pp. 178-80, PRATESI 1993, pp. 62-3 and 107-8
- 22 For the porcelain see *Twilight* ... 1974, p. 422-3 and Andreina D'AGLIANO and Luca MELEGATI, *Le porcellane europee della collezione de Tschudy*, Firenze 2002, pp. 17-18; for the bronzes see *Twilight* ... 1974, p. 108-9; for the wax see LANKHEIT 1982, p. 119 and 128, fig. 115.
- 23 The model is by M. Soldani Benzi. For the porcelain see D'AGLIANO – MELEGATI 2002, p. 19; for the bronze see PRATESI 1993, III, n.543; for the wax see LANKHEIT 1982, p. 125, fig. 118
- 24 On the restoration see Adriano GIACHI and Laura BILUCAGLIA, *Sul restauro dei tre gruppi Ginori : Leda e il cigno, Andromeda e l'orca, Diana e Callisto* in D'AGLIANO-MELEGATI 2002, pp. 13-4
- 25 See the exhibition catalogue Andreina D'AGLIANO, *Settecento Europeo e Barocco toscano nelle porcellane di Carlo Ginori a Doccia*, Roma 1996, p. 88-89 and, for a fragment of the Summer relief by Soldani, pp. 90-91; for the single figure from the Winter relief see *Lucca e le porcellane* ...2001, p. 219
- 26 See *Twilight*... 1974, pp. 120-5 and LANKHEIT 1962, pp. 131-2, figg. 95-99
- 27 See the wax version illustrated in LANKHEIT 1982, pp. 131-2, figg. 25, 167-169
- 28 WINTER 2003, p. 84-7
- 29 Different views of the group are illustrated in: MOTTOLA MOLFINO 1976, pl LXIX; *La collezione Cagnola II*, Busto Arsizio 1999, pl. XXXIII, pp. 289-90; MONTI 1988, fig.74.
- 30 See *Twilight* ... 1974, pp. 60-1
- 31 To compare polychrome and white versions of the same porcelain group see for example the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* in WINTER 2003, pp. 64-9
- 32 See Raffaele MONTI [ed. by] *La Manifattura Richard Ginori*, Milano-Roma 1988, fig. 14
- 33 See LANKHEIT 1982, p. 139, fig. 164
- 34 See *Lucca e le porcellane*...2001, p. 58 and 208. For lead models from this series in the Museo di Doccia collection see MONTI 1988, fig. 19-11; Giuseppe LIVERANI, *Il Museo delle porcellane di Doccia*, Milano 1967, pl. CLV-CLVI.
- 35 See Roberto BONDI, "Tre rari bassorilievi di Doccia" in *Faenza XLVII* (1961), pp. 84-88
- 36 See the exhibition catalogue: Charles AVERY and Anthony RADCLIFFE, *Giambologna, sculptor to the Medici, 1529 – 1608*, London 1978, pp. 186-90; for the wax LANKHEIT 1982, p. 161, fig. 250-1
- 37 See Maria Matilde SIMARI, *Menageries in Medicean Florence* in the exhibition catalogue *Natura viva in casa Medici*, Firenze 1985, pp. 27-29
- 38 See HASKELL- PENNY 1994 (1st edition 1981), pp. 53-61
- 39 See the exhibition Catalogue *Filippo Buonarroti e la cultura antiquaria sotto gli ultimi Medici*, Firenze 1986 and *Museum Florentinum [...] vol. I Gemmae Antiquae ex Thesaurio Mediceo [...] Florentiae 1731*
- 40 See HASKELL- PENNY 1994 (1st edition 1981), p.98; Judy RUDOE, *Engraved gems: the lost art of antiquity* in Kim SLOAN with Andrew BURNETT, *Enlightenment. Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century*, London 2003, pp. 132-9
- 41 Mirella BENINI, "Un documento inedito sulla produzione di Doccia: la lettera del padre Scolopio Popiani e la collezione di impronte in solfo di Carlo Ginori" in *Antichità viva* 28, 1989, n.5/6, pp.62-67
- 42 WINTER 2003, pp. 88-91