

Trinity Fine Art
Old Master Paintings and Sculpture



Dimitrios Zikos

Antonio Novelli
A rediscovered Magdalene

Antonio Novelli
(1599-1662)

The Penitent Saint Mary Magdalene

Ca. 1640-1650
Terracotta, h. 41 cm
Signed: ATO. NL. | F.

Provenance:

Florence, art market, 1960-1980s;
United Kingdom, private collection



This terracotta *Magdalene* is signed with the initials of Antonio Novelli (1599-1662),¹ a leading sculptor in Florence during the reign of Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici of Tuscany (1610-1670, r. 1621).

The terracotta relates to that masterpiece of 17th-century Florentine Sculpture, Novelli's 156 cm high signed marble (fig. 1) of the same subject in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, which is dated 1649.² The marble statue was acquired by no less discriminating an art collector than Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689, r. 1632-1654) before her abdication and her successive conversion to Catholicism. It is noteworthy that the queen appears to have been fond of this saint, because she came to own a considerable number of paintings with the Magdalene as the protagonist.³

The Stockholm marble was purchased on the sovereign's behalf by Mathias Palbitzki (1623-1677)⁴, an able diplomat and art connoisseur, who was in Italy in 1649, the year the statue is dated. In Spring of that year, Palbitzki visited Florence, presented his credentials to Grand Duke Ferdinando II and was lodged in the Palazzo Pitti.⁵ Introduced to Novelli, he appears to have commissioned from him copies after the Antique and tried to lure him to the queen's service for whom he bought the Stockholm *Magdalene*, to which he refers to in his letters as "*Dödligheten*", or *Mortality*.⁶ He sent a glowing report of the sculptor back to the queen describing him as '*un des gentils esprits de ce pays-là, bon sculpteur, et ce qu'est le surphy, qui sait bien faire des jets en bronze*', and as '*scavant en la Mathematiq, architecture, et à faire des fontaines et theatres*'.⁷ Novelli's broad interests make him, indeed, a typical representative of the flourishing of the sciences that Florence experienced under the reign of Ferdinando II and are

Figs. 1, 2 (opposite):
Antonio Novelli, *Allegory of Vanitas or Saint Mary Magdalene*, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum;
Hellenistic Art, *Medici Venus*, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi





confirmed by Baldinucci who, in his detailed biography of Novelli, writes about them as well as devoting ample space to the marble *Magdalene* and its acquisition by Palbitzki, whom he, however, does not mention by name,⁸ similarly not mentioning the year of the completion of the marble.

Mid 17th-century Florentine patronage of Sculpture was such that it offered scant opportunities for the conception and execution of ambitious



works,⁹ Novelli therefore made this statue for himself, investing great care in its conception and realisation.¹⁰ The rendering of the saint's long hair, her traditional attribute, each strand carved in the round by way of many undercuts that generate a vibrant interplay of lights and shadows, is a token to Novelli's rare talent.

Figs. 3,4: Cristofano Allori, Saint Mary Magdalene, Milan, Etrco collection; Cristofano Allori, Saint Mary Magdalene, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina

Is the terracotta a study for this splendid marble? No records have survived confirming or contradicting such an assumption, and it would be idle

to speculate. It is more important to consider the essential differences between the two works.

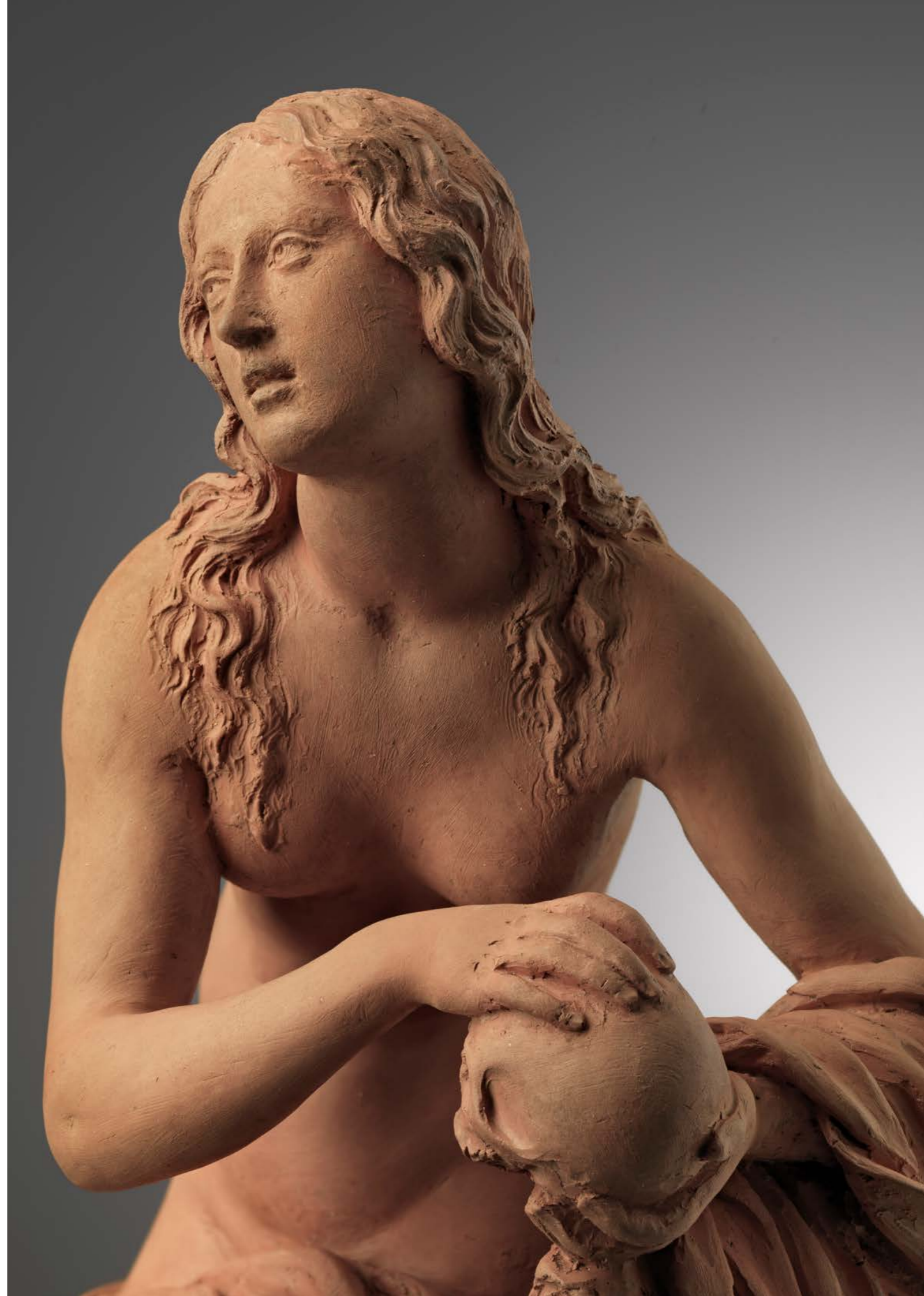
In its composition, the marble *Magdalene* (fig. 1) resembles an ancient Venus – but a Christian Venus: not only is the placement of the hand in front of the heart reminiscent of the gesture that the *Medici Venus* in the Uffizi effects with her right arm (fig. 2), but the Magdalene’s gentle *contrapposto* derives



Figs. 5,6: Giovanni Martinelli, *Saint Mary Magdalene in meditation*, Prato, Palazzo degli Alberti, collezione CariPrato; Giusto Suttermans, *Portrait of Maria Maddalena d'Austria as Saint Mary Magdalene*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina

directly – albeit in reverse – from that *opus nobile*. Moreover, the plinths of both Novelli’s marble and the *Medici Venus* are almost identical in shape.

In contrast to the marble’s classicism, the terracotta’s style is baroque, moreover the subject matter has been rendered in genuinely baroque manner. The saint’s open and spiralling pose allows the viewer to observe her from 180 degrees: she does not sit but also does not yet stand. We are in fact witnessing the moment in which the saint prepares to be elevated







up, as recounted in her popular legend by Jacobus de Voragine.¹¹ The rocky terrain from which the tree emerges alludes to the location of her hermitage, the grotto of Saint-Baume in Provence, France. In that arid landscape that offered no sustenance, she was daily visited by Angels who raised her to heaven where she would partake of heavenly sustenance before being taken by them back down to earth. In the terracotta the saint has just become aware of the Angels approach and looks up to them in expectation. In the marble, the skull is a mere attribute from which a scroll falls alluding to the futility



of earthly life thereby transforming the statue into an allegory of Vanitas, as she was known when she was acquired for Queen Christina.¹² Conversely, in the terracotta the skull shows that she has been meditating, because she still holds it with both hands, and this device makes her pose even more complex.

Figs. 7.8. Francesco Furini, *Saint Mary Magdalene in meditation*, Rome, private collection; Onorio Marinari, *Saint Mary Magdalene in meditation*, whereabouts unknown

To sum up, in the marble, the skull, inscription, and the saint's long hair solely serve to remind us that we are not beholding a pagan Venus standing in front of us in her immaculate beauty; whilst in the terracotta we witness the transitory moment of miracle, subtly captured by Novelli.

By choosing to dwell on this moment, Novelli broke new ground, which is confirmed by two earlier Tuscan marble statues of the Magdalene: 1) the attractive, but heavily dressed saint which was carved between 1622 and 1625 for Pisa Cathedral by Chiarissimo Fancelli (1580/90-1632);¹³ 2) and that in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, which was realised by the Neapolitan sculptor Fabrizio Farina (documented from 1620 to 1677 ca.) when he was active in Florence in the 1620s, a work where he – with obvious lack of inspiration

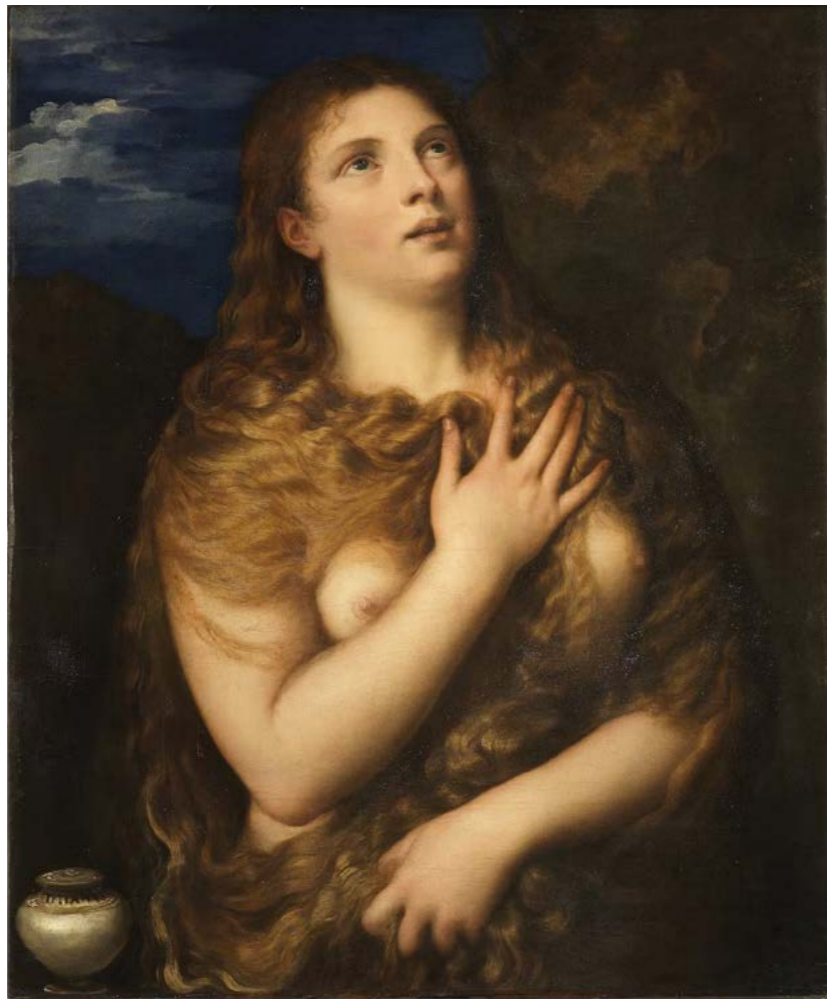


Fig. 9: Tiziano Vecellio, *The Penitent Magdalene*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina

– forcibly resurrected quattrocento prototypes by Donatello and his peers.¹⁴ Unlike Fancelli and Farina, in this terracotta Novelli proves himself to be a forward-looking and innovative sculptor of his times.

This notable difference in spirit between marble and terracotta is, of course, also due to their different history and probable destination. The marble was





conceived as a personal testimony to the sculptor's talent and was intended for the art market, the terracotta appears, on the contrary, to have been destined for private devotion.

An example of such a statuette of the Magdalene similarly intended for private devotion for which we have contemporary, highly relevant evidence is contained within a commission from Prince Carlo I Cybo Malaspina of Massa (1623-1662), who by 30 March 1660, had requested a 'small model for a Magdalene' (*modellino della Maddalena*) from Ferdinando Tacca (1619-1686). According to a letter Tacca wrote that day,¹⁵ this '*modellino*' had already been dispatched to the prince whom the sculptor assured that he could produce a new one should it be disliked. As Tacca was a bronze sculptor, it is likely that this was a model for a bronze, and indeed the prince had in his collection other bronzes by Tacca, a crucifix, four angels (two of which, supporting candelabra, are in the Wallace Collection, London, whereas the other two – each holding a cornucopia – are lost), and four candlesticks.¹⁶ It is not known whether Prince Carlo I ever eventually commissioned such a bronze *Magdalene*, but his request suggests that Novelli's terracotta *Magdalene* could also have been created as a princely devotional image.

Tacca's and Novelli's paths crossed in the service of the Medici, working together at least twice, and Tacca is known to have nourished respect for his older colleague.¹⁷ It is therefore also possible that Novelli took over the commission of the model for the Prince of Massa, but this remains a conjecture. The rocky landscape of the terracotta is reminiscent of the socles typically found on Ferdinando's small bronze groups.¹⁸

A statue of the Magdalene was not only or primarily a devotional image, it was in that prudish age, an acceptable pretext for indulging in the sensuality of the female nude. In this sense Novelli's terracotta has direct precedents in Florentine Painting of the Seicento. Almost every Florentine painter of the period painted the Magdalene as an isolated figure in various poses and as a full-length or – more often – half-sized figure and mostly for private commissions, for paintings '*da camera*', i.e., to be kept in the home rather than

in a private chapel. In particular, Novelli appears to have drawn inspiration from a composition by Cristofano Allori (1577-1621), known from a version in the Galleria Palatina of the Palazzo Pitti (fig. 4),¹⁹ and also from a splendid, more defined replica in the Etro collection, Milan (fig. 3).²⁰ In the former, the painter portrayed his lover Mazzafirra as the Magdalene, and both times the saint is shown naked but for the parts of her body covered by her long hair. That Novelli could have indeed been inspired by this particular painting is suggested by two observations. Firstly, Allori appears to have been Novelli's first teacher.²¹ Secondly, the painting came into the possession of Cardinal Carlo de' Medici (1596-1666). A refined patron of the arts, the cardinal sustained financially the decoration of the Theatine church of Santi Michele e Gaetano in Florence, to which Novelli also contributed many sculptures.²² Novelli worked for Cardinal Carlo as *'ingegnere'*, being *'adoperato nelle bellissime macchine delle commedie, che si facevano da' giovani Nobili per diporto'* of the Cardinal *'nel suo palazzo detto il Casino di San Marco.'*²³

The success of the theme of the Magdalene in Florentine painting is partly due to the patronage of a woman of the same name, Archduchess Maria Magdalena of Austria (1587-1631), wife of Grand Duke Cosimo II (1590-1621, r. 1609). Around 1625-1630 the archduchess had herself portrayed by Giusto Suttermans (1597-1681) in the guise of this saint, praying in a grotto (fig. 6).²⁴ She also commissioned a fresco cycle with scenes from the life of the Magdalene for the chapel of her preferred villa of the Poggio Imperiale, which was painted between 1622 and 1625 by Francesco Curradi (1570-1661).²⁵ Literary versions of the saint's life were, moreover, dedicated to her.²⁶

However, most of the privately commissioned *Magdalenes* in Florentine Seicento painting were either nude or scantily dressed, in particular those by Francesco Furini (1603-1646).²⁷ This confirms that the Florentine painters' interest in this theme at the time must have been due to it providing a pretext for the depiction of female sensuality. Allori's painting (figs. 3-4) which inspired, as we have seen, Novelli, was the first of these sensual images so characteristic of Baroque Florence. That this ambiguity was perceived as such



at the time, is proven by the later history of Allori's canvas: commissioned by Alberto de' Bardi, it was replaced with a copy by Jacopo Ligozzi (1547-1627) when Bardi sold his painting to Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, but later Ligozzi's painting was modified by Volteranno (1611-1690) who added draperies to cover the saint's nudity.²⁸

Another interesting comparison between the terracotta and contemporary painted images of the saint regards the drapery around her thighs, a motif employed in a painting (fig. 5) by Giovanni Martinelli (1600-1659) of about 1630 (Prato, collezione CariPrato),²⁹ whereas we find the same motif of holding the skull with both hands in two half-figures by Furini (fig. 7) and Onorio Marinari (1627-1716) (fig. 8), which date from 1633-1635 and 1660-1665, respectively.³⁰ In the intense gaze directed to heaven, the Magdalene in our terracotta appears, moreover, to evoke Titian's famous painting (fig. 9) of the saint, which had reached Florence not long before from the collections of the Dukes of Urbino and is preserved in the Galleria Palatina of the Palazzo Pitti.³¹

It is within this context that the terracotta's importance as a sculptural response to this contemporary flourishing of sensual painted images under the cover of religiosity becomes most evident. Apart, however, from these considerations on the way the subject matter is represented, it is a great example in the art of modelling clay. 'He worked in clay and wax in the most admirable manner' (*lavorò di terra e di cera egregiamente*) writes Baldinucci about Novelli,³² and for this reason he was often employed as a modeller for goldsmiths. James David Draper has identified, indeed, a bronze *Flagellation* after Novelli's design in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of which other versions exist.³³ However, until now we could not arrive at a definitive idea of Novelli's skill as a modeller.³⁴ The removal of the heavy 20th-century coating has revealed new aspects of the composition in the fine textures of the surface, and we are even able to precisely follow the imprints of the artist's fingers on the clay.

For its skill, its response to contemporary painting of its time, its dramatic interpretation of this subject matter which would have appealed to those patrons of theatre for whom Novelli worked, this clay *Magdalene* – so unexpectedly different from the great marble it relates to – is a key work of Seicento Florentine sculpture.



Notes

¹ For the most recent biography of the sculptor, see Dimitrios Zikos, 'Antonio Novelli', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 2013; online: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-novelli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-novelli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/), with references to previous literature.

² Inv. NMSk 404. The size is taken from the museum's website. The signature reads: ANTONIUS NOVELLUS FLORENTINUS F. MDCCL. The inscription on the scroll under the skull reads: HIC TERMINVS HAERET. For the marble see, P. Grate, in *Christina Queen of Sweden: a personality of European civilisation*, exh. cat. (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 29 June–16 October 1966) ed. by Per Bjurström, Stockholm 1966, p. 487, cat. 1208, where the size is indicated as 159 cm; Caterina Caneva, 'Antonio Novelli', in *Il Seicento Fiorentino, arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosimo III*, exh. cat. (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 21 December–4 May 1986), ed. by Giuliana Guidi and Daniela Marcucci, 3 vols, Florence 1986, vol. 'Biografie', pp. 132-134: 134.

³ This is testified to by the following paintings included in her posthumous inventory and listed according to Giuseppe Campori, *Raccolta di cataloghi ed inventarii inediti*, Modena 1870, p. 343 ('Un quadro di una Madalena piangente, più di mezza figura di buon naturale ignuda con le braccia e poca parte del petto con capelli sciolti, e avanti di se una testa di morto con un libro aperto in bel paese, di Tiziano, in tela in piedi alta palmi quattro e tre quarti, larga palmi quattro meno un quarto con cornice dorata liscia alla romana. Un altro quadro di una Madalena simile quanto all'idea del viso, ma diversa in tutto il rimanente, dell'istesso Tiziano, in tela in piedi alta palmi quattro, larga palmi quattro meno ¼, cornice liscia dorata alla romana'), p. 351 ('Un altro quadro con istoria di Noli me tangere, la Madalena genuflessa in

atto molto affettuoso verso Cristo che ricoperto quasi tutto di un panno bianco sostenuto colla man destra in cintura alza il braccio sinistro in atto di parlare a lei, come è noto, in bel paese e di lontananza con la figura di un angelo vestito di bianco, dal Correggio, figura circa tre palmi, in tela in piedi alta palmi quattro e tre quarti, arga palmi quattro con cornice liscia dorata alla romana'), p. 359 ('e l'altra [tavola] di Cristo morto in seno alla Vergine con S. Giovanni che lo sostiene, genuflessa la Madalena che li bacia un piede e Giuseppe d'Arimatia e Nicodemo in piedi in atto compassionevole, alte palmi uno e larghe palmi uno e un quarto scarso'), p. 367 ('Un quadro con Santa Maria Madalena col petto e braccio ignudo et il restante coperto da un panno rosso con le mani al petto e un Angelo con una particola in mano in atto di comunicarla, e un altro Angelo e due Cherubini sopra in aria, ed un altro Angelino che sta a sedere sopra un sasso che tiene un vaso con la mano sinistra, e avanti detta Santa vi è un libro appoggiato in una testa di morto e una Croce, in tela in piedi alta palmi undici, e tre quarti e larga palmi otto'), p. 373 ('Un altro quadro con Cristo che resuscita Lazzaro con Marta e Madalena, e discepoli e diverse figure che rilevano e sostengono Lazzaro, in paese, di Muziano, in tela in piedi alta palmi dodici e un quarto, larga palmi dieci con cornice liscia dorata alla romana), p. 376 ('Un quadro con la Madalena con le mani giunte in atto penitente verso un Crocifisso che le sta davanti, del Correggio, in tela in piedi, alto palmi due e largo palmi uno e un terzo con cornice tutta intagliata a fogliami e dorata con suo cordoncino di seta rosso, che la sostiene e fiocchetto d'oro e seta simile'). A *Madgalen* by Titian (similar to that, most famous, in the Galleria Palatina, Florence; see below, note 31), which was auctioned recently (Vienna, Dorotheum, 11 May 2022,

Old Master Paintings I, lot 32), has been identified, in the catalogue, with one of the two paintings of the Madgalen by Titian listed in the inventories of the queen's art collection.

⁴ Palbitzki acted as the queen's emissary and art agent in various European countries before her abdication and stayed in Florence in 1646, 1648 and 1649; Hans Helander and Martin Olin, 'Reporting Back to the 'Phoenix of so Many Centuries': Mathias Palbitzki Queen Christina's Envoy to Spain (1651-52)', in *Ambassadors in Golden-Age Madrid: the court of Philip IV through foreign eyes*, ed. by Jorge Fernández-Santos and José Luis Colomer, Madrid 2020, pp. 351-385: 352-354.

⁵ According to his diary published by Wilhelm Nisser, *Mathias Palbitzki som connoisseur och tecknare*, Uppsala 1934, pp. 128-129.

⁶ Nisser 1934 (as in the previous note), p. 34.

⁷ Nisser 1934 (as in note 5 above), pp. 32-33.

⁸ 'Occorse poi la venuta in Firenze di un Ministro della Real Maestà della Regina di Svezia, intelligentissimo di quest'arti, affine di cercar per essa cose belle: e avuta cognizione della statua, e conosciutane la bontà, non solo ne fu compratore, ma tentò ogni via per condur con essa in quelle parti per servizio di quella gran Signora anche il Novello medesimo, il quale al principio ne stette in forse; ma prevalendo agl'impulsi, che facevano al suo cuore, aggiunte all'ottimo gusto delle bell'arti, la grandezza e regia liberalità della Regina, l'amore della propria patria, deliberò di restarsene in Firenze'; F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua. Secolo V dal 1610 al 1670*, Florence 1728, p. 343. After Nisser 1934 (as in note 5 above), Palbitzki is mentioned as the queen's emissary who acquired the statue by Grate 1966 (as in note 2 above) and Helander and Olin 2020 (as in note 4 above), p. 35, note 9, but this

information is not known in Italian literature on Novelli.

⁹ Reported in the discussion of the marble in Novelli's biography by Baldinucci 1728 (as note 8 above), p. 343: 'non aveva egli potuto mostrare [il suo sapere] in ogni altra opera di sua mano fatta sino allora, per essersi per sua sventura trovato in un tempo, che pochi erano colori in Firenze, che avessero occasione o voglia di far fare statue, onde l'arte e l'opera eziandio degli artefici non erano in gran pregio'. Scarcity of Sculpture patronage at the time is a motif that can be found in other biographies written by this author.

¹⁰ 'ma bellissima fu un'altra statua, pure di marmo bianco, grande quanto il naturale, rappresentante la Penitente Santa Maria Maddalena. Questa volle egli fare per se proprio, e posevi tutto lo studio dell'Arte sua, acciò si conoscesse fin dove arrivava il suo sapere'; Baldinucci 1728 (as in note 8 above), p. 343.

¹¹ The source for the saint's hermitage is Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*; Iacopo da Varazze, 'De Sancta Maria Magdalena', in *Legenda Aurea*, ed. by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2 vols, Florence 1998, vol. I, pp. 628-642; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the saints*, translated by William Granger Ryan, 2 vols, Princeton N.J. 1995, vol. I, pp. 374-383.

¹² It is indeed catalogued as an 'Allegory of the Vanity of Vanities' by Grate 1966 (as in note 2 above) and referred to as a 'memento mori' by Caneva 1986 (as in note 2), p. 134.

The scroll's Latin inscription HIC TERMINVS HAERET is taken from Dido's monologue in Vergil's *Aeneid*, IV, 614, translates as 'here stays the end', and was a diffused *motto*; Jean Guillaume, 'Hic Terminus Haeret: Du Terme d'Erasmus à la devise de Claude Gouffier: la fortune d'un emblème à la Renaissance', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 44, 1981, pp. 186-192. It is inscribed on the shield of the personification of Honour (*Onore*) in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Padua 1611, p. 219. It was

used by Duke Guidobaldo II Della Rovere (1514-1574, r. 1538) of Urbino as his personal *impresa*; Giovanni Ferro, *Teatro d'impresе, parte seconda*, Venezia 1623, p. 687, and was also later employed in the *apparato* for the Entry into Pesaro of Princess Claudia de' Medici (1604-1648), the wife of Duke Federico Ubaldo Della Rovere (1605-1623, r. 1621); Pierfrancesco Macci, *Relatione d'apparati fatti in Pesaro nella venuta della Serenissima Principessa Claudia de' Medici*, Pesaro [1622] p. 219. In all these cases the *motto* is linked to the representation of the Roman double temple of Honour and Virtue. Claudia de' Medici and her husband were the parents of Vittoria Della Rovere (1622-1694), grand duchess of Tuscany at the time of the Stockholm marble's execution.

¹³ For Fancelli, see Claudio Casini, 'Fancelli, Chiarissimo', in *Saur, Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. XXXVI, Munich and Lipsia 2003, p. 479, and Agnese Cardini, 'Venere e Cupido di palazzo Pandolfini a Firenze: una scultura inedita di Chiarissimo Fancelli', in *Donum. Studi di storia della pittura, della scultura e del collezionismo a Firenze dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, ed. by Marco Betti and Carlotta Brovadan, Florence 2020, pp. 59-67, with reference to the Pisan *Magdalene* on p. 62, note 9. For this statue, see also *Il Duomo di Pisa/The Cathedral of Pisa*, ed. by Gianfranco Malafrina, 3 vols, Modena 2007, vol. I, p. 359, fig. 831, and vol. III, p. 459, cat. 831.

¹⁴ For this little-known artist, see: Silvia Blasio, 'Farina, Fabrizio', in *Repertorio della scultura fiorentina del Seicento e Settecento*, ed. by Giovanni Pratesi, 3 vols, 1993, vol. I, pp. 43-44; Susanna Partsch, 'Farina, Fabbrizio', in *Saur, Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, XXXVII, Munich and Lipsia 2003, p. 49; and Gabriella Capecchi, Maria Grazia Marzi, Vincenzo Saladino, *I granduchi di Toscana e l'antico: acquisti, restauri, allestimenti*, Florence 2008, *ad indicem*, and p. 55 and p. 90, doc. E9, for the Bargello *Magdalene* in particular.

¹⁵ 'Li primi giorni doppo il comando di V.E. feci il modellino della Maddalena,

e parendomi aver ordinato che fosse inviato al Signor Gagnalotti, essendo poi entrato nelle facie delle Commedie me ne stavo quieto, quando ricordatami dal Signor Simone, e ritrovatolo in Casa ne o ricevuto mortificazione estrema, et al detto Signor Simone lo o consegnato, se non sarà di gusto di V.E. me lo accenni et tornerò a farne un altro.'; Anthea Brook, *Sculptors in Florence during the Reign of Fran Duke Ferdinando II of Tuscany (1621-1670). Ferdinando Tacca and his circle*, PhD, London 1986, p. 283, p. 533, doc. 18. This letter has been re published by Luisa Passeggia, 'Lo stato del marmo al tempo di Carlo I. Il carteggio del Duca e i suoi rapporti con la committenza aristocratica in epoca barocca', in *Carlo I Cybo Malaspina: Principe di Massa e Marchese di Carrara (1623-1662)*, conference papers (Massa e Carrara, 8-11 November 2001), ed. by Olga Raffo Maggini and Bernardo Fusani, La Spezia 2005, pp. 389-399: p. 399.

¹⁶ For these works, see Sandro Bellesi, 'Ferdinando Tacca e il crocifisso per il palazzo ducale di Massa', in *Paragone*, LXII, 3rd series, nos. 98-99 (737-739), 2011, pp. 24-37: 28-31, and plates 39-43. Bellesi identifies the crucifix made for the prince with the one he publishes but he does not provide circumstantial evidence to support his claim.

¹⁷ They both worked between 1641 and 1657 for Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici at his Orti Oricellari for which Novelli restored antique statues and made grottoes based on a project by Tacca; Caneva 1986 (as in note 2 above), p. 134.

In 1661 Novelli executed another project by the younger sculptor. This was the colossal *Atlas* commissioned for the festival celebrating the nuptials between Prince Cosimo de' Medici and Princess Marguerite Louise d'Orléans; Luigi Zangheri, 'Il maxiautoma dell'Atlante e Ferdinando Tacca', in *Psicon*, vol. III, 1976, no. 6, pp. 116-123: 116 and 121-123.

¹⁸ For these, see the classic study of Anthony Radcliffe, 'Ferdinando Tacca. The Missing Link in Florentine Baroque Bronzes',

in *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana. Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici*, Munich 1976, pp. 14-23.

¹⁹ Marco Chiarini, in *La Galleria Palatina e gli Appartamenti Reali di Palazzo Pitti. Catalogo dei dipinti*, ed. by Marco Chiarini and Serena Padovani, Florence 2003, p. 37, cat. 36, with references earlier literature.

²⁰ For a fairly recent good quality reproduction of this painting, see Francesca Baldassari, *La Pittura del Seicento a Firenze. Indice degli Artisti e delle loro Opere*, Milan 2009, p. 18, pl. II, who located it in the Etro collection, Milan. It appears to be the same painting as that published in private Florentine collection and considered probably autograph by Claudio Pizzorusso (*Ricerche su Cristofano Allori*, Florence 1982, pp. 51-52, 67-68, 130, and fig. 33a) and as autograph by Miles Chappell (*Cristofano Allori 1577-1621*, exh. cat. [Florence, Palazzo Pitti, July-October 1984], Florence 1984, pp. 82-83, cat. 26.2). Conversely, Marco Chiarini ('In margine a Cristofano Allori', in *Arte Cristiana*, LXXI, 1983, no. 696, pp. 187-190) considered it to be Ligozzi's copy (on which see note 28 below). More replicas of the composition exist.

²¹ Giovan Francesco Franceschini, *Castelfranco di Sotto illustrato* (XVII-XIX sec.), ed. by Giulio Ciampoltrini and Gabriele Manfredini, Castelfranco di Sotto 1980, p. 95.

²² For Novelli's sculptures there, see E. Chini, *La chiesa e il convento dei santi Michele e Gaetano a Firenze*, Florence 1984, pp. 141, 155, 207-209, and p. 327, doc. 60B and C. For Cardinal Carlo's patronage of this church, see *ibid.* pp. 17, 51, 53-54, 56-57, 95, 166, 231, 277 doc. 14A, 278 doc. 15, 282-284 doc.21, 286-289 doc. 24, 292 doc. 30, 332 doc. 63, 336 and 329 doc. 65.

²³ Baldinucci 1728 (as note 8 above), p. 349.

²⁴ Stefano Casciu, in *La Galleria Palatina* 2003 (as in note 19 above), p. 421, cat. 694.

²⁵ Marilena Mosco, 'La cappella della Maddalena nella Villa di Poggio Imperiale a Firenze', in *La Maddalena tra Sacro e profano*,

exh. cat. (Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 24 May-7 September 1986), ed. by Marilena Mosco, Florence 1986, pp. 237-239.

²⁶ For instance, the 1622 Florentine edition of *La Maddalena* by Giovan Battista Andreini and that, which appeared the same year in Florence, of *Il pentimento di Maria Maddalena* by Scipione Francucci. In 1629 Francesco Bracciolini wrote a *Festa di Santa Maria Maddalena da rappresentarsi nella Cappella della Serenissima*; Angelo Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla corte medicea dal 1600 al 1637: notizie tratte da un diario con appendice di testi inediti e rari*, Florence 1905, p. 195. For its performance, see Claudio Pizzorusso in Florence 1986 (as in note 25 above), p. 236.

²⁷ For instance, the *Magdalene* in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, and that in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart; Rodolfo Maffei, in *Un'altra bellezza: Francesco Furini*, exh. cat. (Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 22 December 2007-27 April 2008), ed. by Rodolfo Maffei, Florence 2007, pp. 218-221, cat. 32-33.

²⁸ Cardinal Carlo acquired Allori's painting from Alberto Bardi for the considerable sum of 1000 *scudi* and 'di più fecegliene a proprie spese fare una copia dal Ligozzi, che la condusse così bene, che ben potrebbesi pigliare per l'originale medesimo, e perche il quadro di Cristofano aveva un bellissimo ornamento d'ebano, anche alla copia a spese del Cardinale fu fatto un simile ornamento, ma perche la figura di femmina nuda, e fatta per mano di tale artefice, non potesse giammai offender l'occhio casto d'alcuno, che si portasse in quella stanza, ove il conte Carlo Bardi così bella copia fra altre eccellentissime pitture oggi conserva; ha egli fatta con bella grazia coprire gran parte di quella nudità con un certo panno per mano di Baldassarre Volterrano, ne lascia per questo la Pittura di comparire agli occhi degl'intendenti una bellissima cosa'; F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in qua, che contengono tre Decennali, dal 1580 al 1610*, Florence 1702, Life of Cristofano Allori, p. 301.

²⁹ Andrea Baldinotti, in *Giovanni Martinelli pittore di Montevarchi maestro del Seicento fiorentino*, exh. cat. (Montevarchi, Auditorium Comunale, 19 March - 19 June 2011), ed. by Andrea Baldinotti, Bruno Santi and Riccardo Spinelli, Florence 2011, p. 126, cat. 1.14; G. Papi, 'Giovanni Martinelli, fra Artemisia e Vouet', in *Giovanni Martinelli da Montevarchi pittore in Firenze*, ed. by Luca Canonici, Florence 2011, pp. 32-47: 43; Francesca Baldassari, 'Le opere di devozione pubblica e privata di Giovanni Martinelli', in *ibid.*, pp. 77-103: 80-81 and fig. 13.

³⁰ For the painting by Furini to which I refer, see Rita Randolfi, 'Un'iconografia insolita in un inedito di Furini: *La Maddalena in Meditazione*', in *Storia dell'Arte*, nos. 125/126, new series 25/26, 2010, pp. 71-78. For Marinari's painting the most recent discussion is Silvia Benassai, *Onorio Marinari: pittore nella Firenze degli ultimi Medici*, Florence 2011, p. 98, cat. 11.

³¹ Serena Padovani, in *La Galleria Palatina* (as in note 19 above), p. 453, cat. 746. For a version of this painting considered as one of those owned by Queen Christina, see note 3 above.

³² Baldinucci 1728 (as in note 8 above), p. 348.

³³ James David Draper, in *Italian Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes*, ed. by Denis Allen, Linda Borsch, James David Draper, Jeffrey Fraiman, Richard E. Stone, New York 2022, pp. 390-391, cat. 141.

³⁴ A fragmentary terracotta *Risen Christ*, considered preparatory for the marble statue of the same subject for San Marco Florence, is the only other model of this material that has been sensibly attributed to the sculptor; Caterina Caneva, in *Il Seicento Fiorentino* (as in note 2 above), vol. 'Disegno/Incisione/Scultura/Arti minori', p. 448, cat. 4.30. I have not, however, been able to examine it.



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