

(IM)MATERIAL MICHELANGELO  
TOWARD A VISUAL HISTORIOGRAPHY  
OF SCULPTURE BETWEEN REPRODUCTION  
AND ART-HISTORICAL ENQUIRY

edited by  
Giulia Daniele  
Daniele Di Cola

CAMPISANO EDITORE

QUADERNI DELLA BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA

13

a cura di  
Tanja Michalsky  
Tristan Weddigen

Responsabile della redazione  
Marieke von Bernstorff

Cura redazionale del volume  
Mirjam Neusius

All articles of the present volume have  
undergone an anonymous scholarly peer-review  
by international experts, to whom we are  
grateful for their generous support.

in copertina

*Hôtel de Police* with the reproduction  
of a sculpture by Michelangelo (architect  
Manuel Núñez Yanowsky), Paris, 12th district  
(photo © Daniele Schneider 2015 /  
Alamy Stock Photo)

Nessuna parte di questo libro può essere  
riprodotta o trasmessa in qualsiasi forma  
o con qualsiasi mezzo elettronico, meccanico  
o altro senza l'autorizzazione scritta  
dei proprietari dei diritti e dell'editore.

L'editore è a disposizione  
degli aventi diritto per quanto  
riguarda le fonti iconografiche  
e letterarie non individuate.

Progetto grafico di Gianni Trozzi

© copyright 2023 by  
Campisano Editore Srl  
00155 Roma, viale Battista Bardanzellu, 53  
Tel +39 06 4066614  
campisanoeditore@tiscali.it  
www.campisanoeditore.it  
ISBN 979-12-80956-42-2



**BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA**  
MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT  
FÜR KUNSTGESCHICHTE

## INDICE

- 7 TOWARD A VISUAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MICHELANGELO'S  
SCULPTURE: AN INTRODUCTION  
Giulia Daniele, Daniele Di Cola
- 35 SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE RECEPTION OF MICHELANGELO'S  
BANDINI *PIETÀ* IN 16<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY ROMAN PAINTING  
Valentina Balzarotti
- 49 STAMPE DALLE SCULTURE DI MICHELANGELO. UNA RIFLESSIONE  
SUL LORO UTILIZZO NELLA MILANO DI GIOVAN PAOLO LOMAZZO  
Camilla Colzani
- 63 TRA GIAN LORENZO BERNINI E JEAN-BAPTISTE CARPEAUX: IL 'NON  
FINITO' MICHELANGIOLESCO SPIEGATO DA EUGÈNE GUILLAUME  
Lucia Simonato
- 73 MICHELANGELO SUL COMÒ: BRONZI, CALCHI E COPIE DELL'ARTISTA  
NEGLI INTERNI DELL'OTTOCENTO  
Sara Vitacca
- 89 «EIN MATERIALFANATIKER WIE WENIGE». NOTE SU ERWIN  
PANOFSKY E LE RIPRODUZIONI DI MICHELANGELO  
Giovanna Targia
- 105 MOVEMENT WITHOUT BEGINNING OR END: SIGMUND FREUD'S  
*DER MOSES DES MICHELANGELO* AND HIS VISUAL SOURCES  
Marc Michael Moser
- 117 MICHELANGELO'S *PIETÀ*: REPLICAS, RELICS, AND RECEPTION  
Emily A. Fenichel

127	CONTROFIGURE ELOQUENTI. IL 'CALCO MERCATALI' E IL RUOLO DELLE COPIE DELLA <i>PIETÀ</i> VATICANA TRA ESPOSIZIONI UNIVERSALI E RESTAURO (1942-1975) Rosalia Pagliarani
147	COMMEMORATING MICHELANGELO IN FILM: CINEMATIC EXPLORATIONS OF THE ARTIST'S SCULPTURES DURING THE 1964 MICHELANGELO CELEBRATIONS Joséphine Vandekerckhove
157	MICHELANGELO'S <i>PIETÀ</i> AND <i>MOSES</i> : FILMING VIOLENCE AND DELICACY Tommaso Casini
173	INDEX OF NAMES



## TOWARD A VISUAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MICHELANGELO'S SCULPTURE: AN INTRODUCTION

Giulia Daniele, Daniele Di Cola

Filippo (F): "Io non capisco che razza di arte è la tua:  
astrattista, futurista, esistenzialista..."  
Totò (T): "La mia arte è assenteista, cioè vale a dire che alle mie  
opere manca sempre qualche cosa. Vedi questo?"  
F: "Cos'è? Un cippo funerario?"  
T: "Profano! Questa è una madre con il bambino che piange"  
F: "E dov'è la madre?"  
T: "La madre è uscita, ecco perché il bambino piange"  
F: "Si vabbè ma io non vedo neanche il bambino!"  
T: "Ma il bambino è sciocco, è corso indietro alla madre.  
Hai capito perché nelle mie opere manca sempre qualche cosa?  
Hai capito che cosa significa assenteismo?"  
T [to the marble block]: Ma perché? Ma perché non parli?"  
F [hit by Totò's hammer]: "Ahi!"  
T: "Ha parlato!"<sup>1</sup>

Dialog from the film *Totò cerca moglie* (1950)

According to an anecdote (whose historical origins are still unclear), Michelangelo lashed out his *Moses*. Having completed the work but finding himself frustrated by his inability to give it a final 'breath of life', the artist – so the story goes – tried to animate the marble by hitting it with a hammer and yelling "Perché non parli?" (Why don't you speak?).<sup>2</sup> The story about the famous statue has become part of a vast set of romantic myths about the artist's genius and about his eternal and universal creative power.<sup>3</sup> From the 16th century onwards, such beliefs have been building Michelangelo's cult, which continues to flourish today in our globalized society.

The opening quotation is a perfect example of the popularization of topoi concerning Michelangelo. In the 1950 Italian film comedy *Totò cerca moglie* (Totò Looks for a Wife), directed by Carlo Ludovico Bragaglia (1894–1998), the story about the *Moses* is reenacted in an amusing parody.<sup>4</sup> Here the actor Totò (Antonio de Curtis, 1898–1967), plays the character of a contemporary sculptor, and addresses Michelangelo's question to a plain stone block that appears to be untouched. Although made to emulate Michelangelo, the artist in this case does not hit the statue with the hammer, but rather his friend Filippo (played by the actor Mario Castellani, 1906–1978) (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> Moreover, since the sculptural object is an aniconic stone, the gag seems to

1. *Totò cerca moglie*, Carlo Ludovico Bragaglia (1950; Forum Film), black and white, 74', digital film frames
2. Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine, anti-Covid19 public advertisements (2020)



combine *Moses'* story with another famous concept connected to Michelangelo, namely his conviction that the raw marble already contained within itself the idea of the finished figure, and that it was the artist's duty to release that idea from the prison of the material. However, Totò's definition of his art as "arte assenteista" (absenteeist art) seems to reinterpret Michelangelo's artistic process through the lens of clichés about avant-garde sculpture (monolithic forms, the lack of representation of recognizable objects, the centrality of the conceptual process). This is just one possible example, among many others, of the re-mediation and reinterpretation of Michelangelo's myth and art, which continue to live in contemporary visual arts as well as in architecture,<sup>6</sup> in fashion,<sup>7</sup> in advertisement,<sup>8</sup> or even in music

videoclips and in mass-produced gadgets for tourists.<sup>9</sup> Totò's hammer didn't hit the statue, but rather his inquiring friend Filippo's hand, so we could say that the episode can also be read as a metaphor of the fact that attempts to penetrate the nature of Michelangelo's art backfire on its interpreters, revealing the historical subjectivity of their intellectual point of view. This is something we also experienced during the organization of the international conference whose papers are now collected in this book – although we were not, thankfully, hit by a hammer.<sup>10</sup>

We first developed the idea of a conference about the artistic and historiographic reception of Michelangelo's sculptures focused on the processes of copying, reproducing, and recording his artworks in the fall of 2019. From the very beginning it was clear that such a topic would entail a deep consideration of several aspects of Michelangelo's technique and method of work, such as his *non finito* or other physical qualities of his sculptures. This was not surprising: the reception of Buonarroti's art was largely connected to the troubling response to the artistic and aesthetic dimensions of the materiality of his sculptures, whose reproduction in other media, especially two-dimensional, was usually a challenge. Because we were dealing with objects (the artworks) and with images of the objects (their reproductions), materiality was suddenly associated in our mind with its counterpart, immateriality. At the time of these first considerations, we did not know that the dualism material/immaterial would soon assume a newly pressing meaning in our historical context. At the beginning of 2020, the Covid-19 global pandemic outbreaks and the subsequent confinement forced us into home isolation. Museums, libraries, archives, and universities were closed indefinitely; conferences and cultural events were suspended. Home libraries, the archives of files collected in our computers, open-access journals, and other materials available online were, for a long while, our only resources. Slowly, though, we realized that all clouds have a silver lining, and that the new situation also offered some new insights and inputs. We were, for example, delighted by a new wave of images, memes, parodies or advertisements, using famous artworks – including some of Michelangelo's – as instruments in the fight against the virus or for other ironic or polemical purposes (fig. 2), all of which seemed to confirm the vitality and enduring quality of the artist's reputation. But at the same time, we feared the risk of the dematerialization of art-historical practice. Without access to actual works of art, André Malraux's (1901–1976) famous claim that art history is a “history of what can be photographed” – or as we would prefer to say, ‘reproduced’ – seemed prophetic.<sup>11</sup> How could we investigate the materiality of Michelangelo's works, and the distance between his originals and their replicas, if the originals were inaccessible? As we began to compare different kinds of reproduction, we ceased to judge them according to a supposed criterion of objectivity. We realized that

potentially any reproduction in any medium – from drawings and prints to photographs and videos – can reveal as well as neglect, disguise, or change aspects of the original, and that how it does so depends not on the limits of the technique in question but rather on the specific interpretation of Michelangelo's art that informed its creation. We also perceived that the dematerialization of our own pandemic time had its precursors and was not just the result of the increasing diffusion of digital and technological information.

Beyond the metaphysical opposition between materiality and immateriality, we feel that the two terms no longer refer to given, stable, and unambiguous concepts, but rather to an interplay that changes during the interactions between a human subject and an object. We thus found that the lines between the materialization and dematerialization of Michelangelo's art did not always lie historically where we might have expected them to, and we have no interest in introducing any normative distinction here. In every period, written historiography and visual reproductions have identified different tangible and material qualities of Michelangelo's sculpture. His *non finito*, for example, considered today as a clear evidence of the materiality of the raw stone, was rejected in the 19th century as a potential dematerialization and disintegration of sculpture and associated with a disruptive pictorial effect (see on this Daniele Di Cola's section below). Only with a historical reconstruction of the cognitive style of the time in which histories of artistic reception, taste, collecting, art criticism and theory, are woven together with histories of media and replicas in a more multifaceted visual historiography, can we compensate for our misperceptions.

By joining the words 'visuality' and 'historiography', we would like to overcome the traditional distinctions between images and words, artistic and scientific images, subjectivity and objectivity, and pre-mechanical and post-photographic reproductions. Efforts to move in this direction have been made in recent years by Raphael Rosenberg, in his studies on the copies of Michelangelo's statues for the New Sacristy, and by Geraldine A. Johnson, in her 2013 essay on photographic reproductions of early modern sculpture.<sup>12</sup> Developing a critical approach to copies, reproductions, and replicas, both scholars have reconsidered the heuristic value of non-mechanical reproductions, contesting the objectivity and neutrality of documentary photography and as such shortening the distance between artistic and 'scientific' images (e.g., photographs and illustrations in academic books). At the same time, their inquiries pointed out the critical value of reproductions, comparable to the best pieces of art history writing. In 1980 Leo Steinberg affirmed that copies "constitute a body of criticism more telling than anything dreamt of in contemporaneous writing".<sup>13</sup> He had a point: comparing the paintings, drawings, prints, engravings, and copies made

after Michelangelo's sculptures with artistic literature and treatises makes clear not only the existence of strong relationships between them, but also the complexity of visual responses that embody the judgments, ideas, and interpretations not openly expressed in texts. Academic art-historical writing is not totally safe from this same dialectic. Photographs in art history books are not pieces of impersonal evidence that support the verbal discourse. On the contrary, they shape the art historian's knowledge and interpretation, contributing to the construction of the discourse and its rhetoric, sometimes even engendering new levels of meaning beyond written text. Given all of this, it becomes easier to recognize and understand how a 16th-century mannerist painting after Michelangelo's *Giuliano de' Medici* (see Giulia Daniele's section below) and an illustrated essay by Erwin Panofsky can have an equal value for the formation of our knowledge of Michelangelo's art.

Taking up Johnson's invitation to pursue a history of visual historiography, we decided to focus on the reception of a single Renaissance artist, but extending the media and the timeframe considered.<sup>14</sup> Michelangelo seemed the perfect case study: the reception of his work, as Eugenio Battisti wrote once, is as "unfinished" as the sculptures themselves.<sup>15</sup> And although this aspect has already been considered in several publications,<sup>16</sup> there are still a lot of areas and episodes within the complex history of responses to Michelangelo's art that still need to be investigated. The ten essays in this volume deal in several ways – historical, practical, and critical – with when, how, and why Michelangelo's sculptures have been reproduced, represented, or documented, taking into account drawings, prints, paintings, photographs, cinema, book illustrations, and miniaturized statues. We cannot, of course, offer a systematic history nor a definitive interpretation of Michelangelo's (im)materiality. The essays collected here deal instead with specific moments in the visual historiography of the artist's sculpted works, considering questions such as the response to reproductions; how a specific artwork has been observed and interpreted over time; the function and meaning of the reproduction of the physical and spatial qualities of Michelangelo's sculpture; and the issues and challenges raised by the process of translation from one medium to others. More generally, the volume asks how copies and reproductions should be interpreted in terms of visual evidence of aesthetic, historiographic, and critical transformations in the reception of Michelangelo's sculpture, and examines how they interact with the verbal practice of art history and art criticism.

G.D. – D.D.C.

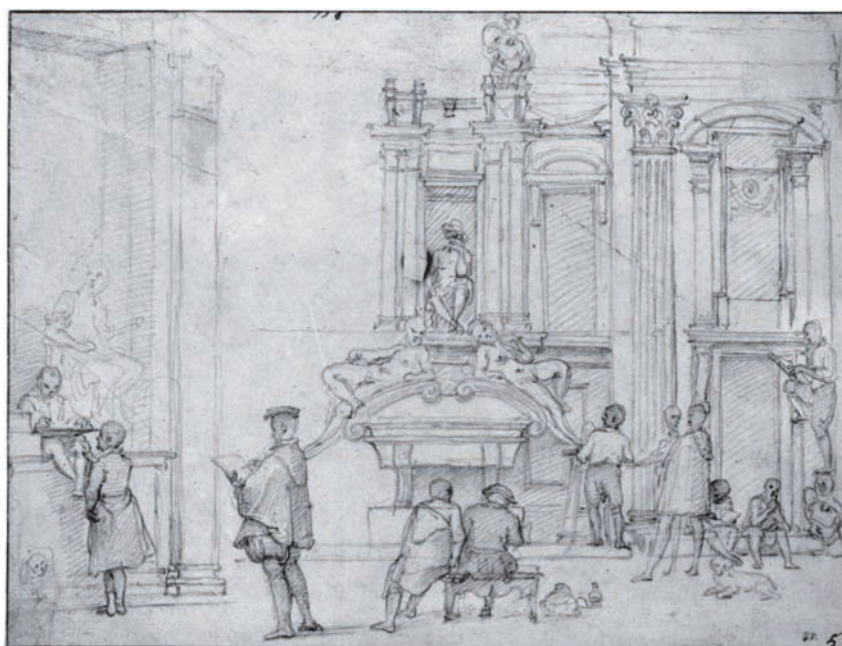


The cult of Michelangelo took root among the master’s contemporaries while he was still alive. After his death in 1564, it would strengthen and spread far beyond his circle. Giorgio Vasari famously made him the point of reference and paragon of artistic virtue in his *Lives* (1550; 1568), building around Michelangelo his arguments in support of the Florentine primacy in the arts. One could say that he almost made him an alter ego of Christ, in an Old and New Testament of visual culture.<sup>17</sup> Buonarroti’s works were constant sources of inspiration and thus immediately became part of the daily lexicon of artists, who paid homage to him in every form by quoting, copying, and studying his works. The visual historiography of those works is directly related to their huge, uninterrupted circulation throughout the centuries. What we are interested in addressing here, however, and what the essays contained in the volume help us to focus on, is not the general fortune of Michelangelo’s art over the centuries – a subject on which we could easily refer to the extensive bibliography already available –<sup>18</sup> but the multiple, material, and immaterial implications of the translation and reinterpretation of the artist’s sculptures throughout different media.

The practice of drawing from sculptures was already considered by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) to be a useful training exercise for artists, who from the Renaissance onwards applied themselves to it with great dedication, starting first and foremost with antiquity. (One need only think, for example, of the unparalleled fame of sculptures like the *Laocoon* and the *Apollo Belvedere*, long exposed to view in the Vatican and made the object of constant study by entire generations of artists). This practice, on which Raphael Rosenberg’s contributions have been especially important, focuses attention both on the transmedial processes that underly the re-presentation of plastic models in two-dimensions, and on the implications of such a transition, connected primarily to the ways in which the artists of the time experienced art.<sup>19</sup> “An array of evidence”, Rosenberg wrote, “suggests that in Florence in the mid-sixteenth century the experience of art began to be understood as an exercise which required and promoted a greater attentiveness to the visual properties of the work, as well as a greater sensitivity on the part of the beholder to the perceptual and conceptual processes involved”.<sup>20</sup>

Michelangelo’s sculptural work enjoyed a special fortune comparable to that of the great specimens of classical statuary. An illustrative example here is the reproduction of parts of the sculptural groups of the Medici Chapels (ca. 1526–1531), in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Florence, which with their variety of poses and typological solutions constituted an unparalleled *unicum* of disruptive impact. The Mannerist culture was centered on the concept of imitation, as Vasari himself theorized in the proem to the Torren-

3. Taddeo Zuccari, *Artists drawing in Michelangelo's Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo, Florence*, 1580, Black and red chalks on paper, 200 x 264 mm. Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 4554, on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



tiniana edition of the *Lives* (1550): “Our art is all imitation of nature for the most part, and then, because a man cannot by himself rise so high, of those works that are executed by those whom he judges to be better masters than himself”.<sup>21</sup> Michelangelo became the cornerstone of that same culture, of that cultural feeling, and of that way of approaching the making of art. He became the ‘best master’ for everyone.

A well-known drawing attributed to Taddeo Zuccari (1529–1566) shows some of the artists at work inside the Florentine New Sacristy (fig. 3). As can be seen, most of them did not simply study and reproduce Michelangelo’s sculptures frontally; rather they observed them from one side or another, or from above or below, preferring distinct points of view. The outcome of such sessions manifested itself in the creation of a repertoire of images derived from those sculpted figures, which came to life again in the drawings and paintings of sixteenth-century artists who developed new characters or in-

sented the already familiar figures, their citation considered synonymous with virtue at that time. Recourse to sculpture as a prototype for two-dimensional works of art such as painting, drawings and prints posed, moreover, very different problems when compared to the basic reproduction of a pictorial model, both in terms of methods and practice. Faced with three-dimensional objects, artists were obliged not only to carry out a reinterpretation that would enable them to adapt their features to the change of medium, but also to choose a point of view that would 'fix' them, exactly as photographers would later do with their cameras (for more on this see Daniele Di Cola's introduction below).<sup>22</sup>

Take for example the figure of *Mars* painted around 1572 by the Bolognese Prospero Fontana (1509–1597) in Palazzo Vitelli a Sant'Egidio, near Città di Castello, on a ceiling meant to simulate an opening onto the sky and therefore presupposing a view from below (fig. 4).<sup>23</sup> The model chosen by the painter was Michelangelo's statue of Giuliano de' Medici, which crowns the duke's monumental tomb in San Lorenzo's New Sacristy. The figure was clearly observed from below and from a very close and foreshortened point of view, making it appear almost in a crouched pose, with its knee at chest level. It was reproduced in the fresco exactly as it appears from that position, although in a different character and, of course, color. The marble flap that supports the protrusion of Giuliano's foot from the edge of the squared plinth in the original sculpture appears to have been transposed and reworked by Prospero, who transformed it into a cloud from which the represented god's fingers protrude. Surely Fontana – like other colleagues, but perhaps even more so given that he had worked alongside Vasari in Florence on several occasions – must have tried his hand at studying Michelangelo's originals, probably sketching them from life. Alternatively, he may have used a scale model, easy to handle and fix in the desired view, though this hypothesis seems less likely in this case. Regardless of the method of reproduction used, what really matters here is the way in which the plastic prototype was bent to the needs of representation, exploiting its material potential as a three-dimensional object with multiple points of view in order to place the figure in plane exactly in the necessary pose – something impossible to achieve with a pictorial prototype. Moreover, the artist saw and reused his sculpted model exactly from the point of view from which Michelangelo had conceived it. As such, Prospero's reinterpretation should not be considered merely a simple quotation; it also lets us know something more about the original, and in this sense it acquires a precise value within the visual historiography of this latter.

As many other famous examples show, artists often made several sketches of the same sculpture, each taken from a different angle. These would later come in handy both for the re-proposition of the model in different poses



4. From left to right: Prospero Fontana, *Mars*, ca. 1572, fresco. Città di Castello, Palazzo Vitelli a Sant'Egidio; Michelangelo, *Duke Giuliano de' Medici*, ca. 1526–1534, marble. Florence, Church of San Lorenzo, Medici Chapel, view from the bottom; Michelangelo, *Duke Giuliano de' Medici*, frontal view



and for the in-depth study of the prototype, not always available for a direct observation. A case in point is the well-known series of autograph studies by Jacopo Tintoretto (1519–1594). Here again the chosen statues are those in the Medici Chapels in San Lorenzo, though in this case observed not in person but rather through scale models.<sup>24</sup> The face of the young *Giuliano de' Medici* is reproduced from multiple angles, with peculiar attention to its shapes and to the alternation of lights and shadows on its surface as the points of view change.<sup>25</sup> The same can be said for the male statues of *Day* and *Dusk*, the latter represented foreshortened from above, as seen in a sheet in the Uffizi (fig. 5).<sup>26</sup>

If the univocity of the point of view can be considered one of the limits of the two-dimensional arts – as indeed it was in the long-standing *paragone* debate, which was reinvigorated in the Florentine area during the 1540s –,<sup>27</sup> painting nonetheless had on its side the ability to reproduce reality in color, with the highest level of mimetic adherence. It also had the potential to reproduce it indefinitely on the same plane<sup>28</sup> and even to improve it, almost in a renewed creative gesture.<sup>29</sup> It is this aspect of re-presentation that Valentina Balzarotti addresses in her essay on the Bandini *Pietà* and its use in painting. She focuses on the adoption of Michelangelo's mutilated sculptural model

5. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Study after Michelangelo's Dusk in the Medici Chapel*, ca. 1550, charcoal and chalk on light blue paper, 272 x 371 mm. Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi, inv. no. 13048F (photo with permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture)



for the invention of the central group of figures in a painting of a similar subject commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) from the Bolognese artist Lorenzo Sabatini (ca. 1530–1576) for the Jubilee of 1575 and intended for one of the most prominent altars in the Vatican Basilica. It is a particularly pertinent case: not only did the fiction of the painting make it possible to update the plastic model (in which, famously, the figure of Christ is missing his left leg) and to complete it anatomically; because of its importance and visibility and perhaps because of its finiteness, it also came to replace the original in the role of model, generating in its turn a new series of painted replicas completely disconnected from Michelangelo's statue.

Turning to the graphic arts, Camilla Colzani's contribution reflects on the ways in which engravers approached Michelangelo's sculptural work. Observing that engravers often reproduced his tridimensional works based on comparisons with drawings or with other prints – often themselves influenced by

Michelangelo's most famous paintings – she argues that engravers frequently ended up coining and spreading a fictive idea of the artist's sculptures. The Bargello Museum *Bacchus* (ca. 1496–1497) reflects this dynamic well.<sup>30</sup> Sculpted by Buonarroti for Cardinal Raffaele Riario (1461–1521) and known for its youthful appearance, which closely resembled the older models of classical statuary, the slender, linear physique of the original was lost in the engraved translations, giving way to a sinewy musculature, informed by the pictorial outcomes of the Sistine *Judgment* and, as such, the result of an entirely arbitrary and misleading reinterpretation.

'Tailor-made' copies of this sort were also made as sculptures. These versions of Michelangelo's sculptures transformed them into more transportable objects, making them far easier to collect. In this sense, and particularly during the 19th century, these pieces circulated just like their engraved variants: first decontextualized and then reassembled into new arrangements. Where the artists of the time often focused their attention on the monumental Michelangelo and on the poetics of the *non finito*, connected as it was to the concepts of the picturesque and the sublime, private collectors turned the opposite way, toward the intimate and the small-scale, favoring ornament-size re-productions of the master's sculptures. This aspect allowed them to be transformed from unattainable icons into sorts of familiar deities. Sara Vitacca's essay delves into this specific outcome of the visual historiography of Buonarroti's work. She deals in particular with the French 19th-century context, highlighting the ways in which small casts, bronzes, and plastic reproductions of all kinds were able to convey specific symbolic meanings, as their relationship to the originals made them part of a deep cult of the past. They were also capable of dematerializing and rematerializing the originals, reducing them to human scale, and in turn triggering a real spiritual bond between the observer and the work represented. The Vatican *Pietà* is perhaps the best example of the development of such feelings throughout the centuries. It has been translated countless times into engravings or three-dimensional replicas without direct knowledge of the original or of its precise location, resulting in the creation of autonomous adaptations of the piece. In the case of engravings, the sculptures were usually reproduced in non-places characterized by ruins or hints of landscape, which ended up once again distorting, as seen for the Florentine *Bacchus*, the reception of the original sculpture.<sup>31</sup> The *Pietà* is also the subject of two contributions in the present volume, both of which probe its reception as an iconic, cultic image, and focus on sculpted copies made after it. Emily A. Fenichel reconstructs how, while Buonarroti was still alive, the sculpture was humanized and regarded as a relic of the divine from which numerous copies were made, themselves thought to carry the same thaumaturgic power as the original. As Fenichel goes on to show, this religious significance has endured intact into the modern era. This much was

made clear by the ecstatic reactions of the public to direct casts of the sculpture that were displayed temporarily in various locations in the United States between 2010 and 2012. When facing an image of the divine, Walter Benjamin's *aura* is no longer sufficient to motivate uniqueness; it is rather the holiness inherent in such figures, even if carved in marble, that elevates them to the role of icons, capable of transferring their essence by contact. Marble, which is material, thus becomes a direct vehicle of the immaterial, of the superhuman message.

The “controfigure eloquenti” (eloquent doubles) of the Vatican *Pietà* are also the theme of Rosalia Pagliarani's essay, which focuses on the so-called Mercatali cast and on the 1964 celebrations for the 500th anniversary of Michelangelo's death, which saw the marble statue land in New York. Her contribution retraces the historical events connected with the creation of the cast, which was made during World War II to avert the risk of the original being destroyed, and reflects on the importance of it and other similar casts. As she argues, their existence turned out to be pivotal, first in the preparation of the sculpture's unprecedented trip overseas, and later as new matrices for its restoration after the serious disfigurement suffered in 1972. The role of the copy therefore dialogues, in this case, directly with the materiality of the original: the copy allows the original to be restored, and in doing so proves the cognitive value of these specimens in the context of the visual historiography of the *Pietà*. An analogous case illustrating the material relationship between original and copy is the cast of *David* shown in the Italian Pavilion at the 2020 Dubai Expo. Taken directly from the original at the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, and treated on the surface with powdered marble, it has the same material effect as the famous Florentine masterpiece. The marble coating process calls into question the concept of *aura*, which arguably decays in front of the possibility of infinitely reproducing not only the forms of a prototype, but also its material semblance and therefore the perceptive effect of the original, still different, still other, but almost indistinguishable from its double.

G.D.

#### Interpreting Michelangelo's Sculpture: The Analytic Use of Reproductions In and Beyond Historiography

For at least four centuries, artists have been copying and reproducing Michelangelo's sculptures in other media such as painting, drawing, engraving, and print, translating three-dimensional sculptures into two-dimensional representations. They reckoned, in their silent handiwork, with a problem that we can only verbalize *ex post*: how should one reproduce sculpture? This question was conceptualized more and more openly over the 19th and 20th centuries by the academic discipline of art history. Over this period, the problem

of the documentary reproduction of artworks was primarily assumed as a matter of accuracy, fidelity, and objectivity. Limiting the discussion to sculpture, the issue of correctness had already been raised in one of the first examples of illustrated art historiography: Leopoldo Cicognara's (1767–1834) *Storia della scultura* (1813–1818). Cicognara sought in his volumes to emphasize the “accuratezza” and “fedeltà” of the reproductions published in them, which were outline engravings made on his own instructions.<sup>32</sup> Despite his efforts, Cicognara's standard of accuracy was undermined only a few decades later by the invention of photography (although there are certainly some continuities between the two methods). Photography had a kind of affinity with sculpture.<sup>33</sup> Some of the first photographs, taken in the 1840s, were of sculptures, and Michelangelo's works were among them.<sup>34</sup> And although there was relatively widespread resistance and opposition to documentary photography at the beginning, within one century art history had become the history of artworks recorded by photography.<sup>35</sup>

The necessity for a more aware approach to documentary photography was felt by the Swiss art historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945), who articulated his ideas in three seminal articles collectively titled *Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll* (*How One Should Photograph Sculpture*) published in 1896, 1897 and 1915.<sup>36</sup> To summarize, Wölfflin took issue with the way in which photographers of his time reproduced antique and Renaissance sculptures. His main problem was with the selection of the photographic point of view, and the photographers' apparent tendency to approach sculpture too nonchalantly and freely, basing their choice of view on nothing more than their own artistic intention. He thus proposed a norm, or a principle of correctness, based on respecting what he called the “main view” of a sculpture, that corresponded to the “artist's conception” and which he considered the only way to clearly perceive the “main silhouette” (*Hauptsilhouette*) of a sculpted figure.<sup>37</sup> What makes Wölfflin particularly relevant to our discussion is that he included Michelangelo among his examples.<sup>38</sup> But Wölfflin's attitude to photography was complex and ambiguous. On one hand, he refused the idea of any a priori objectivity in photography and sought to make clear its interpretative nature. For this same reason, he also considered pre-photographic and photographic reproductions on the same level, sometimes showing a preference for the former.<sup>39</sup> But on the other hand, he nonetheless believed in the possibility of correct reproductions based on a correct historical and stylistic interpretation of the artworks.

Today's methodological approach to visual historiography does not deal with any supposed standard of correctness – neither for reproductions nor art-historical interpretations. Its purpose is not to establish hierarchies between different kind of reproductions, or even worse between techniques of reproduction. Rather, its ambition is to investigate the interpretative nature



of all kinds of reproductions in their historical contexts, exploring the ways in which they relate to the reception, perception, and response to artworks (including aesthetic and historical judgments) in the mutual exchange between visual and verbal discourses. Framed in this way, images can be considered not merely as mirrors of textual interpretations, but in some cases also the primary interpretive agent, offering an understanding of images that precedes and shapes the textual. Whatever difficulties the translation of sculpture into other media may pose, a simple answer to the question “how should one reproduce sculpture?” doesn’t exist, as neither technical skill nor an astute analysis of an original can generate a reproduction of a sculpture that is beyond the risk of critical obsolescence. The case studies in this volume help clarify the nature of this problem.

I would like to start with my own example: the engravings that were used extensively in the illustrated historiography of 18th and 19th century. These illustrations usually reproduced sculptures as contour lines, without any reference to their three-dimensionality or shadows. The result was a kind of linear abstraction, which had its roots in the purist aesthetic of ancient Greek vases and the Italian Primitives.<sup>40</sup> Considered the most suitable style for reproducing sculpture at the time, the use of outline engravings seems today inappropriate for the representation of plastic works. Contour reproductions were apt to stress the iconography or the composition of a sculpture as merely incorporeal ideas. They fell short of any reference to materiality, such as the raw stone, the unfinished parts of the work, or the different kinds of surface finish. To quote William M. Ivins, in the reproduction of sculptures as contour lines “no report was ever made of the chisel strokes by which the surface of the statue was finally brought into being, although that surface was no more than a detailed record of the way in which the sculptor had used his materials and tools”, and works were reduced to “a Platonic Idea of forms and compositions”.<sup>41</sup> But it would be misrepresentative to explain these features as depending only on the limit of the technique itself, or on a lack of ability or appreciation on the part of the makers. Rather, the explanation should be sought in the way in which Michelangelo’s sculptures were seen, judged, and interpreted over time.

The representation of one of Michelangelo’s *Prigioni* for the Boboli Gardens, Florence (now held at the Galleria dell’Accademia) published by Richard Duppa (1770–1831) in his *The Life of Michel Angelo* (1807) shows – as Raphael Rosenberg has already pointed out – the sculpture completed in all its parts, although in the text the work is described, with a certain disappointment, as “rude” and in “imperfect state” (fig. 6).<sup>42</sup> Rather than documenting the work or supporting the textual description, the illustration seems wary of offending the classicist taste of the viewers and readers. In the same period, Jean-Baptiste Seroux d’Agincourt (1730–1814) expressed more

6. Graphic illustration of Michelangelo's *Prisoner*, from Richard Duppa, *The Life of Michel Angelo*, 1st ed. 1806, London 1807, t. XIII
7. Graphic illustration of Michelangelo's *Prisoner*, from Jean-Baptiste Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monumens...*, Paris 1823, vol. 4, t. XLVII (sculpture), fig. 3



positive judgments on Michelangelo's *non finito*. The engraved illustration of one of the *Prigioni* in his book *Histoire de l'art par les monumens* (1823) gives more attention to the unfinished parts of the figure, although the raw stone is visualized like a fluid substance (curiously d'Agincourt compared the sculpture to a formless aquatic animal) without bounds (fig. 7).<sup>43</sup> Cicognara and d'Agincourt show the different possibilities of the use of the same technique in relation to two different critical perceptions and appreciations of Michelangelo's sculpture.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, *non finito* was usually rejected for its 'baroque' disruptive pictorial effect – the opposite of the solidity, clarity, and simplicity associated with sculpture. The revaluation of Michelangelo's *non finito* began in the 19th century with Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) and the Romantic aesthetic movement in general.<sup>44</sup> Lucia Simonato's contribution further investigates this idea of the picturesque and its history, focusing in particular on a later episode of its critical development: the positions of the

French artist and critic Eugène Guillaume (1822–1905), professor of sculpture at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, as formulated in his article “Michel-Ange: sculpteur”, which appeared in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in 1876. While Guillaume saw Michelangelo mostly in classicist terms (rational, measured, rigorous), Simonato points out that he also appreciated the pictorial and the expressive (*pathétique*) effects of Michelangelo’s *non finito*. However, Buonarroti was an exception for Guillaume. As Simonato notes, his praise of Michelangelo’s balance between painterly and sculptural effects was a warning against the excesses of 17th-century art, and especially that of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680). During Guillaume’s time, though, it was above all the painter Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827–1875) who would contribute to the development of a new positive synthesis between painting and sculpture, and between Michelangelo and the Baroque.

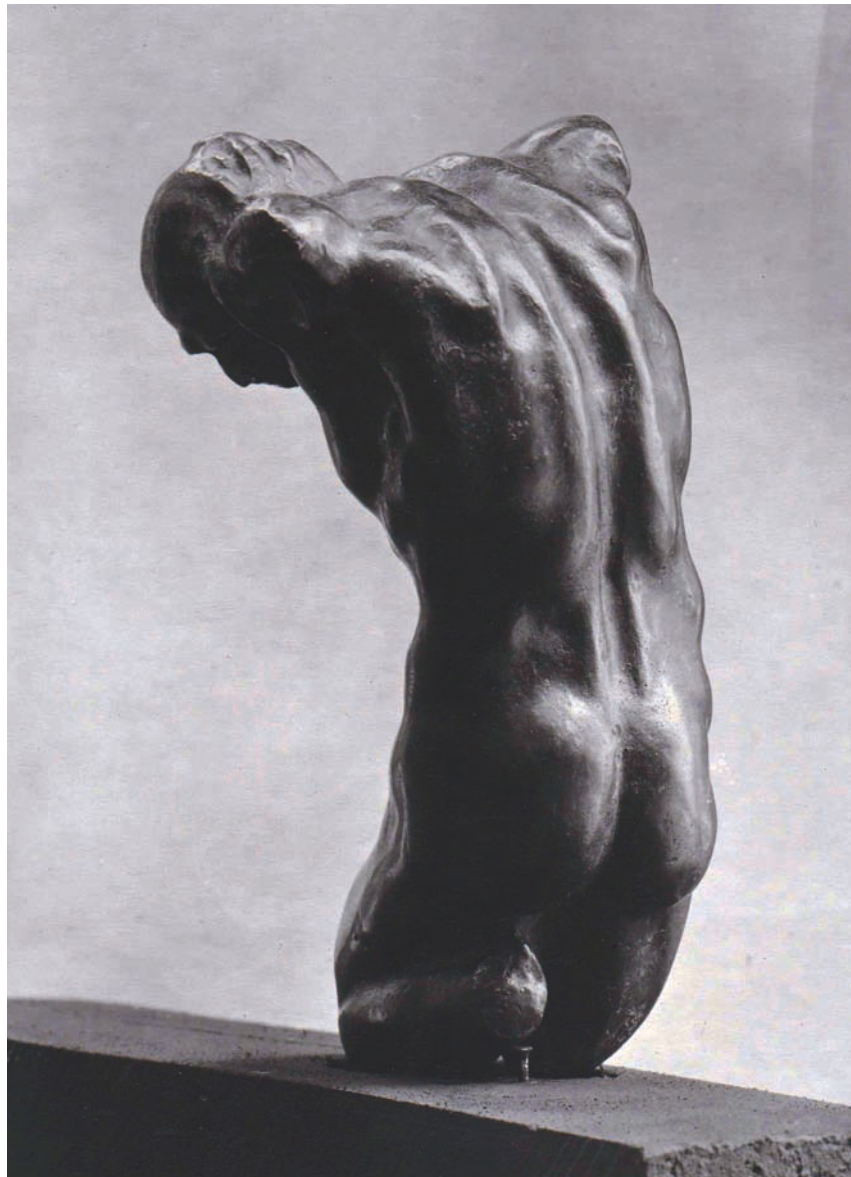
The revaluation of the *non finito* and the picturesque in Michelangelo continued in the photographic era.<sup>45</sup> In the 1930s, the French art historian Gustave Soulier (1872–1937), in his unpublished book *L’Inspiration et la technique de Michel-Ange*, charged outline engravings with having long prevented the investigation of the materiality and technique of Michelangelo’s sculpture. Although Soulier did not openly affirm it, photography contributed to the break from past interpretive prejudices, helping form a new awareness of Michelangelo’s materiality.<sup>46</sup> For confirmation of photography’s role one must look to the 110 plates planned for Soulier’s book (which was to include both pictures from collections such as Alinari, Anderson, Braun, and Brogi, and images made or commissioned directly by Soulier himself). These images’ emphasis on sculptural matters is revealed, among other things, by the multiple points of view they employ and the unusual close-ups of statues they offer (figg. 8–9). In the context of 20th-century art historiography, Soulier is an example – though an often neglected one at that – of the increasing attention scholars gave to marks of making, considered as traces of the artist’s hand, of his creative gesture and, consequently, as an index of his style and authorship.<sup>47</sup> Photography stimulated both a new aesthetic of material and, as Anthony Hughes has pointed out in opposition to Walter Benjamin’s thesis, a new search for authenticity and uniqueness.<sup>48</sup> But photography can also transfigure artwork’s materiality. A decade after Soulier, another French critic, André Malraux (1901–1976), used photography in exactly such a way in his books *Psychologie de l’art* (1947–1950) and *Le musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* (1952).<sup>49</sup> Using black and white film, unusual points of view, expressive lights and shadows, narrow close-ups, alterations of scale, and plain backgrounds that removed artworks from their original physical contexts, Malraux manipulated the materiality of objects and in doing so stimulated new formal comparisons between sculptures from all over the world. Malraux is only one of many examples of photographic dematerialization.



8. Photographer unknown, Detail of the face of the *Victory* (already attributed to Michelangelo and his school) in Palazzo Alessandri in Florence, 1930s (?), from Gustave Soulier, *L'Inspiration et la technique de Michel-Ange...*, unpublished, Paris, Private Archive



9. Photographer unknown, 16th century bronze figure (crucified Thief?) seen from the back (Artist unknown, location unknown), 1930s (?), from Gustave Soulier, *L'Inspiration et la technique de Michel-Ange...*, unpublished, Paris, Private Archive



During the 20th century the close-ups of the texture of unfinished parts of Michelangelo's sculptures (such as in David Finn's [1921–2021] photographs of the *Rondanini Pietà*) would similarly promote a new form of abstraction and pictorialism.<sup>50</sup>

The works of art historians like Wölfflin, Soulier, or Malraux remind us that the use of photography in art-historical practice is neither neutral nor indeed an objective tool for revealing the materiality of artworks. It is instead the result of a subjective interpretation and visual rhetoric. Maurice Jarnoux's famous 1953 fictional photographic portrait of Malraux for the magazine *Paris-Match*, in which Malraux pretends to work to the illustrations of his book on sculpture, surrounded by dozens of photographs on the floor (including one of Michelangelo's *Madonna Medici*), can be considered the perfect *mise-en-abyme* of the symbiosis between the interpretation and the selection and organization of visual evidence that characterizes the work of any art historian.<sup>51</sup>

This symbiotic process is examined in two essays in this volume. Marc Michael Moser, for example, reconsiders Sigmund Freud's (1856–1939) notorious 1914 essay on Michelangelo's *Moses*. As Moser points out, Freud's controversial interpretation of the work focused on the gesture and action of the figure, and was closely connected to the reproductions he used. Moser thus highlights the relationship that exists between different ways of reproducing or photographing the *Moses* and shows how those different approaches induced specific ways of interpreting the iconography of the figure. Freud was particularly sensitive to this issue: he reviewed previous art-historical literature and visual sources, and he carefully selected only the images that could prove his analysis. He also included in his article some graphic reconstructions showing the sequence of the supposed action of the *Moses's* hands. These schematic outline illustrations – made with photographs but remarkably close in appearance to 18th-century engravings – are a perfect example of the manipulation of visual sources to support one interpretation, as well as of interactions and hybridization between different kinds of reproduction still in the photographic era.

Giovanna Targia investigates similar dynamics in her essay, which focuses on one of the fathers of art history, Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968). Michelangelo was a recurrent subject in Panofsky's work. Analyzing a variety of Panofsky's writings, from his 1920 Habilitationsschrift (a postdoctoral thesis required in order to be eligible for professorship) *Die Gestaltungsprinzipien Michelangelos, besonders in ihrem Verhältnis zu denen Raffaels*, to his famous 1939 essay on neo-platonic movement in *Studies in Iconology*, Targia considers the different uses of reproductions of Michelangelo's sculpture within the wider frame of Panofsky's ideas about facsimiles and the problems of copying and translating. Panofsky's use of photographs and reproductions was highly

deliberate. He selected photographs carefully and sometimes changed them in later editions of his books, seeking to improve his iconographic and iconological interpretation. Moser's and Targia's case studies are in some ways anomalous, too. Freud was not, properly speaking, a professional art historian; he has long been a contested figure, and one often rejected by the academic discipline. And although Panofsky is considered a central figure in art history, he is mostly associated with iconology, a method that is sometimes reductively defined as too logocentric and interested in erudite texts and humanistic literature. The two essays thus invite us to rethink not only academic and methodological boundaries, but also the field of investigation of visual historiography.

Engravings, prints, and photographs aren't the only documentary techniques and visual interpretative tools involved in art-historical practices. Cinema, too, should be included in this list. It is worth noting here that in studies on sculpture cinema has received much less attention than photography, having generally been considered a chapter in the broader field of the history of artworks featured in films, despite its interpretive potential<sup>52</sup>. The Italian art historian Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti (1910–1987), for example, strongly believed that the movie camera could provide a visual analysis of artworks with the same or even more educational value than textual analysis.<sup>53</sup> From 1948 onwards Ragghianti produced several films on art that he called, for their analytic and interpretative purposes, 'critofilms'. The final one, made in 1964 and devoted to Michelangelo, was commissioned for the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the artist's death, along with a number of other films, including one by the Italian architect and architectural historian Luigi Moretti (1906–1973).

In her essay in the present volume, Joséphine Vandekerckhove considers the context in which these two films were created. She frames each film within Ragghianti's and Moretti's respective backgrounds and their experiences of cinema, analyzing the differences (and occasional commonalities) between the visual strategies they employ in their films. One of her most intriguing points is about the kind of analyses proposed by Ragghianti and Moretti. She argues that, because of their formalistic approaches, they didn't intend their films to be biographical reportages, but rather to be direct *vis-à-vis* interpretations of the shapes of sculptures, paintings, and architecture, all presented in unusual, shortened, and varied points of view, with their visual effects enhanced by the use of theatrical lights, transitions from one frame to another, and sometimes even by the superimposition of diagrams and schemes. Although Ragghianti's film emphasized materiality, tridimensionality, and plasticity of sculpture by rotation around the statues or shortened angle view for the reliefs, contemporary critics accused him of presenting an ahistorical aesthetic vision, reducing Michelangelo's artworks to abstraction. Just as in the case of photography, then, film too can be used to

transfigure sculpture. Vandekerckhove's case study demonstrates that a close connection can be retraced between cinema and specific critical or historiographic interpretations of Michelangelo's art. At the same time, though, it also shows that Ragghianti's and Moretti's experiments with film raise the question of the loose boundaries that distinguish the artistic use of the film camera from its analytic use. As Vandekerckhove puts it, their films were conceived "neither as educational projects nor as pure cinema, but rather as something in between".

That same 'in between' is the subject of Tommaso Casini's contribution, which sketches a general history of Michelangelo's sculptures in film, from the beginnings of the medium to the more recent *Lo sguardo di Michelangelo* by Michelangelo Antonioni (2004). Without making qualitative distinctions, Casini takes into consideration films, scientific documentaries, and journalistic reportage, including the visual records of the aggression to the Vatican *Pietà* in 1972. This practical history is mixed with a theoretical reflection on the problem of filming sculpture, which Casini explores in an analysis of Antonioni's film. The film explores the personal encounter – mental, visual, and physical – between Michelangelo Antonioni (1912–2007) and the *Moses*, the masterpiece of his namesake Michelangelo Buonarroti. The camera follows Antonioni as he moves around the sculpture in the transept of San Pietro in Vincoli, recording his glances and his hand touching its mass. In doing so Antonioni proposes a filmic interpretation of the relationship between viewer and sculpture, drawing heavily on what Casini defines as a sculpture's "out-of-field", the imaginary space around the statue where the viewer stands. Even if Antonioni's film is not analytic in the sense of Freud's illustrations or Ragghianti's critofilm, it nonetheless raises questions about the nature of sculpture.

Finally, Antonioni's film above all thematizes the interaction between Michelangelo's sculptural artworks and one's experience and the reconfiguration, visualization, and, in some way, substitution, of his sculptures in one's individual subjectivity. It is exactly this process of subjectivation that seems to be reactivated each time one reproduces Michelangelo's sculpture in different medium, as well as in words. In 1975 the Italian photographer and visual artist Ketty La Rocca (1938–1976) said of Michelangelo and the reproductions made after his work: "The *David*, for example, no longer exists, the real one is that of postcards, or the more refined one of photographs for tourists or art history books, yet why it is so mysterious and if I want a *David* all for myself I can do it again, rebuild it for my memories, tailor-made on my way of being, of feeling, of living".<sup>54</sup> It's the question of this "doing it again", this re-making of Michelangelo's sculpture in one's experience and subjectivity, historically and culturally located, that this volume is addressed to.

D.D.C.



## Notes

The authorship of each section is identified by the initials G.D. [Giulia Daniele] and D.D.C. [Daniele Di Cola]. We would wish to express our gratitude to the Directors of the Bibliotheca Hertziana - Max Planck Institute for Art History, Tristan Weddigen, who enthusiastically supported our project since the beginning, and Tanja Michalsky, for her generous presence and kind help. Also, a special thank to the Institute's Editorial Board, and in particular to Marieke von Bernstorff, Mirjam Neusius and John Rattray for their precious assistance in the preparation of the present volume.

<sup>1</sup> Filippo [F]: "I don't understand what kind of art yours is: abstractionist, futurist, existentialist..." / Totò [T]: "My art is absenteeist, which means that in my works there is always something missing. Do you see that?" / F: "What is it? A memorial stone?" / T: "Profane! This is a mother with crying child" / F: "And where is the mother?" / T: "The mother has gone away, that's why the child cries" / F: "Yes, ok but I can't even see the child!" / T: "But the child is dumb, he ran after his mother. Have you understood why in my work there's always something missing? Have you understood what absenteeist means? [then, addressed to the marble block] But why? Why don't you speak?" [he goes to strike the marble with a hammer] / F [hit by Totò's hammer]: "Ouch!" / T: "It has spoken!". For the original dialog, see URL: <https://youtu.be/SUYbO-WnDJE> (from minute 0.17; accessed 13.08.2023).

<sup>2</sup> On the story see: Giorgio Masi, "Perché non parli?": Michelangelo e il silenzio", in *Officine del nuovo. Sodalizi fra letterati, artisti ed editori nella cultura italiana fra Riforma e Controriforma*, ed. Harald Hendrix and Paolo Procaccioli (International conference, Utrecht 2007), Manziana 2008, pp. 427-444.

<sup>3</sup> On the myth of Michelangelo see: Rudolf Wittkower and Margot Wittkower, *Born under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists: a Documented History from Antiquity to the French Revolution*, New York 1963, *ad vocem* 'Buonarroti'; Marie-Pierre Chabanne, "Michel-Ange romantique. Naissance de l'artiste moderne de Winckelmann à Delacroix", PhD dissertation, Paris 2000; Eugenio Battisti, *Michelangelo. Fortuna di un mito. Cinquecento anni di critica letteraria e artistica*, ed. Giuseppa Saccaro Del Buffa, Florence 2012; *L'immortalità di un mito: l'eredità di Michelangelo nelle arti e negli insegnamenti accademici a Firenze dal Cinquecento alla contemporaneità* (exhibition catalog Florence), ed. Sandro Bellesi and Francesca Petrucci, Florence 2014; Alessandro Cecchi, "Cosìmo de' Medici e la costruzione del mito di Michelangelo dopo la morte", in *Michelangelo: divino artista* (exhibition catalog Genoa), ed. Cristina Acidini Luchinat, Alessandro Cecchi and Elena Capretti, Genova 2020, pp. 86-93.

<sup>4</sup> Just few seconds before this scene takes place, Michelangelo's name is mentioned by Totò: "Ma non vedi quanto è bella? Ma non vedi che meraviglia? Le manca la parola! Ahhh quante volte come Michelangelo davanti al suo Mosè io vorrei gridare 'ma perché non parli?'" ("Don't you see how beautiful it is? Don't you see how wonderful it is? It only lacks words! Ahhh, how many times, like Michelangelo before his Moses, I would like to cry out 'why don't you speak?'"). For the scene see URL: <https://youtu.be/tNHnVU7YRCQ> (accessed 28.07.2023) and above, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> In the film Totò plays a wealthy bachelor and sculptor bankrolled by his Australian aunt Agatha. His comfortable lifestyle is threatened when she decides to stop sending money to him in Italy until he gets married. Totò then looks for a fake wife in an effort to trick his aunt. The rest of the story is based on the various misunderstandings and troubles produced by Totò's deceit. For Totò see: Gino Moliterno, *Historical Dictionary of Italian Cinema*, 1st ed. 2008, Lanham 2020, pp. 469-470.

<sup>6</sup> Among the examples in visual arts: Tano Festa's (1938-1988) pop canvas of the 1960s; Banksy's reinterpretation of *David* as a suicide bomber; Hans-Peter Feldmann's (b. 1941) colored version of the *David*, shown in 2012 at the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence. An architectural example is the Hôtel de Police in Paris (XII arrondissement), built between 1985 and 1991 based on a project by Manuel Nuñez Yanowski (b. 1942). In this case, the Louvre's *Dying Slace* is reproduced several times at the top of the building.

<sup>7</sup> See the designer Vera Wang's (b. 1949) Sistine Chapel gown worn by the singer and actress Ariana Grande (b. 1993) at Met Gala in 2018.

<sup>8</sup> See LEVI's iconic advertising campaign from the 1970s, in which Michelangelo's *David* wears a pair of jeans.

<sup>9</sup> See 2013 videoclip of Beyoncé's (b. 1981) song *Mine*, from the album *Beyoncé*, where in several frames the singer acts out as the Vatican *Pietà* and reproduces gestures from the *Creation of Adam* in the Sistine Ceiling.

<sup>10</sup> We are referring to the 6th International Conference of the Rome Art History Network, held online on 25–26 May 2021 in collaboration with the Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max Planck Institute for Art History.

<sup>11</sup> André Malraux, *Psychologie de l'art: Le Musée imaginaire*, Geneva 1947, p. 32: "L'histoire de l'art depuis cent ans, dès qu'elle échappe aux spécialistes, est l'histoire de ce qui est photographiable".

<sup>12</sup> For Rosenberg see: Raphael Rosenberg, *Beschreibungen und Nachzeichnungen der Skulpturen Michelangelo: eine Geschichte der Kunstbetrachtung*, Munich 2000; Raphael Rosenberg, "The Reproduction and Publication of Michelangelo's Sacristy: Drawings and Prints by Franco, Salviati, Naldini and Corti", in *Reactions to the Master: Michelangelo's Effect on Art and Artists in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis and Paul Joannides, Aldershot 2003, pp. 114–136; Raphael Rosenberg, "Artists as Beholders: Drawings after Sculptures as a Medium and Source for the Experience of Art", in *The Beholder. The Experience of Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Frangenberg and Robert Williams, Aldershot 2006, pp. 103–122. For Johnson: Geraldine A. Johnson, "Using the Photographic Archive: On the Life (and Death) of Images", in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed. Costanza Caraffa, Berlin-Munich 2011, pp. 145–156; Geraldine A. Johnson, "(Un)richtige Aufnahme: Renaissance Sculpture and the Visual Historiography of Art History", *Art History*, 36, 1 (2013), pp. 12–51.

<sup>13</sup> Leo Steinberg, "The Line of Fate in Michelangelo's Painting" (1980), in Leo Steinberg, *Michelangelo's Painting: selected essays*, ed. Sheila Schwartz, Chicago-London 2019, pp. 213–234, esp. p. 213. On Steinberg's idea of copies as critical evidence see: Tommaso Casini, "There's no end to the enduring use of the fresco", in *Sistina e Cenacolo. Traduzione, citazione e diffusione*, ed. Tommaso Casini, Rome 2020, pp. 149–157; Daniele Di Cola, *Arte come unità del molteplice. I fondamenti critici di Leo Steinberg*, Rome 2021, pp. 81–85.

<sup>14</sup> See Johnson 2013 (note 12), pp. 13–14: "[...] this essay hopes to serve as a prolegomenon for further studies of the 'visual historiography' of art history, studies that will need to consider reproductions of art objects made in many other periods, places and media". Johnson's programmatic theorization of a 'visual historiography' can also be connected to a wider tradition of studies developed in the second half of the 20th century. For example, Giulio Carlo Argan emphasized the critical value of engravings *d'après* artworks in his "Il valore critico della stampa di traduzione" (1967), in Giulio Carlo Argan, *Studi e note dal Bramante al Canova*, Rome 1970, pp. 157–165. See also Leo Steinberg's observations about copies (cf. *supra*, note 13) and Evelina Borea's pair of articles on primitive prints in which she proposes a reconsideration of the critical relevance of prints and engravings in earlier illustrated art historiography: "Le stampe dai primitivi e l'avvento della storiografia artistica illustrata. I", *Prospettiva*, 69 (1993), pp. 28–40; "Le stampe dai primitivi e l'avvento della storiografia artistica illustrata. II", *Prospettiva*, 70 (1993), pp. 50–74.

<sup>15</sup> "Michelangelo anche criticamente fece in modo di essere *non finito*" (Critically, Michelangelo also made sure to be *non finito*), cf. Eugenio Battisti, "Storia della critica su Michelangelo" (1966), in Battisti 2012 (note 3), p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> For a bibliography on the topic see note 18.

<sup>17</sup> On this topic see: Michael Hirst, "Michelangelo and his first biographers", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 94 (1997), pp. 63–84; Frederick Henry Liers, "The Vite of Michelangelo as epideictic narratives", PhD dissertation, Los Angeles 2004; Irene Baldriga, "Michelangelo, ovvero della perfezione (il genio)", in *Il primato dei toscani nelle Vite del Vasari* (exhibition catalog Arezzo), ed. Paola Refice, Florence 2011, pp. 147–164; Carmen Bambach, "Vasari's Michelangelo", *Apollo*, 177, 609 (2013), pp. 50–59; Deborah Parker, "The function of Michelangelo in Vasari's *Lives*", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 21, 1 (2018), pp. 137–157.

<sup>18</sup> See for example Paola Barocchi, "Michelangelo e il manierismo", *Arte antica e Moderna*, 27 (1964), pp. 260–280; Giorgio Melchiori, *Michelangelo nel Settecento inglese: un capitolo di storia del gusto in Inghilterra*, Rome 1950; Caterina Furlan, "La 'fortuna' di Michelangelo a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento", in *Jacopo Tintoretto nel quarto centenario dalla morte*, ed. Paola Rossi and Lionello Puppi, Padua 1996; Chabanne 2000 (note 3); Bernadine Barnes, *Michelangelo in Print: Reproductions as Response in the Sixteenth Century*, Farnham 2010 (in particular pp. 144–165); Battisti 2012 (note 3); *L'immortalità di un mito* 2014; *Michelangelo e il Novecento* (exhibition catalog Florence), ed. Emanuela Ferretti, Marco Pierini and Pietro Ruschi, Cinisello Balsamo 2014; *Ri-conoscere Michelangelo: la scultura del Buonarroti nella fotografia e nella pittura dall'Ottocento a oggi* (exhibition catalog Florence), ed. Monica Maffioli and Silvestra Bietoletti, Florence 2014; *D'après Michelangelo. La fortuna dei disegni per gli amici nelle arti del Cinquecento*, ed. Alessia Alberti, Alessandro Rovetta and Claudio Salsi, Venice 2015; *Der Göttliche. Hommage an Michelangelo* (exhi-

bition catalog Bonn) ed. Georg Satzinger and Sebastian Schütze, Munich 2015; *Dopo il 1564: l'eredità di Michelangelo a Roma nel tardo Cinquecento*, ed. Marco Simone Bolzoni, Furio Rinaldi and Patrizia Tosini, Rome 2016; Barbara Agosti, "Assimilazioni di Michelangelo nella pittura romana del tardo Cinquecento", in *L'eterno e il tempo tra Michelangelo e Caravaggio* (exhibition catalog Forlì), ed. Antonio Paolucci et al., Cinisello Balsamo 2018, pp. 65–73; Sara Vitacca, *Michelangelismes: la réception de Michel-Ange entre mythe, image et création (1875–1914)*, Dijon 2023.

<sup>19</sup> See Rosenberg 2000 (note 12); Rosenberg 2003 (note 12); Rosenberg 2006 (note 12).

<sup>20</sup> Rosenberg 2006 (note 12), p. 103.

<sup>21</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1568), trans. Gaston du C. de Vere, 10 vols., London, 1912–15, vol. 1, 1912, p. XLIII. The same phrase is found in both editions of the *Lives*: "l'arte nostra è tutta imitazione della natura principalmente, e poi, per chi da sé non può salir tanto alto, delle cose che da quelli che miglior maestri di sé giudica sono condotte" (cfr. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi, 11 vols., Florence 1966–1987, vol. 2, 1967, p. 12).

<sup>22</sup> See on this *Sculpture in Print, 1480–1600*, ed. Anne Bloemacher, Mandy Richter and Marzia Faietti, Leiden-Boston 2021; Ulrich Pfisterer, "Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll": *Der Beitrag der Antiquare im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Heidelberg 2022.

<sup>23</sup> For Prospero Fontana's complete profile see Giulia Daniele, *Prospero Fontana 'Pictor Bononiensis' (1509–1597). Catalogo ragionato dei dipinti*, Rome 2022.

<sup>24</sup> On Tintoretto's relation with Michelangelo's sculpture see Creighton Gilbert, "Tintoretto and Michelangelo's 'St. Damian'", *The Burlington Magazine*, 103 (1961), pp. 16–20; Leo Steinberg, "Michelangelo's *Madonna Medici* and related works", *The Burlington Magazine*, 113 (1971), pp. 145–148; Katarina Dobai, *Studien zu Tintoretto und die florentinische Skulptur der Michelangelo-Nachfolge*, Bern 1991; Kamini Vellodi, "Tintoretto's Michelangelo: an Artistic Diagram as the a priori of Art History", in *Art history after Deleuze and Guattari*, ed. Sjoerd van Tuinen and Stephen Zepke, Leuven 2017, pp. 165–194.

<sup>25</sup> See for example the sheets inv. no. 1841F (Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi), and inv. no. 15701 (Frankfurt, Städel Museum).

<sup>26</sup> The Metropolitan Museum, New York, also preserves a sketch of the figure of *Day*: see inv. no. 54.125.

<sup>27</sup> In 1546 the Florentine humanist Benedetto Varchi (1503–1565) asked three painters, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), Jacopo Pontormo (1494–1557), and Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572), and four sculptors, Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), Francesco da Sangallo (1494–1576), Giovambattista Del Tasso (1500–1555) and Niccolò Tribolo (1497–1550), their opinion on whether painting or sculpture was the greatest form of art, and then submitted their answers to Michelangelo – who of course sided with sculpture (see Benedetto Varchi, *Lezione nella quale si disputa della maggioranza delle arti e qual sia più nobile, la scultura o la pittura*, Florence 1546).

<sup>28</sup> A good case in point is given by the triple portraits (see for example that by Lorenzo Lotto [1480–1556] at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. GG\_92), which were executed in response to the accusations about the impossibility for the painter to give a subject a different point of view.

<sup>29</sup> This was precisely why Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) argued for the superiority of painting over all other arts. He believed that through recreating nature the artist replicated the divine creative act. The alleged limitation of viewpoints was, moreover, disproved through gimmicks such as triple portraits, in which the same subject was reproduced from three different angles, or the mirrored reflections, which made it possible to catch distinct perspectives in a single glance – and so without even having to 'turn around', as with sculptures.

<sup>30</sup> Inv. Bargello n. 10 S.

<sup>31</sup> The outcomes of the circulation of these prints evidently led, also in painting, to a mystification of the original sculpture, as seen, for example, in the *Pietà* painted by Prospero Fontana around 1535 (cfr. Daniele 2022, [note 23] pp. 145–146, cat. D3), well before his first trip to Rome, whose image certainly derived from prints.

<sup>32</sup> According to Cicognara the illustrations of his books were drawn with *accuratezza* and *precisione*, or *fedelmente*, without betraying the original models. See Leopoldo Cicognara, *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia sino al secolo XIX, per servire di continuazione alle opere di Winkelmann e di D'Agincourt*, 3 vols., Venice 1813–1818, vol. 2, 1816, pp. 122, 167–168, 310, 429. On Cicognara's il-



illustrations see: Ilaria Miarelli Mariani, "I disegni per la 'Storia della scultura' di Leopoldo Cicognara: riproduzione e sperimentazione artistica", in *1810–2010. Luigi Lanzi: archeologo e storico dell'arte*, ed. Maria Elisa Micheli, Giovanna Perini Folesani and Anna Santucci, Camerano 2012, pp. 285–325; Barbara Steindl, "Le illustrazioni della storia della scultura", *Studi neoclassici*, 2 (2014), pp. 163–180; Elisabetta G. Rizzioli, *La «Collezione di tutti i disegni originali che hanno servito per intagliare le tavole della storia della scultura di Leopoldo Cicognara» (Vat. Lat. 13748)*, Vatican City 2016.

<sup>33</sup> On this affinity see: *Pygmalion Photographie: La sculpture devant la camera*, ed. Rainer M. Mason and Hélène Pinet, Geneva 1985; Eugenia Parry Janis, *The Kiss of Apollo: Photography and Sculpture, 1845 to the Present* (exhibition catalog San Francisco), San Francisco 1991; Mary Bergstein, "Lonely Aphrodites: On the Documentary Photography of Sculpture", *The Art Bulletin*, 74, 3 (1992), pp. 475–498; *Sculptor-Photographer, Photographie-Sculpture*, ed. Michel Frizot and Dominique Paini, Paris 1993; *Sculpture and its Reproductions*, ed. Anthony Hughes and Erich Ranfft, London 1997; *Sculpture and Photography. Envisioning the Third Dimension*, ed. Geraldine A. Johnson, Cambridge 1998; *Scultura e fotografia. Questioni di luce*, ed. Maria Grazia Messina, Florence 2001; Patrizia Di Bello, "Photography and Sculpture: A Light Touch", in *Art, History and the Senses: 1830 to the Present*, ed. Patrizia Di Bello and Gabriel Koureas, Farnham 2010, pp. 19–34; *The Original Copy. Photography of Sculpture, 1839 to Today* (exhibition catalog New York), ed. Roxana Marcoci, New York 2010; *Photography and Sculpture. The Art Object in Reproduction*, ed. Sarah Hamill and Megan R. Luke, Los Angeles 2017; Geraldine A. Johnson, "In Consequence of Their Whiteness": Photographing Marble Sculpture from Talbot to Today", in *Radical Marble. Architectural Innovation from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. John Nicholas Napoli and William Tronzo, London 2018, pp. 107–132.

<sup>34</sup> On the history of documentary photography of Michelangelo's works see: Monica Maffioli, "Fotografia e scultura: Ri-conoscere Michelangelo", in *Ri-conoscere Michelangelo* 2014 (note 18), pp. 36–61; Johannes Myssok, "Michelangelo und die Fotografie", in *Der Göttliche* 2015 (note 18), pp. 90–105.

<sup>35</sup> Between 19th and early 20th century some scholars, for example, still preferred plaster casts, engravings, or drawings to photography. See: Trevor Fawcett, "Graphic versus Photographic in the Nineteenth-Century Reproduction", *Art History*, 9 (1986), pp. 185–212; Trevor Fawcett, "Plane Surfaces and Solid Bodies: Reproducing Three-Dimensional Art in the Nineteenth Century", *Visual Resources*, 4 (1987), pp. 1–23; Pascal Griener, "La résistance à la photographie en France au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle: les publications d'histoire de l'art", in *Fotografie als Instrument und Medium der Kunstgeschichte*, ed. Costanza Caraffa, Berlin 2009, pp. 27–43.

<sup>36</sup> Heinrich Wölfflin, "Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll", *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 7 (1896), pp. 224–228; 8 (1897), pp. 294–297; Heinrich Wölfflin, "Wie man Skulpturen aufnehmen soll? (Probleme der italienischen Renaissance)", *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 26 (1915), pp. 237–244. For the English translation of these essays see Heinrich Wölfflin, "How One Should Photograph Sculpture" (trans. Geraldine A. Johnson), *Art History*, 36, 1 (2013), pp. 52–71. Wölfflin's contributions have been the object, in the last few years, of a significant revival of interest. See on this: Benedetta Cestelli Guidi, "Il fotografo al museo", in *Heinrich Wölfflin. Fotografare la scultura*, ed. Benedetta Cestelli Guidi, Mantua 2008, pp. 40–67; Megan R. Luke, "The Photographic Reproduction of Space: Wölfflin, Panofsky, Kraeuper", in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 57/58 (2010), pp. 339–343; Johnson 2013 (note 12), pp. 27–31; Kerr Houston, *The Place of the Viewer: The Embodied Beholder in the History of Art, 1764–1968*, Leiden-Boston 2019, pp. 93–97.

<sup>37</sup> For example, according to Wölfflin 15th-century sculpture was intended to be seen from a single centralized "frontal viewpoint" (*Vorderansicht*).

<sup>38</sup> Wölfflin credited Michelangelo with the innovation of multiple points of view in sculpture. Among the examples he considered is the now-destroyed *Giovannino* from the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin (inv. 264), although he was very skeptical about the attribution of the sculpture, which today is universally recognized as a 17th-century exemplar. Nonetheless, Wölfflin considered the *Giovannino* to be relevant because it marked "a stylistic period that extends well beyond Michelangelo [...], the period of the multi-faceted, painterly composition", which Wölfflin clearly felt extended to the Baroque. See Wölfflin 1896 (note 36), p. 228; Wölfflin 2013 (note 36), pp. 56–57. On Wölfflin's attribution of *Giovannino* see also: Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Jugendwerke des Michelangelo* (1891), Basel 2020, pp. 109–113.

<sup>39</sup> Wölfflin, for example, considered the 16th-century engraving of the Vatican *Apollo Belvedere* by Marcantonio Raimondi as more correct than the photographic reproductions of his own time; see Wölfflin 1897 (note 36), pp. 295–296; Wölfflin 2013 (note 36), p. 59, and figs. 8–9.

<sup>40</sup> On this topic see Ettore Spalletti, "La documentazione figurativa dell'opera d'arte, la critica e l'editoria nell'epoca moderna (1750-1930)", in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, ed. Giovanni Previtali and Federi-

co Zeri, 12 vols., Turin 1979–1983, vol. 2 (*L'artista e il pubblico*), 1979, pp. 415–484, esp. pp. 430–441; Borea 1993 (note 14); Evelina Borea, *Lo specchio dell'arte italiana. Stampe in cinque secoli*, 4 vols., Pisa 2009, vol. 1, pp. 625–653. For the aesthetic background also see Robert Rosenblum, *The International Style of 1800: A Study in Linear Abstraction*, New York 1976, esp. pp. 50–69; Anna Ottani Cavina, “Neoprimitivismo e astrazione lineare”, in *La fortuna di Paestum e la memoria moderna del dorico*, ed. Joselita Raspi Serra, Firenze 1986, pp. 61–64.

<sup>41</sup> William M. Ivins, “A Note on Engraved Reproductions of Works of Art”, in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy E. Miner, Princeton 1954, pp. 193–196, esp. pp. 194–195. On the ‘platonic’ aesthetic of contour in Neo-Classicism see also Barbara Maria Stafford, “Beauty of the Invisible: Winckelmann and the Aesthetics of Imperceptibility”, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43, 1 (1980), pp. 65–78, esp. pp. 76–78.

<sup>42</sup> Richard Duppa, *The Life of Michel Angelo Buonarroti, with His Poetry and Letters* (1806), London 1807, t. XIII; the statue is described in “rude and imperfect state” (p. 113, note K) and elsewhere the author adds that “though in a rude state, the others [Michelangelo’s *Prigioni* in Boboli] are still more imperfect” (p. 248). On Duppa see also Rosenberg 2000 (note 12), p. 93.

<sup>43</sup> For the image see Jean-Baptiste Seroux d’Agin-court, *Histoire de l’art par les monumens, depuis sa décadence au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu’à son renouvellement au XV<sup>e</sup>*, 6 vols., Paris 1823, vol. 4, t. XLVII, f. 3. See also vol. 2, p. 88 for d’Agin-court’s analysis of the statue: “Quelques parties du corps sont terminées; la tête, le bras, et la jambe gauche ne le sont pas. Dans cet état, ces statues ressemblent à ce que l’histoire naturelle nous apprend de certains animaux aquatiques: au premier teins de leur naissance, ils n’offrent encore qu’une masse informe, dans laquelle existent, mais d’une manière latente, les organes qui, après s’être successivement développés, reçoivent enfin le mouvement. Il en est de même de ces portions de marbre qui n’ont reçu du ciseau qu’une première ébauche: l’usage et l’emploi des parties qu’elles représentent sont en quelque sorte sensibles, parceque déjà la forme des membres y est annoncée avec exactitude, le contour général en est correct, le moelleux de la chair y est même indiqué; qu’on attende un moment de plus, et on y verra arriver la vie. Cet homme rare nous rend ainsi présents à une espèce de création”. Also see on this Rosenberg 2000 (note 12), pp. 93, 104–105. For D’Agin-court’s illustrations cfr. Daniela Mondini, “Il ‘cantiere’ di Séroux D’Agin-court: disegno, documentazione-stile documentario?”, in *Séroux D’Agin-court e la storia dell’arte intorno al 1800*, ed. Daniela Mondini, Rome 2019, pp. 185–214 (Quaderni della Bibliotheca Hertziana 3); *Séroux d’Agin-court e la documentazione grafica del Medioevo. I disegni della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. Ilaria Miarelli Mariani and Simona Moretti, Vatican City 2006; Ingrid R. Vermeulen, *Picturing Art History. The Rise of the Illustrated History of Art in the Eighteenth Century*, Amsterdam 2010, pp. 177–262.

<sup>44</sup> On the critical reception of Michelangelo’s *non finito*: Franca Dalmasso, “A proposito del ‘non finito’ in Michelangelo un giudizio di Delacroix nel *Journal*”, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, Storia e Filosofia*, 23, 1/2 (1954), pp. 211–215; Paola Barocchi, “Finito e non-finito nella critica vasariana”, *Arte Antica e Moderna*, 3 (1958), pp. 221–235; Chabanne 2000 (note 3), pp. 515–521; Rosenberg 2000 (note 12), pp. 92–120. On the revaluation of *non finito* in 19th and 20th century sculpture see also: Joseph Gantner, *Rodin und Michelangelo*, Vienna 1953; Christiane Wohlrab, *Non-finito als Topos der Moderne. Die Marmorskulpturen von Auguste Rodin*, Paderborn 2016; Vitacca 2023 (note 18), pp. 244–259, 345–368.

<sup>45</sup> Sara Vitacca proposes a parallel between Guillaume’s revaluation of *non finito* and photography, see Vitacca 2023 (note 18), p. 248. On the use of photography to dissolve the materiality of sculpture see also Geraldine A. Johnson, “‘All concrete shapes dissolve in light’: photographing sculpture from Rodin to Brancusi”, *Sculpture Journal*, 15, 2 (2006), pp. 199–222.

<sup>46</sup> Gustave Soulier, *L’Inspiration et la technique de Michel-Ange. A l’aide de maquettes et dessins en partie ignorés ou peu connus*, private archive, p. 97: “On se demande vraiment avec quel esprit d’abstraction ou de pure interprétation personnelle on a toujours regardé les œuvres d’art pour ne pas être frappé en premier lieu par ce qui s’impose le plus, c’est-à-dire par les aspects particuliers de leur matérialité. Le fait s’explique en partie parce que le public, pour une grande part, ne connaît les œuvres que par de trop vagues reproductions. Trop longtemps, au siècle dernier, les ouvrages à prétentions documentaires se sont même contentés, pour les sculptures et les peintures, de simples gravures au trait, qui éliminent l’œuvre elle-même, perpétuant ainsi, dans l’éducation artistique, les déplorable conceptions académiques, dérivant de l’école davidienne”. On Soulier see: Daniele Di Cola, “Soulier, Gustave”, in *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l’art actifs en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale*, ed. Philippe Sénéchal and Claire Barbillon, online, forthcoming.

<sup>47</sup> In 1937 Pietro Toesca (1877–1962), for example, promoted a photographic survey of Michelangelo’s *Pietà* in Palestrina, emphasizing the details of the working process to confirm the attribution to

Buonarroti. A similar attention is also evident in the photographs of the 1940 monograph on Michelangelo written by Friedrich Kriegbaum (1901–1943), see: Mysok 2015 (note 34), p. 97.

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Hughes, “Authority, Authenticity and Aura: Walter Benjamin and the Case of Michelangelo”, in *Sculpture and its Reproductions* 1997 (note 33), pp. 29–45, see pp. 41–42.

<sup>49</sup> On Malraux and photography see: Henri Zerner, “Malraux and the Power of Photography”, in *Sculpture and Photography* 1999 (note 33), pp. 116–130; Andrew E. Hershberger, “Malraux’s photography”, *History of Photography*, 26, 4 (2002), pp. 269–275; Georges Didi-Huberman, *L’album de l’art à l’époque du “Musée imaginaire”*, Paris 2013; Johnson 2013 (note 12), pp. 39–41.

<sup>50</sup> Finn’s photographs were published in 1975 in Frederick Hartt’s *Michelangelo’s Three Pietàs*, see Bergstein 1992 (note 33), pp. 492–494.

<sup>51</sup> On the portrait see Didi-Huberman 2013 (note 49), pp. 25–29.

<sup>52</sup> See for example: Steven Jacobs, *Framing Pictures. Film and Visual Arts*, Edinburgh 2011; *Le film sur l’art: entre histoire de l’art et documentaire de création*, ed. Valentine Robert, Laurent Le Forestier, and François Albera, Rennes 2015; *Art in the Cinema. The Mid-Century Art Documentary*, ed. Steven Jacobs, Birgit Cleppe, and Dimitrios Latsis, London 2020; Paolo Villa, *La camera di Stendhal. Il film sull’arte in Italia (1945-1970)*, Pisa 2022.

<sup>53</sup> On Ragghianti’s idea of ‘critofilm’ see his programmatic “Film d’arte, film sull’arte, critofilm d’arte” (1950), in Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, *Arti della visione Cinema I*, Turin 1975, pp. 225–240; Emanuele Pellegrini, “Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti’s Critofilms and Beyond: From Cinema to Information Technology”, in *Art in the Cinema. The Mid-Century Art Documentary*, ed. Steven Jacobs, Birgit Cleppe and Dimitrios Latsis, London 2021, pp. 105–124. On the relationship between different visual tools in Ragghianti’s method see Daniele Di Cola, *Critodisegno. Le annotazioni grafiche di C.L. Ragghianti: strumenti per una critica visiva*, Lucca, forthcoming.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted in Ketty La Rocca, *Se io fotovivo. Opere 1967-1975* (exhibition catalog Turin), ed. Raffaella Perna and Monica Poggi, Milan 2022, pp. 111–112: “Il David, per esempio, non esiste più, quello vero è quello delle cartoline, o quello più raffinato delle fotografie per turisti o dei libri di storia dell’arte, eppure per questo che è così misterioso e se io voglio un David tutto per me posso rifarmelo, ricostruirlo per i miei ricordi, su misura sul mio modo di essere, di sentire, di vivere”. La Rocca’s 1970s series *Riduzioni*, for which she reproduced several masterpieces of the history of sculpture, articulates the same sentiment. Her montage of Michelangelo’s *David*, for example, presents three different kinds of reproduction of the Florentine statue: an Alinari photograph, a silhouette formed of handwritten words, and a simple outline.