



# Bartolini's *Carità educatrice*: Politics and Iconography in Nineteenth-Century Tuscany

• MARGREET BOOMKAMP •

The Rijksmuseum recently acquired a marble statue of a woman with two children, larger than life-size, by the Florentine sculptor Lorenzo Bartolini (1777-1850) (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The group is almost identical to the *Carità* in the Palatine Gallery in the Pitti Palace in Florence (fig. 2). The background to the Florentine group was investigated by Spalletti, but there is no trace of a second version the same size in the literature.<sup>2</sup> New research has helped to solve some of the mystery surrounding the dating of the Amsterdam statue and led to new insights into the significance of Bartolini's unusual rendition of charity.

## The Making of the *Carità*

In 1817 Bartolini was commissioned to make a Charity for the new chapel of the Villa Poggio Imperiale in Florence.<sup>3</sup> For centuries this villa had been the spring and autumn residence of a succession of the city's most powerful families, among them the Medici and the Habsburgs. In 1807 Napoleon's sister Elisa Baciocchi, the new Grand Duchess of Tuscany, moved into the house, and the architect Giuseppe Cacialli remodelled it in accordance with the neoclassical taste of the day. Cacialli's plans for a new chapel in one of the wings were not put in hand until after Napoleon's downfall, when the

Fig. 1

LORENZO BARTOLINI,  
*Carità educatrice*,  
c. 1842-1850.  
Marble, 1.91 m.  
Rijksmuseum  
Amsterdam  
(inv. no. BK-2008-5).

villa passed to Grand Duke Ferdinand III of Tuscany, a scion of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. Local sculptors were invited to portray six virtues for the six niches as part of a religious,

Fig. 2

LORENZO BARTOLINI,  
*Carità educatrice*,  
1822-1836. Marble.  
Palatine Gallery,  
Florence (inv. o.d.A.  
1911 no. 1538).



allegorical iconographic scheme.<sup>4</sup> The sculptors were Francesco Carradori with *Umiltà* (Humility), Bartolini with *Carità*, Ferdinando Fontana with *Fede* (Faith), Gaetano Grazzini with *Speranza* (Hope) and Stefano Ricci with *Purità* (Chastity) and *Fortezza* (Fortitude). In 1815 Bartolini, a passionate Bonapartist and for years head of the sculpture workshop in Carrara that produced portraits of the Imperial family, had fled to Florence, where he endeavoured to earn a living by making portraits. The Rijksmuseum acquired a fine example of Bartolini's portraiture some years ago (fig. 3).<sup>5</sup> The *Carità* was his first large order in Florence. The difficulty in winning important commissions led him to quote too low a price for the work but did not inspire him to press ahead and

Fig. 3  
LORENZO BARTOLINI,  
*Portrait of an  
Unknown Woman*,  
1820s.  
Marble, 68 cm.  
Rijksmuseum  
Amsterdam (inv. no.  
BK-2007-9).



complete it swiftly.<sup>6</sup> In March 1822, in reply to an enquiry by Luigi Cambray Digny, the supervisor, as to the progress of the work, he wrote that he had had to change the group completely.<sup>7</sup> On 22 April Bartolini agreed in writing that the *Carità* would be ready in September that year.<sup>8</sup> In June 1823 Cacialli published a magnificent book of prints presenting his plans for the chapel.<sup>9</sup> The *Carità* illustrated in it is the composition that was later executed in marble. We may infer from this that the plaster model of Bartolini's composition was finalized in the course of 1822.<sup>10</sup>

It was, though, to be many years before the marble version was ready. In 1835 Antonio Mazzarosa wrote in a letter to Pietro Giordani that he had seen the group in Bartolini's workshop, and 'to my mind it is a miracle of modern sculpture'.<sup>11</sup> The grand duke also visited the sculptor's studio the same year. Antonio Ramirez di Montalvo, president of the Accademia di Belle Arti, suggested that the *Carità*, and possibly also Ricci's *Purità*, should not after all be placed in the gloomy recesses of the Poggio Imperiale chapel. The work ought to be put somewhere better lit to do it full justice and should be more accessible to the public than it would be in a private chapel. The nude, moreover, was not seemly in a consecrated place.<sup>12</sup> In the summer of 1836, the finished *Carità* was consequently displayed on the ground floor of the Pitti Palace, the other grand-ducal residence in Florence. In 1861 the group was moved one storey higher, to the Sala d'Illide in the Palatine Gallery, where it remains.<sup>13</sup>

#### Charity the Educator

Charity is usually portrayed as a woman with a baby at her breast and two children playing beside her.<sup>14</sup> Bartolini elected to show a baby that has evidently fallen asleep satisfied after its feed and a standing child holding a scroll from which he has to read aloud to his mother. The educational aspect of



Fig. 4

JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA, *Charity / Amor proximi*. Fonte Gaia, Loggia, Palazzo Comunale, Siena (© Photo Scala, Florence).

*Vendemmiatore* derived from the *Davids* by Donatello and Verrocchio and the *Portrait of a Woman* in the Rijksmuseum's collection, also inspired by a Verrocchio piece (fig. 3).<sup>17</sup> The intimacy between the figures we see in Della Quercia plays an important role in Bartolini's work, lending it a natural, almost quotidian character. Bartolini's statue differs from Della Quercia's in the children's occupations (sleeping and reading) and, more particularly, in the style. Bartolini's vertical, virtually parallel lines are classical and tranquil, quite unlike the criss-cross lines of an early Renaissance artist like Della Quercia.

Another sculptor – the Englishman John Flaxman (1755-1826) – was probably a more important inspiration for Bartolini's Charity group. The basic form and the lines of Flaxman's monument to Georgina Spencer, Countess Spencer (fig. 5) dating from 1816-19 are very like Bartolini's.<sup>18</sup> The woman

Fig. 5

JOHN FLAXMAN, *Monument to Georgina Spencer*, 1816-1819. St Mary's, Great Brington, Northamptonshire.

Bartolini's group was unusual and, as we shall see, attracted considerable interest in intellectual circles and, inevitably, imitation by other sculptors: Paolo Emilio Demi embarked on his *Madre educatrice* in the same year Bartolini completed his marble, and others were to follow.<sup>15</sup> What led Bartolini to use this unusual iconography?<sup>16</sup>

A fifteenth-century Tuscan work – Jacopo della Quercia's Charity group in Siena – may have served as an example (fig. 4). As in Bartolini's sculpture, there are two naked children, an infant carried on its mother's arm and an older child, standing, supported gently by his mother's free hand. There can be no doubt that Bartolini was interested in Quattrocento sculpture; there is ample evidence of this in the rest of his oeuvre, including the



wears a voluminous garment, as in Bartolini, carries a sleeping baby on her right arm, as in Bartolini, and uses her outstretched left arm to guide the two children standing beside her. Flaxman's Spencer Monument derives from the illustration he did for the title page of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, commissioned by Thomas Hope (fig. 6). Here we see Charity on one side of Hope (the virtue, but the pun was no doubt intentional), who is flanked on the other by Faith. In the Dante illustration the woman's head is turned towards the baby, while in the Spencer Monument it inclines towards the children beside her. Bartolini appears to have solved the dilemma in the Amsterdam group by bending the woman's head towards the infant while directing her gaze at the boy by her side. The emotional interaction between the mother and the two children is thus stronger than in Flaxman – and also more intense than it is in the Florentine group, in which the woman looks obliquely to the front.

Flaxman exhibited the Charity group for the Spencer Monument at the Royal Academy in 1819 under the name *Family Affection*.<sup>19</sup> A glowing review of Flaxman and his work appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* when the monument was unveiled, so it is fair to assume that the work received sufficient attention to arouse interest across the Channel, particularly that of a sculptor like Bartolini who was already an admirer of Flaxman. Bartolini himself revealed how in the 1790s he copied three keys with modelling wax so that he could secretly spend his nights studying Flaxman's illustrations in the workshop of his then teacher, although he had been expressly forbidden to do so. (Bartolini was, of course, caught in the act and the exploit cost him his position.)<sup>20</sup> There is a significant indication that Bartolini knew Flaxman dating from around 1820, when



Fig. 6

JOHN FLAXMAN,  
Title page for Dante's  
*Divine Comedy*, 1793.

Bartolini dedicated a work to him.<sup>21</sup> On the tree trunk in the full-length double portrait of the sisters Emma and Julia Campbell is inscribed: 'BARTOLINI / FECE / E DEDICÒ / A FLAXMAN'.<sup>22</sup> Bartolini only seldom dedicated a work to another artist, and each case it was an expression of gratitude to a friend for a favour done. One example is the dedication to Ingres in 1822, in which Bartolini used virtually the same words as in his dedication to Flaxman: 'Bartolini / fece e / dedicò – all'amico Ingres'.<sup>23</sup> We do not know whether the dedication to Flaxman was by way of thanks for his mediation in the commission for the portraits of the Scottish sisters, but it is clear evidence that Bartolini admired Flaxman in the period when he was working on the Charity model.

Bartolini elected to place a young boy reading beside the woman. The idea may have been prompted by the plan to establish a school for girls conceived by the son and daughter-in-law of the grand duke, Leopold II and Maria Anna Carolina of Saxony, in 1822: a Charity providing both material and intellectual nourishment is a flattering symbol for a ruler who takes good care of his subjects. Here again, though, Flaxman's work is a possible source of inspiration: he repeatedly used the theme of education, reading and reading aloud in his tomb sculptures. One of the few free-standing funerary monuments in his oeuvre, that to Harriet Susan Fitzharris of 1816-1817 (fig. 7), is a case in point.<sup>24</sup> As in Bartolini's work, a mother and her children are rendered in a natural manner, with intimate contact between the figures, witness the inclination of the mother's head towards the baby. Flaxman went a step further than Bartolini by dressing the children in contemporary clothes, thus eliminating the classical feel of the statue and lending it more of the air of a genre piece, whereas Bartolini shows the boy nude in line with the allegorical tradition. Both Bartolini and Flaxman considered working from nature to be of paramount importance, had a keen interest in Renaissance artists and revisited the mother and child theme in their work time and time again, so that it is quite conceivable that Bartolini was interested in the older Englishman.<sup>25</sup>

### The Amsterdam Charity Group

The first version of Bartolini's *Carità* is well documented, but there is no mention in the literature of a second version of the same size as the original. It was not unusual in the nineteenth century for different versions of a statue to be made. Using a device known as a pointing machine, it was possible to make a number of copies of a plaster model in marble, in different

sizes if required. Bartolini's illustrious predecessor Antonio Canova started making (improved) second versions, encouraged by his friend Quatremère de Quincy, who believed that the practice could earn a sculptor a lot of money and that there was nothing wrong with it – after all the great Lyssippos probably did precisely the same in Antiquity.<sup>26</sup> We know from an inventory compiled by Bartolini that he also sometimes made replicas of a statue. He refers, for instance to 'a copy of the *Vendemmiatore*, with improvements, for Brescia'.<sup>27</sup> There

Fig. 7  
JOHN FLAXMAN,  
Monument to Harriet  
Susan Fitzharris,  
1816-1817. Christchurch  
Priory, Hampshire.



ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF HARRIET SUSAN VISCOUNTESS FITZHARRIS, WIFE OF FRANCIS GERALD VISCOUNT FITZHARRIS, OF WELLS HALL, IN THE COUNTY OF LINCOLN, WHOSE DEATH WAS CAUSED BY THE SMALL POX, AND WHOSE REMAINS WERE BURIED IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, IN THIS PARISH, WHERE SHE DEPARTED THIS LIFE ON MONDAY NIGHT, SEPTEMBER THE 11TH, 1817, IN THE 31<sup>ST</sup> YEAR OF HER AGE.

NATURE WITH UNCOMMON BEAUTY OF PERSON AND COUNTENANCE, POSSESSING MANLY EQUALLY DIGNIFIED AND ENGAGING, WAS ENDOWED TO BE INFLUENCED BY THE FLATTERIES AND COMPLIMENTS, BUT ENRICHED WITH RATIONAL CHERIFULNESS. THOSE HOURS WHICH SHE SPARE FROM THE PERFORMANCE OF HER DOMESTIC DUTIES, AND EDUCATION OF HER CHILDREN WERE HER DARLING OBJECTS. EQUALLY BESTOWED THE VIGILANT FONDNESS OF A MOTHER, AND THE SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF A WELL CULTIVATED MIND.

JAMES HOWARD HARR  
EDWARD ALFRED JOH  
CHARLES AMYAND, B  
OF THESE BOYS, THE  
EARL OF MALMESBU  
OF ST

are a few reduced-size copies of the Charity group, probably made after the sculptor's death under the supervision of Pasquale Romanelli, who inherited the workshop from Bartolini, with the plaster models.<sup>28</sup>

Marble is an expensive material and making a life-size group with three figures was a time-consuming job. A second Charity group the same size as the original would only have been made if someone was willing to pay for it, in other words it would have to have been commissioned, but there is no known patron for the Amsterdam statue. Logic would suggest that Bartolini made the second one to occupy the empty niche in the chapel of Poggio Imperiale, but this is not the case: in 1836, when the destination of Bartolini's group was changed to the Pitti, it was decided to appoint a 'giovane di buone speranza', a promising young man, to make a replacement group. The commission went to Luigi Magi, who made a traditional composition of Charity. It is still in the chapel along with the other five virtues, which were executed according to the original plan.<sup>29</sup>

In the archives of the Soprintendenza in Florence there is a letter dated 10 August 1842. The secretary to the court, Guido della Gherardesca, wrote to Ramirez di Montalvo, curator of the grand-ducal palaces: 'I take pleasure in informing you that His Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand Duke has granted the sculptor Mr Lorenzo Bartolini permission to have the Charity group, that has been sculpted by him and that is present on the ground floor of this Imperial and Royal residential palace, formed entirely at his own expense' [followed by the usual formalities and a signature].<sup>30</sup> The Italian *far formare* literally translates as 'to be formed', but is usually used to mean having something moulded or cast in plaster.<sup>31</sup> There is no mention of why Bartolini needed a new cast or why the original plaster

cast could not be used. What is important, though, is that permission to have the cast made would only have been granted if it had been requested, and this implies that in 1842 Bartolini was engaged in making a new version of the Charity group. The suspicion that this is the Amsterdam *Charity* is strengthened by a closer examination of the two groups.

The Rijksmuseum's *Charity* differs in a number of salient details from the *Carità* in the Pitti Palace. The most striking difference, quite evident in the photographs, is the direction of the woman's gaze: in Florence she stares at the ground three metres in front of her, while in Amsterdam she looks at the boy by her side (fig. 8). There are also differences in the finish; overall it is rather finer in the Amsterdam statue than in the one in Florence: the left side of the Florentine baby's mouth, where it presses against the woman, is more distorted than it is in the Amsterdam baby, the woman's ear and the boy's right eye have been more effectively freed from the surrounding marble in the Amsterdam statue, and the lines of the underside of the Florentine boy's foot are coarser. But the most important differences are found in the inscriptions.

Both statues are signed. On the right side of the base of the Florentine *Carità* an inscription in crude, irregular capitals reads: *BARTOLINI FACEVA* ('Bartolini made [it]'). On the back of the Amsterdam *Charity* in italic lettering it reads: *Bartolini compose, e Terminò* ('Bartolini made the composition and completed [the statue]') and on the right side, barely legible, is the inscription: *Bartolini [Formò], e Ritoccò* ('Bartolini shaped [it] and retouched [it]').<sup>32</sup> Signatures are found from time to time in Bartolini's work, in different formulations and lettering styles, creating the impression that he neither put them on himself nor paid much attention to them.<sup>33</sup> In the Amsterdam group the

Fig. 8  
Detail of figure 1.





words *Terminò* and *Ritoccò* stress that Bartolini worked on it himself. This may have been at the insistence of the client: in large workshops the output was so great that the master could not possibly do everything himself. Part, and in the case of some sculptors, virtually everything, was done by assistants. Collectors became increasingly interested in authenticity, particularly where the *ultima mano*, the finishing touch, was concerned, and the master's hand at this stage was sometimes stipulated when the commission was awarded. The style of signature may also be related to Bartolini's death in 1850: it is possible that his assistants wanted to dispel any doubts there might have been as to Bartolini's involvement because the statue was completed only shortly before his death. In any event the signatures on the Amsterdam group indicate that the statue was completely finished under the supervision of Bartolini himself, in other words before 1850.

Another clue as to dating can be found in the inscriptions on the boys' scrolls. On the outside of the Florentine *Carità* is the word "EVANGELIUM" and carved inside, virtually invisible to the viewer, is the most important commandment in the Bible: *Diliges Dominum Deum | tuum, ex toto corde tuo | et in tota anima tua et | in tota mente tua et proximum tuum sicut t[e] j[psum]*.<sup>34</sup> The scroll in the Amsterdam *Charity* contains the golden rule of all the major religions: *Non fare ad altri quel che | Non vuoi sia fatto | - a te -*.<sup>35</sup> This may appear to be an innocent variation by an artist who did not want to repeat himself, but it is significant in that Bartolini also used this text in another context. And here we must digress for a moment and look at his other job, that of *Maestro di scultura* at the Academy of Florence.

In 1840, just over a year after accepting this post, Bartolini shocked the academic world by getting his life

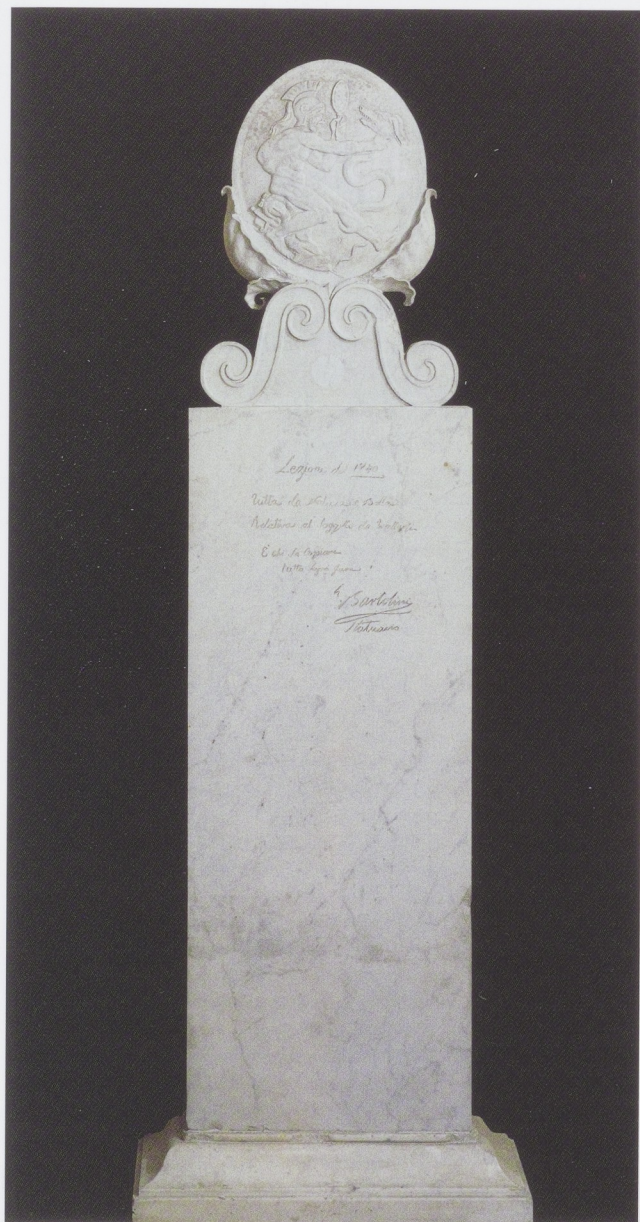
class to draw a naked hunchbacked model.<sup>36</sup> In so doing he was throwing himself into a long-standing debate on the question of beauty and the purpose of the academy, about which there is much more to say than can be covered by the few observations that must necessarily suffice here.<sup>37</sup> During the time of Bartolini's predecessor, Ricci, the training of sculptors in Florence was still dominated by *il bello ideale*, the ideal of beauty, which meant combining the most perfect elements in nature (an old idea, still expressed in the nineteenth century by authors like Cicognara), or rendering the ideal behind imperfect nature (as, for example, in Quatremère de Quincy).<sup>38</sup> Bartolini believed that it was important for his students to learn to copy nature, whether it was beautiful or ugly. Once he had mastered this skill, an artist could choose his own examples from nature in keeping with the subject he wanted to depict. The classes with the hunchback provoked an anonymous article in a Roman newspaper, criticizing Bartolini's views about art. This evidently touched a nerve, for Bartolini decided to add fuel to the flames: he had a seal with an image of the hunchback made, and thenceforth used it to seal all his letters, he had two hundred impressions of the image printed, and he placed a stele with the image on it in his garden (fig. 9).<sup>39</sup> At the end of 1841 he asked a Florentine paper to publish the Roman article, followed by his own rebuttal of it. The last paragraph of this polemic, dated 12 January 1842, begins: 'Base santissima della nostra Religione è: non fare altrui ciò che non vuoi sia fatto a te; Base delle Belle Arti è: Poter tutto copiare vivamente e veramente' ('The most sacred basis of our religion is: do not do to others what you would not wish to be done to you; the basis of the fine arts is: to be able to copy everything realistically and faithfully').<sup>40</sup>

As the key to his argument, Bartolini wrote virtually verbatim the sentence

Fig. 8

LORENZO BARTOLINI,  
Stele with  
Hunchback, c. 1842.  
Marble 1.92 m.  
Inscription: *Lezione  
del 1840 / Tutta la  
Natura è Bella /  
Relativa al soggetto  
da trattarsi / E chi sa  
copiare / Tutto saprà*

fare / L. Bartolini /  
Statuario.  
Galleria d'arte  
moderna, Pitti Palace,  
Florence.



that appears on the scroll in the Amsterdam group. This wording dates from the same year in which he received permission to have the Charity group in the Pitti Palace 'formed', which could mean that he started on the Amsterdam group in 1842. Since it states unequivocally on the work that the master himself finished it and Bartolini died in 1850, it is possible on the basis of the information now available to date it to about 1842-1850.

### Political Interpretations of Charity the Educator

The *Carità* evoked interesting reactions among intellectual Florentines, adherents of the revival of Italian culture known as the *Risorgimento*. In 1824 Pietro Giordani, a Benedictine monk, published an article in the journal *Antologia* in response to the plaster model. He stressed the Florentine character of the statue and saw analogies with the sculpture of the early sixteenth century and with the school of Donatello.<sup>41</sup> The fact that Charity was teaching the boy to read had not escaped him and he found it commendable that it was possible to 'liberate man from ignorance' under the Tuscan regime.<sup>42</sup> He was probably referring here to his own situation: in the same year he had been banished from Piacenza and, like many others, had found a refuge in Florence. By 1836, the year the marble statue was finished, however, the political situation had worsened dramatically and censorship was rife in Florence too. *Antologia*, which had spread the news of the Tuscan *Risorgimento*, had been forced by Habsburg pressure from Vienna to cease publication in 1833.<sup>43</sup> In 1836 Bartolini's *Carità* prompted Gabriele Pepe, a sculptor from Naples, to publish a thirty-nine page plea for better education, particularly for girls: he believed that one achieved more by educating girls than boys, because later a girl would

bring up children of her own whereas the boy himself was the only one to benefit.<sup>44</sup> Pepe used the word *educatrice* – educator – and this epithet has since stuck to Bartolini's Charity group. The appearance of an engraving of Bartolini's statue on the title page of the journal *Guida dell'educatore* published in 1836 may also have contributed.<sup>45</sup>

In 1848 Bartolini himself commented on the *Carità*. In a letter to his friend Giovanni Benericetti Talenti, he described his career in a few sentences, ending the passage with a remark about the Charity group: '... and this led to my being awarded the commission for the Charity group, persecuted with all baseness by my opponents; but nonetheless this work will one day be judged as a political sculpture that embodies the true meaning of the Gospel.'<sup>46</sup>

The precise political significance to which Bartolini was referring would probably have been rather clearer to a Florentine in the mid nineteenth century than it is to us today, but something can still be said. At that time the situation in Florence was very volatile; in 1847 there had been

repeated demonstrations against Austrian oppression,<sup>47</sup> and calls for better education for the poor were becoming increasingly insistent.<sup>48</sup> In an age of censorship and inadequate schooling for the people, Charity teaching a child to read could certainly be regarded as a politically sensitive subject. Later authors also ascribed this political meaning to the Charity group: as Saltini put it in 1862, Charity was educating a new generation for the nation by distributing 'the bread of the intellect'.<sup>49</sup> In 1897 Guasti 'easily' – his own word – construed the political message: 'in this group we see a wet nurse who can also read'.<sup>50</sup>

And so, with his iconographically innovative Charity group, Bartolini both fuelled the debate in Florence about the education of the people in times of censorship and oppression, and made an essential contribution to the modernization of Italian sculpture, from classicism to a freer, more eclectic style.

## NOTES

- 1 The group was purchased at The European Fine Arts Fair in Maastricht in 2008 from Wijermars Antiquairs, De Wijk (Netherlands).
- 2 E. Spalletti, 'La carità educatrice di Lorenzo Bartolini', in: cat. Palazzo Pitti Florence, *Palazzo Pitti: la reggia rivelata*, Florence 2003, pp. 211-227.
- 3 The contract with Bartolini was signed on 6 June 1817. Soprintendenza ai ben artistici e storici di Firenze e Pistoia (hereafter: Soprintendenza), Filza v conservazione dei monumenti dei RR palazzi, no. 81: statue per la R. Capella del Poggio Imperiale.
- 4 The chapel also acquired a carved frieze, worked on by, among others, two of Bartolini's pupils, Luigi Pampaloni and a certain Marchetti. The carved altar frontal was made by the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen.
- 5 M. Boomkamp, 'Bartolini and Verrocchio: a newly discovered portrait', *The Burlington Magazine* CXLIX 2007, pp. 856-859
- 6 Records in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter: ASF) reveal that Bartolini tried for years to get more than the 500 *zecchini* he had originally asked for. The director had allowed for a sum of 1500 *zecchini*. Nonetheless he refused to pay a higher price for fear that other artists would also start asking for more money. By way of compensation Bartolini was commissioned to make a portrait bust of the grand duke. ASF, Scrittoio delle fortezze e fabbriche, fabbriche lorenese (hereafter: SFFL) 2147 no. 88.
- 7 'Dovendo travagliare in artista, e temendo i miei contrari, ho dovuto fare un cambia-

- mento totale al gruppo affidatomi della Carità.' ASF (note 6), SFEL, 2111 no. 97.
- 8 ASF (note 6), SFEL 2093 no. 26.
- 9 G. Cacialli, *Collezione dei disegni di nuove fabbriche e ornati fatti nella regia villa del Poggio Imperiale, proposti e diretti dall'architetto Giuseppe Cacialli*, Florence, 1823.
- 10 In August 1824 Bartolini referred to the 'modello terminato' in his workshop, in other words an actual-size plaster model identical to the later marble. ASF (note 6), SFEL, 2093 no.26. By then the model must have been finished for about two years, see also Spalletti 2003, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 214-215.
- 11 'A me parve un miracolo della moderna scultura.' A. Mazzarosa, *Sul gruppo della Carità scolpito dal celeberrimo Lorenzo Bartolini*, Lucca 1835.
- 12 Soprintendenza (note 3), Filza v, no. 81.
- 13 Spalletti 2003, op. cit. (note 2), p. 221, Soprintendenza (note 3), Filza XIV, conservazione dei monumenti d'arte dei RR Palazzi e Ville 1853-54, no. 17, E. Chiavacci, *Guida della R. Galleria del palazzo Pitti*, Florence 1862, p. 114: " nel centro della sala [dell'Iliade] e una statua rappresentante la Carità, opera di Lorenzo Bartolini."
- 14 In his *Iconologia* Ripa showed three (naked) children, one being breastfed and two standing beside Charity, because the virtue of Charity – love – is closely associated with Faith and Hope. See e.g. *Nova Iconologia di Cesare Ripa Perugino* (P. Buscaroli ed.), Turin 1986, reissue of Padua 1618, p. 75.
- 15 G. Fattori, *L'Ottocento*, Livorno 1999, p. 341, see G. Livi's Charity of c. 1860, S. Beresford, *Carrara e il mercato della scultura*, Milan 2007, p. 281. See further S. Beresford et al., *Italian Memorial Sculpture 1820-1940: A Legacy of Love*, London 2004, p. 137 ff.
- 16 Hyland described Bartolini's group as 'the nineteenth-century version of Raphael's *Madonna del Granduca*' (for an illustration see Spalletti 2003, op. cit. (note 2), p. 220), see D.K.S. Hyland, *Lorenzo Bartolini and Italian Influences on American Sculptors in Florence (1825-1850)*, Ann Arbor 1980, p. 117. Spalletti also believes that Raphael's painting was the 'fonte d'ispirazione quasi esclusiva', virtually the sole inspiration, for Bartolini's group, advancing the argument that Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres was interested in the painting during the period when Bartolini was working on the Charity, see Spalletti 2003, op. cit. (note 2), p. 224. Ingres lived in Florence from 1820 to 1824 and worked with Bartolini. The way Bartolini's Charity supports the younger child and the baby's arms rest on her is indeed reminiscent of Raphael's painting, but the work provides no example for other important elements of Bartolini's composition, such as the presence of the second child, the fact that the boy is reading, the woman's correcting arm and the inclination of her head towards the two children. As far as Ingres is concerned, in his design for a window in Notre Dame de Compassion in Paris – a work commissioned in 1842 – he appears to have used the lower part of Raphael's baby in combination with the sleeping head in Bartolini's group; for an illustration see C. Sisi & E. Spalletti (eds.), *Nel segno di Ingres: Luigi Mussini e l'accademia in Europa nell'Ottocento*, Cinisello Balsamo 2007, p. 32.
- 17 Boomkamp 2007, op. cit. (note 5).
- 18 Pinto, sadly without going into any greater detail, mentioned Flaxman's monument to Georgina Spencer because of 'somialtanzie forse non casuali', perhaps not coincidental similarities, to Bartolini's composition. See S. Pinto and E. Spalletti (eds.), *Lorenzo Bartolini. Mostra delle attività di tutela*, Prato 1978, p. 42.
- 19 D. Irwin, *John Flaxman 1755-1826, Sculptor, Illustrator, Designer*, London 1979, p. 141.
- 20 Autobiography 2 March 1846, see M. Tinti, *Lorenzo Bartolini*, Rome 1936, II, p. 129-131, H. Delaborde, 'Sculpteurs modernes', reprint from the *Revue des deux mondes* of 15.09.1855, pp. 6 and 7.
- 21 Flaxman spent a short time in Paris in 1802, when Bartolini and Ingres were living there. Whether they ever met is not known, but it is certainly possible. In any event Flaxman expressed his admiration of the painting with which Ingres won the Prix de Rome in 1802. (Bartolini won the second prize in the sculpture category in the same year, but refused it because it did not bring him the stay in Rome he wanted.) Flaxman was a member of the academies of Carrara and Florence, which also presented opportunities for contact. S. Symmons, 'A.D. Ingres: the apotheosis of Flaxman', *The Burlington Magazine* CXXXI (1979), p. 721. Tinti 1936, op. cit. (note 20), volume 1, p. 49.
- 22 With thanks to A. Weston-Lewis of the National Gallery of Scotland.
- 23 This is the portrait of Countess Gouriev. According to Tinti, it can be inferred from the dedication that Ingres secured the commission for Bartolini, see Tinti 1936, op. cit. (note 20), volume 1, pp. 126-7, and volume II, p. 42.
- 24 For the combination of Charity and education in Flaxman's work see Irwin 1979, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 136-147.

- 25 Irwin 1979, op. cit. (note 19), pp. 29-30, 47, 53, 145, 147.
- 26 *Il carteggio Canova-Quatremère de Quincy 1785-1822* (ed. G. Pavanello), Ponzano (Treviso) 2005, pp. 27-29.
- 27 'Una ricopia con emende del Vendemmiatore, per Brescia.' Elenchi autografi delle opere di Lorenzo Bartolini, in Tinti 1936, op. cit. (note 20), volume II, p. 13.
- 28 E. Morris & M. Evans, Walker Art Gallery Liverpool, Supplementary foreign catalogue, Liverpool 1984, p. 33, and Cesare Lampronti in Rome, sales brochure 2008.
- 29 Soprintendenza (note 3), Filza V, no. 81. I do not know whether the *Purità* by Ricci that is now in the chapel is the original version. The *Purità*, like Bartolini's Charity group, was moved to the Pitti Palace in 1836.
- 30 Soprintendenza (note 3), Filza IX, conservazione dei monumenti Reali Palazzi 1842-43, no. 8: 'Ho il piacere di prevenirla che S.A.I. e R. Il Granduca ha permesso allo scultore Sig. Lorenzo Bartolini di far formare a tutto suo carico il gruppo della Carità da lui medesimo scolpito, ed esistente nel Quartiere terreno di questo I. e R. Palazzo di Residenza. E con distinta considerazione passo a dirmi' [followed by the signature].
- 31 With thanks to Dimitrios Zikos (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence) for his help in interpreting this passage.
- 32 With thanks to Eleonora Onghi for her help in deciphering the inscription.
- 33 Another example of a signature in italic lettering can be found on the base of Bartolini's Demidoff Table in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.
- 34 Deut. 6:5 and 7: 'And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy might' and 'And thou shalt teach them [these words] diligently unto thy children' or Mark 12:30: 'And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength.'
- 35 'Do not do unto others as you would not have them do unto you.'
- 36 G. Dupre, *Pensieri sull'arte e ricordi autobiografici*, Florence 1903, p.17: 'Il Bartolini prese possesso della scuola a modo di conquistatore.' 'Rinnovò tutto, esemplari e sistema.' 'Bandi lo studio delle statue, e ristrinse tutto il sistema d'insegnamento alla sola imitazione della natura; e tant' oltre spinse questo principio, che introdusse un gobbo nella scuola e lo fece copiare ai giovani studenti.'
- 37 The debate flared up again at the end of the eighteenth century, when a renewed appreciation of classical antiquity elsewhere in Europe was accompanied by an interest in the ugly and the grotesque. For general information see, for instance, R. Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art*, Princeton (N. J.) 1967.
- 38 See L. Cicognara, *Del Bello. Ragionamenti di Leopoldo Cicognara*, Florence 1808, pp. 9-15, and A.C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Essai sur la Nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les beaux-arts*, Paris 1823, pp. 216-212.
- 39 Pinto & Spalletti 1978, op. cit. (note 18), p. 102.
- 40 Tinti 1936, op. cit. (note 20), volume II p. 158. The quotation continues: 'Quando il Giovine saprà capacitarci di questo principio, saprà pure scegliere, comporre, panneggiare e dar vera espressione al suo soggetto, con l'illusione della carnosità tanto desiderata nella Statuaria, abbreviandone così non poco il lungo tempo che suole consumare in vani studi: E chi non saprà gar Gobbi, farà imbottiti che non varranno né gli Zoppi, né i Gobbi.' With this, Bartolini was responding to the final sentence of the Roman article, see p. 156: 'e a somiglianza di quelle che vide Dante nel Purgatorio, potremo dire delle sue sculture: Zoppi li gobbi; e i gobbi paion gobbi.'
- 41 P. Giordani, *Sulla Carità modellata da Lorenzo Bartolini al suo Leopoldo Cicognara*, 1 September 1824, (reprint from the periodical *Antologia* of the same year), p. 1. 'I volti, i capelli, le membra, i panni, le attitudini delle tre persone, la quiete e la semplicità dignitose dell'azione, son fiorentine, com'ell'erano sul principio del Cinquecento; perocchè lo scultore sempre ed unicamente intento al naturale, si è assuefatto a vederlo e rappresentarlo cogli occhi e coll'animo che fecero cara al monno la scuola di Donatello.'
- 42 Giordani 1824, op. cit. (note 41), p. 2.
- 43 M. Mattolini, *Gli ultimi Lorena. Ferdinando III e Leopoldo II*, Florence 1882, p. 92.
- 44 G. Pepe, *Due lettere di Gabriele Pepe già colonnello napoletano al Marchese Gino Gapponi*, Florence 1836, pp. 24-27. The first letter, dated 30 November 1835, p. 27: 'Educando io l'uomo, fo invero un'opera meritoria, ma non educo alcerto un educatore; ma educando la donna, educo una potenza naturalmente ed efficacissimamente educatrice. Educando io l'uomo, non educo che un individuo; ma educando la donna, io riuscirò ad avere per mezzo suo una prole d'una famiglia ben educata.'

- 45 Spalletti 2003 (note 2), p. 219.
- 46 F. Bonaini, *Dell'arte secondo la mente di Lorenzo Bartolini*, Florence 1852, p. 23. The letter is dated 17 February 1848. The passage reads in full: 'Per amore di patria, da Parigi [where LB was educated] venni in Carrara [where he ran the workshop that made portraits of Napoleon's family]; di là il destino mi balzò all'isola d'Elba [where LB followed the exiled Napoleon], e perfino nella mia cuna, ove sperava consolarmi condare un migliore slancio al poco sapere che esisteva in quel tempo nella difficile arte della statuaria. Ma quel fu la mia sorte! Beffato il buon desiderio, sfigurato il mio carattere morale. Rivolsi la mia consolazione alla solitudine, ed all'operare con assiduità. Con le mie deboli produzioni, acquistai considerazione presso i distinti personaggi stranieri che qui passavano; e ciò diede luogo a darmi la commissione del gruppo della Carità, allora perseguitato con ogni turpitudine dai miei avversari; ma quel lavoro un giorno però sarà giudicato come una scultua politica, che comprende il vero senso del Vangelo.'
- 47 Mattolini 1882, op. cit. (note 43), pp. 104-109.
- 48 A. Zobi, *Storia Civile della Toscana*, Florence 1850-52, v. p. 321.
- 49 G.E. Saltini, *Le arti belle in Toscana*, Florence 1862, p. 27: 'Verace carità, che ministrando il pane dell'intelletto educa alla patria una generazione novella!'
- 50 C. Guasti, *Scritti d'arte*, Prato 1897, p. 506: 'Ora in questa figura noi invece troviamo facilmente il pensiero politico; in quel gruppo vediamo una balia che sa anche leggere.'