



‘Why are you stripping me from myself?’

Willem van Tetrode’s *Écorché* and its *Nachleben*

• FRITS SCHOLTEN* •

In 2023, the Rijksmuseum acquired a bronze musclemán, or *écorché*, generally attributed to the Delft sculptor Willem van Tetrode (1525–1580) (figs. 1a, b).¹ The intriguing bronze of a flayed, walking man had been on the museum’s wish list for some time. What had not been achieved several years before – the purchase of another cast of the same model from a private collection – now proved successful. The acquisition strengthens the important group of bronzes by Tetrode and other northern artists in Italy held in the museum’s collection. Yet the bronze is at least equally as valuable in cultural-historical terms, as an early example of an anatomical figure in three dimensions. The present article will further dissect Tetrode’s musclemán.

Tetrode

Much of Willem van Tetrode’s career was spent abroad. From Paris (1542–47), he travelled to Florence, Rome, Pitigliano and back again to Florence, before returning to his native Delft in 1567 to work on two new altars for the city’s Oude Kerk. Six years later, Tetrode was active in Cologne; he died in Westphalia in 1580.² This international career partly explains why the sculptor has long remained a great unknown in art history – a fate he shares with a number of his

< Fig. 1a
WILLEM DANIELSZ
VAN TETRODE
(attributed to),
Écorché, c. 1560–65.
Bronze, 43.2 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
BK-2023-1, purchased
with the support of
The Friends Lottery
and H.B. van der Ven,
The Hague.

contemporaries. Not until 1939 was Willem van Tetrode identified as ‘Guglielmo Fiammingo’, praised by Vasari for producing one of the earliest examples of an art cabinet, or *mobile stipo*, decorated with sculptures, a grandiose work commissioned by the count of Pitigliano as a diplomatic gift for King Philip II of Spain.³ This identification marked the onset of the sculptor’s gradual rediscovery.⁴ As is today acknowledged, Tetrode’s two monumental altars of alabaster, marble and bronze in Delft formed an invigorating contribution to the development of sixteenth-century sculpted Renaissance altars in the Low Countries – this, despite their short lifespan, as both were lost during an iconoclasm in 1573.⁵ In recent decades, the sculptor’s importance for the formation of artists like Adriaen de Vries (1556–1626) and Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) has also become clear, as well as his seminal role in the introduction of bronze statuettes as collectable objects in the Netherlands.

Tetrode’s Musclemen

The core of Tetrode’s current oeuvre comprises a small group of bronzes. His best-known inventions are a *Hercules Pomarius*, a flying *Mercury* in two variants, a *Walking Naked Man*⁶ and the *écorché* discussed here.⁷ Only five bronze casts of the last model

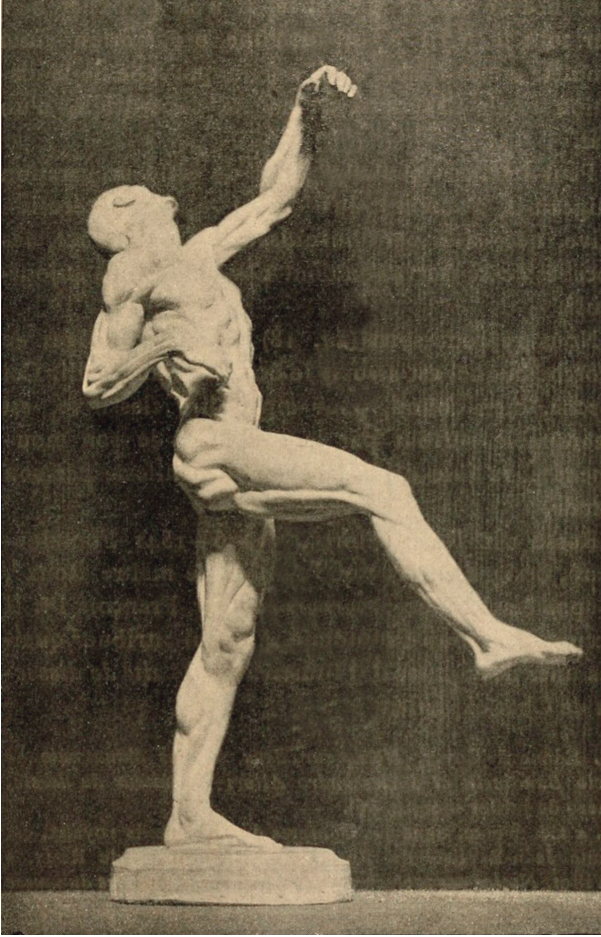


Fig. 1b
Left side of *Écorché*
(fig. 1a).

are known to have been preserved. In addition to the Rijksmuseum piece and a bronze nearly its qualitative equivalent in the Hearn Family Trust in New York⁸ – together considered the best of the five, both possibly created during Tetrode's lifetime⁹ – are three less refined, later variants, in New Haven,¹⁰ Evansville¹¹ and Rome.¹² The last of these has a tree stump to support the 'falling' man. A curious variant in Paris, erroneously known as the *Dancing Écorché* by Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560), in fact concerns Tetrode's musclemán depicted in a 'danse macabre', tilted back standing on one leg (fig. 2).¹³ A surmoulage in lead can also be added to this list.¹⁴

In 1567, the models for Tetrode's inventions, most of which were conceived in Italy, travelled north with the artist. There they garnered a certain popularity among a small number of collectors and artists in the Low Countries and Cologne. This was certainly true of Tetrode's *écorché*, of which numerous plaster casts would originally have been in circulation, primarily serving seventeenth-century artists as anatomical models. Plaster casts of musclemen listed in the inventories of artists' workshops possibly confirm the model's wide dissemination. In 1635, for example, the painter Barent van Someren (1572–1632) possessed both a 'Pleystermannetje en vrougte' (Plaster man and woman) and an 'anatomie'.¹⁵ Furthermore, the mould of an 'anatomie' ('noch een form van annatemeij') listed in the 1624 inventory of the Delft silversmith Thomas Cruse's possessions may possibly refer to Tetrode's model. Further down on the same list, the mould is again cited, described as 'noch 1 form van een annatameij van Mr. H de Keyser'. As no *écorché* by De Keyser is known to exist, one may conclude his name was mentioned in error, especially given that Cruse's inventory contains other works by both artists. Noteworthy is that the inventory was compiled for the purpose of a debt settlement with Aper Franz van der Houve (c. 1540–1626), a prosperous Delft painter and beer brewer, and likewise the first Dutch collector of Tetrode's work.¹⁶

Used as a plaster studio prop, casts of Tetrode's *écorché* regularly appear in works by seventeenth-century Flemish and Dutch painters, including Gerard van Honthorst (1592–1656) (fig. 3), Cornelis Saftleven (1607–1681), Job Berckheyde (1630–1693), Willem Verschuring (1660–1726) and Johannes Voorhout (1647–1717) (fig. 4). Moreover, the *écorché* features in a drawing by the German artist Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610).¹⁷ Also preserved are a substantial number of



study sheets with sketches by Rubens (1577-1640) – and reproduced in print form by the Flemish engraver Willem Paneels (c. 1600-1634) – showing Tetrode's écorché from different angles along with various details (e.g. fig. 5).¹⁸ As a group, the drawings clearly illustrate how the painter used the three-dimensional model to devise numerous variations in poses of an expressive muscle figure in action.¹⁹

Fig. 2
Dancing Écorché,
nineteenth
century (?).
Plaster, h. c. 50 cm.
Paris, Musée
Carnavalet,
inv. no. PE 665,
bequest Emile
Peyre, 1905.

Fig. 3
GERARD VAN
HONTHORST,
Self-Portrait (?),
1655.
Oil on canvas,
116 x 93.5 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-1479.

Fig. 4
JOHANNES
VOORHOUT,
A Young Artist
Reading in his
Studio, c. 1575-1600.
Oil on canvas,
67.9 x 58.7 cm.
Current where-
abouts unknown.





Fig. 5
RUBENS,
Anatomical Study,
c. 1600.
Pen and brown ink
and wash and black
chalk on paper,
60 x 46.5 cm
(framed).
Current where-
abouts unknown.



Fig. 6
ANONYMOUS,
Anatomical Study,
c. 1600.
Black chalk on paper,
23.4 x 37.4 cm.
Amsterdam,
private collection.

In his *Elevation of the Cross* from circa 1610 for the high altar of Antwerp Cathedral, for example, Rubens re-worked the écorché's anatomy into a figure seen from the back.²⁰ A sheet by an anonymous draughtsman, probably from around 1600, shows the model from the same vantage point (fig. 6). In the seventeenth-century inscription on the verso, the drawing is attributed to Michelangelo (1475-1564) – a somewhat optimistic attribution, though entirely understandable given his widely praised pioneering role in the study of anatomy among artists. Finally, we find a free, plastic reference to Tetrode's écorché on the funeral monument for Prince-Bishop Dietrich von Fürstenberg (1546-1618) in Paderborn, a work by the local sculptor Heinrich Gröninger (1578-1631) from 1622 (fig. 7).²¹ Such an echo of

Tetrode's invention in Westphalia is readily explained by the fact that he spent the final years of his life – and died – in Arnsberg working in the service of the elector and archbishop of Cologne, Salentin von Isenberg (1532-1610). Via the influential Fürstenberg family, various ties existed between Arnsberg and Paderborn.²²

Concrete evidence of the instructive importance of Tetrode's muscled man in the Low Countries is found in Crispijn van de Passe's (1594-1670) *Van 't Licht der Teken en Schilderkonst* (1643-44), a manual for artists. In the second volume, he depicted the sculptor's model holding the full length of its own flayed skin in its hand (fig. 8). Twenty-five years later, Willem Goeree (1635-1711) in his art-theoretical treatise advised the use of plaster écorchés to his drawing readers:



We will only bring attention to several general rules; the rest the Practitioner can see to discover for himself, to this end utilizing the most competent means, as namely, the frequent drawing after several 'Anatomye' men, such as the various ones [that] are cast in Plaster.²³

Clearly, several types of anatomy models were then in circulation. Goeree might also have been referring to the archer écorché (fig. 9), a variant of Tetrode's muscleman, also found in a number of Dutch paintings from this period.²⁴ Although it might seem rather precarious to stylistically compare two such depersonalized, flayed figures, we can establish that they are not necessarily by the same hand. Despite a discernible similarity in the face, Tetrode's walking muscle-

man looks more fluidly modelled than the archer. Perhaps the archer can be seen as a reworking of Tetrode's invention, either by the sculptor himself or someone in his immediate Florentine circle? Balancing on the tip of his toe, the figure's pose echoes a popular sculptural theme from the second half of the sixteenth century: the flying Mercury. Acknowledging the fact that all the variations of this *Mercurio volante* are known to have originated in Florence, developed within a short timespan by sculptors such as Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571), Giambologna (1529-1608), and Tetrode himself, there are solid grounds for situating this *scorticato volante* in the same artistic milieu.²⁵ The transformation of Tetrode's invention into an archer could have been motivated by an analogy well known at the time,

Fig. 7
HEINRICH
GRÖNINGER,
Écorché on the
funeral monument
of Prince-Bishop
Dietrich von
Fürstenberg, 1622.
Alabaster,
h. approx. 60 cm.
Cathedral,
Paderborn.

Fig. 8
'Écorché' in Crispijn
van de Passe, *Van
't Licht der Teken
en Schilderkonst*,
5. vols., Amsterdam
1654 (original ed.
1644), vol. 2, plate 10.

applied by Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) and others: the comparison of a dynamically arched human body to a tensed bow, anticipating that moment when it returns to a state of relaxation and equilibrium.²⁶ All the above-cited references and adaptations of Tetrode's musclemans confirm the recent characterization of such *écorchés* as 'more Wunderkammer objects than useful teaching aids' is entirely unfounded.²⁷

Florence as Centre of Anatomical Study

The early fifteen sixties were a heyday for the development of sculptural *écorchés*. In Milan, for example, Marco d'Agrate's (1504-1574) life-size marble statue of the flayed St Bartholomew, produced in 1562 for the choir of the cathedral, drew considerable attention and was

praised by contemporaries for its anatomical accuracy (fig. 10).²⁸ In this same period, the Accademia del Disegno in Florence stimulated a more structured, systematic anatomical study among artists, with the yearly dissection of a human body, after an unofficial run-up of several years, incorporated in the academy's statutes in July 1563.²⁹ One of its founding members was the Bruges painter Johannes van der Straet (1523-1605), also known as Stradanus, who, together with fellow painter Alessandro Allori (1535-1607), was also charged with organizing the first anatomy lesson in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuove in the ensuing winter.³⁰ Stradanus's personal involvement in the study of human anatomy is evident from a programmatic drawing – an allegory of the academy – he made ten years later (fig. 11) and that would later become widely known in print form. In the right foreground, the drawing shows various young artists in a small anatomical theatre seated around a flayed man and a standing skeleton hanging from cords. The flayed body's pose is strikingly similar to that of the Flying Mercury by Giambologna, Tetrode and Hubert Gerhard (1540-1620),³¹ but also to a restored Roman marble of Marsyas, the satyr flayed by Apollo, a statue in Bishop Gerolamo Garimberto's (1506-1575) collection of antiquities in Rome circa 1570.³²

Underlying this academic interest in anatomy common among artists in Italy in the mid-sixteenth century was the belief that a correct, natural and lively depiction of a human figure could only be achieved when an artist possessed ample knowledge of the body's structure and functioning beneath the skin: the interplay of bones, muscles, tendons and veins.³³ Proponents of this included Leonardo and Michelangelo, the latter in part thanks to his friendship with the renowned anatomist Realdo Colombo (1516-1559).³⁴

Fig. 9

ANONYMOUS,
Écorché as Archer,
c. 1570.
Bronze, h. 48 cm.
Private collection
(United Kingdom).



Fig. 10

MARCO D'AGRATE,
*St Bartholomew
 Flayed with his
 Skin around his
 Shoulders*, 1562.
 Marble,
 h. approx. 175 cm.
 Duomo, Milan.

Fig. 11

JOHANNES
 VAN DER STRAET
 (STRADANUS),
*Art Academy
 (The Practice of the
 Visual Arts)*, 1573.
 Pen and brown ink on
 paper, 436 x 293 mm.
 London, British
 Museum, inv. no.
 SL,5214.2.
 Photo: © The
 Trustees of the
 British Museum

Northern Artists and Italian Cadavers

The impact of this development on artists from the Low Countries, among them the aforementioned Stradanus, was substantial. For instance, the studio estate of Johan Gregor van der Schardt (1530-after 1581), a Flemish sculptor long active in Italy before he finally settled in Nuremberg around 1569, clearly betrays an interest in anatomy. Upon his death, the sculptor's studio inventory passed into the possession of the collector Paul Praun (1548-1616), in whose own estate inventory, compiled in 1616, we encounter numerous models of body parts, including two 'Anatomia' statuettes: one in wax, another in terracotta. One of these is again mentioned in a 1719 inventory of Praun's collection, described as 'A man whose

skin has been flayed and whose muscles can be seen'.³⁵ A wax musculer depicted in a portrait of Volker Coiter (1534-1576), a Groningen anatomist who worked in Nuremberg, perhaps offers an impression of Van der Schardt's 'Anatomia'.³⁶

Noteworthy and rather exceptional in this context is the life-size 'muscle horse', or *anatomia cavallesca*, which, according to Gabriel Kaltemarckt (in his treatise on the assembling of a *Kunstkammer* from c. 1585), Van der Schardt produced in Italy as early as 1563 for a Mantuan nobleman, most likely Guglielmo (1538-1587) or Vespasiano Gonzaga (1531-1591), both from a family known for its love of horses.³⁷ No other documentation mentions the life-size muscle horse, though two half-size anatomical horses survive today, both cast in





Fig. 12

JOHAN GREGOR
VAN DER SCHARDT
(model), *Écorché
of a Horse*, Italy,
c. 1563-69.
Bronze, h. 92.5 cm.
Florence,
Palazzo Vecchio,
Donazione Loeser.
Photo: author

bronze and attributed to Van der Schardt. The horse preserved in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence is likely the original (fig. 12), and the bronze in the Torrie Collection (Edinburgh) a late eighteenth-century cast after the same model from the workshop of Giuseppe Valadier (1762-1839).³⁸

A terracotta *écorché* from 1569 by the Mechelen sculptor Willem van den Broecke (1530-1580), also known as Guillelmus Paludanus, is a work made long after but very likely inspired by the sculptor's (probable) sojourn in Italy circa 1555 (fig. 13).³⁹ In 1588, the Dutch painter and engraver Jan Harmensz Muller (1540-1617) produced a series of four monumental red chalk drawings after this statue – or more likely, a plaster cast thereof – undoubtedly intended for publication in print form (fig. 14). Together, the four drawings are essentially a virtual tour of the sculpture on paper showing it from different angles, a Florentine



< Fig. 13

WILLEM VAN DEN
BROECK
(PALUDANUS),
*St Bartholomew
Flayed*, 1569.
Terracotta, h. 56 cm.
Vienna,
Kunsthistorisches
Museum, inv. no.
Kunstskammer, 9892.

> Figs. 14

JAN HARMENSZ
MULLER after
PALUDANUS,
*Four Views of
Écorché with Knife
/ St Bartholomew
Flayed*, 1588.
Red chalk on paper,
varying sizes
448/463 x 268/301 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv.
nos. RP-T-2022-417 to
-420, on loan from
H.M. Verloren van
Themaat, The Hague.



novelty Muller repeated ten years later with a series of engravings after Adriaen de Vries's *Mercury and Psyche*.⁴⁰ Although the presumed prints were never realized, Muller's drawings after Paludanus's model provide insight into the role sculpture played in the dissemination of anatomical knowledge from Italy in the north. Single models in the possession of individual travelling artists like Van der Schardt would have had fairly limited influence, but Paludanus's *écorché* appears to have been of greater importance. The way in which anatomical scul-

ture was reproduced in print, however, requires further research.⁴¹

Also noteworthy in this context is the Franco-Flemish sculptor Pierre Francheville (c. 1553-1615), also known as Pietro Francavilla, who, according to his biographer Baldinucci (1624-1697), was also concerned with 'lessons in the noblest sciences and arts, and in particular many lessons in anatomy'.⁴² Partly for this reason, two standing bronze musclemen, both created in Florence circa 1575, are attributed to him. One of these also appears in a painted portrait of the sculptor from 1576.⁴³



Fig. 15
JOHANNES
VAN DER STRAET
(STRADANUS)
(attributed to),
Study of an Écorché,
Florence, c. 1550-60.
Drawing,
525 x 338 mm.
Florence, Galleria
degli Uffizi, Gabinetto
Disegni e Stampe.
Photo: © Gabinetto
Fotografico delle
Gallerie degli Uffizi

‘Quid me mihi detrahis?’

Tetrode's bronze écorché is one of the earliest examples of this artistic-scientific fascination with the internal structure of the human body that arose in Florence, and perhaps even the earliest known walking type in the history of sculpture. It was undoubtedly produced between 1562 and 1565 during the sculptor's sojourn in the city on the Arno, coinciding with the years in which artists began studying human anatomy more systematically.⁴⁴ With Tetrode, it was ultimately this study that led to the development of an exaggerated display of musculature as a stylistic device in various, likely later works, such as the *Hercules Pomarius*, also later adopted by Goltzius ('Knollenstil').⁴⁵ Interestingly, he also incorporated part of the musculature from the Laocoön group in his écorché, specifically the ribcage of Laocoön himself, while likewise adopting more or less the positioning of his arms in mirrored form. This demonstrates, categorically, how in addition to nature (the human body), antique sculpture was also seen as a determining factor.

Also striking is the figure's exceptional pose, with an elegant movement of the arm, taking one step forward while seemingly almost falling backwards. Here the dead, flayed cadaver has been brought back to life – a logical choice if wishing to depict a human figure's muscles in action. Movements involving the head, torso and limbs are significant for artists, as they show the working of the muscles most powerfully and expressively. Undoubtedly, this dynamic pose partly explains the model's popularity. The pose of Tetrode's bronze recalls that of one of the Dioscuri in Rome, albeit in a strongly mannerist form.⁴⁶ A drawing sometimes attributed to Stradanus and in any case created in his immediate circle shows a flayed man in the same pose as Tetrode's

écorché (fig. 15).⁴⁷ A variant of this pose can be seen in an engraving of the flaying of Marsyas by Theodor Galle (1571-1633), likewise after a drawing by Stradanus, but this time with the figure leaning back against a tree.⁴⁸ Such parallels reinforce the surmise that the two artists met in Florence around 1562 – a highly plausible circumstance given Stradanus's central role in Florentine artistic life and Tetrode's desire to gain a foothold in the city. Interestingly enough, the drawing shows that which the bronze conveys only in essence: the notion of the man being his own executioner, visualized in the form of a flayed figure who himself displays as it were both the knife and his own complete skin. Neither are found on the present bronze, though the écorché still holds a small flap of skin in his right hand. As is commonly seen with Tetrode's work, his primary emphasis lay not on the depiction of such an iconography and its accompanying motifs; he was more concerned with the essence of the pose or movement and the musculature associated with it. Even so, it is through this paradoxical, macabre iconography that drawing and statuette betray more than sheer scientific curiosity: both reflect the early modern era's preoccupation with matters of morbidity bordering life and death, pain and sexuality, as expressed in many fashionable references to anatomy and dissection found, for instance, in the theatrical plays and literature of that era.⁴⁹

In a certain sense, the ambivalence of someone remaining alive despite having been stripped of his skin is essentially conveyed in Ovid's story of Marsyas,⁵⁰ who, as he is being tortured by Apollo, cries out: 'Quid me mihi detrahis?' (Why are you stripping me from myself?). The 'me mihi' (me from myself) seemingly suggests that the skin is an independent entity (me), without which the



flayed being (myself) is still able to exist. This ambivalence implies that the distinction between the flayer and the flayed – as both perpetrator and victim – has been diminished.⁵¹ Early on, living and self-flaying musclemen formed their own visual tradition, especially in sixteenth-century illustrations in anatomical textbooks, where they took the place of depictions of cadavers from the anatomical theatre.⁵² Tetrode's écorché also falls in this tradition, most strikingly represented by Juan Valverde's (1525-1587) early illustration in the *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* from 1556 (fig. 16). As such, the bronze forms a seminal piece in the history of anatomical study by painters and sculptors, at the intersection of early modern medical science and art.⁵³

Fig. 16

GASPAR BECERRA
(attributed to),
*A Flayed Man
Holding his Own
Skin*, in Juan Valverde
de Amusco, *Historia
de la composicion
del cuerpo humano*,
Book II, p. 64, 1556.

Engraving,
216 mm x 151 mm.
London, Royal
Academy of Arts,
inv. no. 03/6654.
Photo: © Royal
Academy of Arts,
London / John
Hammond

For Robert van Langh, amicitiae causa

ABSTRACT

In 2023, the Rijksmuseum acquired a bronze écorché attributed to Willem van Tetrode (1525-1580). The sculpture is considered the finest of the five known casts of this flayed figure. Tetrode probably conceived it during his stay in Florence and Rome circa 1562-67. This period is marked by a growing fascination among artists with the study of human anatomy, particularly at the newly founded Accademia del Disegno in Florence. It was precisely among the *fiamminghi*, Netherlandish artists in Italy, that a keen interest in anatomical studies can be observed during these years. Tetrode's model seems to be one of the earliest – if not the earliest known – examples of an active, striding écorché in sculpture. Its popularity among seventeenth-century artists in the Low Countries is reflected in plaster casts depicted in various Dutch and Flemish paintings and drawings, such as those by Rubens and Gerard van Honthorst.

NOTES

- * This article is based in part on my lecture titled *Netherlandish Sculptors and Italian Cadavers*, given at the ARDS conference *Beyond the Alps: Artistic Exchanges between the Low Countries and Italy in Medieval and Renaissance Sculpture* (Rome, Academia Belgica and the Royal Netherlands Institute Rome), 7-9 November 2023. My thanks to Bieke van der Mark, Arie Pappot, Volker Seiberth and Gert Jan van der Sman for their valuable assistance.
- 1 Sale, New York (Christie's), *Modern Medici: Masterpieces from a New York Collection*, 27 January 2023 (auction no. 19995), lot no. 210. See Margaret H. Schwartz, Francesca G. Bewer, Henry Lie and Frits Scholten, *European Sculpture from the Abbott Guggenheim Collection*, New York 2008, pp. 7, 15, 16, 19, 140-41 (no. 72), 231; Louisa Bourla, 'Cigoli's Écorché and Giambologna's Circle', *Sculpture Journal* 24 (2015), no. 3, pp. 317-32, esp. p. 325 and fig. 10; Frits Scholten, 'Recent Acquisitions: Fine and Applied art', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 72 (2024), no. 1, pp. 68-69.
 - 2 For Tetrode's biography, see Frits Scholten, 'Willem van Tetrode, alter Praxiteles', in Frits Scholten (ed.), *Willem van Tetrode, sculptor (c. 1525-1580) | Guglielmo Fiamingo Scultore*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum)/New York (The Frick Collection) 2003, pp. 10-77.
 - 3 Marguerite Devigne, 'Le sculpteur Willem Danielsz. van Tetrode dit en Italie Guglielmo Fiammingo', *Oud Holland* 56 (1939), pp. 89-96; Emile van Binnebeke, 'A Majestic Showpiece: Willem van Tetrode and the Studiolo of the Count of Pitigliano', in Scholten (ed.) 2003 (note 2), pp. 78-90.
 - 4 Jaap Nijstad, 'Willem Danielsz. van Tetrode', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek | Netherlandish Yearbook for History of Art* 37 (1986), pp. 259-79; Emile van Binnebeke, 'Een godheid zonder harnas: Van Tetrode, Goltzius en een bronzen Olympiër', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 41 (1993), no. 1, pp. 16-21; Stephen H. Goddard and James A. Ganz, *Goltzius and the Third Dimension*, Williamstown (MA) 2001; Emile van Binnebeke, *Willem Danielsz. van Tetrode ca. 1520-1580: De Delftse Praxiteles. Een studie naar het leven en het werk van een zestiende-eeuwse Nederlandse beeldhouwer* Utrecht (unpublished dissertation Utrecht University) 2003; Scholten (ed.) 2003 (note 2).
 - 5 For a description on the basis of the sources, see Scholten 2003 (note 2), pp. 53-58; A. Lipińska, 'Between Contestation and Re-invention: The Netherlandish Altarpiece in Turbulent Times (c. 1530-1600)', in Ethan Matt Kavaler, Frits Scholten and Joanna Woodall (eds.), *Netherlandish Sculpture of the 16th Century | Zestiende-eeuwse beeldhouwkunst uit de Nederlanden* (*Netherlandish Yearbook for History of Art | Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, vol. 67), Leiden/Boston 2017, pp. 78-117, esp. pp. 100-02.
 - 6 Van Binnebeke 1993 (note 4).
 - 7 Scholten (ed.) 2003 (note 2), nos. 8, 9, 20-23, 34-36.
 - 8 Scholten 2003 (note 2), pp. 40-42 and no. 31.
 - 9 For X-rays of the bronze, see Schwartz et al. 2008 (note 1), p. 231. XRF measurements of the alloy of the Rijksmuseum bronze made by Arie Pappot (20 December 2022) show that it concerns a cast whose composition corresponds well to that of a number of Florentine bronzes from the periods circa 1560-70 and 1610-30. The advanced (indirect) casting technique – by which the arms and legs are separately cast onto the body – and the high quality of finishing also point to a Florentine versus a Netherlandish origin. My thanks to Arie Pappot for these valuable observations.
 - 10 New Haven (CT), Yale University Art Gallery. See Lawrence Price Amerson, *The Problem of the Écorché: A Catalogue Raisonné of Models and Statuettes from the 16th Century and Later Periods*, 1975 (unpublished dissertation Pennsylvania State University), pp. 325-34, no. 35 (45.1 cm high).
 - 11 Thanks to Andrew J. Gianopoulos, Evansville Museum of Arts, History and Science, for sharing information on this version (8 June 2023).
 - 12 Rome, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo Venezia, inv. no. PV10822; see Pietro Cannata, *Sculpture in bronzo (Roma. Il Palazzo di Venezia e le sue collezioni di scultura*, vol. 3), coll. cat. Rome 2011, pp. 178-80 (no. 204), 256-57.
 - 13 My thanks to Joosje van Bennekom. For a plaster of the same dancer in the Beaux-Arts de Paris, see Amerson 1975 (note 10), pp. 312-25. Amerson (p. 326) was first to establish a connection between the plaster écorché standing on one leg, in Beaux-Arts de Paris, erroneously known as the *Dancing Écorché* by Bandinelli, and the bronze walking écorché by Tetrode. What Amerson failed to observe, however, is that both are derived from the same model, but in a different pose. Instead, he saw them as two different types, conceived as pendants. See also Michael W. Kwakkelstein, *Rubens: Study Heads and Anatomical Studies*, part 1:

- Anatomical Studies (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, vol. 20), London/Turnhout 2021, fig. 1.
- 14 Leo Planiscig, *Sammlung Camillo Castiglioni: Bronzestatuetten und Geräte*, Vienna 1923, no. 300.
 - 15 Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländische Kunst des xviten, xvitten und xviiiiten Jahrhunderts*, 8 vols., The Hague 1915-22, vol. 3 (1916), pp. 795-813, esp. p. 797 (sale of Barent van Someren's collection in Amsterdam, 23 February 1635).
 - 16 Bredius (note 15), vol. 4 (1917), pp. 1456-58; Scholten 2003 (note 2), pp. 66-69. Thomas Cornelis Cruse was born in Lübeck in 1586 and married in Amsterdam in December 1612. He is documented in the circle of Hendrick de Keyser in 1616, when buying tools from the goldsmith Andries Frerixsz (1566-1627), also known as Frederiks Valckenaer; see Amsterdam City Archives, Notariële Archieven (acc. no. 5075), inv. no. 433, Akte no. 12898, fols. 148v-149r.
 - 17 Cornelis Saftleven, *The Duet*, c. 1635 (Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, inv. no. 696); Job Berckheyde, *Boy Studying by Candle-light*, c. 1670 (sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 9 June 1999, no. 73, and sale, New York (Sotheby's), 27 May 2004, no. 22); Willem Verschuring, *Portrait of his Father, the Painter Frederik Verschuring (1627-1690)*, c. 1685 (Osnabrück, private collection); Johannes Voorhout, *Woman and Maid-servant in a Painter's Studio*, c. 1700 (Amersfoort, Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed (RCE), inv. no. NK 1973) and Johannes Voorhout, fig. 4 in the present study (sale, New York (Sotheby's), Master Paintings and Sculpture Day Sale, 31 January 2019, no. 201); and furthermore Adam Elsheimer, *The Artist in Despair*, after 1599 (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung).
 - 18 Ulrich Heinen, *Rubens zwischen Predigt und Kunst: Der Hochaltar für die Walburgenkirche in Antwerpen*, Weimar 1996, pp. 136-38 (identification écorché as a work by Tetrode); Kwakkelstein 2021 (note 13), nos. 1-13, 16, 19-24; among others, two study drawings by Rubens (27.9 x 18.7 cm. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 88.GA.86., and fig. 5 in the present study (sale, London (Christie's), 6 June 1999, no. 223 and sale, Hong Kong (Sotheby's), 4 April 2016, no. 2831). David Jaffé (ed.), *Rubens: A Master in the Making*, exh. cat. London (National Gallery) 2005, p. 102, no. 34; Sarah R. Cohen, 'Rubens's France: Gender and Personification in the Marie de Médicis Cycle', *The Art Bulletin* 85 (2003), no. 3, pp. 490-522 (two other écorché studies, used for the Medici cycle).
 - 19 Kwakkelstein 2021 (note 13), pp. 25-29.
 - 20 Cf. Kwakkelstein 2021 (note 13), figs. 5, 6.
 - 21 Christoph Stiegemann, *Heinrich Gröninger, um 1578-1631: Ein Beitrag zur Skulptur zwischen Spätgotik und Barock im Fürstbistum Paderborn*, Paderborn 1989, no. A22 and esp. fig. 129.
 - 22 Friedrich von Fürstenberg (c. 1511-1567) was an advisor of the bishop of Cologne; son Dietrich became prince-bishop of Paderborn, whereas another son, Kaspar (1545-1618), became landdrost of Westphalia and an advisor of the prince-bishops of Paderborn and the electors of Cologne and Mainz. Friederich's grave is in Monastery Wedinghausen near Arnsberg, by no coincidence the same location where Tetrode also lies buried. See also Anke Hufschmidt, 'Friedrich von Fürstenberg (1510/11-1567)', in Michael Gosmann (ed.), *Fürstenberger Skizzen: Streifzüge durch 700 Jahre westfälische Familien- und Landesgeschichte*, Arnsberg 1995, pp. 39-43.
 - 23 'Wy sullen alleen eenighe ghenereale Regulen aenwijzen, de reste kan den Oeffenaer self sien uyt te vinden, ghebruyckende daer toe de bequaemste middelen, als namentlijk, het veel Teyckenen na eenighe Anatomyemannen, gelijk sulcke verscheyde zijn in Playster af-gegoten'; see Willem Goeree, *Inleydinge tot de al-ghemeene teycken-konst, waer in de Gronden en Eygen-schappen, die tot onfeylbaer en verstandigh begriip van de Teycken-konst noodigh te weten zijn, kortelijck en klaer werden aen-ghewesen*, Middelburg 1668, p. 28.
 - 24 Harald Olsen, *Aeldre udenlansk skulptur: Statens Museum for Kunst*, 2 vols., Copenhagen 1980, vol. 1, pp. 121-22, vol. 2, fig. 144 (as Southern Netherlands); *Sechs Sammler stellen aus*, exh. cat. Hamburg (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe) 1961, no. 50 (as Cigoli). This last bronze originates from the collection of Max Hugo Oelze (1892-1967) in Amsterdam, who also possessed the version of Tetrode's musclemann in the Hearn Family Trust. Both bronzes were sold via Veiling Paul Brandt, Amsterdam 23/24 April 1968, lot nos. 10 and 11. The jurist Oelze was from a prominent Bremen merchant's family; starting in the nineteen twenties, he lived in Amsterdam, residing at Herengracht 623, where he assembled an important art collection. After his death, Oelze bequeathed several paintings to the Kunsthalle in Bremen; the rest of the collec-

- tion was sold at auction in 1968 in Amsterdam. That the Rijksmuseum écorché by Tetrode also originates from an Amsterdam collection is perhaps no coincidence. A plaster version of this model can be seen in Jan ter Borch's *The Drawing Lesson* (1634), held in the former collection of Charles Brocklehurst, Macclesfield. My thanks to Isabella Lores-Chavez; see her *Absence and Presence: Plaster Casts in the Life and Art of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painters*, Boston/Leiden 2025.
- 25 Jens Ludwig Burk, "Quo me fata vocant" – Wohin mich das Schicksal ruft: Merkur in der Bronzekunst der Spätrenaissance', in Renate Eikermann and Jens L. Burk (eds.), *Bella Figura: Europäische Bronzekunst in Süddeutschland um 1600*, exh. cat. Munich (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum) 2015, pp. 51-87.
 - 26 Michael W. Cole, *Leonardo, Michelangelo, and the Art of the Figure*, New Haven/London 2014, pp. 109, 115. For a northern archer musclemans, see Olsen 1980 (note 24), vol. 1, p. 86, and vol. 2, fig. 143 (boxwood variant by the north-German sculptor Hans Ochs from 1624).
 - 27 Bourla 2015 (note 1), p. 318.
 - 28 Philip Fehl, 'Über das Schreckliche in der Kunst: Die Schindung des Marsyas als Aufgabe', in Peter Volk (ed.), *Apoll schindet Marsyas: Über das Schreckliche in der Kunst – Adam Lenckhardts Elfenbein-gruppe*, Munich 1995, pp. 49-91, esp. pp. 59-60, and fig. 4; Sarah Kay, 'Original Skin: Flaying, Reading, and Thinking in the Legend of Saint Bartholomew and Other Works', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36 (2006), no. 1, pp. 35-73.
 - 29 Zygmunt Ważbiński, *L'Accademia medicea del Disegno a Firenze nel Cinquecento*, 2 vols., Florence 1987, vol. 2, p. 438. Alessandra Baroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano, Flandrus pictor et inventor*, Milan/Rome 1997; Alessandra Baroni Vannucci and Manfred Sellink (eds.), *Stradanus (1523-1605): Court Artist of the Medici*, Turnhout 2012; Francesco Ciuti, 'Il Collegio dei fisici e l'Arte dei medici e speciali di Firenze: dalla Repubblica allo Stato mediceo (xiv-xvi secolo)', *Archivio Storico Italiano* 170 (2012), no. 1, pp. 3-28. My thanks to the anonymous reviewer for this last literature citation.
 - 30 Fredrika Jacobs, '(Dis)assembling: Marsyas, Michelangelo, and the Accademia del Disegno', *The Art Bulletin* 84 (2002), no. 3, pp. 426-448, esp. p. 436 and note 66.
 - 31 Scholten 2003 (note 2), fig. 41.
 - 32 Clifford M. Brown, *Our Accustomed Discourse on the Antique: Cesare Gonzaga and Gerolamo Garimberto, Two Renaissance Collectors of Greco-Roman Art*, New York 1993; Salvatore Settis and Carlo Gasparri (eds.), *The Torlonia Marbles: Collecting Masterpieces*, exh. cat. Milan (Musei Capitolini) 2021, no. 51 (entry Laura Buccino).
 - 33 Jacobs 2002 (note 30), p. 438.
 - 34 See also Avigdor W.G. Posèq, 'Michelangelo's Self-portrait on the Flayed Skin of St. Bartholomew', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 124 (July-August 1994), pp. 1-14; Jacobs 2002 (note 30); Christian K. Kleinbub, *Michelangelo's Inner Anatomies*, Philadelphia 2020, pp. 3-6. Noteworthy is a later Florentine écorché by the painter Lodovico Cardi (1559-1613), also known as 'Cigoli', a work praised by Baldinucci as 'la più bella, ed utile fatica, che abbia veduta in questi ultimi Secoli in la nostra Italia el' Europa tutta' (the most beautiful and useful work that was seen in Italy and throughout Europe in our centuries) and said to be the culmination of Cigoli's collaboration with the anatomist Theodore de Mayerne (1573-1654/55); see Amerson 1975 (note 10), p. 157. Volker Krahn (ed.), *Von allen seiten Schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat. Berlin (Staatliche Museum zu Berlin) 1995, no. 124; Bourla 2015 (note 1); Kwakkelstein 2021 (note 13), p. 55 and figs. 13, 19.
 - 35 'Ein mann, deme die haut abgezogen und an deme die musculn zu sehen'; see Katrin Achilles-Syndram (ed.), *Die Kunstsammlung des Paulus Praun: Die Inventare von 1616 und 1719*, Nuremberg 1994, pp. 145 (no. 345), 148 (no. 381), 265-66 (no. 543).
 - 36 Nuremberg, Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, Gemälde- und Skulpturensammlung, inv. no. 276. See Hanne Honnens de Lichtenberg, *Johan Gregor van der Schardt: Bildhauer bei Kaiser Maximilian II., am dänischen Hof und bei Tycho Brahe*, Copenhagen 1991, pp. 68-69 and fig. 26 (attributed to Van der Schardt). See also Barbara Eschenburg, *Pygmalions Werkstatt: Die Erschaffung des Menschen im Atelier von der Renaissance bis zum Surrealismus*, exh. cat. Munich (Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau) 2001, no. 106.
 - 37 Barbara Gutfleisch and Joachim Menzhausen, "How a Kunstammer Should be Formed", Gabriel Kaltmarck's Advice to Christian I of Saxony on the Formation of an Art Collection, 1587', *Journal of the History*

- of *Collections* 1 (1989), no. 1, pp. 3-32, esp. p. 18; Lorenzo Principi, 'Una anatomia cavalletta: Van der Scharlt, Sculptor in Bronze between Bologna and Mantua', *Simiolus* 41 (2019), no. 3, pp. 191-208.
- 38 Principi 2019 (note 37), pp. 194-97 and figs. 2-9.
- 39 Cf. Titia de Haseth Möller and Frits Scholten, 'Paludanus, a Humanist Sculptor Working for Spain', in Caecilie Weissert, Sabine Poeschel and Nils Büttner (eds.), *Zwischen Lust und Frust: Die Kunst in den Niederlanden und am Hof Philipps II. von Spanien (1527-1598)*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2013, pp. 149-72.
- 40 Cf. Joris van Gastel, 'Hoc opus exculpit Io. Bologna. Andreas Andreanus Incisit: Andrea Andreani's chiaroscuro houtsneden naar Giambologna', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 55 (2007), no. 1, pp. 15-39.
- 41 The existence of a rather rudimentary bronze cast after Paludanus's écorché (h. 46 cm), furnished with an unknown monogram 'S.A.', bearing the date 1615 and held in a French private collection (2020), also indicates a larger dissemination of his invention than currently surmised.
- 42 Filippo Baldinucci (Ferdinando Ranalli ed.), *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua [...]*, 7 vols., Florence 1974-75 (original ed. 1681), vol. 3, p. 205 ('le lezioni delle scienze, ed arti, più nobili, e molte particolarmente quelle dell'anatomia'); Krahn (ed.) 1995 (note 34), no. 124.
- 43 Zofia Ameisenowa, *The Problem of the Écorché and the Three Anatomical Models in the Jagiellonian Library*, Krakow 1963, esp. pp. 31ff.; Amerson 1975 (note 10), p. 10; Krahn (ed.) 1995 (note 34), nos. 102-103; Patricia Wengraf, *Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Hill Collection*, New York/London 2014, pp. 100-03, and Kwakkelstein 2021 (note 13), p. 54, and fig. 18.
- 44 The status of another, rather sloppily modelled bronze écorché known thanks to two surviving casts is vague, despite the (unfounded) claim describing it as 'one of the earliest surviving examples of a sculpted écorché known to exist' purportedly dating from before 1550; see Wengraf 2014 (note 43), pp. 100-07 (no. 4). There are no solid grounds to support an early dating; on the contrary, the fact that the model also figures in a drawing by Passarotti (1529-1592) from the fifteen eighties more likely points to an origin in the second half of the sixteenth century. Cf. Amerson 1975 (note 10), p. 232, and Corinna Höper, *Bartolomeo Passarotti (1529-1592)*, 2 vols., Worms 1987, vol. 1, pp. 189-90, and vol. 2, no. z 328; Kwakkelstein 2021 (note 13), pp. 43, 57 and figs. 21, 25. Wengraf moreover relied on an old attribution of this model to Michelangelo, recently given new life by Kwakkelstein on scarcely convincing arguments; see Kwakkelstein 2021 (note 13), pp. 56-62 and figs. 21, 22.
- 45 Scholten 2003 (note 2), pp. 69-70 and figs. 83, 84.
- 46 For the connection between anatomical figures and antique sculpture, see Monique Kornell, 'Anatomy and the Antique', in Monique Kornell et al., *Flesh and Bones: The Art of Anatomy*, Los Angeles 2022, pp. 35-45, and Frits Scholten, *The Modeller: Adriaen de Vries in Search of the Viva Figura*, Boston/Leiden 2025. Tetrode himself produced a reduced copy of both Dioscuri sculptures for the Pitigliano cabinet, see Scholten (ed.) 2003 (note 2), figs. 95, 96.
- 47 Scholten 2003 (note 2), fig. 45.
- 48 Manfred Sellink, "'As a Guide to the Highest Learning": An Antwerp Drawing Book Dated 1589', *Simiolus* 21 (1992), nos. 1-2, pp. 40-56, esp. fig. 22.
- 49 Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture*, London/New York 1995, pp. 43-53 (also referring to Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, New York 1981, p. 369).
- 50 *The Metamorphoses of Ovid* (Mary M. Innes transl./ed.), Harmondsworth 1980, p. 145, Liber vi.
- 51 Sawday 1995 (note 49), p. 186 (referring to Juan Valverde's figure: 'in keeping with the convention of self-dissection, Marsyas and Apollo have merged into a single flayed figure who holds a knife in one hand and in the other, his own skin'); for Valverde, see notes 52, 53 in the present study.
- 52 Cf. Sawday 1995 (note 49), figs. 14 (Adrianus Spigelius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, 1627, plate 2), 17 (Jacobus Berengarius, *Commentaria [...] super Anatomiam Mundini*, 1521), 24 (Juan Valverde, *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano*, Rome 1556, plate 1, and fig. 16 in the present study).
- 53 Bjørn Okholm Skaarup, 'The Unexpected Success of a Spanish Anatomy Book: Juan Valverde de Amusco's *Historia de la composicion del cuerpo humano* (Rome, 1556), and Its Many Later Editions', in Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (eds.), *Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World*, Leiden 2015, pp. 123-41.

