

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XVIII

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

Kraków 2023

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Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska née Meyendorff (1833–1916), autor I. Makarov, 1880

Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska z domu Meyendorff (1833–1916), autor I. Makarow, 1880

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XVIII *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Zawartość obecnego tomu oraz tomy archiwalne są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Na stronie dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

W roku 2023 przypada 120. rocznica Daru Rodziny Czapskich. Jego autorką była Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska z domu Meyendorff (1833–1916) i jej synowie Jerzy (1861–1930) i Karol (1860–1904) Hutten-Czapscy. Dar hrabiego Emeryka Hutten Czapskiego (1828–1896), obejmujący znakomitą kolekcję numizmatów polskich i z Polską związanych oraz zaprojektowany według jego życzeń i dokończony przez wdowę pawilon muzealny, złożony na rzecz Gminy Miasta Kraków, czyli de facto Narodu Polskiego, miał olbrzymie znaczenie nie tylko dla jakości kolekcji numizmatycznej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, ale także dla rozwoju całościowo pojmowanej numizmatyki polskiej. Ponad 11 tysięcy polskich monet, medali i pieniędzy papierowych, wśród nich wiele unikatów lub rzadkości, stanowiło, stanowi i będzie stanowić podstawę dla organizowanych przez Muzeum wystaw, dla edukacji numizmatycznej i ekonomicznej szerokiej rzeszy publiczności i wreszcie dla badań naukowych nad różnymi zagadnieniami z zakresu numizmatyki polskiej i nie tylko. Nie należy również zapominać o społecznym znaczeniu Daru Rodziny Czapskich. Poczynając od 1903 roku, do dziś całe pokolenia zainspirowanych nim darczyńców wzbogacały i wzbogacają kolekcję numizmatyczną Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie w pragnieniu nawiązania do czynu Czapskich czy też chęci uzupełnienia muzealnych zbiorów o obiekty, których hrabia nie posiadał. Zapatrzeni w jakość zbioru zbudowanego przez Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego nie możemy jednak zapomnieć o rzeczywistej ofiarodawczyni, wdowie po kolekcjonerze – Elżbiecie. Bez niej i jej decyzji fantastyczna, unikatowa kolekcja zapewne uległaby rozproszeniu, jak wiele innych zbiorów, a w każdym razie nie byłaby dostępna dla wszystkich zainteresowanych polską i światową numizmatyką. Dzięki jej decyzji o ofiarowaniu zbiorów męża Narodowi możemy dzisiaj podziwiać zbiory hrabiego w Muzeum jego imienia przy ulicy Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 12 w Krakowie. Elżbieta poprzez dar realizowała plan zachowania kolekcjonerskiego dziedzictwa męża. Wspierała go zresztą w jego pasji już wcześniej. Pomagała mu przy pracach nad zbiorem, wykonując precyzyjne rysunki monet i medali. Pamięci hrabiny Elżbiety Hutten-Czapskiej pragniemy zadekować obecny tom naszego czasopisma.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present you with volume 18 of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*. As is our policy, we publish all texts in the congress languages, with English and Polish abstracts. The contents of the current volume and archive numbers are available as PDF files on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). The website also provides all general information about the journal, along with guidelines for authors and reviewers.

The year 2023 marked the 120th anniversary of the Czapski Family Donation. The donation was made by Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska, née Meyendorff (1833–1916), and her sons Jerzy (1861–1930) and Karol Hutten-Czapski (1860–1904), and comprised Count Emeric Hutten Czapski's (1828–1896) magnificent collection of numismatic items from Poland and connected with Poland, as well as a museum pavilion designed according to his wishes and completed by his widow. It was given to the Municipal Commune of Krakow, i.e. de facto to the Polish Nation, and was of enormous significance not only for the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow, but also for the development of Polish numismatics in general. Including many rare and unique pieces, the more than 11,000 Polish coins, medals, and paper money that comprise the collection have been, and will continue to be, the basis for exhibitions organised by the Museum for the numismatic and economic education of the general public, as well as research into various problems in Polish numismatics and beyond. The social significance of the Czapski Family Donation should not be forgotten either. Since 1903, generations of donors inspired by this act have contributed to the enrichment of the numismatic collection of the National Museum in Krakow in their desire to follow in the footsteps of the Czapski family or to supplement the museum's holdings with objects that the Count did not have. While admiring the quality of the collection assembled by Emeryk Hutten-Czapski, however, we cannot forget the actual donor, his widow Elżbieta. Without her and her decision, this fantastic, unique collection would probably have been dispersed, like many other collections, and in any case would not have been accessible to all those interested in Polish and world numismatics. Thanks to her decision to donate her husband's holdings to the nation, today we can admire the Count's collection in the eponymous museum at 12 Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego Street in Krakow. Through the donation, Elżbieta pursued a plan to preserve her husband's collecting heritage. In fact, she had already supported her husband in his passion previously, assisting him in his work on the collection by making precise drawings of coins and medals. We would like to dedicate the present volume of our journal to the memory of Countess Elżbieta Hutten-Czapska.

The Editors

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Giovanni Maria Mosca (Called Padovano) and Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. A Revision of the *Oeuvre* of Italian Medallists at the Court of the Last Jagiellons*

ABSTRACT: The article presents new findings and arguments on the attribution of a group of medals produced during the reign of the last Polish kings from the Jagiellonian dynasty – Sigismund I the Old and Sigismund II Augustus. These medals were created in the first half of the 16th century at the courts in Krakow and Vilnius by two artists who came from Italy – Giovanni Maria Mosca (called Padovano) and Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. The artists had different artistic formations, and they work differ significantly from each other in both technique and style. Mosca’s and Caraglio’s medals, being among the oldest medallic portraits of Polish kings, were frequently copied for the needs of collectors over the following centuries; only a small number of originals are known. The author revises known specimens of the Padovano medals and, in the case of Caraglio’s medallic *oeuvre*, rejects the attribution of some of the works made to this artist.

KEY WORDS: Renaissance medals, Jagiellonian dynasty, Giovanni Maria Mosca (Padovano), Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio

ABSTRAKT: *Giovanni Maria Mosca (zwany Padovano) i Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. Rewizja oeuvre medalierskiego artystów włoskich na dworze ostatnich Jagiellonów*

W artykule zaprezentowano nowe odkrycia i ustalenia dotyczące atrybucji grupy medali powstałych w czasie panowania ostatnich królów polskich z dynastii Jagiel-

* This paper was presented at the meeting of the Commission on Art History of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Krakow on 26th January 2023. Polish version available at: <https://mnk.pl/tom-xviii-notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne>.

lonów – Zygmunta I Starego i Zygmunta II Augusta. Na dworach w Krakowie i Wilnie w 1. połowie XVI wieku medale wykonywało dwóch artystów przybyłych z Italii – Giovanni Maria Mosca (zwany Padovano) i Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio. Mieli oni różne formacje artystyczne, a tworzone przez nich dzieła znacznie różnią się od siebie w technice i w stylu. Medale zarówno Moski, jak i Caraglia, jako jedne z najstarszych medalierskich wizerunków królów polskich, były przez kolejne wieki często kopowane na potrzeby kolekcjonerskie, oryginalnych egzemplarzy zachowało się jednak niewiele. Autorka dokonuje rewizji znanych egzemplarzy medali autorstwa Padovana, a w wypadku *oeuvre* medalierskiego Caraglia odpisuje artyście niektóre prace.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: medale renesansowe, dynastia Jagiellonów, Giovanni Maria Mosca (Padovano), Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio

Most of the earliest portrait medals created for the royal court of the Polish Jagiellons in the second half of the 1520s and early 1530s were the work of popular German medallists, with those made by artists with Italian backgrounds appearing until the latter end of the time period.¹ There were only two Italian medallists at the Jagiellonian court – the sculptor Giovanni Maria Mosca (ca. 1493/1495/1499–1574) and the copperplate engraver and goldsmith Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio (1505–1565). Neither of them had previous experience in medal-making before coming to Poland, and both left few medals as a result.

GIOVANNI MARIA MOSCA, CALLED PADOVANO

Giovanni Maria Mosca² received his artistic training in the workshops of Italian sculptors, above all the brothers Tullio and Antonio Lombardo. He was active in Padua and Venice, where he mainly made sculptures in stone, in full and in relief, and is also known as a creator of small classicising reliefs in marble.³ Among the works attributed to Padovano are also small plaquettes in bronze, like *Satyress*, *Dido* (the Palazzo Venezia type (Fig. 1)), *Artemis* (Fig. 2), and a unique plaquette with *Achilles and Penthesilea*.⁴ He was thus quite adept as a sculptor in a variety of materials, working on both large and small scales.

¹ For medals from the times of the Jagiellon dynasty see above all: GUMOWSKI 1906 (with older literature); IDEM 1925: 31–54; KRAWCZUK-BIERNATOWA 1986; MORKA 2008 (also earlier: IDEM 2006: 310–327 and 393–422); GRZEŃDA 2020a (on medals see pp. 33–55 and a supplemented version of the same paper: GRZEŃDA 2020b); BYLICKI 2021; SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA 2023.

² For the artist see above all the monograph by MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998.

³ MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998: chap. 3: “The Small Classicizing Relief”.

⁴ These small plaquettes have not been included in the monograph by Markham Schulz, who attributes only the larger bronze plaquettes to Mosca: *Decapitation of St. John* (S. Maria Assunta, Padua; MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998: 23–24 and Cat. 8) and the plaquette with the personification of Peace from the National Gallery in Washington (sometimes attributed to Antonio Lombardo; MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998: 76–77 and Cat. 18). For the unique plaquette with Achilles and Penthesilea see Morton & Eden Ltd, Catalogue no. 113: *Coins, Medals and Plaquettes*, auction in London, 25–26 November 2021, lot. 1057.

The last archival mention of the artist in Italy dates from early April 1529 and relates to his work in the chapel of St. Anthony in the Paduan *Il Santo*.⁵ Mosca left Padua without completing the commission, intending to find his replacement in Venice,⁶ from where he eventually arrived, at an unknown time, in Krakow.⁷ His first recorded works after 1529 are medals with portraits of members of the Polish royal family: King Sigismund I the Old, Queen Bona Sforza, and their two children: Sigismund II Augustus (crowned *vivente rege* as King of Poland in 1530) and Isabella, dated in inscriptions to 1532 (Figs. 3–6).⁸

The only surviving set of all four medals is held in the Galleria Estense in Modena. Individual later casts, or groups of them, can now be found in numerous collections around the world, made in various materials and displaying varying degrees of faithfulness to the originals. As the group of four medals from the Modena collection was relatively little known, many of these were long thought to be originals. The medals of Sigismund the Old, Bona, and Sigismund Augustus were known to 18th- and 19th-century collectors almost exclusively from later copies; their descriptions can already be found in the earliest catalogues of Polish medals. How rare the casts of Padovano's medals were is evidenced by information provided by Edward Raczyński in his *Gabinet Medalów Polskich* [Cabinet of Polish Medals], the oldest catalogue of all known Polish medals, published in 1838. When describing the medal of Sigismund the Old (no. 7), Raczyński notes that “This rare medal is in the collection of the Great Duke in Modena” (perhaps referring to the original?), while describing the medal of Sigismund Augustus (no. 9 bis) he states that “This extremely rare medal is in the library of S. Mark in Venice”, and the medal of Bona “is in the Royal Cabinet in Berlin. No other copy is known” (no. 11). In Raczyński's publication, the medals of kings are illustrated only by drawings, while Queen Bona's

⁵ MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998: 201–202, Appendix I, DOC III, C, 9; MIKOCCA-RACHUBOWA 1998: 378–391.

⁶ MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998: 85, 201–202; cf. MIKOCCA-RACHUBOWA 1998: 268.

⁷ The next archival mention of the artist is a contract for a ciborium for Bishop Piotr Tomicki (from 17 June 1533), MIKOCCA-RACHUBOWA 2000: 380.

⁸ For the series of Jagiellonian medals, see: KOPERA 1899; GUMOWSKI 1906: nos. 65–68; IDEM 1925: 38–39; IDEM 1938: 41–48; KOPERA 1938: 221–233; WIĘCEK 1972: 20–32; RUSZCZYCÓWNA 1976; GRABSKI 1978; MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998: 96–97, 122–124, Appendix II: 286–288 (Cat. 26); MORKA 2006: 65–87; IDEM 2008: 67–82; GRZĘDA 2020a: 42–51; PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 262–265. On the medals of Sigismund the Old, Bona, and Sigismund Augustus see: RACZYŃSKI 1838: no. 7 (Sigismund the Old), no. 9 bis (Sigismund Augustus), no. 11 (Bona); BEYER 1857: no. 3 (Sigismund Augustus); ATTWOOD 2003: no. 1161 (Sigismund the Old), no. 1163 (Bona), no. 1164 (Sigismund Augustus); STAHR 2008: no. 8 (Sigismund Augustus); FISCHETTI and ZACCARIOTTO (eds.) 2018: Cat. 18 (Sigismund Augustus) and 19 (Sigismund the Old); SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA 2019 (Sigismund Augustus); ZACHER, SNIĘŻKO, ZAWADZKI and MĘCŁEWSKA (eds.) 2019: no. 3 (Sigismund the Old), no. 4 (Bona Sforza), no. 5 (Sigismund Augustus). On Isabella's medal see also: KOPERA 1911.

medal was copied from the Berlin specimen⁹ using a glyptic machine, a technological novelty of the time. In the supplement to Raczyński's catalogue published in 1857 by Karol Beyer, the medal of Sigismund Augustus was already published as a plaster cast, with additional information provided (no. 3):

This medal is already known to numismatists from the work of Racz. [Raczyński], which we are supplementing, but this is precisely why it should be published again, as the drawing, and therefore the description, were too inaccurate. According to R., it is to be found in the Library of S. [Saint] Mark in Venice, it is also in the Collection of the Paris Mint, cast in bronze, (...) it is one of the most beautiful of its time, and the Paduan should be counted among the finest sculptors.¹⁰

The group of four original casts was only discovered in the Modena collection by Feliks Kopera in 1898, which also revealed the existence of the medal of Princess Isabella,¹¹ as Kopera reported one year later in *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*:

The collection of the d'Este family (...) consists of (...) a gallery of paintings and a collection of medals. The latter contains, to the best of my knowledge previously unknown number of as many as four Polish medals by Padovano, cast in bronze, seven centimetres in diameter and forming a single cycle; the first depicts Sigismund the Old, the second Bona, the third Sigismund Augustus and the fourth, so far completely unknown to science, is that of Isabella Jagiellon (...) The medals were in storage and were put on public display not long before my visit to Modena in August 1898. The specimens were not numbered or catalogued. I wanted to make casts or photographs immediately, but as often happens in Italian provincial museums, the director was not available, and everything was left at the mercy of the servants, who had no authority or desire to allow making copies, so that I cannot present the pictures. I was barely allowed to take the exact measurement of the diameter. I also inspected them carefully and could convince myself of the purity of the cast made directly from the original mould, with the details blurred on other specimens being exquisitely legible here. Only a little bit of chasing is visible here and there.

Despite the fact that I left a request to the directors for the casts, and that I wrote to them both privately and officially from Krakow, a year has passed and no casts have

⁹ A specimen then in the collection of Benoni Friedländer, now in the Berlin Numismatic Cabinet, Inv. no. 18310829 (BÖRNER 1997: no. 915). It was replaced with an engraving in the 1945 edition.

¹⁰ BEYER 1857: 4.

¹¹ Kopera returned to the subject of Padovano's medals in 1911, again in the pages of the *Wiadomości*, to give a correct interpretation of the iconography of the reverse of Isabella's medal (KOPERA 1911).

been delivered. Perhaps somebody among the readers, while in Modena, will find the director of the museum and see to it that copies are made, especially of Isabella's medal, because this deserves it above all.¹²

In describing the Modena medals, Kopera mentioned two other noteworthy specimens. One was another copy of the Sigismund the Old medal in the Modena collection, described as follows: "The main side of this medal of the same diameter (...) cast separately in lead, as a medallion, intended to be worn probably, as evidenced by a hole in the upper part".¹³ Then, perhaps following Raczyński, he mentioned a second copy of the Sigismund Augustus medal "also in bronze [held] in the Venetian collection at the Doge's Palace".¹⁴ Shortly afterwards, in 1904, all the medals were mentioned in the second volume of *Pomniki Krakowa* [Monuments of Krakow].¹⁵ The authors suggested that the medals may have found their way to Modena, to Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este, a friend of the Polish royal family, via the royal physician, John Andrew Valentini, a native of Modena. This concept was repeated by subsequent researchers.¹⁶ It was not until 1998 that it was correctly rejected by Anne Markham Schulz, who was the first to point out that there were two cardinals d'Este of the same name, one of whom – closely related to Queen Bona – died in 1520, so could not have been the recipient of the medals, while the other (more famous than his uncle) was only 23 years old in 1532, had become Archbishop of Milan at the age of 10, but was not yet a cardinal, and above all was no longer so closely associated with Bona.¹⁷ Despite this, the belief that the medals were sent as a gift to "Cardinal d'Este, Archbishop of Milan" (thus referring to both at the same time) still persists, somewhat unfounded, in the literature.¹⁸

In 1906,¹⁹ Marian Gumowski published a catalogue entitled *Medale Jagiellonów* [Medals of the Jagiellons]. He described the specimens found by Kopera as original, emphasising that "what we have in Poland are only later casts" and additionally

¹² IDEM 1899: 117–119.

¹³ *Ibidem*: 117.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*: 118.

¹⁵ CERCHA, CERCHA and KOPERA 1904: 205–206, 209. Kopera repeats the information about the second copy in his paper on Padovano (KOPERA 1938: 229).

¹⁶ It is repeated by Jerzy Żarnecki in 1945 in a text published in *The Burlington Magazine* (ŻARNECKI 1945: 10). In 1972, the concept was adapted by Adam Więcek in his popular-science book *Dzieje medalierstwa w Polsce* [History of Medal Making in Poland] (WIĘCEK 1972: 23) and thus disseminated in the literature. Then in 1978, it was repeated by Józef Grabski (GRABSKI 1978: 22), with reference to Żarnecki.

¹⁷ MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998: 287.

¹⁸ Mentioned twice by Morka (MORKA 2006: 397; IDEM 2008: 67), and recently in PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 262–265.

¹⁹ Two years earlier, in 1904, the four Padovano medals found in Modena were mentioned at a congress in Rome by Józef Zieliński (ZIELIŃSKI 1904: 356–360), without, however, bringing any new information on the issue.

pointing out that “the casting is still going on, as it is an open secret that one serious Warsaw company took part in it not so long ago”.²⁰ Indeed, many of the silver casts often reproduced in the literature, especially the medals of Bona and Sigismund Augustus, are 19th-century copies. These include, for example, a specimen from the collection of Count Emeryk Hutten-Czapski (Cz. 9340; Fig. 7),²¹ described in the collection catalogue as having been made at the *Dank* workshop in Warsaw “after the original, which is in the St. Mark’s Library”.²² It is worth noting that in 1891, when the fourth volume of the catalogue of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski’s collection was being published, it was still the Venetian medal that was regarded as the only known original.

Apart from the Modena group, Gumowski also listed in *Medale Jagiellonów* the following specimens as originals: the Bona medal in Berlin known to Raczyński, the Sigismund Augustus medal in the St. Mark’s Library in Venice, and “the specimen in the Munich cabinet”.²³ Despite being aware that domestic collections contained only copies and later casts, Gumowski published reproductions of plaster casts of three medals from the collection of Emeryk Hutten-Czapski in his catalogue because of their immediate availability.²⁴ He must have acquired a plaster cast of the medal of Isabella Jagiellon (perhaps the one commissioned by Feliks Kopera) only when the preparation of the book for print was at an advanced stage, as evidenced by the inclusion of this image on an additional plate numbered XVIIIb (Fig. 8).

Foreign researchers became aware of the Modena medals only in 1928, when George Francis Hill, the famous British numismatist, published a reference to the 16th-century medals he had recently learned about. Three years earlier, in 1925, a group of four medals, “in so extraordinarily fresh a condition that I can only suppose them to have been sent to the then Duke of Ferrara²⁵ at the time of their production”, had been shown to him by the then director of the Modena gallery, Ricci. Ricci sent him photographs of the medals, but these were, according to Hill, so unsatisfactory that he ultimately did not publish them in his later article, regretfully contenting himself “with a mere description”.²⁶

²⁰ GUMOWSKI 1906: 63.

²¹ Currently as Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-290.

²² HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1891: 320–321. Similar specimens can be found, among others, in the collections of the National Museum in Poznań (STAHR 2008: no. 8) and the Royal Castle in Warsaw (ZACHER, ŚNIEŻKO, ZAWADZKI and MEĆCLEWSKA (eds.) 2019: no. 5). At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, this type of medal was regularly reproduced in medal catalogues and scholarly texts (see, for example, BEYER 1857; GUMOWSKI 1906; KOPERA 1938) and it still happens today.

²³ GUMOWSKI 1906: 65.

²⁴ Sigismund the Old (Pl. XVI), Bona Sforza (Pl. XVII), Sigismund Augustus (Pl. XVIII).

²⁵ Alfonso I d’Este. Alfonso was the son of Ercole I d’Este and Eleonora of Aragon, daughter of King Ferrante of Aragon. The d’Este family ruled in Ferrara and Modena.

²⁶ HILL 1928.

In the late 1930s, the series of Jagiellonian medals by Padovano was addressed in several more articles. In the 1937 issue of *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne* (published 1938), Gumowski published a paper about three different series of Jagiellonian portraits.²⁷ Describing the medal of Sigismund the Old, he stated that “the original cast of this medal is in the Palazzo Publico in Modena, another, also original, in the Potocki collection in Krakow, both in lead”; about Bona’s medal: “the only original bronze cast is in the aforementioned d’Este Museum in Modena”; about the medal of Sigismund Augustus: “the original bronze casts of this medal are in the Public Museum in Modena, in the St. Mark’s Library in Venice, and in the Numismatic Cabinet in Munich”; and finally about Isabella: “the only known and original specimen, cast in bronze, is in the d’Este Museum in Modena”.²⁸ In the same year, Feliks Kopera in his next paper on Padovano already presented photographs, but these were, again, of three medals from Czapski’s collection, and one of a plaster cast of Isabella’s medal from Modena.²⁹ Also in 1938 (published 1939), the Jagiellonian series was commented upon by Joanna Eckhardtówna,³⁰ who was the first to note that there was no evidence that the series of medals of the royal family had actually been made during Padovano’s stay in Poland. She drew attention to errors in the ages of those portrayed in the inscriptions on the medals.³¹

Another important voice in the discussion came in 1978 with an article by Józef Grabski, in which he focused primarily on the iconography and composition of the medals.³² Pointing out the incorrect age of the portrayed royals given in the inscriptions, Grabski also admitted a possibility that “the medals were not created at the royal court in Krakow, where they would have seen to the correctness of the data, but were made while Padovano was still in Italy”.³³ Based on the observation that some of the dates in the inscriptions are shifted by exactly one year, Grabski suggested that the medals “were made in the Veneto region or Venice itself, where time was measured *modo veneto*”.³⁴ The proposition that the medals could be created before the artist’s arrival in Poland, and thus that the images of the king and queen were made by Mosca on the basis of unknown “woodcut or painted” images supplied to him by an unknown intermediary, was later embraced by Mieczysław Morka, who also pointed out that the images of the king and queen were not meant to depict the

²⁷ GUMOWSKI 1938.

²⁸ *Ibidem*: 41–42.

²⁹ See KOPERA 1938: 221–222.

³⁰ ECKHARDTÓWNA 1939.

³¹ *Ibidem*: 43–44.

³² GRABSKI 1978.

³³ *Ibidem*: 23–25, 32.

³⁴ *Ibidem*: 32.

real features of the portrayed, as they belonged to the sphere of symbolic portraiture which as a rule is idealised,³⁵ the images of children he considered straightforwardly as idealised imaginary portraits.³⁶

A turning point in the research on the medals came with the publication of Anne Markham Schulz's monograph on Padovano in 1998, in which she argued that the obverses and reverses of the medals were actually made by two different individuals.³⁷ She attributes the obverses to an anonymous local sculptor (while assuming that the errors in the inscriptions must have been intentional).³⁸ Schulz writes: "Remarkably, it has escaped all notice that obverses and reverses bear no relation to one another. From the fact that there is nothing like these portrait among Italian medals, I infer that their author was Polish; in all events, he was not experienced at making medals".³⁹ In arguing for the dual authorship of the medals, Markham Schulz points to features such as the unusually high relief, the lack of analogies for similar images in Italian medal-making, the clumsy positioning of the busts in the field and the lack of coherence between them, wrong perspective, and the differences in lettering evident between obverses and reverses.⁴⁰ She considers the image of Sigismund the Old to be particularly bad;⁴¹ its inconsistency with other contemporary portraits of the king was also pointed out earlier by Eckhardtówna.⁴²

However, the dual authorship theory has not caught on among researchers. It was rejected by Philip Attwood in his review of Markham Schulz's book, published in 2000 in *The Medal*.⁴³ Attwood categorically states: "it is clear that the design of both sides of all four medals was the work of one individual".⁴⁴ In response to Markham Schulz's argument regarding the lettering, Attwood notes that the changes in letter size must have been due to the length of the inscription placed, while the shape of the individual letters is identical on both sides (Attwood also notes the characteristic starting of the inscription with a capital letter). What Attwood believes to be the strongest evidence for Mosca's authorship, however, is the artist's ostentatious signatures; he finds it unlikely that such a dominant signature would apply to only one side of the work. Attwood, like Markham Schulz, considers portraits of the royal

³⁵ MORKA 2006: 324–325.

³⁶ *Ibidem*: 400.

³⁷ MARKHAM SCHULZ 1998: 124.

³⁸ *Ibidem*: 123.

³⁹ *Ibidem*: 124, see also 160.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*: 124.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*: 123. Of the four portraits of members of the royal family, the image of King Sigismund the Old raises the most objections. It differs so strongly from other contemporary portraits of that monarch that it was sometimes cited as the main argument for the foreign provenance of the medals (ECKHARDTÓWNA 1939: 43–44).

⁴² *Ibidem*: 44.

⁴³ ATTWOOD 2000: 114–118; see also IDEM 2003: 461.

⁴⁴ IDEM 2000: 115.

family to be the work of an artist inexperienced in portraiture, but he ironically points out that Giovanni Maria Mosca was just such an artist.⁴⁵ Furthermore, he notes that when Mosca obtained a commission for the medals while in Poland, he had no Italian medals at his disposal with which to consult or on which to model his work.⁴⁶ Regarding the most unsuccessful (according to Markham Schulz) portrait of King Sigismund the Old, Attwood states the following: “This sensitive portrait was undoubtedly modelled in wax, and is more likely to be the work of an Italian artist than that of a Pole, or – a possibility not mentioned by Schulz – a German”.⁴⁷

Markham Schulz’s attribution hypothesis has not caught on Polish soil, either. Katarzyna Mikoćka-Rachubowa questioned it in her review, asking: “would an artist who made only the reverses of medals – parts of undoubtedly lesser importance than portraits of the royal family – dare to put his signature, as the only one, on works that were not his exclusive creation?”⁴⁸ Maria Stahr, on the other hand, declared: “While sharing some of the author’s assessments, it is difficult to fully support her thesis. The four *polonica* are Padovano’s only medallic works. There is no way to compare them with other small portrait reliefs to exclude or confirm his authorship”.⁴⁹

However, Markham Schulz’s hypothesis was recently endorsed in two articles by Mateusz Grzęda,⁵⁰ who identifies the author of the obverses as the popular German medallist Christoph Weiditz, the author of three medals of Johannes Dantiscus.⁵¹ Dantiscus met Padovano during his stay at the court of Emperor Charles V and, according to Grzęda, may have commissioned the four medals for members of the royal family. Grzęda suggests that they may have been made by Weiditz from portraits supplied to the artist and then sent to the Krakow court as finished one-sided medals, or still as models in wood.⁵² As for Padovano’s signatures featuring on the reverses, Grzęda states that: “Putting his own signature on each of them can probably be seen as a form of self-advertisement, an attempt to build authority in the unknown milieu of the elites of the Jagiellonian court”.⁵³ It was mainly for this reason that Markham Schulz’s theory of dual authorship has not been accepted either abroad or in Poland,⁵⁴ and its variant developed by Grzęda has recently been

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*: 116.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ MIKOĆKA-RACHUBOWA 2000: 268.

⁴⁹ STAHR 2008: no. 8.

⁵⁰ GRZĘDA 2020a and 2020b.

⁵¹ On the medals of Dantiscus see: KIESZKOWSKI 1922; GUMOWSKI 1929; SKOLIMOWSKA (forthcoming).

⁵² GRZĘDA 2020a: 47–49.

⁵³ *Ibidem*: 49–51.

⁵⁴ See: ZACHER, ŚNIEŻKO, ZAWADZKI and MĘCLESKA (eds.) 2019: 17.

challenged by Przemysław Mrozowski.⁵⁵ To be able to discuss the authorship of the Jagiellonian series on the basis of stylistic features, we must first distinguish original works from later casts and copies among those presented by scholars.

Of the medals mentioned in the literature as original, I have been unable to identify only the medal of Sigismund Augustus “in the Collection of the Paris Mint” mentioned by Karol Beyer (no such medal is currently in the Mint’s collection),⁵⁶ and the one of Sigismund Augustus from the “Munich Cabinet” mentioned by Gumowski. The lead specimen of Sigismund the Old from the collection of Count Andrzej Potocki in Krakow, which Gumowski described in 1906 as a later cast, but mentioned again in 1938 as an original,⁵⁷ is now in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw,⁵⁸ and cannot be considered original. Similarly, the second medal of Sigismund the Old seen by Kopera in Modena, which he described as a lead medallion with a hole, is in fact a later cast in bronze.⁵⁹ The medal of Bona Sforza in the Berlin collection, published by Raczyński, is a later cast as well.⁶⁰ Finally, discussing Padovano’s medals considered originals it is worth noting John Graham Pollard’s catalogues for the collection of the Washington National Gallery of Art, where he twice mentions what he believes to be an original lead medal of Sigismund Augustus that appeared at Lepke’s auction in Berlin in 1913.⁶¹ However, just by looking at the photograph of the medal in the auction catalogue, it can be assumed with certainty that we are not dealing with an original in this case either.⁶²

Of greatest interest, however, is the medal of Sigismund Augustus from Venice, which many old numismatists regarded as original. Józef Grabski found a very early provenance for this specimen, from 1800, when it was mentioned by Jacopo Morelli in a commentary on Marcantonio Michiel’s *Notizia d’opere di disegno*, written in the first half of the 16th century.⁶³ Morelli wrote that this medal “of medium size, in bronze, is in the Museo della Regia Libreria di San Marco”. The medal is currently held (along with the rest of medal collection from the Marciana Library) in the collection of the Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca’ d’Oro (under inventory number 481), where

⁵⁵ MROZOWSKI 2021: 104, fn. 368.

⁵⁶ Information from Monnaie de Paris.

⁵⁷ GUMOWSKI 1938: 41.

⁵⁸ Inv. no. 7189 NPOMN.

⁵⁹ Inv. no. R.C.G.E. 9315. This specimen has a dark patina and could perhaps have been mistaken for lead. There are no other copies of the Sigismund the Old medal in the Modena collection apart from these two, and it must be assumed that this is the one mentioned by Kopera, and after him by Gumowski.

⁶⁰ See fn. 9.

⁶¹ HILL and POLLARD 1967: 77, Cat. 412 and POLLARD 2007: 471, Cat. 469.

⁶² See: *Münzen und Medaillen* 1913: lot. 316 and Pl. 3.

⁶³ GRABSKI 1978: 23; MARCANTONIO MICHIEL (ed. 1800): 102–103, fn. 13.

I managed to find and examine it in 2017 (Fig. 9).⁶⁴ This specimen is an early cast copy very close to the original, with a diameter of 69 mm, which is the same as the original, with clear relief, good alloy colour and a nice dark patina, which was unfortunately scraped clumsily off in places probably to “freshen up” the appearance of the specimen.⁶⁵

On the basis of the above review, it can therefore be assumed that, with the current state of knowledge, the group of medals in the Galleria Estense in Modena remain the only originals – and the only complete set preserved.

As for the attribution of the medals, as mentioned above, each of the medals of the Jagiellonian series is signed on the reverse with the sobriquet PATAVINUS (“Paduan”).⁶⁶ On each of the four reverses, however, the signature has been composed differently (Figs. 3–6), which suggests some pre-planning. Placing the artist’s signature on the reverse is part of an Italian tradition. It was initiated by Pisanello, the inventor of the concept of the modern medal, who used to put large signatures on his medals, with other Italian medallists following suit. The signature was very often the only inscription on the reverse. According to Gumowski, the purpose was “to draw the attention of the people portrayed and to etch the artist’s name into their memory”.⁶⁷ This indeed seems to have been the artist’s aim in this case too – to popularise, but above all to commemorate, his name as the author of royal effigies in bronze. To presume that Padovano could have signed a work not of his own authorship contradicts not only universal ethical principles, but also the ideals of the period, a time when the words *opus* and *fecit*, appearing in signatures, were supposed to refer to the golden age of antiquity and place the creators in the ranks of great artists proudly displaying their names on their works. On a more down-to-earth level, it also seems highly unlikely that Padovano would have sort of appropriated sculptures by such a hugely popular artist as Weiditz in a medium whose main purpose was multiplication and dissemination. This kind of appropriation would, after all, be risky for the artist and could easily discredit him. Thus, even if we would like to accept Markham Schulz and Mateusz Grzęda’s hypothesis that the artist was commissioned to make only the reverse sides of the medals, I see no reason why he would then additionally sign the commissioned works, which he – being accustomed to working in workshops – never actually signed.

On the other hand, however, Mateusz Grzęda is very much spot on noting the similarity of Mosca’s medals to Weiditz’s works. It cannot be denied that they have

⁶⁴ See: SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA 2019 (in this article I incorrectly attributed the information about the medal to Marcantonio Michiel, instead of Morelli).

⁶⁵ Interestingly, similar “scratches” appear on the surface of the Sigismund the Old medal in the Bargello collection, probably another fairly early cast.

⁶⁶ On the medal of Isabella shortened as PAT.

⁶⁷ GUMOWSKI 1938: 46.

many points in common. Firstly, the lettering is similar, inscriptions begin with a capital letter, and there are similar punctuation marks in the form of a triangle, and identical Latin abbreviations. It is also worth noting that the diameters of Mosca's medals and a large proportion of Weiditz's medals are very similar. This, however, is not necessarily because of dual authorship. In my opinion, this may be because Mosca was asked to produce works that imitated forms that had already been known at court at the time – possibly the medals of Dantiscus by Christoph Weiditz (see Fig. 10). Artistic imitation was perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the age, nor was it spurned or condemned.⁶⁸

It is also important to note the differences in how the two artists formed the portraits. In the case of Weiditz, an experienced medallist, the portraits are more firmly set in the obverse field, usually truncated in the lower part in the almost crescent shape, and – usually – positioned almost frontally or $\frac{3}{4}$ facing the viewer (Fig. 10). Mosca's portraits have very different proportions: barring the massive bust of the queen, the bodies are quite frail and the heads small. Weiditz uses relatively low relief on his medals, although when viewed frontally, his medals appear more plastic than they actually are (Fig. 11). With Mosca, there is a certain lack of coherence in the use of relief height – while the bust of Sigismund the Old has a rather low relief,⁶⁹ the exuberant plasticity of the bust of the queen, the strong contrasts used here, betray a desire to step beyond the framework of the medallic form, towards full sculpture (Fig. 12).⁷⁰ At the same time – as pointed out by earlier authors – all the faces are depicted in profile. Still, the queen's characteristically “chubby” face resembles that of a putto. A very similarly modelling can be seen in the face of Artemis on the plaquette from the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Fig. 2).

Giovanni Maria Mosca's medals were described by George Francis Hill as “more curious than beautiful”.⁷¹ And indeed, it is difficult to find similar handling of obverse images in either Italian or German medallic art. Gumowski observed that his works “are (...) not executed in medal-making fashion” and prove “that the artist was not a medallist, but a sculptor and stonemason in the sense of the word at the time, that this portrait series is actually a casual work of his (...)”.⁷² Józef Grabski drew attention to certain failings in the composition of the portraits, especially of King Sigismund the Old and Bona, where one is particularly struck

⁶⁸ It is noteworthy that Weiditz himself borrowed the most distinctive features of his style from Friedrich Hagenauer, and that many early German medallists so faithfully imitated their more popular colleagues that a whole host of unsigned German medals now have very uncertain attributions, or none at all.

⁶⁹ The variation in the height of the reliefs was noted by Grabski (GRABSKI 1978: 23).

⁷⁰ Some Italian medallists of the time used surprisingly high relief, most notably Francesco da Sangallo.

⁷¹ See: HILL 1920: 98.

⁷² GUMOWSKI 1938: 46.

by “an artistically unsuccessful attempt to reconcile a profile with a frontal view”.⁷³ This attempt, according to Grabski, is far more successful in the case of Bona’s medal, whose relief is higher.⁷⁴ Commenting on this observation, it is necessary to draw attention to another important element related to the way medallic art is experienced. Medals were and are intended to be held in the hands and viewed at close range, and experiencing them is a process similar to the perception of other sculptures (three-dimensional forms).⁷⁵ Medals are independent works, made to be viewed in motion, from different angles, and with light bringing out the plasticity of form and richness of detail in the relief. All of this cannot be experienced in the two-dimensional form of a drawing or photograph to which we so often refer today. Much of Mosca-medallist’s ineptitude can therefore be explained by the expertise and temperament of Mosca-sculptor, whose plastic forms always boldly step out of the plane of relief, while in the Jagiellonian medals they had to be tamed by the stricter standards of this form of artistic expression. Despite not fully conforming to them, Mosca created four portraits of a sculptural nature which gain much when viewed up close and when seen from various angles.

GIOVANNI JACOPO CARAGLIO

The second Italian artist to arrive at the Jagiellonian court was Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio, a native of Verona.⁷⁶ This exquisite artist worked as goldsmith and armourer for the royal court, and also created medals and portrait gems.⁷⁷ While the authorship of the latter is not in doubt, as regards medals, the attribution of most still remains uncertain. Recent research into his *oeuvre* has been heavily influenced by the publications of Jerzy Wojciechowski, author of a catalogue of engraved, glyptic and medallic works attributed to Caraglio. This last group is represented by five medals: one of Sigismund the Old, one of Bona Sforza, two of Sigismund Augustus, and one of Alessandro Pesenti.⁷⁸

⁷³ GRABSKI 1978: 27, 29.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*: 24–25.

⁷⁵ For more details see especially: SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA (forthcoming).

⁷⁶ For Caraglio see above all: WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000; IDEM 2001/2017.

⁷⁷ For gems see: IDEM 2000: 28–29; IDEM 2001/2017: 81–89 and PIWOCKA 2003 and EADEM 2012. Five gems by the artist are currently known: two with a portrait of Queen Bona (WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: Cat. 6: Metropolitan Museum, New York, and Cat. 7: Biblioteca Ambrosiana; see also: PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 246), two with a portrait of Sigismund Augustus (WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: Cat. 8: Hermitage, and Cat. 9: Bern, see also: PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 247) and one with a portrait of Barbara Radziwiłł (WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: Cat. 10: Staatliche Münzsammlung, Monachium, see also: PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 248).

⁷⁸ Wojciechowski also erroneously attributed a medal of Pietro Aretino to Caraglio (WOJCIECHOWSKI 2001/2017: Cat. 76). For this medal see especially ZACCARIOTTO 2023, with catalogue notes.

The medal of Alessandro Pesenti (Fig. 13),⁷⁹ Bona's favourite musician, is the only one in the group that is undoubtedly the work of Caraglio. Caraglio personally sent this small struck medal (36 mm) to the famous Pietro Aretino, accompanied by another work of his authorship: a portrait medal of Queen Bona Sforza (now unknown). As Aretino later mentioned in a letter to Pesenti himself,⁸⁰ written from Venice in July 1539: "[Caraglio's] kindness has graced me with two medals, works in his style: in one there is a divine likeness of the queen, and in the other an honourable effigy of yours; and now it would not be appropriate for me not to bow to the one and long for the other, since both drawings appear so vivid and true".⁸¹ Thus we learn that by 1539 Caraglio was already the author of at least two medals made in Krakow, and that both featured what Aretino judged to be exquisite portraits. Caraglio did not sign Pesenti's medal, but below the bust there is a small branch, identical to the one the artist would later place on one of his finest glyptic works, a cameo with a portrait of Bona Sforza, signed IACOBV./VERON., from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 14). The very high artistic quality of the medal approaches the craftsmanship that Caraglio displayed most perfectly in his gems. His portraits are characterised by meticulous modelling, intricate ornamentation, and extraordinary technical proficiency. It should be noted, however, that the portrait of Pesenti, unlike the gems, had to be carved deep into the die. Here, the artist's extensive engraving experience was certainly of help.

Attributing the cast medal of Sigismund the Old to Caraglio is incorrect.⁸² The main argument behind this attribution is the date 1538 on the reverse – the supposed year of his arrival in Krakow.⁸³ Copies of this medal are known in numerous collections, as casts in various metals.⁸⁴ The original medal, cast in gold and weighing approximately 35 g (i.e. 10 ducats), has survived in the collection of the Parisian Bibliothèque nationale, in the inventories of which it is mentioned as early as

⁷⁹ WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: Cat. 2; IDEM 2001/2017: Cat. 78; MELINI 2023. This medal is known in several original struck copies (e.g. Museo Bottacin, Padua, Inv. no. MB Ita U.I.520 [PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 287]; Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Inv. no. 18271143 [BÖRNER 1997: no. 934]; British Museum, Inv. no. 1923.0611.25 [ATTWOOD 2003: no. 1165]).

⁸⁰ It is presumed that it was Pesenti (also from Verona) who acted as intermediary in bringing Caraglio to the Krakow court, see: WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: 26–27; IDEM 2001/2017: 80.

⁸¹ Transcription of the entire letter in: *Lettere sull'arte* 1957: 131–133.

⁸² For the medal, see especially RACZYŃSKI 1838: no. 8; GUMOWSKI 1906: no. 73; IDEM 1925: 42; HABICH 1929: no. 1163; WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: 37 and Cat. 1; IDEM 2001/2017: Cat. 77; PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 267.

⁸³ The widespread association of this medal with the betrothal of Sigismund Augustus to Elisabeth and the belief that it was distributed at the royal wedding in 1543 does not seem to be supported by the sources. See: SMOŁUCHA-SŁADKOWSKA 2023: 224, fn. 78.

⁸⁴ See: GUMOWSKI 1906: no. 73, see also: STRONCZYŃSKI 1885: 98.

1685.⁸⁵ In Polish literature, the gold specimen from the Ossolineum is considered as the second original medal.⁸⁶ However, as evident from their direct comparison, it is undoubtedly a copy made after the Paris gold medal (Fig. 15). Not only is the Wrocław medal a cast of inferior quality, repeating the defects in the surface of its model, but it is also almost 10 grams, or about a third, lighter than the Paris piece. In this light, Gumowski's statement that the copy from the Lwów collection (i.e. Lubomirski's, now the Ossolineum collection) is of "extraordinary beauty, so that it is not inferior to the Paris one" is particularly surprising.⁸⁷ The medal was first attributed to Caraglio by Marian Sokołowski⁸⁸ and Leonard Lepszy.⁸⁹ Their opinion was cited by Gumowski in 1906, although he himself remained uncertain of this attribution, even stating that attributing it to Caraglio "is a rather subjective belief".⁹⁰ As early as the first decades of the 20th century, both Marian Gumowski and Georg Habich (the author of a monumental catalogue of German Renaissance medallic art) attributed the Sigismund the Old medal to Matthes Gebel, a highly popular medallist from Nuremberg, to whose works it is undoubtedly very close in terms of style.⁹¹ The similarities with Gebel's work are more than enough to return to this early attribution rather than link the medal, unjustifiably, with Caraglio.

The same is true of the medal of Bona Sforza,⁹² dated 1546 and attributed to Caraglio since the time of *Medale Jagiellonów* (Fig. 16), about which it is claimed that its "meticulous execution (...) betrays the hand of a goldsmith".⁹³ It is difficult to see this argument as valid when we compare the Bona medal if only with the aforementioned medal of her courtier, Alessandro Pesenti (Fig. 13). Made for a much less eminent person, the latter nevertheless shows incomparably higher artistic quality and intricate detail. Likewise, the medal portrait of Bona does not stand comparison with her exquisite images on gems (Fig. 14). The medal with the date

⁸⁵ Inv. no. MMA, Pol.1, for the earliest mention see *Registres et inventaires* 1685: f. 107r, the medal is also mentioned in the inventory of gold medals from the royal collection from the 1st quarter of the 18th century: *Catalogue des médailles*: f. 121r.

⁸⁶ Inv. no. G 1561, see PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 268. The provenance of the Wrocław copy dates back to the 19th century, it was in the collection of Henryk Lubomirski (1777–1850).

⁸⁷ GUMOWSKI 1906: 75.

⁸⁸ "Sprawozdania z posiedzeń" 1898: LXXXII.

⁸⁹ "Sprawozdania z posiedzeń" 1899: CXXIII.

⁹⁰ GUMOWSKI 1906: no. 73.

⁹¹ IDEM 1925: 42; HABICH 1929: no. 1163. The same attribution has recently been put forward by Mateusz Grzęda (GRZEȔA 2020a: 51–54), who at the same time considers the authorship of Peter Flötner.

⁹² The medal was cautiously attributed to Caraglio by Marian Gumowski (GUMOWSKI 1906: no. 74), and this attribution has been sealed by Jerzy Wojciechowski (WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: Cat. 3 and IDEM 2001/2017: Cat. 79). See also HABICH 1929: no. 1398 (Habich attributed the medal to Ludwig Neufahrer, a medallist popular in Germany and the Czech-Hungarian kingdom); ATTWOOD 2003: no. 1167, is inclined to attribute the medal to an Italian artist (see also *Ibidem*: 461 and IDEM 2000: 117).

⁹³ WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: 38.

1546 is actually a copy on a smaller scale of a more than a decade earlier medal of the queen from the Padovano series (Fig. 4).⁹⁴ Not only is the portrait of the queen itself repeated here (the posing of the body and the meticulous hairstyle are repeated, while the cut of the dress has been altered), but even the accompanying inscription,⁹⁵ where only Bona's age has been changed (though the inscription is still incorrect, as it repeats dating her birth to 1500⁹⁶). It seems unlikely that Caraglio, who was present at the court, would have used another medal as a model for the queen's portrait, being an excellent portraitist himself. In addition, as we know, he had already produced a medal image of Bona. The queen's medal with the date 1546 also differs from the only medal confidently attributed to Caraglio in the technique of execution. Alessandro Pesenti's medal has a small diameter (36 mm), a fairly shallow relief, and was struck with a die, while Bona's medal, although not much larger (43 mm), is a massive disc of silver, with a high (as in Padovano's work) and very plastic relief. Some of Caraglio's gems – the Bona Sforza from the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 14) and the Barbara Radziwiłł from the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich – show a similar sculptural appeal.⁹⁷ Still, these are sculptural works of incomparably higher artistic quality. The manner in which the decorative parts on the medal are executed – for example, the decoration of the queen's dress or pearl necklace (in a simpler, more schematic form than on Padovano's medal), the tight-fitting headdress – certainly does not betray the hand of a goldsmith; on the contrary, these elements seem completely out of tune with the arrangement of the queen's body. The finesse of shapes characteristic of Caraglio is barely discernible here. In the 1906 catalogue, Gumowski wrote: "We have not seen the original cast of this medal; all the specimens we have encountered in collections (...) are later casts, heavily chased, which have lost the genuine features of the original",⁹⁸ and it must be stressed that nothing has changed since then. We know of no original, and the silver specimens are later casts and more or less chased copies.⁹⁹ One of the copies known to us today, however, is closer to the unknown original. It is a lead cast

⁹⁴ This was pointed out by Gumowski, Habich, and Attwood. Some even went so far as to attribute this medal to Padovano (GUMOWSKI 1925: 39; KOPERA 1938: 232–233; ŻARNECKI 1945: 10). This attribution cannot be accepted.

⁹⁵ What is surprising, however, is the change in the form of Bona's family name, spelled with an F and a C – Sforzia, and not, as by Padovano, "Sfortia", or with a PH and a T – Sphortia, as on Caraglio's gems from the MET and from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (WOJCIECHOWSKI 2001/2017: Cat 77). Also surprising is the medal maker's letter S, which consistently appears in mirror image in the inscription on the reverse. This detail was brought to my attention by Dr Joanna Wolańska; as far as I know, it had never been noticed before.

⁹⁶ See: ECKHARDTÓWNA 1939: 43.

⁹⁷ Inv. no. 1415. PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 248.

⁹⁸ GUMOWSKI 1906: 77.

⁹⁹ The two best silver pieces I am familiar with are the medal from the collection of the National Museum in Krakow (MNK VII-Md-69), and an almost identical piece sold at an auction of Damian Marciniak's Numismatic Cabinet in 2018 (Auction 6, lot 964).

from the British Museum collection (Fig. 17), definitely more subtly modelled and richer in detail, with a diameter of ca. 46 mm (the other known specimens are about 42 mm).¹⁰⁰ The differences between this piece and the silver specimens can be seen in details such as the number of pearls surrounding the jewel in the queen's necklace,¹⁰¹ the form of the crown, and some elements of the coat of arms on the reverse (Fig. 18). The letters are also much better shaped – with a thinner cut and more carefully modelled serifs. The lead copy from London gives hope that the search for the original medal will finally be successful one day. At the present stage of research – without knowing the original – and on the basis of the above analyses, I believe it is right to dismiss the medal's attribution to Caraglio, which at the same time elevates the quality of his *oeuvre* and even explains the negative opinions on his medallic work expressed by of some scholars.¹⁰²

Caraglio's career at the Jagiellonian court reached its peak in the 1540s and 1550s. He was only officially employed as a court artist by Sigismund Augustus, at the beginning of 1545, and was made a Polish nobleman in 1552. He made numerous jewels for the king, with gems with images of family members holding a special place among them. It is known that the king gave a gem with his own likeness, now unidentified, to his wife, Barbara Radziwiłł, who wore it on a gold chain.¹⁰³ Such a gold chain on Barbara's neck, but with a medal featuring the image of Sigismund Augustus instead of a gem, appears on a miniature from the diptych in the collection of the Czartoryski Princes in the National Museum in Krakow.¹⁰⁴ Another gold chain with a suspended royal medal can be seen held in the beak by a Polish eagle on a well-known portrait of Caraglio by Paris Bordone, now in the Wawel collection.¹⁰⁵

A very similar profile of Sigismund Augustus appears on two last medals attributed to Caraglio. The first of them is dated 1552 in the inscription,¹⁰⁶ and the only known copy was purchased by Otton Siemaszko at an auction at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris in 1879, but unfortunately was lost after the owner's death in 1885. Feliks Kopera searched for it in Paris, but without success. The Siemaszko collection itself, as Kopera wrote, passed into the hands of Władysław Czartoryski,

¹⁰⁰ ATTWOOD 2003: no. 1167.

¹⁰¹ The ornament is identified as a pendant with a turtle, which is a symbol of fertility, see: LETKIEWICZ 2001: 71–72; MORCA 2008: 68.

¹⁰² See e.g. ZERNER 1972: 300; WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: 40. Attwood writes unflatteringly about this medal, calling the portrait clumsy, the reverse crammed, and the lettering uneven (ATTWOOD 2000: 117).

¹⁰³ WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: 31–32; IDEM 2001/2017: 84.

¹⁰⁴ Inv. no. MNK IV-V-1433.

¹⁰⁵ Inv. no. 5882. PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 244.

¹⁰⁶ See especially GUMOWSKI 1906: no. 76 (here attributed to Caraglio); IDEM 1926: 110–111 (here attributed to Schilling); WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: 38 and Cat. 4; IDEM 2001/2017: Cat. 82. A more comprehensive article on this medal is currently in preparation.

but the medal in question was no longer there.¹⁰⁷ Drawings and a plaster cast of this medal were published in the press several times. In addition, at least two galvanic copies were made of it, one of which was in the collection of the Czartoryski Princes at the end of the 19th century and the other in the collection of Władysław Bartynowski.¹⁰⁸ The copy from the Czartoryski collection has fortunately survived (Fig. 19).¹⁰⁹ The close resemblance of this portrait to Caraglio's gems, especially to the image of Sigismund Augustus from the former collection of Leo Merz (Fig. 20), allows us to assume with a high degree of probability that the medal was indeed made by Caraglio, who remained close to the royal court in the 1550s.

Another piece bearing similarities to the gem from the Leo Merz collection is an undated cast medal with the portrait of Sigismund Augustus in richly decorated armour and with a chain around his neck (Fig. 21).¹¹⁰ It is known in quite a large number of copies, but only one bronze cast from the National Museum in Poznań can be considered a work from the period.¹¹¹ This medal is slightly larger than the others (58 mm in diameter), the portrait is surrounded by two lines of inscription and it seems that the composition deliberately repeats the earliest medal portrait of King Sigismund the Old by Hans Schenck – the medals have the same diameter of about 58 mm, both are one-sided, and when placed side by side the portraits on the medals face each other. It cannot be ruled out that this effect was intentional. The medal of Sigismund Augustus is known in a number of copies, most of which feature the personification of Faith on the reverse, with the inscription *Dum spiritus hos reget artus* (“[Long as] breath of life is mine”), taken from Virgil's *Aeneid* (IV, 336).¹¹² This reverse – known from earlier Italian medals¹¹³ – was probably added to a single-sided medal at a later date, when new copies were cast.¹¹⁴ Providing one-sided medals with reverses borrowed from others was not uncommon. This medal is the earliest heroic depiction *all'antica* in Polish medallic art and it cannot be excluded that it came from the hand of Caraglio, as the Italian artist was fond of this convention and created his engraved works in a similar style.

¹⁰⁷ KOPERA 1898: 455.

¹⁰⁸ GUMOWSKI 1906: 80.

¹⁰⁹ Inv. no. MNK XIII-5020.

¹¹⁰ GUMOWSKI 1906: no. 88; WOJCIECHOWSKI 2000: 38 and Cat. 5; IDEM 2001/2017: Cat. 82; STAHR 2008: no. 11; ATTWOOD 2003: no. 1168 (one-sided). See also: BYLICKI and PYREK-EJSMONT 1977: 166.

¹¹¹ STAHR 2008: no. 11. This was rightly pointed out by Wojciechowski (WOJCIECHOWSKI 2001/2017: Cat. 82), with a more extensive description of the medal there. A bronze piece in the Warsaw National Museum collection is also a good quality specimen (Inv. no. 15260 NPOMN).

¹¹² This likeness was also later repeated on the reverse of the medal of Sigismund III Vasa, a wax model of which is in the British Museum (see ATTWOOD 2003: 42 and no. 205).

¹¹³ See: STAHR 2008: no. 11.

¹¹⁴ The diameter of the reverse is noticeably smaller, and in some copies the reverse does not keep the axis of the obverse.

In conclusion, the Italian artists active in Krakow and Vilnius did not come to the Jagiellonian court with previous experience in medal-making; on the contrary, it was probably there that they produced their first work of this kind. However, Mosca had previously been a maker of small bronze plaquettes, and Caraglio was a trained goldsmith.

Giovanni Maria Mosca gave up medal-making after a series of four portraits of the royal family, perhaps feeling uncomfortable in this field and receiving no more similar commissions. In the first half of the 16th century, people associated with the court, dignitaries and aristocracy were still most likely to order their effigies from popular medallists on the occasion of travels abroad, while the local medal-making market had yet to develop.

Caraglio produced medallic works somewhat on the sidelines of his practice. His skills in glyptics and goldsmithing must have impressed court circles more. However, he was undoubtedly appreciated as a portraitist, both by Bona and by King Sigismund Augustus, which he expressed in several outstanding portraits of his patrons. In order to fully appreciate Caraglio's artistry, it is worthwhile verifying and precisely determining the collection of works attributed to him, as some of them still require more extensive queries to conclusively identify them as works from the period and a legitimate starting point for further conclusions.

ABBREVIATIONS

Münzen und Medaillen 1913 = *Münzen und Medaillen aus dem Besitz des Herrn F. von Parpart; englische Sammlung von Medaillen und Plaketten des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts: Versteigerung: Dienstag, den 22. und Mittwoch, den 23. April 1913*, Cat. no. 1678, Berlin. DOI: 10.11588/digit.18008

“Sprawozdania z posiedzeń” 1898 = “Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji historii sztuki za czas od 1 stycznia do 31 grudnia 1896 r.”, *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. VI/2–3 (1898): XXVI–XCII.

“Sprawozdania z posiedzeń” 1899 = “Sprawozdania z posiedzeń Komisji historii sztuki za czas od 1 stycznia do 31 grudnia 1898 r.”, *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. VI/4 (1899): XCIII–CXXXIV.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Catalogue des médailles = *Catalogue des médailles modernes d'or et d'argent du cabinet du roy – Médailles d'or*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. 272.

Lettere sull'arte 1957 = E. CAMESASCA (ed.), *Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*, vol. 1, Vite lettere testimonianze di artisti italiani 3, Milano 1957.

MARCANTONIO MICHIEL (ed. 1800) = M. Michiel, *Notizia d'opere di Disegno nella prima metà del secolo XVI: esistenti in Padova, Cremona, Milano, Pavia, Bergamo, Crema e Venezia*, Bassano 1800.

Registres et inventaires 1685 = *Registres et inventaires produits pour la gestion des collections conservées au Département des monnaies, médailles et antiques (anciennement Cabinet des*

médailles). *Vie des collections du Cabinet des médailles. Inventaires et catalogues. Médailles. 17ème siècle. Inventaire des médailles d'Angleterre, de Suède et de Dannemark 1685*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. 282.

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- PLATE 1 Fig. 1. Attributed to Giovanni Maria Mosca, *Dido*, 15 × 10 cm, Palazzo Venezia, Rome (Inv. no. 10824)
Photo by the author
- Fig. 2. Attributed to Giovanni Maria Mosca, *Artemis*, 21.8 × 11.8 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Inv. no. Kunstammer, 9019)
Foto © KHM-Museumsverband
- PLATES 2–3 Figs. 3–6. Giovanni Maria Mosca, medals of the Jagiellons, 1532: King Sigismund I the Old (diam. 68 mm), Queen Bona Sforza (diam. 68 mm), Sigismund II Augustus (diam. 69 mm), and Isabella, Galleria Estense (diam. 69 mm), Modena (Inv. nos. R.C.G.E. 9316; 9502; 9317; 9313)
Photo after: PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 262–265
- PLATE 4 Fig. 7. Silver medal of Sigismund II Augustus, later cast (19th century), diam. 67 mm, National Museum in Krakow (Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Collection, Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-290)
Photo © National Museum in Krakow
- Fig. 9. Giovanni Maria Mosca, medal of Sigismund II Augustus, 1532?, diam. 69 mm, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, Venice (Inv. no. 481)
Photo: author © su concessione del Ministero della Cultura
- PLATE 5 Fig. 8. GUMOWSKI 1906: Tabs. XVIII and XVIIIb
- PLATE 6 Figs. 10a and 10b. Christoph Weiditz, obverses of a medal of Francisco de los Cobos (1531, diam. 61.7 mm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. no. 1957.14.1183) and a model for a medal of Johannes Dantiscus (1529, diam. 63 mm, Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Inv. no. 18200344)
Photos © National Gallery of Art and © Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen (Lutz-Jürgen Lübke)
- Fig. 11. Christoph Weiditz, medal of Ambrosius Jung – obverse and a side view, 1528, diam. 70.6 mm, National Gallery of Art, Washington (Samuel H. Kress Collection, Inv. no. 1957.14.1182)
Photo © National Gallery of Art
- PLATE 7 Fig. 12. Medal of Bona Sforza, side views (original and a later cast in the National Museum in Krakow)
Photos by the author
- Fig. 13. Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio, medal of Alessandro Pesenti, 1539, diam. 36 mm, Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Inv. no. 18271143)
Photo © Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen (Karsten Dahmen)
- Fig. 14. Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio, cameo of Bona Sforza, ca. 1540?/1554, 31 × 22 mm, Metropolitan Museum, New York (Inv. no. 17.190.869)
Photo © The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Fig. 15. Comparison of two specimens of the Sigismund the Old medal, original: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (Inv. no. MMA, Pol. 1); later copy: Ossolineum, Wrocław (Inv. no. G 1561)
Photo by the author
- PLATE 8 Fig. 16. Medal of Bona Sforza, 1546, diam. 42.7 mm, National Museum in Krakow (Inv. no. MNK VII-Md-69)
Photo © National Museum in Krakow
- Fig. 17. Medal of Bona Sforza, 1546, 46 mm, British Museum, London (Inv. no. 1925,0310.25)
Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum
- Fig. 18. Details of Krakow and London specimens

PLATE 9

Fig. 19. Medal of Sigismund II Augustus, electrotype from the Princes Czartoryski Collection, original model: 1552, diam. 37 mm, National Museum in Krakow (Inv. no. MNK XIII-5020)
Photo © National Museum in Krakow

Fig. 20. Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio, cameo of Sigismund II Augustus, mid-16th century, 26 × 24 mm, Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, Universität Bern (Stiftung Leo Merz, Inv. No. DL 651)

Photo after: PIECH, WOLAŃSKA and ZIĘTKIEWICZ-KOTZ (eds.) 2023: Cat. 247

Fig. 21. Giovanni Jacopo Caraglio?, medal of Sigismund II Augustus, mid-16th century, diam. 58 mm, National Museum in Poznań (Inv. no. GN E 7588)

Photo © National Museum in Poznań



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 7



Fig. 9



Fig. 8a



Fig. 8b



Fig. 10a



Fig. 10b



Fig. 11





Fig. 12



Fig. 13

Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21

