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**Stefano Bardini's Sculptor  
from Philadelphia: A.E. Harnisch  
& the Manufacture of Italian Renaissance  
Sculpture in the late Nineteenth Century**

*Albert E. Harnisch (1843-1918), the sculptor and painter born and trained in Philadelphia, relocated in 1869 to Rome, where he enjoyed success, including commissions from America for public monuments. His legacy includes many high-quality signed and dated bronze and marble figurative sculptures, which were sent abroad. Harnisch was deeply embedded in the American expat community in Rome and part of the lively social circle surrounding the sculptor William Wetmore Story. Immediately following the poor reception of one of his monuments in 1887, until his death in 1918, that is, for the last 31 years of his life, only one signed work can be located. At that point, Harnisch moved to Florence and worked for the Florentine dealer, Stefano Bardini (1836-1922) for the rest of his life as a manager of the business. He acted as an important point man for luring international clients visiting Florence from outside of the peninsula, especially from across the Atlantic. At the same time, Harnisch was also deftly producing "Italian Renaissance" works which Bardini then transacted in the emergent global art market and for export out of Italy. This paper publishes for the first time a few recently identified works by Harnisch, and it proposes a new category of production by Nineteenth century sculptors, who confronted the Fifteenth century master Florentine sculptors and brilliantly channeled them, producing new compositions, as distinct from copies. From this intimate rapprochement, they were able to create countless high quality, newly made "Italian Renaissance" sculptures for collectors and collections outside of Italy.*

*Stefano Bardini, Harnisch's eventual employer*

As part of a much larger project on the Florentine dealer Stefano Bardini (1836-1922)<sup>1</sup>, archive material has provided a more realistic picture of his more than fifty yearlong art market enterprise begun in 1866. Rather than the efforts of a solitary individual, the Bardini business employed at times some 300 people occupying ateliers and laboratories that populated a substantial part of his Florentine neighborhood of San Niccolò<sup>2</sup>. Within this structure there were several managerial positions occupied by men who were both talented artists and – just as importantly – multilingual, in order to effectively engage with the hundreds of international clientele. Elsewhere I have written about Bardini's manufacture of "Italian Renaissance" objects as well as his tendency to market and transact multiple versions of an object to several buyers<sup>3</sup>. While some of these objects were perhaps copies after actual fifteenth-century works, others were newly conceived by the artists working for Bardini. Although some clients, such as the architect and decorator Stanford White, understood the reality of their acquisitions, many more believed them to be authentic. Ironically, oftentimes attributions were based – and, indeed, continue to be based – on comparisons to other equally fraudulent Bardini objects.

These objects could be classified as fakes and relegated to institutional deep storage, deaccessioned from collections, or returned to the art market. But the sheer numbers of Bardini objects in public and private collections today begs for another approach, one that better elucidates the circumstances that permitted their brilliant delusions. It is also an opportunity to identify the men who produced these objects, and to assemble a proper corpus of their work. Much of what they produced was of sufficiently high quality so as to deceive both then and now. This is a category of sculptural production, and no less, painted production, that goes far beyond artistic reception of Italian Renaissance art. These are works produced by artists who had deeply internalized Renaissance art, and more, they could assimilate its style while imbuing their work with characteristics that would prove overwhelmingly attractive to nineteenth-century buyers.

#### *A.E. Harnisch in Philadelphia*

One such artist was Albert Ernest Harnisch (1842-1918)<sup>4</sup> for whom, as we shall see, the events of a single year would change the course of his life and substantially shift his mode of sculptural production. Since he has been almost completely lost to history, a biographical context is necessary in order to begin to understand his wide range and radical transformations in style.

Harnisch was born in Philadelphia to the German immigrant Julius Harnisch (1799-1884), who together with his brother, Ernest, owned a sawmill in Philadelphia<sup>5</sup>. Albert was recorded in the 1860 US Census as living in Philadelphia with his extended family, which included his father and his father's two brothers, and their combined ten children, but no adult females categorized as wife or mother<sup>6</sup>. The family member with whom the young Albert shared an artistic vocation, was his uncle, Carl Harnisch (1800-1883), also a German immigrant who was a very talented draughtsman and designer of compositions of literary and genre subjects<sup>7</sup>. Indeed, he was influential on the young Albert, as is evident in the near identical drawing style that some of their work shares. At around the age of sixteen, Albert enrolled at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; his first studies were drawing after the antique and then drawing from life<sup>8</sup>. One of his teachers there, the Parisian-born Joseph A. Bailly (1823/1825-1883), a specialist in portrait busts and public monuments, was another influence during Harnisch's formative years. In 1859, almost immediately upon his matriculation in the Pennsylvania Academy, Harnisch executed and exhibited the sculptures *Indian Poet* and *David with his Harp*<sup>9</sup>. On 1<sup>st</sup> June 1859, Harnisch wrote to the Academy, notifying them that a statuette of his was «...broken in such a manner as to render

it entirely useless, by the falling (upon it) of a Bas Relief of Mr. Bartholemew's...». He requested to be reimbursed thirty dollars, the amount at which he valued the work<sup>10</sup>.

Young Harnisch was certainly prolific; the Academy recorded two sculptures per year: *Wounded Adonis* and *The Arts – an Ornamental Group*, both in 1860; *The Infant Bacchus* and an ornamental relief of Ariadne, both in 1861; *Mercury and Turtle* and a *Cupid*, both in 1862<sup>11</sup>. His Cupid would later be described as «...especially noteworthy on account of the originality of the pose and the singular grace and sweetness of the face and figure»<sup>12</sup>. In 1863, Harnisch's Civil War Draft Registration recorded him as a twenty-one-year-old sculptor living at 815 South 8<sup>th</sup> Street, Philadelphia, along with his cousin Julius, aged twenty-four, a band-saw worker in his father's mill<sup>13</sup>. Following these first works, Harnisch executed in 1865 the sculpture of *Junction of the Delaware and Schuylkill*<sup>14</sup>. By 1866 he began to experiment with subjects for public monuments<sup>15</sup>, and soon thereafter, portrait busts<sup>16</sup>. By then, Harnisch had achieved a reputation, not only for the quality of his work, but also for certain stylistic traits. Thus, on 8 May 1866, the «Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin» announced that «...in the rotunda the figure of a boy in marble deserves especial notice. Our catalogue does not contain the name of the contributor, but we infer from peculiarities of style, etc., that Mr. Harnisch is the sculptor of this very interesting figure...»<sup>17</sup>. Those «peculiarities» were likely the figure's overall grace and poetry, the curling of the toes and fingers, the sublime downward gaze; all were crafted with the highest level of quality, the same ones that came to consistently define his later work.

During the last years of the 1860s, the philosophy and practices of the Pennsylvania Academy were debated extensively in the local press. In a review of an exhibition, published by the «Daily Evening Bulletin» on 14 May 1869, the Academy was criticized for its lack of renown when it came to figural art, noting that «...Landscape has the day. The figure painters are almost unrepresented...». The review continued, commenting that established artists were either absent or poorly represented. In the second paragraph of a fairly long article, however, the reviewer identified two artists who «...may be mentioned as redeeming partially the loss...». The first, and discussed only briefly, was Joseph A. Bailly, who «...has not been idle and is not indisposed to exhibit, noting the imminent arrival of one of his large bronzes». The review quickly shifted attention to Harnisch, describing him as «young, industrious and spirited» in his work of that year, which reflected a «...decided honor upon the School». Recalling the winter of 1861-1862, the article related that at that time, Harnisch was in a «small, bad atelier», and described him as «...a black-headed boy, with slender, olive hands...chiseling away at a monstrous

lump of costly Italian marble». Having spent all his money on the stone, Harnisch could not afford to hire a stonemason, and thus had to teach himself how to point from his model into the marble. His effort to execute the work was described as ardent and passionate resulting in a now lost semi-reclining *Cupid*<sup>18</sup>, which was deemed «good». The reviewer even likened Harnisch to Michelangelo and observed that «...his work seemed to bear the very imprint of the Renaissance, and to have been created in Florence by some student who had never heard of America...». The same writer lamented the lack of patronage for gifted young artists, commenting that emergent sculptors like Harnisch were in danger of starvation<sup>19</sup>. The following day, in response to differing opinions published in «The Post»<sup>20</sup> and the «North American»<sup>21</sup>, the «Daily Evening Telegraph» reiterated the «Daily Evening Bulletin» point of view, noting that Harnisch «...has no money and very little reputation, and consequently neither he nor his works are of any importance to the gentlemen who manage the Academy, or to those outside of that institution who profess to be the patrons of art in Philadelphia». It continued, referring to Harnisch's *Cupid* as «...a labor of love to this boy artist...» and an «exquisitely graceful and poetical work...» that has been «waiting six years for a purchaser, with very little prospect of finding one...». Despite the large discount that Harnisch offered to the Academy, the Academy determined that it could only purchase works that would be «practically useful to the students»<sup>22</sup>.

Thus, the situation at the Academy was bleak, but there were larger issues within the national context. On 6 February 1868, Harnisch and twenty-eight other artists took a bold action: they signed a petition addressed to the Pennsylvania State Senate calling for a fifty-dollar tariff on imported art and decorative art, and for a reduction in what had become a thirty to forty per cent duty that was imposed on imported art supplies. As they declared, it was «actually much cheaper to import anything claiming to be a work of art, than the necessary materials for creating it»<sup>23</sup>.

### *Harnisch goes to Rome*

The hardships encountered by American artists, in particular the sculptors, sent many of them to work in Italy in search of more cost-effective ways to produce work. For Harnisch 1868 seems to have been the tipping point. On 7 June 1869, the «Daily Evening Bulletin» reported that «...Mr. Harnisch, the talented young sculptor, will leave in about four weeks for Europe, to undergo a course of study. The favorable notice extended to him by several of the city papers has resulted in selling his largest work, the statue of *Cupid*, and in procuring him many friends, who will watch his career with interest»<sup>24</sup>. On 9 July, Harnisch received his

passport which described him as twenty-seven years old, five-foot, seven-inches tall, with hazel eyes and brown hair<sup>25</sup>. On Tuesday, 13 July 1869, the «Daily Evening Bulletin» reported that «...Harnisch, the sculptor, sails for Europe today, taking with him several orders and the good wishes of many friends...»<sup>26</sup>.

Harnisch evidently arrived in Rome in the late summer of 1869, after traveling through Germany. The first mention of his Roman activity was on 9 June 1870, when the «Daily Evening Bulletin» noted already the stateside arrival of a plaster model for a monument to the Prussian Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). Together with those of five other sculptors, Harnisch's model was displayed as part of the competition at the Library of the German Society in Philadelphia<sup>27</sup>. His model was said to have «peculiar advantages», because «...at the time of conception the artist had just traveled through the chief cities of Germany, with the preparation of this figure in his mind; he had accordingly inspected the best and most authentic portraits of the philosopher, had conversed with those familiar with his person, and examined the architectural memorials raised to Humboldt by his own countrymen». The article described the work as «...a direct lifelike impersonation, a perfect facsimile of the original in his best days. Its frank and obvious truth seems to give a look of senility and feebleness to the other models presented»<sup>28</sup>.

The next notice of Harnisch was on 24 June 1870 in the «Evening Bulletin» by the writer, foreign correspondent, and expatriate from Philadelphia, Anne Hampton Brewster (1819-1892), who had moved to Rome in 1868<sup>29</sup>. Brewster was a prolific writer of novels and short stories, as well as numerous columns for American newspapers on various aspects of life and culture in Rome<sup>30</sup>. She was socially well connected, counting among her friends Franz Liszt (1811-1886), Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), and many artists, among them Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908), Elihu Vedder (1836-1923), and William Wetmore Story (1819-1895). In particular, she was very close to Story and his wife Emelyn Eldredge Story (1820-1895), spending much time in their apartments in Palazzo Barberini, which had long been the cultural hub of the Anglo-American community in Rome<sup>31</sup>.

Writing for the «Evening Bulletin», after describing at length the events in the city commemorating the 24<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the coronation of Pope Pius IX (1792-1878; pope from 1846), Brewster turned her attention to art, noting that a bas-relief of the Pope by Margaret Foley (1827-1877)<sup>32</sup> was on its way to Philadelphia. She then mentioned Mary Cassatt (1844-1926)<sup>33</sup>, commenting about her studies in Paris and her sojourn in the winter of 1870 at the Académie de France in the Villa Medici, Rome, on the Pincio, in between Villa Borghese and the Spanish Steps Spanish Steps<sup>34</sup>. To be sure, Harnisch and Cassatt saw each other in Rome;

they were friends since their time together at the Pennsylvania Academy. Evidently, they remained friends since, in 1901, they worked together, mediating objects for the New York collectors Louisine (1855-1929) and Henry Osborne Havemeyer (1847-1907)<sup>35</sup>. From Cassatt, Brewster segued to «our Philadelphia sculptor Harnisch and his statue of Mr. Mullen»<sup>36</sup>. Brewster described a recent visit to Harnisch's studio where she found him «working diligently with his own hands» on the statue, as distinct from the many other sculptors who handed over their models in clay or plaster to Italian carvers for execution in marble. She also noted that a friend of hers, another Philadelphian, the poet and portrait painter Thomas Buchanan Read (1822-1872)<sup>37</sup>, also visited Harnisch in his studio. Read later spoke to Brewster «in a very agreeable manner of this young artist»<sup>38</sup>.

By 1871, the twenty-nine-year-old Harnisch had a studio in Palazzo Patrizi in the Via Margutta, 53,<sup>39</sup> an area that housed several artists' studios<sup>40</sup>.

Signor Vertunni<sup>41</sup> occupies one of a group of studios in the Via Margutta, a region which of all others in Rome is perhaps most devoted to Art. In this same block of buildings, among others, are those of Signor Marianecchi<sup>42</sup>, well deserving much commendation through his services to the Arundel Society; Mr. Buchanan Read, Miss Foley, Mr. Randolph Rogers<sup>43</sup>, and that of the late Mr. Mosier<sup>44</sup>, where Mr. Harnisch, a young American sculptor, who has met with considerable success during an unprecedentedly bad season for artists, is now working<sup>45</sup>.

The following year, he was favorably mentioned by the scholar, architect and restorer, Raffaello Ojetti (1845-1924) in his 1872 *Roma Artistica*<sup>46</sup> in a description of this area's artistic community. At this point, Harnisch was recorded as «Alberto» from Filadelphia [sic], with a studio in via Sistina, 58b, the street that runs south from the top of the Spanish Steps to piazza Barberini. In Ojetti's brief article featuring Harnisch, he favorably described a faun which was to adorn a fountain, and beautiful portraits in clay and in marble, in which the sculptor instilled strength, truth and life («forza, verità e vita»). Special recognition was given to the portrait bust of Liszt, characterizing it as a perfect resemblance equaling the sitter's stature, and unmatched by any other portraits of the composer. Ojetti was the third published corroboration of one of the stylistic and qualitative aspects of Harnisch's work – that of incredible verisimilitude between portrait and sitter. He complimented other works he saw in the studio: the *Filatrice*, a plaster of the *New Bride Clipping the Wings of Love*, and the portrait bust of Mullen, which had already been executed in marble, as well as a marble statuette of *Love [Amor] Lighting his Arrows* and a plaster of the *Spirit of Music*<sup>47</sup>.

Already by 1871 Harnisch was clearly well entrenched in the social circle of the expat Americans living in Rome. Naturally he seems to have made initial contact with those from his hometown of Philadelphia, like Read, who probably

introduced Harnisch to Brewster. Harnisch's relationship with Brewster<sup>48</sup> was complicated, but objectively speaking, she was instrumental in bringing him clients via her social network and perhaps more importantly, by championing his work in her many «notes from Rome» that regularly appeared in newspapers in Philadelphia, Boston, and elsewhere in America.

Brewster apparently introduced Liszt to Harnisch, after which the composer sat for a «statuette portrait». Writing in Rome on 11 November 1871, Brewster took credit for this meeting, stating, «...Anyone who knows how difficult it has always been to get a sitting from Liszt will see how valuable this occasion has been for the artist»<sup>49</sup>. It is obvious that at this point she had known Harnisch for a while. The earliest mention of him by Brewster is her diary entry of 22 October 1871, in which she noted that Harnisch had not yet seen, among other things, Bernini's *St. Teresa* (1647-52) in the Cornaro Chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria. From 1871 until 1885, Harnisch rented a room from Brewster, first in via Sistina, 75,<sup>50</sup> and then, by February 1873, in the nearby Palazzo Albani at, 45. By the fall of 1878, Brewster moved again, to number 107b, some 500 meters down the street from the Storys' apartments in Palazzo Barberini. Here she occupied a fourteen-room apartment, «decorated with Harnisch's frescoes»<sup>51</sup>. Harnisch meanwhile kept his studio in via Sistina, and rented his room from Brewster.

In that 11 November 1871 article, Brewster wrote at length about Harnisch and a reception in his studio attended by several «distinguished» foreigners, including Liszt and his long-term partner, the Princess Wittgenstein (1819-1887), the Princess Hohenlohe, and Baroness Von Stein. Welcoming visitors to his studio evidently was an important aspect of his practice, apparently continuing during his time in Rome; years later, in 1908, Harnisch lamented his great regret «...that the tourists no longer visit the studios...», as they had in his Roman days, when «...dozens would flock into my studio»<sup>52</sup>. In describing the main point of this particular gathering, one which focused on a small marble commissioned by the attorney and real estate developer Mr. Charles T. How (1840–1909) of Boston<sup>53</sup>, Brewster underscored the fact that Harnisch had finished the statue with his own hands, likening the practice to that of the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844) and other American sculptors in Rome, including William Henry Rinehart (1825-1874) and the already long-deceased Thomas Crawford (1814-1857). Mr. How's sculpture was a figure representing a «little sprite playing on a shell strung as a musical instrument, and listening with infinite glee to his own music»<sup>54</sup> (fig. 1). Significantly, Brewster identified certain stylistic aspects – «...the baby feet, with their cunning, turned-up big toes...» and little hands described as «podgy» – that would reappear in works throughout Harnisch's career<sup>55</sup>. This

sculpture can be identified as one very recently auctioned by Waddington's of Toronto, Ontario, Canada<sup>56</sup>. The white marble *Puckish Cupid with Lyre* is signed and dated, «Roma 1871». Both the choice of subject and some stylistic aspects of Harnisch's statue was evidently inspired by the incredible earlier market success of Harriet Hosmer's *Puck*<sup>57</sup>.

When Brewster moved to Palazzo Albani in the winter of 1873, while describing Harnisch and what was the beginning of their fourteen-year relationship, she wrote in her diary:

... Harnisch has a room in it [Brewster's apartment] which is a great comfort to me. He is a gentlemanly, kind, good youth. Very faithful to me. His presence is a protection to me as well as a companionship. He and I have turned into good steady study. We refuse all gay invitations and have set ourselves straight down to work. He rises early & goes to his studio. I see less of him now that he is in the house than before. He is away during the evenings as well as day for he is either working at the Life school of the French Academy or in his own studio until bed time...<sup>58</sup>.

The relationship seems to have been far from simple, and it was certainly the subject of much gossip circulating around Rome at the time, not least because Brewster was some twenty-three years older than Harnisch<sup>59</sup>. By the summer of 1873, Harnisch accompanied Brewster while she escaped Rome's heat, traveling to Bagni di Lucca, a popular thermal springs destination in the province of Lucca. There in September, the American artist from South Carolina, Caroline Carson (1820-1892), made Brewster's acquaintance. In a letter written to her son in America, Carson described Brewster as

...a bright little woman coquettish at 54 and has attached to her service a young sculptor Harnisch whom she pushes on, and in return he is devoted to her as son, friend or lover according as one is malicious or not in viewing the connection. I suppose she has promised to leave him her little property; and meanwhile he is a domestic fellow who would rather have a home than live scrambling in his studio<sup>60</sup>.

Harnisch went back to Rome in July, but by 1 October he had returned to Bagni di Lucca. Once there, Brewster described Harnisch working from a model,

...There is a blind beggar man who comes down from one of the mountain villages daily to beg at the Bagni. With him is a girl of eight years of age, one of the most attractive little creatures you ever saw. Her small body and feet are formed on the pure Venus type. Added to these charms, the girl is as apathetic and unconscious as a Greek model should be. Harnisch is making an exact portrait of the girl in her rustic dress—a sort of costume by the way, for it is just as they all dress...<sup>61</sup>.

They left Bagni di Lucca on 24 October 1873, traveling first to Lucca where they visited the Baptistery and the medieval church of San Michele in Foro. More than once they visited the Cathedral of San Martino, where Brewster was thoroughly

captivated by Jacopo della Quercia's tomb monument of Ilaria del Carretto (c.1413) and equally so with his *Altar of the Sacrament* (1422) in San Frediano, commenting that Jacopo della Quercia (1374-1438) was the master of Donatello (c.1386-1466). From there they traveled to Pistoia, and surely would have seen Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in Sant'Andrea (c.1301) as well as Fra' Guglielmo da Pisa's pulpit (c.1270) and Luca della Robbia's extraordinarily beautiful glazed terracotta group of the *Visitation* (1445) in San Giovanni Fuorcivitas. Following a full week in Florence, likely viewing works too numerous to mention, they continued to Siena, where Brewster again paid special notice to Jacopo della Quercia, remarking about his *Fonte Gaia* (1419) in the Piazza del Campo. When touring the Piccolomini Chapel in the cathedral with its Pinturicchio and workshop's frescoes (1502-1507) of *Scenes from the Life of Pius II* (1439-1503), Brewster noted that,

...a French artist the sacristan said was copying them for the French government. I fancy it is Belloy. His platform was erected over the entrance and a high ladder led to it. Harnisch went up and I of course wished to do the same. Going up was tolerably easy; and once up I enjoyed the close examination of these great pictures...<sup>62</sup>.

To be sure, Harnisch would have also carefully studied the statue of the *Three Graces* situated conspicuously in the center of the room. By the first week of December, they arrived back in Rome having stopped in Orvieto along the way, with the opportunity to admire the façade reliefs of the Duomo as well as Luca Signorelli's frescoes of *Scenes from the Apocalypse and Last Judgment* (1500-1503) in the Cappella di San Brizio.

Writing on 27 January 1874, Brewster noted that although there were many tourists in Rome, the winter was hard for the artists – Harnisch faced this period with no commissions and was anxious «...for he has one half of last year's money withdrawn»<sup>63</sup>. This is the first time in their relationship, but surely not the last, in which Brewster noted Harnisch's mood had become «disagreeable», which led him to drink. Such episodes were always followed by long and fairly stomach-churning diary entries describing her own «cheerfulness», and how Harnisch's mood was making her to want to divest herself of her interest in him.

Writing in September 1874 for the «Boston Daily Advertiser», after discussing at length the work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907), Brewster turned her, now favorable, attention to Harnisch, stating that he was a «worthy companion in arms» of Saint-Gaudens<sup>64</sup>. Brewster described Harnisch's work ethic as rising early, working late, with his «whole soul» in his studio. She noted that he was from an artistic family, with an uncle who taught with renown at the Berlin Fine Arts Academy. Describing the style of his work, Brewster considered it «remarkable for grace», and that his imagination was unending. She also mentioned that

Harnisch's work possessed a «spirituelle devilry», as evinced in the *Folcito* (Folly) commission. Two works present in his studio at this time represented Cupid carrying a satchel, accompanied by a King Charles spaniel<sup>65</sup> (fig. 2), and a shepherd with a musical pipe; both she considered «captivating». Brewster went on to write of the challenges involved in making portrait busts, and called attention to Hiram Powers (1805-1873), the American sculptor who had relocated to Florence, for breaking up «...the old-fashioned, tiresome, classical style of portrait busts, those vague superficial likenesses which were turned over into the marble-finisher's hands, to drill and chip out and chisel over with lifeless lines...». Instead, he «...modelled a living face and head; he instinctively followed the old Florentine school of Donatello and those cunning masters of the period». Turning to Harnisch, Brewster underscored also his affinity to Donatello:

This is Harnisch's school. In his study, behind his modelling stand, is that wonderful head of an old man by Donatello; it is covered with wrinkles and lines; there is no beauty in it and yet there is a certain beauty too – nature, life sincerity. That head is a key-note to Harnisch. Donatello's young girl, too, is another one of his favorite studies: that charming portrait of one of the sweetest faces the world ever saw. Who the child was no one knows; but when you have once seen the lovely girlish face with its frank, fearless expression, its exquisite tenderness, it haunts you with the sweetest memories.

She continued to observe the importance that Donatello had for artists, including,

...Vannutelli<sup>66</sup>, the well-known and very clever Roman painter, who owns a baby head by Donatello in marble. He keeps it in a velvet casket as one would enclose an antique *pietra dura*, or a priceless diamond. It is undoubtedly the same child; she is laughing with baby glee and showing the two first tiny teeth. The other head is the baby with some twelve years over it. What a promise it gives of rich womanhood...<sup>67</sup>.

Although Brewster ascribed all of the sculptures she mentioned to Donatello, one cannot help but think the description of the head of an old man might easily be applied to bust of the Florentine poet, Girolamo Benivieni (1453-1542), by Giovanni Bastianini (1830-1868), acquired by the Musée du Louvre (RF 119) in 1867 as a Renaissance sculpture. The other two busts she mentioned immediately conjure up thoughts of works attributed to Desiderio da Settignano (1428-1464). Oddly enough, the *Laughing Boy* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv. 9104), Vienna, was acquired prior to 1883 from the same Vannutelli in whose studio Brewster described a very similar bust, «...she is laughing with baby glee and showing the two first tiny teeth...»<sup>68</sup>.

Brewster published a long article, entitled *Ball-playing in Rome*, in «The Daily Graphic: New York», on 19 August 1876. It was accompanied by a printed illustration, done after Harnisch's finely executed drawing (fig. 3), with the caption «A Game of Pallone in Rome (From a sketch by our special artist)»<sup>69</sup>. However, there are very few two-dimensional works that can be connected to Harnisch. A pen and ink with pencil and wash on laid paper (31 x 25.5cm), entitled *Falstaff and his Page* (fig.4), signed «A. E. Harnisch Rome 1872», recently came to auction in the UK<sup>70</sup>.

Another work can now be added to Harnisch's oeuvre. Located in a private collection in Florence, is a fairly large oil painting (60x93cm); on the back, its wooden stretcher is signed by Harnisch and entitled *La Corsa delle Tartarughe* (fig. 5). Four nude young men are placed within a seaside landscape; one watches while two of them prod with branches three turtles in a race. Another youth sits upon a large rock in the mid-distance, while in the background on the left, Hercules emerges from the cave of the Hydra, while above Zeus sits enthroned. Close to the water's edge are two other figures, on the left, Poseidon in the company of three hippocampi, and another at the far-right walking away from the sea. At quick glance, the style is markedly different than Harnisch's other work, but on closer examination, the face of the figure kneeling in front of the rock bears a strong resemblance to the face of the boy in the foreground of the drawing of *Falstaff and his Page*<sup>71</sup>.

In fact, the painting is a thinly veiled compositional adaptation of the Fontana delle Tartarughe in piazza Mattei, Rome, which Harnisch most surely knew and most surely admired. Indeed, some of the youths' poses are borrowed from those on the fountain. In addition, the turtles share a prominent outstretched neck, distinct from the very different turtles that can be seen in Florence – those that support the obelisks in piazza Santa Maria Novella, or those which support the double Medici tomb in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo. As for the iconography, it has been pondered upon by Stefano Masi, who brought the painting to my attention in the first place. His observations are astute, and he suggests the composition represents the Four Elements, albeit with much license taken by Harnisch: on the left atop Olympus sits Jupiter with his personified eagle in the company of Ganymeade, god of the sky, surrounded by stratocumulus clouds. Below, Hercules, here as god of earth, exits the cave of the hydra. At center, Poseidon, god of the water, emerges at the shoreline, flanked by his hippocampi. And on the right, Mercury returns from the sea and walks towards his winged hat resting on the sand to the right of the bolder. In this work, Harnisch has returned to the inspiration for an earlier work, that of *Mercury and Turtle* executed in 1862.

The relative simplicity of the composition, combined with its limited range of

color, suggests that it was the preparatory study for one of the frescoes Harnisch intended to paint for Brewster at her residence «decorated with Harnisch's frescoes...»<sup>72</sup>. That it is not signed on the front suggests that it wasn't a «finished» work. Not least, the waterside landscape surely would have appealed to Brewster, evoking her trips, often with Harnisch, to Bagni di Lucca, her refuge from the scorching summer heat in Rome. On the basis of this conjecture, the painting can be dated to c.1878, though a letter to Mrs Havemeyer on 5 March 1913, reveals that the frescoes themselves were never executed. Harnisch wrote, «I also enclose you two tracings from drawings which I made many years ago for Miss Brewster in Rome – who wished to decorate a library & a music room – but owing to commissions for busts & figures in marble the idea was given up...»<sup>73</sup>.

Significantly, this painting and the drawing, and others<sup>74</sup>, as well as two small signed and dated bronze statuettes, a figure of Fagin<sup>75</sup> and one of Falstaff (fig. 6), testify to Harnisch's capacity for incredible stylistic diversity, as evinced in his works thus far identified<sup>76</sup>. He truly was a chameleon-like artist, operating with an abundance of quality and, not least, imagination. Harnisch continued to be fairly prolific producing works in marble and bronze that were privately and publicly commissioned. Until 1887, these were all signed and dated.

### *The Calhoun Monument*

In early 1879, Harnisch competed for and won the commission for the public monument to the long dead American anti-abolitionist politician John Calhoun (1782-1850) to be executed in Rome and erected in Charleston, South Carolina, with one report noting he was uniquely qualified for his skills of modelling, blocking out and finishing his marble<sup>77</sup> (fig. 7). The contract was signed in the spring of 1882, and apparently already by autumn 1885, the bronze portion of the work, then in progress at the Roman foundry, was criticized. Writing to her son on 17 October 1885, Caroline Carson did nothing to hide her disappointment,

Harnisch's Calhoun is cast and was on exhibition at the public foundry. I went to see it. Since statues were made never has there been one as bad as this. Everyone is agreed that it is the worst they ever saw. It is quite deplorable. He seems to have lost the wits he possessed, for whereas he made busts and figures in anatomical correctness, this is utterly out of all relation to nature or to art. I wrote to Henry Young they ought to pay someone, Old Crafts for instance, a thousand dollars to come out and inspect it, but by no means to allow it to be shipped before they knew what it is like. That it is only fit to be sold for the weight of the bronze which is enormous, and will cost a great deal to transport. They have so much more money, they could do this; let Harnisch make the Allegorical figures for the base, which perhaps he may do better, and they could have another statue made before it is too late... It is shameful...<sup>78</sup>.

The situation quite probably triggered Harnisch's trip back to the States, perhaps for damage control. He departed Liverpool on 21 December of that year<sup>79</sup>. The reception did not improve when the monument was shipped across the Atlantic and dedicated in 1887; by circa 1894, it was dismantled and replaced with another monument<sup>80</sup>.

This was not the only drama preoccupying Harnisch during these same years. By the summer of 1884, Harnisch was in a relationship with Brewster's maid Mimma [Emma]<sup>81</sup>, a situation that irritated Brewster for several reasons. Though there is no evidence that Brewster ever had an affair with Harnisch, she was nonetheless incredibly possessive of him. At first, she appeared to be in mild denial, but soon enough, Brewster resolved to send Emma to another household and to distance herself from Harnisch<sup>82</sup>. By December the two were no longer speaking. Brewster was completely out of sorts, so much so that she snooped inside his apartment, and found a note from Emma that confirmed the seriousness of their relationship, whereupon Brewster righteously commented that Harnisch would be marrying below his station<sup>83</sup>. By 8 January, the 42-year-old Harnisch married Emma, who shortly thereafter was described in the American press as «the niece of a renowned cardinal»<sup>84</sup>. On 29 October 1885, she gave birth to their son, Giulio Ottavio (d.1953),<sup>85</sup> at the very time the first negative reviews of the Calhoun monument were circulating.

### *Harnisch Moves to Florence, in More Ways than One*

Harnisch must have seen the writing on the wall when his previously good press rapidly took a turn for the worse. In 1887, he left Rome and registered with the American consulate in Florence as a sculptor and painter. He declared that he was married to Emma Mannucci (d.1913)<sup>86</sup>, and that they resided at via dei Bardi, 8, with their three-year-old son, Giulio Ottavio<sup>87</sup>.

During the last, more than thirty years of his life, now based in Florence, only one signed work has so far been located, that of a marble portrait bust of William Herbert Withington (1835 – 1903), a Union general in the American Civil War (fig. 8). He is represented as an older gentleman in a topcoat, vest and bow tie, sporting a mustache and the «muttonchop» sideburns that were stylish in the late nineteenth-century; the bust is signed on the back, «A. E. Harnisch Florence 1897»<sup>88</sup>. A comparison to a photographic portrait of Withington demonstrates the incredible lifelikeness that had also been associated with Harnisch's busts of Alexander von Humboldt and Franz Liszt<sup>89</sup>.

But in view of Harnisch's career-long prolificacy<sup>90</sup>, where are the remainder

of his works that date from this thirty-year stay in Florence? First, it must be noted that Via dei Bardi, 8, was located squarely in the midst of properties that Stefano Bardini variously rented or owned during this time<sup>91</sup>. In his mature career, Bardini employed about 300 people who occupied ateliers and laboratories populating a substantial part of his neighborhood of San Niccolò<sup>92</sup>. In fact, several upper-level managers with supervisory roles in the business can now be identified by name; they were all multi-lingual, talented artists. Among them was Albert Harnisch. He worked for Bardini, certainly through 1903, and probably through 1909, and perhaps even longer as they were in touch just before Harnisch died<sup>93</sup>. Within Bardini's business structure, Harnisch fulfilled several uppermost management roles. Since he was educated and fluent in German, English, Italian, and likely French, he translated correspondence into, for example, English for Bardini's communications with Isabella Stewart Gardner<sup>94</sup>.

And, indicative of his stature within the Bardini operation, Harnisch was responsible for sizable banking transactions on behalf of the business<sup>95</sup>. Thus he often functioned as the point man for important clients, among them the New York attorney and financier William Salomon (1852–1919), a good friend of J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913). It was Harnisch who accompanied Salomon to Bardini's Villa Marignolle in May 1901, and arranged for the sale of bronze doors that would adorn the principle façade of the Morgan Library in New York<sup>96</sup>. Although they were described as by Lorenzo Ghiberti, these doors were actually made by Thomas Waldo Story (1855–1915), the son of William Wetmore Story, and the Roman neighbor and close younger friend of Harnisch<sup>97</sup>. They were installed in the outdoor chapel of Bardini's villa, to be discovered by William Solomon. This was not the only time that Harnisch would orchestrate a staged discovery. Indeed, several can be identified with respect to works for Mr. and Mrs. Havemeyer mediated by Harnisch, working in conjunction with Mary Cassatt, and working with Bardini but also acting around his back<sup>98</sup>. The anecdotes of these discoveries are described at length by Louisine in her autobiographical sketch, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector*, and figure in the correspondence exchanged among the Havemeyers and Mary Cassatt and Albert Harnisch<sup>99</sup>.

One painting mediated by Harnisch is the painted *Portrait of a Woman* (inv. 29.100.104) sold as by the Venetian painter Paolo Veronese (1528–1588) to Mr. and Mrs. Havemeyer in 1901. In turn, they bequeathed it along with the vast bulk of their collection to the Metropolitan Museum. Another painting, deriving its subject matter from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, depicts Mercury and Battus (29.100.21). Attributed to the French painter Francisque Millet (1642–1679), it was purchased in Italy through Harnisch in 1907. A second painting

came as part of this transaction, one in the style of Nicolas Poussin, the scene of *Orpheus and Eurydice* (29.100.20), a mythical story told by both Virgil and Ovid. The fourth painting associated with Harnisch is a *Madonna and Child with Two Angels* (29.100.17) (fig. 10), acquired by the Havemeyers in 1907 as by Filippo Lippi, and currently considered as «after Botticelli». The provenance notes that it had been with Stefano Bardini by 1903 and that the transaction was mediated by Harnisch. A fifth painting transacted by Harnisch, is a *Portrait of a Man*, acquired by the Havemeyers as by Goya. Also in the Metropolitan Museum (inv 29.100.179)<sup>100</sup>, the painting bears the inscription «Goya 1780», but it is currently attributed to the Neapolitan painter Gaspare Traversi (c.1722–1770). The provenance of the sixth painting also acknowledges Bardini as having possessed it about 1904; it was then transacted through Harnisch to the Havemeyers. Bought as by Veronese, the large portrait of a *Boy with a Greyhound* (29.100.105)<sup>101</sup> is surely the most exquisite of the group.

Reviewing these transactions, it becomes apparent that Harnisch certainly had a penchant for orchestrating «staged discoveries». Indeed, Louisine wrote about both paintings they acquired as by Veronese, and the circumstances surrounding their eventual acquisition of them revolve, as do many of the other anecdotes in the book, around the hunt for and discovery of art as they traveled throughout Europe. So insistent is this leitmotif that the Havemeyers' delight in the drama of the hunt, discovery, and successful conquest could not possibly have escaped notice by Harnisch. And Harnisch was evidently very accommodating in this respect, with their trips often made in the company of Mary Cassatt. While in Florence, the Havemeyers were taken by Mary Cassatt to «...a shabby building, too far from Florence to be a *palazzo* and not far enough to be a villa, we followed La Signora and soon found ourselves in a large dark room, which, when some wooden shutters were thrown open, we found contained many pictures, most of them as dark as the room».

Not impressed with what he saw, Mr. Havemeyer was ready to leave when from «...an exclamation from Miss Cassatt, we turned around to see what she had found. From its hinges upon the wall she had swung a huge frame directly across the window and was looking at a portrait. As we gathered about her, La Signora said: "That is by Paolo Veronese; it is a portrait of his wife"». No one in the group was impressed, though the next morning after she had «...studied the picture carefully...», Cassatt pressed on to convince the Havemeyers that the painting was good, and if Mr. Havemeyer didn't want it, she would buy it for herself. This was followed by the suggestion that they take a trip to the Uffizi in order to compare it to the works by Veronese there. They returned to have another look at

the painting, this time shown to them by la Signora and «H.», who is none other than Albert Harnisch. A very high price was quoted whereupon Harnisch retorted, «*Pazienza, molta [sic] pazienza*; wait; don't make any offer, you must leave it to me». A comparison of a photographic portrait of Louise with the so-called Veronese (fig. 9), suggests a variant of *ogni dipintore dipinge se* – every collector sees herself.

In addition to the paintings, Harnisch arranged for the discovery of a marble *Madonna and the Infant Christ* presented as by Mino da Fiesole (c.1429-1484). With much secrecy, Harnisch took them to «...a palazzo, and there in the wall, where it had been since the artist's time», they examined the relief. Louise recounted that she would never forget «...the vision of poor H. tugging hopelessly with ropes to get this marble up the narrow winding stairs to the little cupola on "suicide Corner" where it was to remain until forwarded to us some time afterward»<sup>102</sup>. Today it is in the Metropolitan Museum (inv. 29.100.26)<sup>103</sup> and attributed to the ubiquitous Master of the Marble Madonnas, the as yet unidentified sculptor, or sculptors [*sic*], active in Tuscany during the last quarter of the fifteenth century<sup>104</sup>. The provenance given by the museum is that of the Bombicci family until 1901, when it was sold to the Havemeyers. Oddly, there is another very similar relief, almost exactly the same size, in the Kress Collection (inv. 1960.5.9)<sup>105</sup> in Washington National Gallery of Art which is also said to have come from the Bombicci family. It was acquired in 1948 from the Florentine Count Alessandro Contini Bonacossi (1878-1955), a major client of Bardini's son Ugo, and to whom Ugo sold three «tabernacles», in July of 1948, that were, very likely, depicting the *Madonna and Child*<sup>106</sup>.

The eventful relationship between Harnisch and the Havemeyers continued to develop<sup>107</sup>. Louise reported that several years after the acquisition of the Mino da Fiesole's *Madonna and Child*, Harnisch had procured for them a terracotta relief of the *Madonna and Child*, intimating that it was the type of thing that artists produced for small chapels in the country. Later, during another trip made by the Havemeyers to Florence, Harnisch found «several fine pictures, the Raphael, the Del Sarto, etc., and was now on the scent of something quite extraordinary». Louise continued «There were many difficulties in his path, however, and we should be obliged to follow this trail with the greatest precaution; not only was the family who owned the treasure divided and at swords' points through legal entanglements, but we had the dealers to count with, for the picture was nothing less than a Filippo Lippi, one which the dealers would buy at a high price or which any museum would be proud to acquire». When Mr. Havemeyer wanted to go see it, predictably Harnisch «...whispered like a low tragedian: "*Che, che, che, piano, piano, pazienza*, we shall have to go far, far up into the hills to see it, and no one must know where or when we go"»<sup>108</sup>.

At that point Louisine admitted that the whole melodramatic situation appealed to her. As she wrote, that it would be exciting, since they «...were not only to hunt, but to hunt in a drama». Harnisch planned the itinerary. Long and complicated, it included travel by train and a horse-driven coach for a three hour climb up into the hills. The group, instructed to pretend they were wine merchants, arrived at their destination to be given a proper wine tasting, followed by a tour of the villa. The tour concluded at the door to its chapel, where, upon the altar, was the Filippo Lippi's *Madonna and Child*. The resolution of the transaction «had to be wrapped in mystery». Later, a young man masquerading as a painter had permission to enter the chapel. Soon after, the painting went missing, to shortly find itself in the Havemeyer Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum (29.100.17)<sup>109</sup> (fig. 10). Indeed, Ugo Bardini kept a photograph of this painting within a folder entitled «Fillipo Lippi», placing it in comparison to a photograph of the very similarly-sized painting of the *Madonna and Child* in the Uffizi (Inv. 1890, no. 1598).

The length to which Bardini & Co, and Harnisch in particular, would go in staging discoveries was every bit as incredible as it was elaborate. The Havemeyers left Florence for Milan. One evening Harnisch, presumably having traveled up from Florence, turned up at their hotel to tell them of another Veronese he had found, conveniently located not far from Milan in Brescia. Harnisch escorted the Havemeyers to a dilapidated villa and after passing through several dim and musty rooms, they reached an enormous dark and cold room. It was only when the window shutters were opened, and their eyes adjusted to the light, that they could see a fireplace at the end of the room, over which hung the painting. Louisine commented that it took several minutes before they could make out «...a young man standing upon the terrace of a garden with a greyhound beside him», that is, the painting today in the Metropolitan Museum. Disappointed by its lack of brilliant coloring for which they had considered typical of Veronese, the Havemeyers declined the acquisition and left the villa in haste.

Over the next year, the subject of the painting continued to come up in the three-way correspondence among the Havemeyers, Harnisch in Florence and Cassatt in Paris. Harnisch finally reported that he had taken the painting down and cleaned it, removing layers of dirt and soot, which now revealed brilliant colors. Harnisch then told the Havemeyers that after the painting was cleaned, the owner wanted much more money for it, but he added, «I have accidentally learned certain facts, which under no consideration can I tell you, but which I believe, when the right moment comes, will let us buy the picture cheap». Another year passed and Harnisch cabled the Havemeyers asking if they would give a little more money for the painting. They refused. The next day Harnisch cabled again, «Boy and Dog yours; cable funds»<sup>110</sup>.

The Havemeyers sent the agreed upon 2500 Lire, which Louisine noted was the equivalent of five thousand dollars, today's equivalent of nearly 140,000 dollars. In turn, Harnisch took the painting to Cassatt in Paris and the painting was shown to friends, among them an art critic. Cassatt was sure to pass along to the Havemeyers the critic's overwhelmingly positive critique of the picture<sup>111</sup>.

All of this work kept Harnisch busy. Still, with the lacuna of signed or dated work from this period, he did not cease being a sculptor, nor perhaps a painter and draughtsman as well. Sculpture was clearly his true avocation, and the bust of General Withington executed in 1897 serves as proof that he did not cease carving marble sculpture. In fact, the many different types of evidence of sculpture manufacture left by Bardini & Co – unfinished busts, photographs annotated for replication, objects pointed for sizing, sculptors' tools – indicates that Harnisch continued to make sculpture, but that he shifted the focus of his production to creating lucrative Renaissance imposters.

At least one such object may be attributed to Harnisch. In 1918 Quincy Adams Shaw bequeathed a marble bust of a young boy (fig. 11) to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (17.1479A-B); then attributed to Antonio Rossellino, it was recently listed as «probably early 19<sup>th</sup> Century»<sup>112</sup>. Currently the collections database lists it as «in the manner of: Mino da Fiesole»<sup>113</sup>. Shaw acquired many of his sculptures from Bardini from circa 1870 until circa 1900<sup>114</sup>. Telling is a stylistic comparison to a marble *Mercury and Turtle* (fig. 12), signed by Harnisch and dated «Rome, 1879» and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (1982.442) but exhibited, likely as a plaster, at the Pennsylvania Academy on several occasions beginning in 1862<sup>115</sup>. The sculptures share similarities in the particular treatment of the hair and the way it frames the faces, as well as the ears and the sublime downward gazes and expressions; all of the facial features compare well. Both can be described in the words used by «The Daily Evening Telegraph» in 1869 as «exquisitely graceful and poetical works»<sup>116</sup>.

Brewster had, of course, noted that Harnisch was channeling the fifteenth-century Florentine masters when she called attention to his affinity to Donatello, and both sculptures distantly evoke Renaissance style, however romanticized<sup>117</sup>. Similarly, Brewster's description of the hands and toes of Mr. How's «sprite»<sup>118</sup> recalls another work acquired from Bardini by Shaw, also in Boston, a relief of the *Virgin Adoring the Child* (17.1467), sold as by Verrocchio (1435-1488) but currently attributed to Francesco di Simone Ferrucci (1437-1493)<sup>119</sup> (fig. 13). Admittedly the comparison is made difficult by the fact that it is a relief, but compared with *Mercury and Turtle*, there are certain shared particularities in the gesture of the hands and the curling of the toes, not to mention the Madonna's downward gaze. These

similarities are surely not hallmarks of fifteenth-century Florentine production, conforming better to Brewster's numerous descriptions of Harnisch's work, which, not incidentally, independently echoed the stylistic critiques published while Harnisch was still active in Philadelphia. Likewise, these traits appear in other works by Harnisch, among them *The Schoolboy*, signed «A E Harnisch sculpt. ROMA 1884» and recently sold at Sotheby's<sup>120</sup> (fig. 2). Another work in this category is a bronze Eros, signed «AE Harnisch sculp Roma 1881» with the foundry indicated as «Fonderia Nelli Roma». This statue is in a private collection in Connecticut (fig. 14) and it very obviously channels the bronze *spiritelli* from Luca della Robbia's cantoria (1431-1438) for the cathedral of Florence (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André with copies now on the cantoria in the Museo del Opera del Duomo)<sup>121</sup>.

Shaw entered the transaction for the Boston relief around 1870, well before Harnisch moved to Florence to work for Bardini<sup>122</sup>. But Bardini surely had contacts in Rome by the early 1870s; an address book dated c.1878/1880 contains more than seventy contacts in Rome<sup>123</sup>. It therefore seems almost certain that Harnisch was providing fifteenth-century style objects of his own creation to Bardini well before he moved to Florence. Their longstanding relationship, and the financial boon Harnisch received from it, explains both his sudden relocation to Florence as well as the high-level managerial position Harnisch into which he immediately stepped within Bardini's operation as soon as he arrived in the city. With greater awareness of his efforts, and his distinctive style, additional attributions to Harnisch should come to replace the various labels of «fake» – or «Donatello» or «Verrocchio» or «Mino da Fiesole» for that matter – on sculpture made to masquerade as high-quality and beautiful sculpture in the style of fifteenth-century Florence.

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1 For the bibliography on Bardini, see L. Catterson, *From Florence, to London, to New York: J.P. Morgan's Bronze Doors*, «Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide », vol. 16, no. 3, Autumn, 2017, note 3, <<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn17/catterson-on-from->

florence-to-london-to-new-york-mr-morgan-s-bronze-doors> (last access 23 May 2023). For material published more recently, see L. Catterson, *Art Market, Social Network and Contamination: Bardini, Bode and the Madonna Pazzi Puzzle*, in *Florence, Berlin and Beyond: Social Network and the late 19C Art Market*, edited by L. Catterson, The Netherlands, 2020, pp. 498-552; ead., *From visual inventory to trophy clippings: Bardini & Co. and the use of photographs in the late 19C art market*, in *The Art Market in Italy Around 1900: Actors, Archives, Photographs/Il mercato dell'arte in Italia intorno al 1900. Protagonisti, archivi, fotografie*, (Florence, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut und Fondazione Federico Zeri, Bologna, 14-15 November 2017), Summer 2020; ead., *Stefano Bardini, His Conservative Side and the Protection of Frescoes*, in *Stefano Bardini 'estrattista': affreschi staccati nell'Italia Unita fra antiquariato, collezionismo e musei*, edited by L. Ciancabilla and C. Giometti, Pisa, 2019, pp. 79-92. This article and my others have been based on material held in the state archive of the family and business of the Florentine dealer Stefano Bardini, the Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini (ASEB) and the Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini (AFEB), as well as the Archivio Musei Comunali Fondo Stefano Bardini (AMCFIFSB). This research has been combined with work done in the Zentralarchiv in Berlin (SMB-SPK ZAB), as well as the archives of the Florentine Accademia di Belle Arti, the Victoria & Albert Museum, London National Gallery, the Oxford Ashmolean Museum, the Archives of American Art, the Frick Collection, the Morgan Library, the Metropolitan Museum, the New York Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, Columbia University Avery Library, Smith College and Princeton University.

- 2 ASEB, census taken from various payroll books and ledgers; properties identified by various receipts for maintenance, e.g., plumbing, masonry, etc.
- 3 L. Catterson, *Introductory essay*, in *Dealing Art on Both Sides of the Atlantic, 1860 to 1940*, edited by L. Catterson, The Netherlands, 2017, pp. 1-38.
- 4 This is but a brief sketch of Harnisch, with no intention to be a comprehensive account of his life and works. Perhaps in time the mountains of research that I've accumulated will find its way into a monograph. Harnisch was born on the 18th of February. Date on Consulate Registration 1887. *Consular Registration Certificates, compiled 1907-1918*. ARC ID: 1244186. General Records of the Department of State, 1763-2002, Record Group 59. National Archives at Washington, D.C. See synopsis of his works, *Edited Appletons Encyclopedia*, Copyright © 2001 VirtualologyTM. See also the entry for Harnisch by L. Dimmick, in *American Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Vol. 1*, edited by T. Tolles, New York, 1999, pp. 189-190, <[http://books.google.com/books?id=8jr6vNLLYMgC&pg=PA189&dq=%22ALBERT+E.+HARNISCH%22&hl=en&sa=X&ei=WnpLU\\_-YE6bi4QXSxoiD4Cg&ved=0CCoQ6AEwAA](http://books.google.com/books?id=8jr6vNLLYMgC&pg=PA189&dq=%22ALBERT+E.+HARNISCH%22&hl=en&sa=X&ei=WnpLU_-YE6bi4QXSxoiD4Cg&ved=0CCoQ6AEwAA)> (last access 23 May 2023). As yet no photograph of Harnisch has surface, though.
- 5 U.S., City Directories, 1822-1995; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, City Directory, 1877. His 1869 passport describes him as «5-foot 7-inches tall, with hazel eyes and brown hair» (National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; Roll #: 162; Volume #: *Roll 162 - 01 Jul 1869-31 Aug 1869*. Source Information: Ancestry.com. *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2007. Original data: *Selected Passports*. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 6 Year: 1860; Census Place: Philadelphia Ward 3, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Roll: M653\_1153; Page: 315; Image: 321; Family History Library Film: 805153. Ancestry.com. 1860 United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009.

Images reproduced by FamilySearch. Original data: 1860 U.S. census, population schedule. NARA microfilm publication M653, 1,438 rolls and Seventh Census of the United States, 1850 M432, 1009 rolls. Record Group 29; Names: Albert Harnisch; Age: 17; Birth Year: 1843; Gender: Male; Birth Place: Philadelphia, Home in 1860: Philadelphia Ward 3, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Family Number: 710; Carle Harnisch, 60; Ernest Harnisch, 56; Julius Harnisch, 51; Julius Harnisch, 20; Albert Harnisch, 17; Joanna Harnisch, 16; Emma Harnisch, 14; Ellie Harnisch, 10; Annie Harnisch, 7; Margaret Harnisch, 4. He was also recorded in the Census of 1850, for which see Source Citation, Year: 1850; Census Place: Moyamensing Ward 2, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Roll: M432\_809; Page: 325A; Image: 333.

The birth and death dates for Julius Harnisch are given in the Pennsylvania, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1683-1993, Wills, No 490-524, 1884.

- 7 Carl Harnisch executed the finely rendered designs for six lithographs in a volume of illustrations from Goethe's *Faust*, for which see C. Harnisch and J.W. von Goethe, *Illustrationen zu Goethes Faust*, Weimar, ca. 1840, <<http://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/epnresolver?id=1177132761>> (last access 23 May 2023). He also made the six illustrations for *Bildliche Darstellungen in Arabeskenform zu Ossian's Gedichten*, Berlin, 1835, <[https://schmidt-auktionen.de/en/12\\_katalog\\_online.php?nr=9&mode=a&page=7](https://schmidt-auktionen.de/en/12_katalog_online.php?nr=9&mode=a&page=7)> (last access 23 May 2023). Written and published by the Scottish poet James Macpherson beginning in 1760, these poems purported to be translations of ancient Scottish and Irish Gaelic from an oral tradition. They were internationally translated and very popular from 1760, through into the first half of the nineteenth-century, along with which came a widespread debate regarding their authenticity. On *Ossian* see, H. Gaskill, *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, London, 2004, <<http://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=436477>> (last access 23 May 2023). A few other works by Carl have been identified and they all share the same qualities indicating a very talented and exacting draughtsman. They include designs for ceiling and wall decorations, for which see *Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts* (<<https://www.pafa.org/museum/collection/browse/>> [last access 23 May 2023]) and Ralph Rüdiger Haugwitz *Fine Arts*, Berlin (<[http://www.kunsthandel-haugwitz.com/werk\\_kat/search/harnisch\\_en.htm](http://www.kunsthandel-haugwitz.com/werk_kat/search/harnisch_en.htm)> [last access 23 May 2023]), which notes, among other things, «...a certain closeness to Friedrich Schinkel's (1781 – 1841) decorative style», and that he exhibited at the Academy in the 1820s and 1830s and that he received commissions from Prince Friedrich Wilhelm IV. See also the lithograph (54.8 x 49 cm), «Reminiscences of a fancy dress ball, in Philadelphia, February 1850...drawn, from nat: & on stone by C. Harnisch», Philadelphia: P.S. Duval's steam lith. Press, 1850(?), for which see Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C., Marian S. Carson collection, located at <<https://lccn.loc.gov/2014648445>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 8 *Appletons Encyclopedia*, cit..
- 9 P.H. Falk, A.W. Rutledge, *The Annual exhibition record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, v. 1, 1807-1870, Madison, 1988, p.92: #378. *Indian Poet* (sculpture). For sale. Albert E. Harnish [sic]. And #385. *David with his Harp* (sculpture). For sale. Albert E. Harnish [sic], which he would also exhibit in 1860.
- 10 Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. I wish to thank Hoang Tran, Director of Archives. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, for sending along what material they had and Thayer Tolles, Marica F. Vilcek Curator of American Paintings and Sculpture of the Metropolitan Museum, NY, for sharing the content of the curatorial file. I am also grateful to Thayer for twice arranging a close inspection of the statue.

- 11 Falk, Rutledge, *The Annual exhibition record*, cit., p.92. More would follow.
- 12 W.J. Clark, *Great American Sculptures*, Philadelphia, 1878, p. 106.
- 13 Source Citation: National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registration Records (Provost Marshal General's Bureau; Consolidated Enrollment Lists, 1863-1865)*; Record Group: 110, *Records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau (Civil War)*; Collection Name: *Consolidated Enrollment Lists, 1863-1865 (Civil War Union Draft Records)*; ARC Identifier: 4213514; Archive Volume Number: 2 of 6. Source Information: Ancestry.com. *U.S., Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863-1865* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Original data: *Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863-1865*. NM-65, entry 172, 620 volumes. ARC ID: 4213514. Records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau (Civil War), Record Group 110. National Archives at Washington D.C.
- 14 Falk, Rutledge, *The Annual exhibition record*, cit., p.92.
- 15 «1866. 794. Model for Monument to Abraham Lincoln, The Caryatides representing four virtues: Fidelity, Truth, Courage, and Justice». It was exhibited again in 1867: 395, in 1868: 426; 1869: p. 19, 336; SP 1870 suppl.: 609. See Falk, Rutledge, *The Annual exhibition record*, cit., as at note 7, p.92. The figures of the virtues were described as seeming to have come down from the cornice of the Sistine ceiling, having the «tortured fantasticalness of Michelangelo», for which see *The Academy Exhibition. The Sculpture*, in «The Daily Evening Bulletin», vol. 23, no. 30, Philadelphia, 14 May 1869, p. 1, <<http://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn84026016/1869-05-14/ed-1/seq-1/>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 16 «1867. 316. Model for a Bust of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Brainard. *For sale. Albert E. Harnish*». 1868. 355. Bust of William J. Mullen (marble). W. J. Mullen (1805-1882). Again in 1869: p. 16, 266; SP 1870 suppl.: 546. In the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as in the collection of Mullen, for which see Centennial Exhibition and F. Faas, *United States Centennial Commission, International Exhibition, 1876 official catalogue*, Philadelphia, 1876.
- 17 *Academy of Fine Art. Sculpture Rooms*, in «Daily Evening Bulletin», Philadelphia, 8 May 1866, p. 1, <<http://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn84026016/1866-05-08/ed-1/seq-1/>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 18 S. Lomas, *Seventy-five Years of the Philadelphia Sketch Club*, Philadelphia, photocopy, 1936, which lists Harnisch as a non-resident member and among a group of members who had studios in the artists' area of Walnut Street and 6th. Indeed, Harnisch had a studio on 524 Walnut Street in 1868 (Ancestry.com. *U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011); the Sketch Club moved to that address in 1868, the year before Harnisch left for Rome. I wish to thank Bill Patterson, Archivist, Philadelphia Sketch Club, for this citation and the additional information that he believed the *Cupid* was destroyed during a party by Gray & Rodgers Advertising, who replaced it with a large plaster head of Zeus, still in situ in the foyer.
- 19 «The Daily Evening Bulletin», vol. 23, no. 30, 14 May 1869, p. 1.
- 20 «The Post», Middleburg, Snyder County, 1864-1883.
- 21 *City Affairs. Art as a Business*, in «North American», 14 May 1869, p. 1.
- 22 *The Fine Arts. Art Patronage*, in «Daily Evening Telegraph», Philadelphia, Saturday 15 May 1869, p. 4, <<http://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn83025925/1869-05-15/ed-1/seq-4/>> (last access 23 May 2023)
- 23 T.B. Brumbaugh, *A Petition of Philadelphia Artists*, in «Pennsylvania History», vol. 41, no. 2,

- April 1974, pp. 161-167, and p. 162, note 1, that «The Morrill Tariff of 1861 (Statutes at Large, 47th Congress, 2nd Session) had demanded only twenty percent on artistic materials. A further ten to twenty percent increase, levied after the Civil War, was at issue here».
- 24 «Daily Evening Bulletin», vol. 23, no. 50, Philadelphia, 7 June 1869, p. 4, <<http://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn84026016/1869-06-07/ed-1/seq-3/>> (last access 23 May 2023).
  - 25 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; Roll #: 162; Volume #: *Roll 162 - 01 Jul 1869-31 Aug 1869*. Source Information: Ancestry.com. *U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925* [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2007. Original data: *Selected Passports*. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
  - 26 «Daily Evening Bulletin», vol. 23, no. 80, Philadelphia, 13 July 1869, p. 1, <<http://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn84026016/1869-07-13/ed-1/seq-1/#city=Philadelphia&rows=20&proxtext=harnisch+sculptor&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=0&words=Harnisch+Sculptor&page=1>> (last access 23 May 2023).
  - 27 I wish to thank Bettina Hess, Special Collections Librarian at the German Society of Pennsylvania, for confirming that Harnisch's bust is no longer there and for the information that the monument cornerstone was laid in Fairmount Park in 1869, erected in 1876 for the Centennial Exhibition, and still standing on the present-day Martin Luther King Drive by the river.
  - 28 *The Fine Arts*, in «Daily Evening Bulletin», 09 June 1870, p. 1, <<http://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn84026016/1870-06-09/ed-1/seq-1/#city=&rows=20&proxtext=harnisch+sculptor&searchType=basic&sequence=0&index=4&words=Harnisch+sculptor&page=1>> (last access 23 May 2023). The monument Frederick Drake, (1805-1882) for which see <<https://siris-artinventories.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?&profile=all&source=~!siartinventories&uri=full=3100001~!15619~!0>> (last access 23 May 2023).
  - 29 For Brewster see D.M. Larrabee, *Anne Hampton Brewster: 19th Century Author and «Social Outlaw»*, Philadelphia, 1992, <<http://tinyurl.com/23oycvg>> (last access 23 May 2023); E. Fisher, *A Gentle Journalist Abroad: the papers of Anne Hampton Brewster in the Library Company of Philadelphia, selections from a description*, Philadelphia, 1947; E.M. Madden, *Engaging Italy: American Women's Utopian Visions and Transnational Networks*, Albany, 2022, pp. 195-227.
  - 30 Until 1859 Brewster wrote under the name of Enna Duval (*Spirit Sculpture: Or, the Year Before Confirmation. Written for the Benefit of the Church of the Assumption*, Philadelphia, 1849) for which see L.W. Boasberg, *Closing the Book on a Mystery: The Library Company has Solved a Who-penned-it*, in «Philadelphia Inquirer», 11 May 1992. For a comprehensive finding aid for Brewster's papers held by the Library Company of Philadelphia, see <[http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/pacscl/ead.html?q=brewster&id=PAC\\_SCL\\_LCP\\_LCPBrewster&](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/pacscl/ead.html?q=brewster&id=PAC_SCL_LCP_LCPBrewster&)> (last access 23 May 2023).
  - 31 See C. Brandon, *Filadelfia-Roma: George Washington Wurts e Henrietta Tower da Lincoln a Mussolini*, in *Voglia D'italia: Il Collezionismo Internazionale Nella Roma Del Vittoriano*, edited by E. Pellegrini, Napoli, 2017, pp. 49-80, for a close look at Rome in the nineteenth century and other American artists living there, focusing in particular on another Philadelphian, George Washington Wurts.
  - 32 Margaret F. Foley was an American sculptor who, from 1860, lived and worked in Rome producing cameos, portrait medallions in low, relief, and other figurative sculpture. For Foley, see M. Dabakis, *A sisterhood of sculptors: American artists in nineteenth-century Rome*,

- University Park, Pennsylvania, 2014, pp. 23-25, 87-90.
- 33 J.A. Barter *et al.*, *Mary Cassatt, Modern Woman*, exhibition catalogue (Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, October 1998 – January 1999), Chicago, 1998. See also <<https://americanart.si.edu/artist/mary-cassatt-770>> (last access 23 May 2023).
  - 34 Harnisch also studied at the «Life School» at the French Academy, for which see Anne Brewster Journal, Winter, 1873.
  - 35 *The Havemeyer Family Papers relating to Art Collecting, 1901-1922*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, Archives and Watson Library Digital Collections, <<https://cdm16028.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/search/searchterm/Havemeyer%20Family%20Papers%20relating%20to%20Art%20Collecting,%201901-1922/field/relatig/mode/exact/order/descr>> (last access 23 May 2023).
  - 36 W.J. Mullen (1805-1882) is probably the philanthropic prison agent who strived for better conditions in the Philadelphia public prisons, for which see Mullen's report in «Friends' Review», vol. 13, no. 22, Philadelphia, 4 February 1860, p. 358.
  - 37 For Read, see I.C. Keller, *Thomas Buchanan Read*, in «Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies», 6, no. 3, 1939, pp. 133-146. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27766360>> (last access 23 May 2023). Read lived at 215 Chestnut St., Philadelphia in the autumn of 1852.
  - 38 A. Brewster, *Letter from Rome*, in «Daily Evening Bulletin », Philadelphia, 15 July 1870, p.2, <<http://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn84026016/1870-07-15/ed-1/seq-2/>> (last access 23 May 2023).
  - 39 *Ibidem*.
  - 40 *Visits to the Studios of Rome*, in «The Art-Journal», n.s. X, London, 1 June 1871, pp. 162-164, esp. p. 163, <<https://books.google.com/books?id=8KwlknVaLB0C&dq=%E2%80%9CSignor%20Vertunni%22%20%20Arundel%20Society&pg=PA163#v=onepage&q=%E2%80%9CSignor%20Vertunni%22%20%20Arundel%20Society&f=false>> (last access 23 May 2023). For the comingling of the foreigners with the local community, see P. Coen, *Il Recupero Del Rinascimento: Arte, Politica E Mercato Nei Primi Decenni Di Roma Capitale (1870-1911)*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2020. See also, C. Sisi, L. Trezzani, *La Pittura Di Paesaggio in Italia*, Vol. 3, Milano, 2003; *La Pittura in Italia. L'Ottocento*, edited by E. Castelnuovo, Milano, 1992; C. Bon Valsassina, *La pittura a Roma nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento*, in *La Pittura in Italia*, cit., pp. 393-425.
  - 41 Achille Vertunni (1826-1897) was a Neapolitan landscape painter who moved to Rome in 1853, for which see *Visits to the Studios of Rome*, cit., p. 163.
  - 42 Cesare Marianecchi (c.1819-c.1894) was a copyist of frescoes made in watercolor that were commissioned by the Arundel Society, and from which were made chromolithographs that were published by the Arundel Society. Many of the watercolors are in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. For the project to commission copies, see *The Fresco Paintings of Italy. The Arundel Society*, in «Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine», v. 88, n. 540, October 1860, pp. 458-471, <<https://books.google.com/books?id=kLMCAAAAIAAJ&pg=PA461#v=onepage&q&f=false>> (last access 23 May 2023).
  - 43 Randolph Rogers (1825-1892) was an American Neoclassical sculptor who moved to Florence in 1848 to study with Lorenzo Bartolini. In 1851, Rogers relocated permanently to Rome. For Rogers, see M.F. Rogers Jr., *Randolph Rogers: American Sculptor in Rome*, Amherst, 1971; *Randolph Rogers*, in S. James-Gadzinski, M. Mullen Cunningham, *American Sculpture in the Museum of American Art of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*,

- Philadelphia, 1997, pp. 58–61; A. De Gubernatis, U. Matini, *Dizionario degli artisti italiani viventi, pittori, scultori e architetti*, Firenze, 1889, pp. 423–424, <<https://books.google.com/books?id=Zz0bAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA423#v=onepage&q=rogers&f=false>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 44 Joseph Mozier (1812-1870), American sculptor who traveled c.1845 to Florence, and following a few years there, he moved to Rome. For Mozier, see James-Gadzinski and Mullen Cunningham, *American sculpture*, cit., pp. 35-36. By November 1871 Mozier's studio was taken over by Rinehart, whereupon his works, most especially the Clytie, were the talk of the town. See A. Brewster, *Art in Rome. The Round of the Studios-What the American Artists Have Been Doing-Notable Works*, «Boston Daily Advertiser», is. 137, vol. 118, Supplement, 9 December 1871, p. 1.
- 45 *Visits to the Studios of Rome*, cit., p. 163.
- 46 R. Ojetti, *Biografia di Achille Vertunni*, in «Roma Artistica», vol. 1, n. 11, Roma, 1872, pp. 81-84, <<https://books.google.com/books?id=BJ5AAAAAYAAJ&dq=%22Roma%20Artistica%22%20ojetti&pg=PA47#v=onepage&q=%22Roma%20Artistica%22%20ojetti&f=false>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 47 My synopsis from the Italian, for which see R. Ojetti (1845-1924), *Notizie Diverse. Alberto E. Harnisch*, in «Roma Artistica», vol. 1, n. 6, Roma, 1871, p. 47, <<https://books.google.com/books?id=BJ5AAAAAYAAJ&dq=%22Roma%20Artistica%22%20ojetti&pg=PA47#v=onepage&q=%22Roma%20Artistica%22%20ojetti&f=false>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 48 The Library Company of Philadelphia holds a wealth of material for Brewster, for which see <<https://librarycompany.org/FindingAids/AnneHamptonBrewsterpapers.pdf>> (last access 23 May 2023). I would like to thank Cornelia S. King, Curator of Women's History and Sarah J. Weatherwax, Curator of Prints and Photographs for their kind assistance with respect to this material.
- 49 A. Brewster, *Art in Rome. The Round of the Studios*.
- 50 Anne Brewster Journal, written atop first page of journal «Rome, 21 October 1871».
- 51 Fisher, *A Gentle Journalist Abroad*, cit., p. 24, which is one of the very few mentions of Harnisch as a fresco painter. See C. Carson, *The Roman Years of a South Carolina Artist: Caroline Carson's Letters Home, 1872-1892*, edited by W.H. Pease, J.H. Pease, Columbia, 2003, pp. 96-97, 132. In a letter dated 7 October 1878, Caroline Carson noted she had to change her apartment in via delle Quattro Fontane, 159. By 17 November 1878, she had moved to a larger space in via delle Quattro Fontane, 107B, one floor above Brewster.
- 52 *American Artists in Florence*, in «Kansas City Star», vol. 29, no. 73, 29 November 1908, p. 8.
- 53 How's legacy remains as a historic inn, for which see <<https://www.cleftstone.com/rooms-charles-t-how.html>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 54 *Decorative Arts & Design*, 24-29 September 2022; Lot 401. The sculpture measures 28.5 in (72.4 cm). Its estimate was \$3,000-\$5,000 but it sold at more than twice the high estimate for \$13,200.
- 55 Brewster, *Art in Rome*, cit. It is dated by Brewster to 11 November 1871.
- 56 As of 2022, the *Puck* is in a private collection in New York.
- 57 Due to its popularity, Hosmer executed several copies of the *Puck*, one of which is in the Smithsonian American Art Museum (modeled 1854, carved 1856, marble, Gift of Mrs. George

- Merrill, 1918.3.5; URI: <<http://edan.si.edu/saam/id/object/1918.3.5>> [last access 23 May 2023]).
- 58 Anne Brewster Journal.
- 59 Their relationship was the subject of ongoing gossip, making an appearance several years later in a gossip novel, for which see M. Tincker, *By the Tiber*, No Name Series, Boston, 1881. Anne Brewster is portrayed as Mrs. Cromo and Harnisch as Mr. Burton, for which see pp. 165-166: «...Burton was a young painter, and Miss Cromo's factotum. She had sometimes been useful to him, and he was far more useful to her. He was her escort, her errand-boy, her agent, her slave, and she led him a dog's life from which he could not escape. Perhaps he did not wish to escape, and had become so accustomed to his bondage that he would have been lost without it; but he had had his moments of rebellion when the rein had been too tightly drawn. On such occasions her complaints had been loud and long to all her friends. Valeria had herself been wearied by them, for she liked Burton, and considered him to be far more a gentleman than Miss Cromo was a lady. He was a good fellow when not influenced by her. "A perfect boor, my dear", she would say. "I really shall have to turn him off, for I cannot bear any longer his 'grand, gloomy, and peculiar' ways. Mrs. Polo asked me the other day how I could permit him to speak to me so impudently, and said that I ought to exact more respect. But he is a boor, and that is all that you can say of him". Then, if a service were wanted from the young man, who so good as he? Nor was this a mere selfish and ungrateful caprice, which, being understood, could harm no one. For Burton's reputation for manliness had suffered with his well-wishers, who looked on him as rather a poor-spirited fellow, while those who were indifferent to him believed the evil that Miss Cromo said, and paid no attention to her sweeter moods. The last that Valeria had heard from him in the spring had excited her compassion. "Burton cannot show any more of his airs", Miss Cromo had said to her gleefully. "He is poor now, completely out of money, and I have got him under my thumb". She had made no comment on the coarseness of feeling which had dictated this speech, and had checked an impulse to remind the speaker of a bitter time when she had herself been poor, and in need of friendly help...». That it was the most talked about book in Boston, see the review in «*The Literary World*», vol. 12, Boston, 23 April 1881, pp. 150-151.
- 60 Carson, *The Roman Years*, cit., pp. 30-31, letter dated 7 September 1873.
- 61 A. Brewster, *A Perfect Model*, in «*Little Rock Daily Republican*», is. 149, Little Rock, 1 October 1873. A very similar vignette is told by William Wetmore Story in his novel, *Fiammetta; a Summer Idyl*, Edinburgh-New York, 1886. The protagonist painter Marco Sterroni, while spending the summer in the country trying to finish a painting of a naiad, comes upon an Italian peasant girl who becomes his muse as he paints her.
- 62 Anne Brewster Journal.
- 63 Anne Brewster Journal, copy in the MMA curatorial file.
- 64 A. Brewster, *Italy. Millmore's Busts-His Work at the Vatican-St. Gaudens of Paris-Harnisch of Philadelphia-His Painting and Portrait Busts*, in «*Boston Daily Advertiser*», issue 78, vol. 124, 29 September 1874, p. 2.
- 65 This can be identified as *The Schoolboy*, signed «A E Harnisch sculpt. ROMA 1884», white marble, height 31 in., 79 cm. Sotheby's New York; Collections: European Decorative Arts; 18 October 2016; Lot 197. The estimate was \$12,000-18,000; it sold for \$21,250 (Hammer Price with Buyer's Premium), <<http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/collections-volume-one-european-decorative-arts-n09560/lot.197.html>> (last access 23 May 2023). Brewster identified the satchel as that of a «post-boy».
- 66 Scipione Vannutelli (1834-1894) was a stylistically eclectic Italian painter and engraver,

- for which see <<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scipione-vannutelli/>> (last access 23 May 2023). His work was admired and acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan for which see A.L. Genovese, *Vannutelli, Scipione*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 98, 2020 <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scipione-vannutelli\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scipione-vannutelli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 67 Brewster, *Italy. Millmore's Busts*, cit. See <[www.khm.at/de/object/e67f54930c/](http://www.khm.at/de/object/e67f54930c/)> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 68 For the bust of *Laughing Boy*, see <[www.khm.at/en/object/95121/](http://www.khm.at/en/object/95121/)> (last access 23 May 2023). Indeed, the bust, or a copy of it, adorned with a necklace, is also captured in a painting by a friend of Vannutelli, Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874), *The Choice of a Model*, Washington National Gallery; Corcoran Collection; William A. Clark Collection; inv. 2015.143.12 which is dated 1868-1874. However, photographic evidence – prints of the bust from a different angle and a negative – in the Archivio dei Musei Civici Fiorentini, Fondo Bardini, pretty much confirms that at some point it, or a copy of it, was in Bardini's possession. For the provenance, see A. Luchs, Cat. Entry 9, in *Desiderio da Settignano - Sculptor of Renaissance Florence*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, Musée Du Louvre, 27 October 2006 – 22 January 2007; Florence, Museo Nazionale Del Bargello, 22 February – 3 June 2007, Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1 July – 8 October 2007), edited by M. Bormand, B. Paolozzi Strozzi, N. Penny, Milano, 2007, p. 164: «Provenance: Vannutelli, Rome; Eugen von Miller von Aicholz, before 1883 (Bode 1883/2, pp. 130-138, esp. p. 135); Gustav Benda Collection, 1892; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1932». For the reference to Bode, see W. Bode, R. Dohme, *Die Ausstellung Von Gemälden Älterer Meister Im Berliner Privatbesitz*, in «Jahrbuch Der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen», vol. 4, 1883, pp. 130-138, esp. p. 135. Incidentally, Vannutelli's brother-in-law, Vincenzo Luccardi (1808-1876), was a very versatile sculptor, who, among many other accomplishments, won a gold medal at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1867, for which see <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vincenzo-luccardi\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vincenzo-luccardi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 69 A. Brewster, *Ball-playing in Rome*, in «The Daily Graphic», New York, 19 August 1876, p. 339. The drawing is among the Brewster papers in The Library Company of Philadelphia, P. 9338. I wish to thank Sarah Weatherwax and Cornelia King of The Library Company of Philadelphia for their kindness and assistance.
- 70 A pen and wash drawing (30.8 x 25.2 cm), signed and dated 1872, depicting Verdi's operatic iteration of the same character was offered for sale on 12 May 2012 by Winterberg-Kunst, Heidelberg, Lot 238; for \$387 (unsold). More recently, the drawing was offered by Dominic Winter Auctioneers, UK, on 21 January 2021, Lot 728, with an estimate of £300 - £400. Harnisch certainly shared with his father an interest in literary illustration.
- 71 Stefano Masi, art critic and historian, called my attention to the comparison with the drawing, for which he has my enormous gratitude. Further, he had astutely observed the similarity of the turtles in the painting to those on the Fontana delle Tartarughe (1658/59), attributed variously to Bernini or Andrea Sacchi, in piazza Mattei, Rome. I also thank the painting's owners for the permission to publish the work.
- 72 Estelle Fisher and Lessing J. Rosenwald Reference Collection (Library of Congress). *A Gentle Journalist Abroad*, cit., p.24.
- 73 See Havemeyer Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 28, Item 17. Harnisch requested Mrs. Havemeyer to return the drawings, which she evidently did.
- 74 A print of a view of «New York and Environs», signed «Harnisch, sculpt», is dated

1867. It was published in 1869, for which see American Art Association, R. Fridenberg, T.E. Kirby, *Illustrated catalogue of the notable collection of views of New York and other American cities: historical china and books relating to New York, formed by Mr. Percy R. Pyne 2d.*, New York, 1917, item #106, <<https://archive.org/details/frick-31072000211062>> (last access 23 May 2023). See also Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C., digital ID: pga\_07028 //hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pga.07028, located at: <<https://lccn.loc.gov/2004666852>> (last access 23 May 2023). This composition is also likely by him since as yet no sculpture has been associated with his father Carl. A quick sketch of Titian's painting of *Danae* in the Capodimonte, Naples, was included with a letter from Harnisch to the Havemeyers, annotated «proved to be a contemporary copy of the Naples one», for which see Havemeyer Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 27, Item 1: 15 January 1903.
- 75 A bronze statuette, signed, 16-inches, depicts Falstaff, the Shakespearean character who has since enjoyed a varied fortuna, was sold in 2014 by Jackson's Auctioneers & Appraisers (Cedar Falls, Iowa), lot #578 for \$2,375.00, well over its high estimate of \$600, for which see <[http://jacksons.auction/catalogs/Jun14\\_catalog/LotDetail\\_pr.aspx?ID=517](http://jacksons.auction/catalogs/Jun14_catalog/LotDetail_pr.aspx?ID=517)> (last access 23 May 2023). I wish to thank Scott Schmidt of Jackson's Auctioneers & Appraisers for his kind assistance.
- 76 One, a 19-inch bronze statuette representing the character Fagin from Dickens' novel *Oliver Twist* is signed and dated 1874, and was offered for sale by Auktiononline (Elizabethtown, PA), for which see <<http://www.auktiononline.com/Albert%20Harnisch%20Bronze.htm>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 77 *Art Notes. Success of Mr. Harnisch, an American sculptor in Rome-St. Louis Academy of Fine Arts*, in «Cincinnati Commercial Tribune», XL, no. 10, Cincinnati, 2 October 1879, p. 6.
- 78 Carson, *The Roman Years*, cit., letter dated 17 October 1885.
- 79 Anne Brewster Journal, entry dated 4 November 1885. For his departure for New York, see Year: 1885; Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: M237, 1820-1897; Microfilm Roll: Roll 491; Line: 11; List Number: 1540. Source Information: Ancestry.com. *New York, Passenger and Crew Lists (including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.
- 80 C. Cunningham, L. Q. C. Lamar, *A History of the Calhoun Monument at Charleston, S.C.*, Charleston, 1888. It was commissioned by the Ladies Memorial Association of Charleston. My focus when writing this article had to do with biography and issues of artistic style. To be sure, a comprehensive discussion of the Calhoun Monument would be another article altogether, and one which would necessarily need to engage the issue of how to handle monuments that are today offensive. Incidentally, in the case of Harnisch, none of the early sources give any sense of his political persuasion, and he received and executed commissions originating from both the Confederate and Union sides. Furthermore, with respect to the Calhoun Monument, it would seem that Harnisch recycled his model for the Lincoln Monument of some twenty years before.
- 81 Emma Mennucci (born in Rome, died in Florence 20 September 1913). See Havemeyer Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 28, Item 25, Letter from Albert E. Harnisch to Louisine Havemeyer, 20 September 1913. I wish to thank Jim Moske, Managing Archivist of the Museum Archives of the Metropolitan Museum for his kind assistance. Emma was the daughter of Brewster's cook and «studio man» for Harnisch, for which see Anne Brewster Journal, entry dated 11 June 1886.
- 82 Anne Brewster Journal, entry dated 22 September 1884.

- 83 Anne Brewster Journal, entry dated 7 December 1884.
- 84 «The Philadelphia Inquirer», CXII, 17 January 1885, p. 4. Although the newspaper states that Harnisch had converted to Catholicism «...in compliance with the views of his intended bride...», in fact he had converted some fifteen years before. The registers of San Paolo fuori le Mura document his baptism 16 March 1870 and his confirmation on Easter, 17 April 1871. I thank Jacqueline Marie Musacchio for ferreting out these documents while on a research trip to Rome.
- 85 Date of birth is given on his 1906 passport application, applied for in Berlin. Giulio further stated that he left Italy for America in 1893 to study violin and that he was currently domiciled in Philadelphia. See National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; Volume #: Volume 082: Germany; Ancestry.com. U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925 [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2007.
- 86 Havemeyer Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 28, Item 25, Letter from Albert E. Harnisch to Louise Havemeyer, 20 September 1913. I wish to thank Jim Moske, Managing Archivist of the Museum Archives of the Metropolitan Museum for his kind assistance.
- 87 Ancestry.com. *U.S., Consular Registration Certificates, 1907 - 1918* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013. Original data: *Consular Registration Certificates, compiled 1907-1918*. ARC ID: 1244186. General Records of the Department of State, 1763-2002, Record Group 59. National Archives at Washington, D.C. The registration was valid until 18 March 1910. Handwritten along the edge of the certificate is: «For addresses of relatives see Dept. of State Dispatch, Jan. 25, 1910. Nearest relative in U.S. Jesse A Tilge, 306 New Str. Phila. Pa». H. Tilge. The birthdate in this record (9 April 1909) is a mistake; see his 1915 passport application: U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925 Emergency Passport Applications, Argentina thru Venezuela, 1906-1925, 1915-1916, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C Vol. 172: Rome, Italy. At some point they acquired a «villino» in Forte dei Marmi and the family would spend much of the summers there.
- 88 Indeed, various guidebooks list him among the sculptors with a studio in via del Prato, 39, from 1899 through 1913, two kilometers to the north and west of Bardini's neighborhood. See, for example, the various editions of *Italy*, (Leipsic: Baedeker) from 1889 through 1913. However, this studio seems to have been in addition to one he still apparently maintained on Bardini's property for which see *American Artists in Florence*, cit., p. 8: «...Prof. Albert Harnisch of Philadelphia dwells at the upper end of the Via dei Bardi, his studio boasting a delightful garden. In the days of Pius IX, Mr. Harnisch played his part in the fine old society of W.W. Story and those of the Browning set. His great regret is that the tourists no longer visit the studios as then. "In my Roman days", he told me, "dozens would flock into my studio, afterward bearing my statues to American and largely into Belgium. They brought life and inspiration, and the artist, perhaps, gave them more than the statue or picture in return. On who came to me for a bust of himself was the father of Pierpont Morgan. Of others, I have done a bust of Miss McGraw of Ithaca, of Prof. Willard Fiske of the same city, and one of General Withington of Jackson, Ill. These are, perhaps, the best known". This is the first and only mention of Harnisch's work going to Belgium. The bust of Withington is in the collection of the Jackson District Library, Jackson, Michigan, the city wherein he died. I wish to thank Sara Tackett, Director, for her assistance with this bust. I also wish to thank Julia Henri for connecting me with the owner. Special gratitude goes to Professor Brian W. Shaw and his student Christi Waldo, in the Art Department of Spring Arbor University for helping me to obtain images of the bust.

- 89 A photograph of Withington can be found <<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/7638195/william-herbert-withington>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 90 I have identified more than a dozen portrait busts and more than two dozen allegorical, historical or parlor subject works, all in marble, executed between 1859 and 1883. Harnisch was thoroughly occupied with the Calhoun monument in the early 1880s.
- 91 ASEB; Casual census of property records, utility and repair bills, etc.
- 92 ASEB; census taken from various payroll books and ledgers.
- 93 ASEB, Corrispondenza, Corrispondenza Misc.
- 94 ASEB, Copialettere, 4 October 1899.
- 95 ASEB. The archival absence of written instructions to Harnisch also suggests he was in a decision-making role.
- 96 L. Catterson, *Mr. Morgan's bronze doors*.
- 97 Catterson, *Mr. Morgan's bronze doors*, cit. For more on Waldo Story, see V.A. Rastorguev, *Donatello re-discovered? A name for the author of the Berlin Flagellation and the Hildburgh relief*, in *Florence, Berlin and Beyond*, cit., pp. 455-497.
- 98 Havemeyer Family Papers, Letter dated 20 December 1901 from Harnisch to Mary Cassatt. With respect to two frames needed by the Havemeyers, Harnisch wrote, «... I have discovered 2 splendidly carved antique frames, they are large, one 2 met. By 2 and the other somewhat smaller. They are gilt and in good condition, each member of the moulding is carved. Their value in B's hands would be above 15,000, I can get the two for 5,000. Could you tell me if they would do for Mr. H. I could have them separated at the mitring and ship in a long box. You have no idea how difficult it is to come across frames like these. They belong to an old family dating far back». The letters also mention many other objects that Harnisch either offered to or obtained for the Havemeyers, for which see Havemeyer Family Papers.
- 99 For the anecdotes of the transactions, see L. Havemeyer, S. Stein, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector*, New York, 1993. For the correspondence, see Havemeyer Family Papers.
- 100 <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437843>> (last access 23 May 2023). For the story of the transaction, see Havemeyer, Stein, *Sixteen to Sixty*, cit., p. 154.
- 101 <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437890>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 102 Havemeyer, Stein, *Sixteen to Sixty*, cit., pp. 113-114.
- 103 <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/196415>> (last access 23 May 2023). The relief appears to have some damage since the area to the right of the child has only a ghost of the chairback that is seen on the left. This composition exists with several variations, and in many examples. The versions most similar to that in the Metropolitan Museum are one from the New York ex Thomas Fortune Ryan Collection that was eventually acquired in 1988 by the National Gallery of Australia (inv. 88.1653); one in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence; one from the Enrico Caruso Collection, offered for sale in 2001 by the Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, New York; a gilt and polychromed one in the National Gallery of Canada (inv. 9676) acquired in 1961. Another also said to be from Palazzo Bombicci is in the Washington National Gallery, about which more will be said below.
- 104 The Master of the Marble Madonnas was so named by Wilhelm Bode, for which see W. Bode, *Jahrbuch Der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1886, p. 32. The sculptor has been variously identified as Gregorio di Lorenzo, for which see L. Pisani, *Per Il 'Maestro Delle Madonne Di Marmo': Una Rilettura Ed Una Proposta Di Identificazione*, in «Prospettiva», n. 106/107,

2002, pp. 144–165; A. Belandi, *Master of the Marble Madonnas*, in *Masterpieces of Renaissance Art: Eight Rediscoveries*, edited by A. Butterfield, A. Radcliffe, New York, 2001, pp. 34–40; A. Bellandi, *Gregorio Di Lorenzo: Il Maestro Delle Madonne Di Marmo*, Morbio Inferiore, 2010. In addition to those listed above, there is another in Florence, in Santi Stefano e Cecilia (Santo Stefano al Ponte) near Ponte Vecchio, that and the one in the Bargello are illustrated in A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, 6. *La Scultura Del Quattrocento*, Milano, 1908, pp. 669–670, figg. 453, 454. There are three in Palazzo Ducale di Urbino – Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, all are illustrated in Wikimedia Commons. There is one in the Pistoia Museo Civico in Palazzo Comunale (Inv. 1975, n. 50) which was in the Augustinian convent of San Lorenzo in Pistoia (suppressed in 1810); by 1881 it was recorded in the Palazzo Comunale. I wish to thank Lisa Di Zanni, Comune of Pistoia, for some long-distance assistance as well as some wonderful photos. The relief is illustrated in O.H. Giglioli, *Pistoia Nelle Sue Opere D'arte*, Firenze, 1904, pp. 69–70. Bode lists one in Hermitage at Camaldoli in Casentino, two in the Berlin Museums and one in the collection of Sir Gambier Parry in Hingham Court, all of which are illustrated in W. Bode, F. Schottmüller, *Denkmäler Der Renaissance-Sculptur Toscanas In Historischer Anordnung*, München, vol. IX, 1892–1905, plates 423, 424. There are two in the V&A (inv. 6737–1860, from Palazzo Albergotti, Arezzo, purchased in 1860; inv. 7562–1861, purchased from the Gigli Campana collection in 1861). There are two in the Louvre, inv. CAMP 28, from Gigli Campana 1861 and inv. RF 573, acquired in 1882 from the Collection of Louis Charles Timbal.

105 <<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.46017.html>> (last access 23 May 2023). I wish to thank Alison Luchs, Washington National Gallery, for suggesting that their version, already considered «Florentine 19th Century», could possibly be by Harnisch himself. This attribution would make some sense, considering Harnisch had access to the one now in the Metropolitan Museum, and indeed Contini-Bonacossi was a frequent client of Ugo Bardini, who, for more than forty years, attempted to liquidate his father's vast inventory. In fact, the Washington relief accords very well with that in New York with respect to the placement of the child's feet, the inclusion of the pillow supporting the child, and a tassel hanging from the left arm of the chair, as seen in the lower left corner of the relief – all features that are for the most part absent in the other versions. The very noticeable differences are, in the Washington relief, the absence of chairbacks, and the Madonna's halo and four cherubim in low relief instead of the two angels supporting the crown that as seen in the New York relief. If by Harnisch, replacing the two angels hovering above the Virgin holding a crown with four cherubim in low relief was likely a conscious attempt to adjust the style to then current market taste, whereas the style of the relief in the Metropolitan Museum turns up more frequently with the dealers in the generation before Bardini, such as Gagliardi. A similar adjustment was made to the Madonna and Child attributed to Agostino di Duccio in Washington (inv. 1937.1.116) when someone working for Bardini removed the two crowns and the Madonna's necklace, as well as an upper strip of the relief, after which a custom frame was made that better suited the market taste of the time, for which see L. Catterson, *Stefano Bardini & the Taxonomic Branding of Marketplace Style. From the Gallery of a Dealer to the Institutional Canon*, in *Images of the Art Museum, Connecting Gaze and Discourse in the History of Museology*, (selected papers from the conference, *Images of the Art Museum* Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut, 26–28 September 2013) edited by M. Savino, E.-M. Troelenberg, Berlin, 2015, pp. 41–64, esp. pp. 45–48.

106 I interpret the three tabernacles that Contini bought from Ugo's father's inventory in July 1948 to depict the *Madonna and Child*, because for the incredibly numerous quantities of frames that he bought from Ugo, Ugo refers to them as «corniche». (ASEB, Ugo Agende).

- 107 Indeed, Emma and Albert Harnisch seemed to have developed a friendship with the Havemeyers which continued with Louisine after the death of her husband in December 1907. Evidently the men were devoted beekeepers and Harnisch would send Mr. Havemeyer advice on the care and management of his apiary. Harnisch's son Giulio studied art and music, opting for a career as a violist; he too would cultivate a friendship with Mrs. Havemeyer. In 1912 Giulio married his first wife, Luba d'Alexandrowska (b. 1890), born in Saint Petersburg, Russia. She was also a violinist, for which see *Slav Girl Weds Yankee; Society Belle Defies Mother by Marrying a Philadelphia Pianist*, in «East Oregonian», 10 October 1912, Evening Edition, p. 6, which additionally reported that she was a Russian society girl and her mother «...objected to the match on the ground that Harnisch had no money and that he was an American and therefore not of noble birth. The girl was forbidden to see him, but declared she would marry Harnisch when she was 21. She was taken away from Florence but after her twenty-first birthday managed to make her word good and the wedding took place at Lucerne the other day...». Harnisch reported the wedding to Mrs. Havemeyer, that it was on 7 September 1912 and that the newlyweds honeymooned in Forte dei Marmi, for which see Havemeyer Family Papers, Letter dated 17 September 1912, Box 1, Folder 28, Item 10. Together they had a son Sascha born in Florence 8 August 1913. In 1913 they traveled to perform in Brazil before settling in New York City where Giulio played viola for the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra until he retired in 1938. Sometime around 1920 Giulio married a second time to Ruth Brown, a schoolteacher from Indiana and together they had a daughter, naming her Electra, after the Havemeyer's daughter. Giulio evidently married a third time since his obituary stated that he was «...survived by his widow, the former Djina Ostrowska, former second harpist of the Philharmonic». For Giulio see the dozens of documents in Ancestry.com and his obituary, *Giulio Harnisch, 67, Violist and Artist*, in «New York Times», 7 March 1953, p. 15. Interestingly enough, Giulio had a half-sister Geneviève Warner Harnisch (c.1888-1964), apparently conceived during one of Albert Harnisch's trips to Paris on behalf of the Bardini business. See Source Citation: Year: 1939; Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: 7715, 1897-1957; Microfilm Roll: *Roll 6416*; Line: 1; Page Number: 172. Source Information: Ancestry.com. *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. She and Giulio traveled together frequently; she died while a guest in the Convento delle Suore Agostiniane, in vicolo Chiostro della Cattedrale, 12, Lucca, and was buried there, for which see «Report of the Death of an American Citizen», National Archives at College Park; College Park, Maryland, U.S.A.; NAI Number: 613857; Record Group Title: General Records of the Department of State; Record Group Number: Record Group 59; Series Number: Publication A1 5166; Box Number: 43; Box Description: 1967 HA – JZ, Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.
- 108 Havemeyer, Stein, *Sixteen to Sixty*, cit., pp. 115-123.
- 109 <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435730>> (last access 23 May 2023). For the anecdote of this «discovery», see Havemeyer, Stein, *Sixteen to sixty*, cit., pp. 121-123. The evidence that it came from Bardini & Co is a photograph of the painting in AFEB.
- 110 Havemeyer, Stein, *Sixteen to Sixty*, cit., pp. 123-127.
- 111 As for the transaction of the *Boy with a Greyhound* painting, material from the Bardini archive tells a slightly different story. Writing to Bardini from Brescia on 25 January 1901, Bardini's photographer, the painter Vincenzo Todaro informed Bardini that he had just arrived in Brescia and was about to leave for Paderno, some fifteen kilometers to the northwest, to see two portraits in the villa of the Contessa Martinengo. Todaro was going with his good friend

Achille Glisenti (1848-1906), an extremely talented, prolific and stylistically versatile painter from Brescia who by 1887 had a studio in via Lungo il Mugnone, 7, on the north side of Florence. Glisenti had already been in touch with Bardini in 1892 and on his behalf, over the course of a few years, he mediated several objects from Villa Martinengo. Todaro informed Bardini that Glisenti did not think that the pictures merited the high price requested by the Contessa. Apparently in the beginning the two portraits were represented as by the painter from Brescia, Alessandro Bonvicino, called Moretto (1493/1495-1554). Also on 25 January, Glisenti wrote to Bardini, telling him that he thought the portrait of the boy with a dog was by Veronese and not by Moretto. The other portrait, evidently not acquired, is probably the Portrait of a Count Martinengo (c.1540), presently in the collection of the Museo Lechi in the town of Montichiari, twenty kilometers south of Brescia. It took two days before they could photograph the paintings and send the negatives to Florence. At the same time Todaro and Glisenti inspected more potential acquisitions and reported back to Bardini. In his diary entry for January 1901, Todaro remarked that «The Count asked for a very high price of these two portraits, namely L.25,000 – but now he has reduced the price to much less».

- 112 From the Boston MFA website: «Head of a Boy». In the manner of: Mino da Fiesole (Italian, 1429-1484) Italian probably early 19th century; marble; 36 cm (14 3/16 in.); Gift of Quincy Adams Shaw through Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr., and Mrs. Marian Shaw Haughton; Accession Number: 17.1479a-b. See <<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/55431/head-of-a-boy>> (last access 23 May 2023). See also, E.S. Hoghton, *Two Marbles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, in «American Journal of Archaeology», 23, n. 3, 1919, pp. 219-254, doi: 10.2307/497459. See also M. Cambareri, *Renaissance sculpture at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: the early years*, in *Sculpture and the Museum*, edited by C.R. Marshall, Farnham, 2011, pp. 95-114. I am grateful to my friends and colleagues in Boston for the ongoing conversation.
- 113 See <<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/55431/head-of-a-boy?ctx=a6ade976-9188-4f85-b9ef-f11e0d756462&idx=0>> (last access 12 February 2020).
- 114 ASEB, Corr. and Corr. Misc.
- 115 Albert E. Harnisch, *Mercury and Turtle*, 1862; carved 1879; Marble; 41 1/2 x 15 x 17 in. (105.4 x 38.1 x 43.2 cm); New York, Metropolitan Museum, Gift of Mrs. George K. Livermore, 1982; Accession Number: 1982.442. Falk, Routledge, *The Annual exhibition record*, cit., p.92. «1862. 415. *Cupid* (sculpture). *For sale* (marble). *Albert E. Harnisch*». It was again exhibited in 1867 as #396; 1868 as #428; and 1869 as # 338. I am grateful to Thayer Tolles for her insights regarding Harnisch as well as arranging for the sculpture to be studied more closely.
- 116 *The Fine Arts. Art Patronage*, «Daily Evening Telegraph», Philadelphia, Saturday 15 May 1869, p. 4, <<http://panewsarchive.psu.edu/lccn/sn83025925/1869-05-15/ed-1/seq-4/>> (last access 23 May 2023).
- 117 Brewster, *Italy. Millmore's Busts*, cit.
- 118 Brewster, *Art in Rome*, cit.
- 119 *Virgin Adoring the Child*, attrib. Francesco di Simone Ferrucci (Italian, 1437-1493) about 1470-1493; Marble; Overall: 97.8 x 74.9 x 16.5 cm (38 1/2 x 29 1/2 x 6 1/2 in.); Diameter and weight: 133.8 kg (295 lb.); Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Gift of Quincy Adams Shaw through Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr., and Mrs. Marian Shaw Haughton; Accession Number: 17.1467, <<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/64898/virgin-adoring-the-child?ctx=67f50837-3d0e-4103-89f0-eb848d687bba&idx=1>> (last access 23 May 2023). For the transaction of this relief from Bardini to Shaw see L. Catterson, *Art Market, Social Network and Contamination*, cit.

- 120 For *The Schoolboy*, see note 65.
- 121 For the *spiritelli* see <<https://slash-paris.com/fr/evenements/le-printemps-de-la-rennaissance-la-sculpture-et-les-arts-a-florence-1400-1460>> (last access 23 May 2023). The attribution of these *spiritelli* has long been problematic, and the published accounts of provenance are somewhat disparate. They make their first market appearance in Paris on 16 December 1866, at the liquidation sale of M. Signol, Marchand de Curiosités, for which see *Catalogue des objets d'art et de curiosité de la Renaissance et du Moyen-âge appartenant à M. Signol*, Paris, 1866, no. 101. From there, they emerged in 1878 in the collection of Eugene Piot in the Sculpture Exhibition at the Paris Exposition at the Trocadéro. Florentine quattrocento style was well represented. Bardini, and members of his market circle (Louis Courajod, Émile Gavet, Charles Ephrussi, Edouard André, Gustav Dreyfus, Frédéric Spitzer, Alexander Basilewsky and Adolphe de Rothschild) participated in the sculpture exhibition, for which see E. Piot, *Exposition Universelle. I.A. Sculpture a L'Exposition Rétrospective du Trocadero*, in «Gazette des beaux-arts: la doyenne des revues d'art», 2.Pér. 18, 1878, pp. 576-600, esp. p. 580.
- 122 The provenance of the relief as having been in Villa Berzighelli, Capannoli, in the 17C is as questionable as it is complicated. The evidence is a guidebook containing a line drawing of the relief for which see, G. Mariti, *Capannoli, Santo Pietro, San Marco, Camugliano: Castelli Della Valdera: odeporico, O Sia Itinerario Per Le Colline Pisane* [c.1797], edited by B. Gianetti, Fornacette, 2000. However, the original manuscript was possibly tampered with since the relief's descriptive text was altered and the drawing was inserted into the binding. The original MS is in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Firenze, Ricc.3515; the drawing is at p. 35. The manuscript was deposited there certainly by 1810, as it is listed in the *Inventario e stima della Libreria Riccardi*, Firenze, 1810, where it is cited as: 3119 al 3129 *Mariti Giovanni, Originali de' suoi viaggi in Levante ec. e nelle colline di Pisa, e carte varie Vol.11*; the new catalogue numbers are Ricc. 3508-3518. According to the register of those who consulted the original MS from 1865-1876, there was a visit paid by Felice Bocci (?) on 25 June 1866, to consult Mariti cod.3128 – 3129 (attuali Ricc. 3517-3518); Avv. Tito Gotti (di Lari) visited twice, in May 1870, for Mariti 3121 – 3124 and 3125 – 3128 and again on 23 January 1874 for Ricc.3121 – 3129 (attuali Ricc.3510-3518). For the register see, *Registro dei lettori e delle opere date in lettura per gli anni 1868-70*. I am most grateful to M. Teresa Sansone of the Biblioteca Riccardiana for her continued and long-distance assistance with this manuscript. The Riccardiana has been available to researchers since 1737; it was bought by the city in 1811; by 1815 it was ceded to the state and publicly accessible. (<<http://www.riccardiana.firenze.sbn.it>> [last access 23 May 2023]).
- 123 The archive preserves very little material prior to the early 1880s; for the address book, see ASEB, Rubrica «A».
- 124 In 1882-1883 Bardini was installing his new gallery showrooms. It is evident that at this point he needed staff for the rapidly growing business. Indeed, another functionary in a high-level role was Domenico Magno who Bardini was recruiting from Paris already by 1885, for which see the copious material in ASEB, Corr.



Fig. 1: Albert Harnisch, *Puckish Cupid with Lyre*, signed and date, «Roma 1871», 1871, white marble, height 28.5 in (72.4 cm).  
New York, private collection.  
Photo: Lynn Catterson, 2022.



Fig. 2: Albert Harnisch, *The Schoolboy*, signed «A E Harnisch sculpt. ROMA 1884», 1884, white marble, height 31 in., 79 cm. Sotheby's New York, European Decorative Arts, 18 October 2016, Lot 197. Photo: Lynn Catterson, 2016.

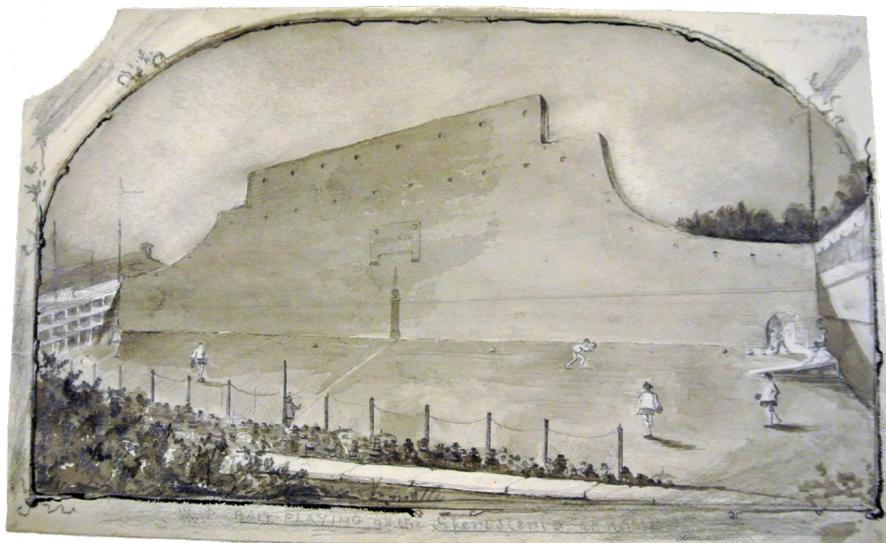


Fig. 3: Albert Harnisch, *Ball Playing at the Speristerio in Rome*, pencil on paper, c.13.5 cm x 18cm. The Library Company of Philadelphia, Anne Brewster Papers, P8338. Photo: Lynn Catterson, 2017.



Fig. 4: Albert Harnisch, *Falstaff and his Page*, signed «A. E. Harnisch Rome 1872», 1872, pen and ink with pencil and wash on laid paper, 31 x 25.5cm. Dominic Winter Auctioneers, 21 January 2021, Lot 728.



Fig. 5: Albert Harnisch, *La Corsa delle Tartarughe*, signed «A.E. Harnisch» on wood stretcher on the back, oil on canvas, 60x93cm. Photo: Torquato Perissi; reproduced with permission of owner.



Fig. 6: Albert Harnisch, *Falstaff*, signed, bronze statuette, 16-inches, 16-inches.  
Jackson's Auctioneers & Appraisers (Cedar Falls, Iowa), 2014, lot #578.  
Photo: Jackson's Auctioneers & Appraisers.

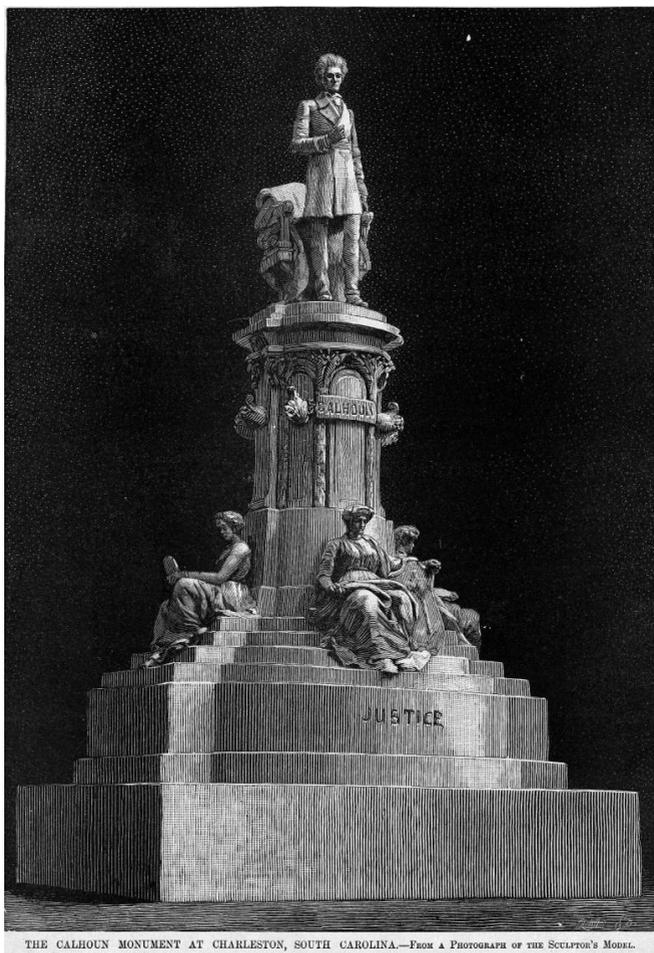


Fig. 7: Illustration of Albert Harnisch's *Monument to John Calhoun* (destroyed), South Carolina.

Photo: *Harper's Weekly*, 12 March 1887, p. 189.  
Image from print matter in public domain.



Fig. 8: Albert Harnisch, *Bust of William Herbert Withington* and detail of signature and date on the back, 1897, marble. Jackson District Library, Jackson, MI. Photo: Christi Waldo, 2020; reproduced with her permission.



Fig. 9: Attrib. Francesco Montemezzano, *Portrait of a Woman*, c.1540-after 1602, oil on canvas, 46 3/4 x 39 in. (118.7 x 99.1 cm).  
H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, inv. 29.100.104.  
Photo: New York, Metropolitan Museum (Public Domain).  
Compared to photographic portrait of Mrs. Havemeyer, 1889.  
Source of photograph unknown.



Fig. 10: Attrib. to Botticelli, *Madonna and Child with Two Angels*, 1444/45–1510, tempera on wood. Oval, 39 1/4 x 28 in. (99.7 x 71.1 cm). New York, Metropolitan Museum, Havemeyer Collection (29.100.17). Image in public domain.



Fig. 11: Albert Harnisch, here attributed, *Head of a Boy*, not signed or dated, marble; 36 cm (14 3/16 in.).  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Quincy Adams Shaw through Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr., and Mrs. Marian Shaw Haughton; Accession Number: 17.1479a-b.  
Image in public domain.



Fig. 12: Albert Harnisch, *Mercury and Turtle*, 1862,  
carved 1879, marble; 41 1/2 x 15 x 17 in. (105.4 x 38.1 x 43.2 cm).  
New York, Metropolitan Museum, Gift of Mrs. George K. Livermore, 1982;  
Accession Number:1982.442.  
Photo: Metropolitan Museum, Open Access.



Fig. 13: Albert Harnisch, here attributed, *Virgin Adoring the Child*, marble;

Overall: 97.8 x 74.9 x 16.5 cm (38 1/2 x 29 1/2 x 6 1/2 in.);

Diameter and weight: 133.8 kg (295 lb.).

Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Gift of Quincy Adams Shaw through Quincy Adams Shaw, Jr.,  
and Mrs. Marian Shaw Haughton; Accession Number: 17.1467.

Photo: Lynn Catterson, Florence, 2019.



Fig. 14: Albert Harnisch, *Eros*, signed «AE Harnisch sculp Roma 1881» and «Fonderia Nelli Roma», bronze, 35 in. (88.9 cm.).  
Private collection, CT.  
Photo: Lynn Catterson, 2014.