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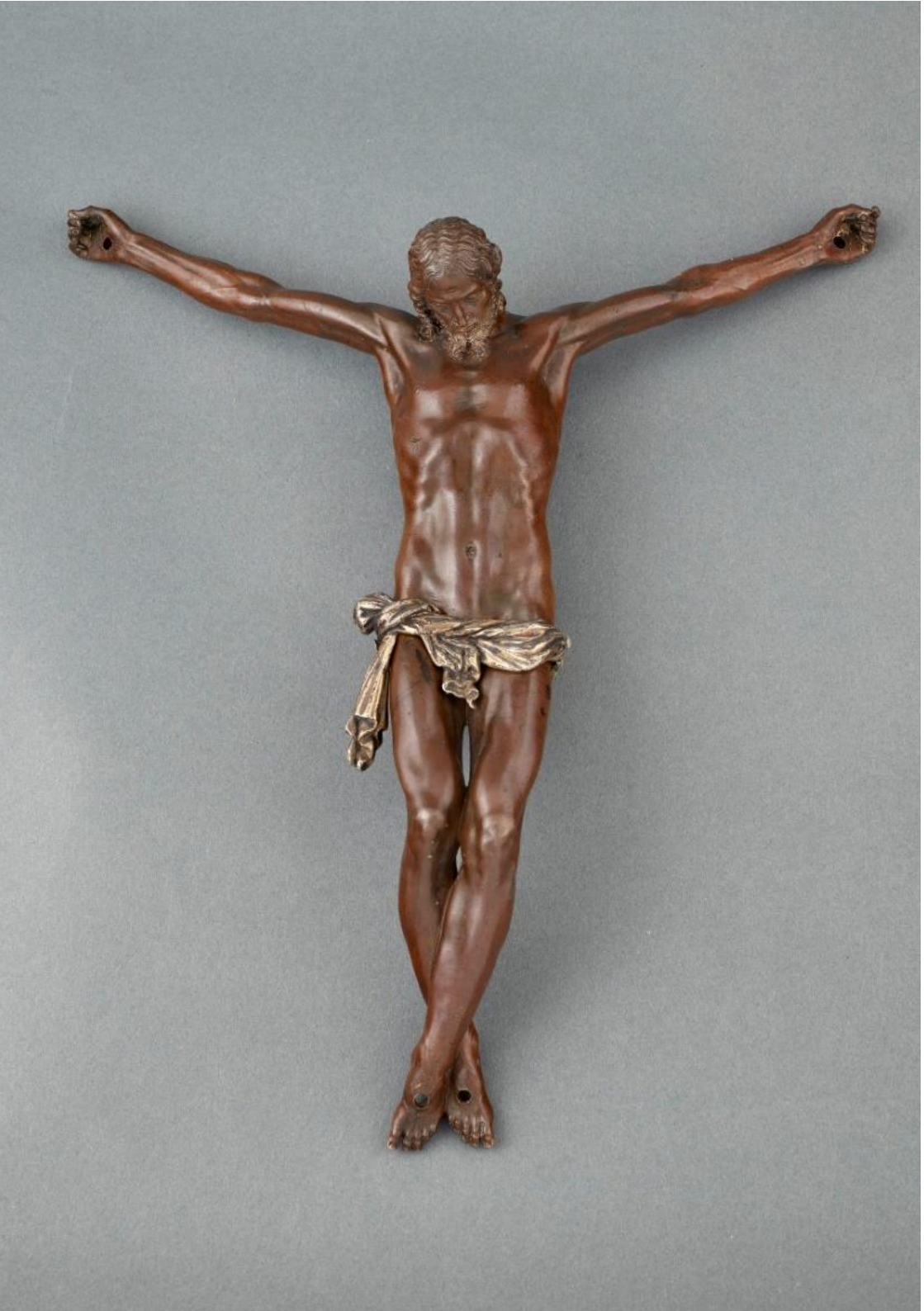
Michelangelo's four-nail Crucifix: Rediscovery of the bronze model documented by Francisco Pacheco in Seville 1597

By Carlos Herrero Starkie



Michelangelo's four-nails Crucifix: Rediscovery of the bronze model documented by Francisco Pacheco in Seville 1597.

Carlos Herrero Starkie
Director of IOMR

In his book "The Art of Painting, "Pacheco mentions on three occasions explicitly a bronze Crucified Christ with four nails attributed to Michelangelo, which the silversmith Juan Bautista Franconio brought from Rome to Seville in the year 1597 (Fig.1, 2), inspiring Juan Martínez Montañés design of the Christ of the Chalices in 1603.(1)

This Crucifix is known from an image that was incorporated into Velázquez's portrait of Sor Jerónima de la Fuente in 1620 and from five casts made by Juan Bautista Franconio directly from this bronze model, all of them considered the Spanish first generation series: in bronze, the Crucified Christ on the Cross polychromed by Pacheco the 17th January 1600, currently in the Ducal Palace of Gandía (Fig. 4), and another one, also polychromed located in Italy, belonging to a private collection; in silver, the Christ Crucified with four nails, in the Cathedral of Seville (Fig. 5, 7), the one in the Royal Palace (Madrid) of similar quality, and the Crucifix in the Rodríguez-Acosta Foundation (Granada), former Manuel Gómez Moreno Collection all cast around 1600. (Fig. 3, 6)

The purpose of this study is to introduce this bronze Crucified Christ attributed to Michelangelo, which was long thought lost and whose information was provided by Pacheco himself when he indicated that, after serving as a model for artists and sculptors, Juan Bautista Franconio gave it to Father Pablo Céspedes, who cherished it and wore it around his neck until his death in 1608. (2)

< Fig. 1. *Christ Crucified with four nails*, **Michelangelo** (model 1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome 1560-1570, in Guglielmo della Porta´s workshop probably by Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert, 23 cm. high. Historical provenance: Probably one of 55 bronze crucifixes mentioned in Guglielmo della Porta's inventory, Rome February 1577, brought by the silversmith JB Franconio to Seville in1597, inventory Pablo Céspedes 1608, Inventory Juan de Peñalosa 1633, Spanish private collection San Sebastián, Spanish private collection Madrid, IOMR collection The Netherlands

Fig. 2. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538- 41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Fig. 3. *Crucified Christ*, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, detail, Fundación Pública Andaluza Rodríguez-Acosta, Granada

Fig. 4. *Crucified Christ*, bronze, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** polychromed by Francisco Pacheco in January 1600, detail, Palacio Ducal de Gandía

Fig. 5. *Crucified Christ*, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, detail, Catedral de Sevilla

Fig. 6. *Christ Crucified*, silver, by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, Manuel Gómez Moreno collection, > Fundación Pública Andaluza Rodríguez-Acosta, Granada

Fig. 7. Crucified Christ, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** after the bronze model he brought to Seville in 1597, circa 1600, Catedral de Sevilla

The bronze Crucifix faithfully corresponds with Pacheco's description of the Four-Nailed Crucified Christ brought from Rome to Seville in 1597 by Juan Bautista Franconio

The bronze Crucified Christ we are studying now (Fig. 8) fully matches the description provided by Pacheco, who mentioned it in his book "Arte de la Pintura" as Michelangelo's Four-Nailed Christ brought from Rome to Seville by Juan Bautista Franconio and as a model used for multiple casts. It became an iconic prototype for various sculptural and pictorial works, including the Christ of the Chalices by Juan Martínez Montañés and Pacheco's, Velázquez's, Zurbarán's and Alonso Cano's Crucified, among others.

One of its distinctive iconographic features is being nailed to the Cross with four nails, a dogma to which Pacheco attached special importance [3], and which Michelangelo no doubt paid attention to, as evidenced by several of his drawings and a wooden sculpture from his later years kept in the Casa Buonarroti (Fig. 61). Moreover, it is known that Michelangelo, along with his friend the Marquess of Pescara, belonged to the sect of the "Sprituali" between 1530/1540, who believed in Saint Bridget's vision of Christ Crucified with four nails. [4]

After confirming the data provided by Pacheco, we have come to the conclusion that the Christ under study fully corresponds to his description:

Our bronze measures 25 cm in height at its highest point (23 cm from feet to head), similar to the measurement of a "tercia" indicated by Pacheco, faithfully representing the Four-Nailed Christ painted by his pupil Velázquez in his portrait of Sor Jerónima de la Fuente and corresponding in its forms to the bronze cast polychromed by Pacheco at present in the Ducal Palace of Gandía. Nonetheless our Crucifix noticeably displays a superior quality in detail, typical of being the bronze cast from Michelangelo's original wax model.

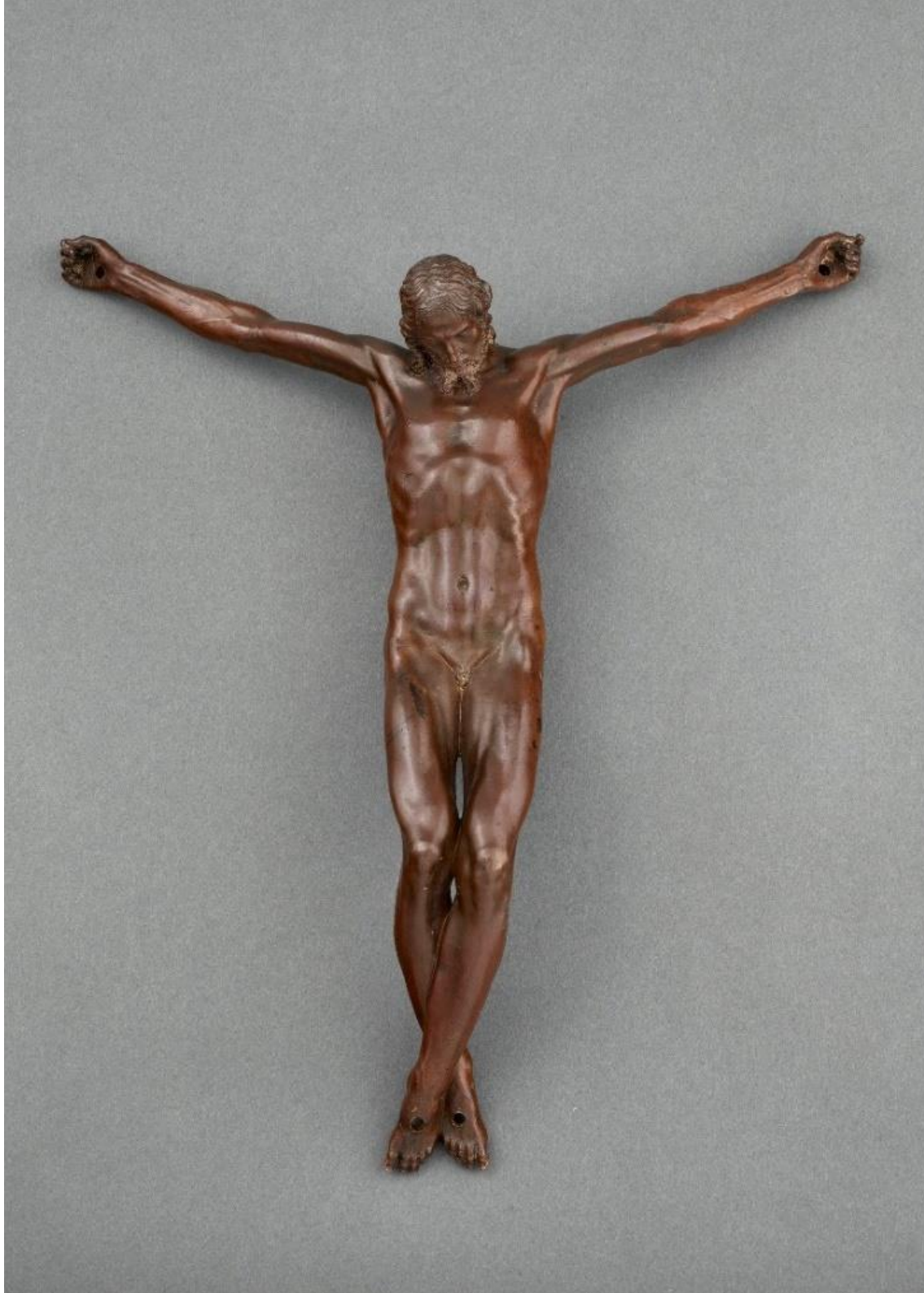


Fig. 8. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, > 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, IOMR Collection

Our bronze bears a clear and compelling evidence that it was used as a model for casting, like the Crucifix brought from Rome by Juan Bautista Franconio in 1597, because it is covered with plaster and wax in many areas, embedded in the curls of the hair, the beard, the nostrils and the hands (Fig. 10). Traces of wax still remain on both arms (Fig. 9), as can be seen in the images taken after initial cleaning. The extensive presence of these material remnants can only be explained to provide the model with an intermediate layer to protect it from plaster, faithfully preserving the forms that will be reproduced in negative in the plaster layer of the intermediate model and facilitating its removal without damaging the original bronze. [5]

Fig. 9. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Fig. 10. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Finally, the remarkable quality of the Crucified Christ, the results of bronze alloy test and the technical details revealed by the X-rays support that our bronze Crucifix has been cast in Italy before 1597 by a highly skilled bronze- smith or a goldsmith using advanced techniques, something consistent with the Roman origin mentioned by Pacheco for the piece.

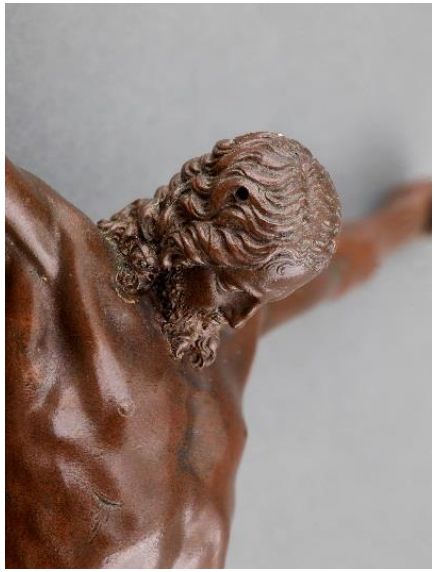


Fig. 11. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

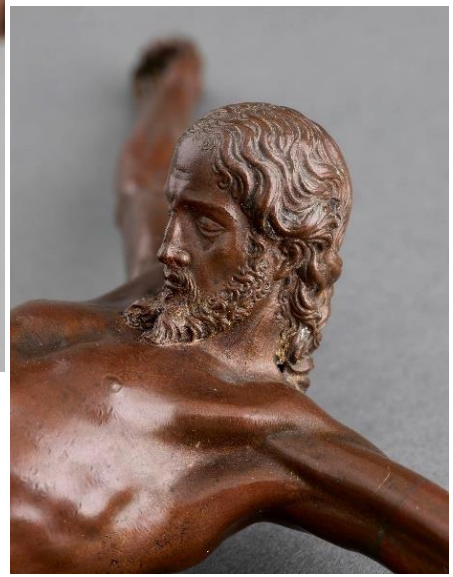


Fig. 12. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

The analytical results of the sample and the analysis of the bronze surface yield an alloy of 94% copper, 2.7% tin, and 2% lead with impurities of iron arsenic, nickel, antimony and silver, typical of a grey copper or Fahlerz extracted from the Fugger mines in Tyrol (Fig. 15). This type of copper slightly purified, known as "rame peloso" in Italy during the 16th century, allowed for reliable cold work and was the most commonly used for bronze art in Italy until the late third of the 16th century when it was gradually replaced by Neusohl, a much finer alloy used by Daniel Volterra's workshop for the equestrian statue of Henry II, circa 1560, with Michelangelo's input, and by Giambologna for that of Cosimo I, 1590. The very low proportion of tin and, especially, lead is almost identical to the bronze used by Cellini in his Perseus in 1545, emulating the horses of Piazza Marco, which were made of almost pure bronze [(6)]. Likewise, its alloy is basically consistent with the Rothschild bronzes, except for a slightly higher proportion of lead circa 1510, the Levite, Saint John the Baptist, and the Pharisee by Rustici in 1506, the Hercules and Antaeus by Ammannati in 1559 [(7)]. Dr Arie Pappot has confirmed that the alloy of our bronze Crucifix is consistent with XVI century Roman casts and in particular with the reliefs representing a bacchanal by Guglielmo della Porta, circa 1550-60 [(8)]. However, it differs from the alloy of Giambologna and his workshop, which employed a much higher tin content and a more refined copper. It is also different from the alloy of Juan Bautista Vázquez's Giraldillo, cast in Seville by Bartolomé Morel in 1566, which had a very high lead content [(9)]. No doubt, working with copper of such a low alloy of other metals must have presented challenges during casting, as pure copper melts at a much higher temperature (1083 °C) than a binary bronze with 13% tin (which melts at 1000 °C). Thus, it corroborates the skill of the expert bronze caster who managed to ensure that the pour reached all parts of the mold, despite not being of the highest quality, attesting both, the Roman origin and a dating prior to 1570 of the bronze.

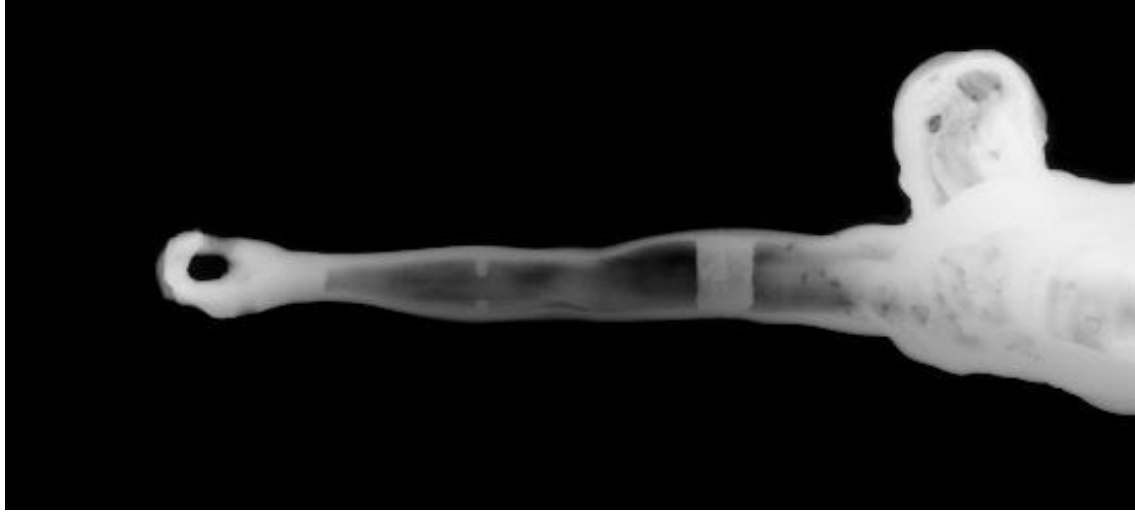


Fig. 13. X-rays right arm of the bronze *Christ Crucified*, IOMR Collection

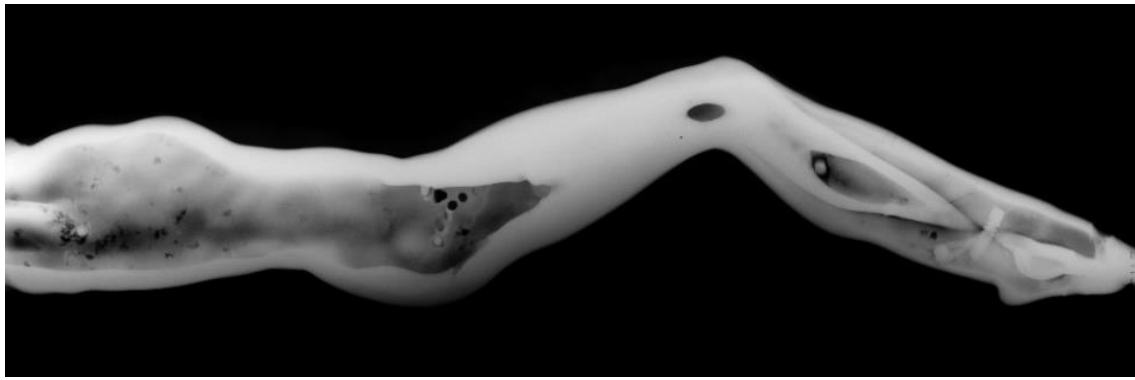


Fig. 14. X-rays low body of the bronze *Christ Crucified*, lateral image, IOMR Collection

Análisis	Zona	Fe	Ni	Cu	Zn	As	Ag	Sn	Sb	Au	Pb	Bi	Hg
PA29693A	Perizonium trasero	0,2	ND	2,42	ND	ND	64,9	ND	ND	25,3	0,37	0,10	5,87
PA29693B	Perizonium delantero	0,44	ND	4,08	0,17	ND	58,0	ND	ND	32,4	0,4	0,10	3,78
PA29693C	Clavo largo	ND	20,5	62,7	16,8	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
PA29693D	Clavo corto	ND	20,5	62,8	16,7	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
PA29693E	Arandela	ND	ND	6,57	ND	ND	92,9	ND	ND	0,11	0,07	ND	ND
PA29693F	Cabeza muestra viruta interior	0,12	0,19	94,5	ND	0,37	ND	2,76	ND	ND	2,09	ND	ND
PA29693G	Pierna derecha superficie	0,19	0,23	93,5	ND	0,24	0,16	4,55	0,23	ND	0,92	ND	ND
PA29693H	Brazo derecho zona unión	0,18	0,23	86,8	0,19	0,19	6,95	4,13	0,29	ND	1,08	ND	ND
PA29693IJ	Brazo derecho zona antebrazo	0,11	0,22	94,3	ND	0,19	0,18	3,91	0,32	ND	0,79	ND	ND
PA29693K	Brazo izquierdo zona de unión	0,2	0,23	90,5	0,3	0,23	2,46	4,64	0,32	ND	1,11	ND	ND
PA29693L	Remate cruz derecha	0,13	ND	6,32	ND	ND	93,5	ND	ND	ND	0,02	ND	ND
PA29693M	Remate cruz superior	ND	ND	6,21	ND	ND	93,8	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND
PA29693N	Clavo pie izquierdo	ND	ND	11,2	1,01	ND	87,8	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND	ND

Fig. 15. Results of analyses of a sample and by XRF of the surface of the Bronze Crucifix, IOMR collection

Furthermore, radiological tests confirm what is apparent at first glance. The work is cast from the head, where it has a sealed vent hole, to the feet, a characteristic feature in the Christ figures by della Porta, in three pieces, with the precision and meticulousness characteristic of a highly skilled bronze master with knowledge of goldsmithing (Fig. 13, 14, 16). Such craftsmanship, emphasized by the extremely fine cold joints of the forearms, welded with a soft silver alloy typical of the second half of the 16th century (Fig. 18), the thin thickness of the bronze and the real "tour de force" of even casting the feet and left hand (Fig. 16), is only conceivable from the 60s onwards. The Xray's also reveal a tiny threaded screw in both arms of the Christ and a larger one also with threads at the junction of his feet, an innovative technique that emerged with the explosion of watchmaking in the second half of 16th century and was only used by the most cutting- edge workshops (Fig. 13, 14). One of these workshops was Giambologna's, capable of successfully navigating the challenges of cutting and placing the screw during the casting process in such a small work. The radiographs also show casting techniques typical of the Renaissance, such as wax-on-wax joints at the same level on both legs and a silver solder seam following the shape of a circle that resulted in a crack at the height of the Christ's right buttock (Fig. 16). This patch was clearly intentional to remove the core whose remains do not appear in the bronze, although the radiological trace of the multiple pins that held it in place is still visible. All of these pins were delicately removed and expertly concealed by the superb patina of the bronze. [10]

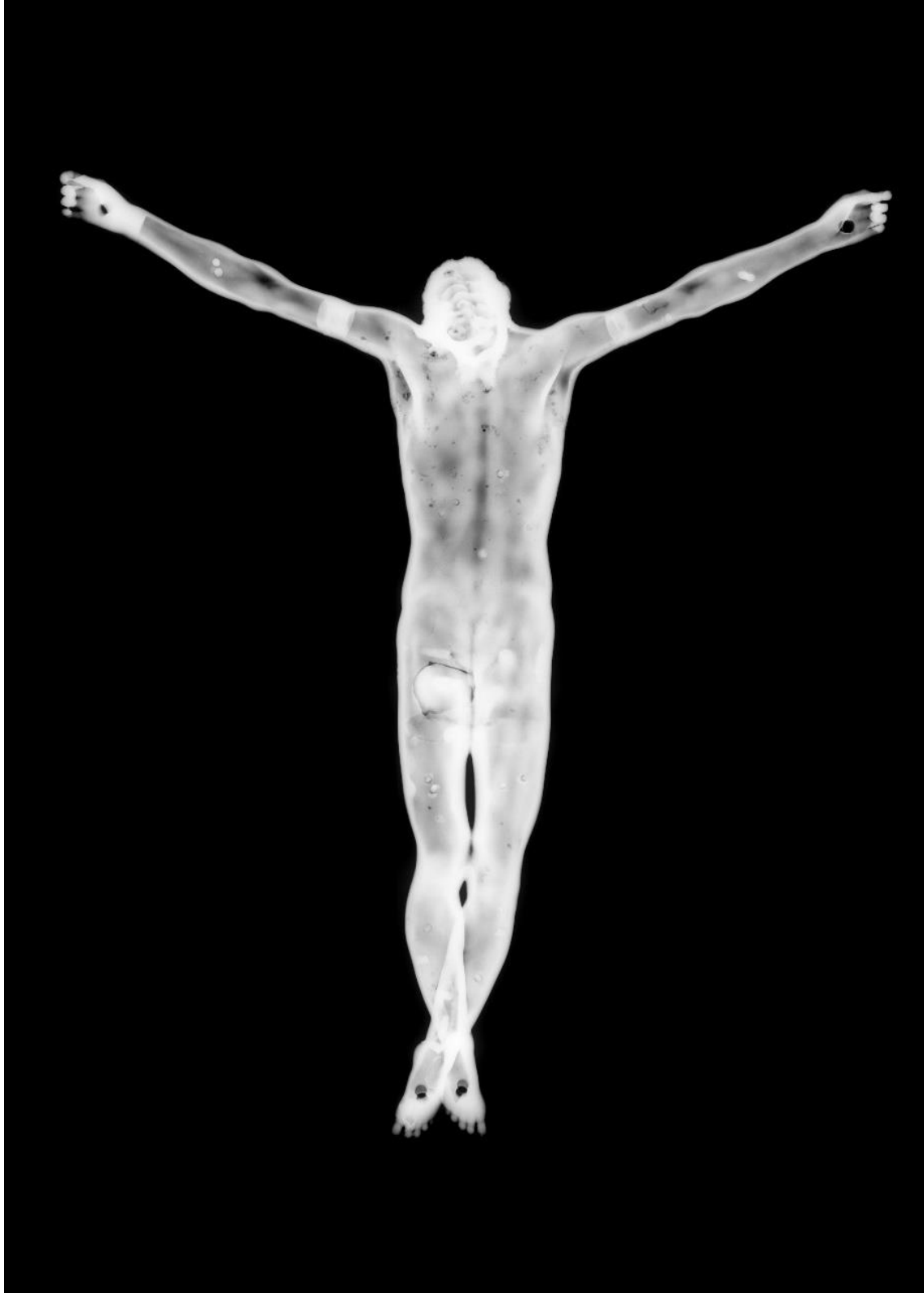


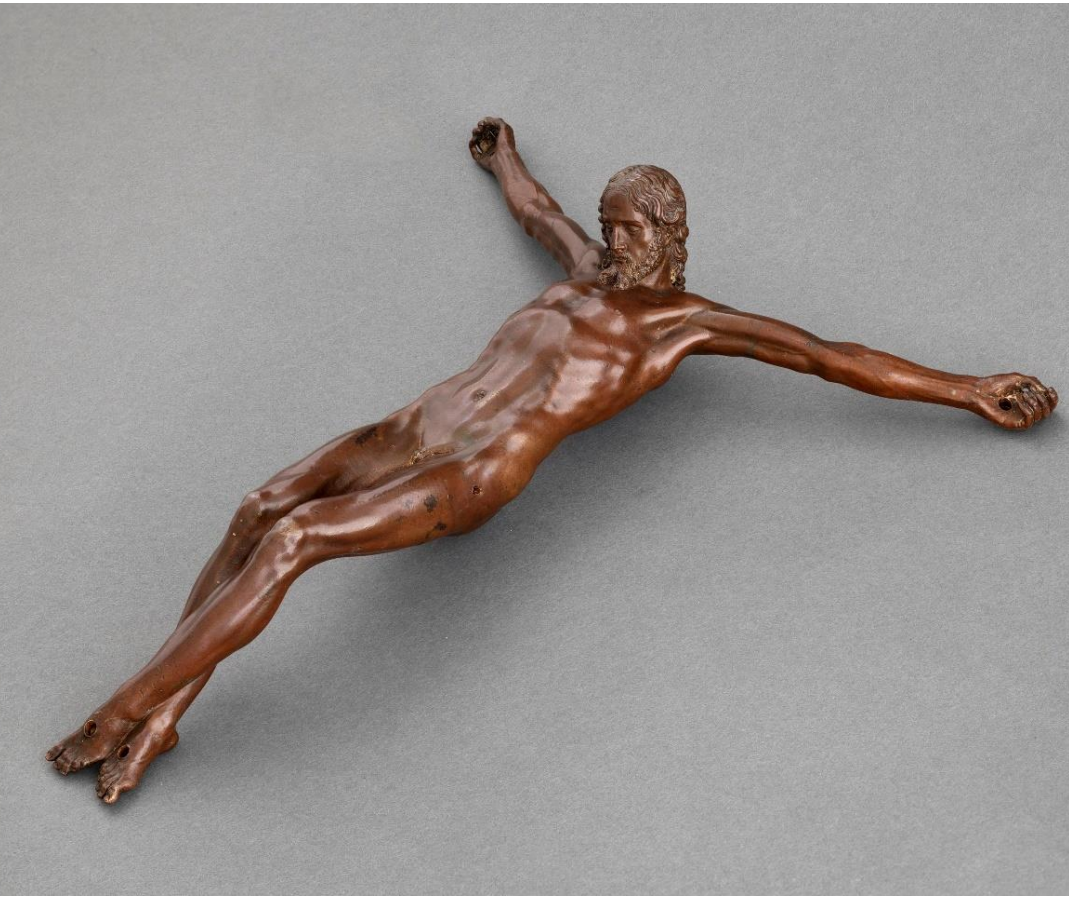
Fig. 16. X-rays general frontal image of bronze *Christ Crucified*, IOMR Collection >

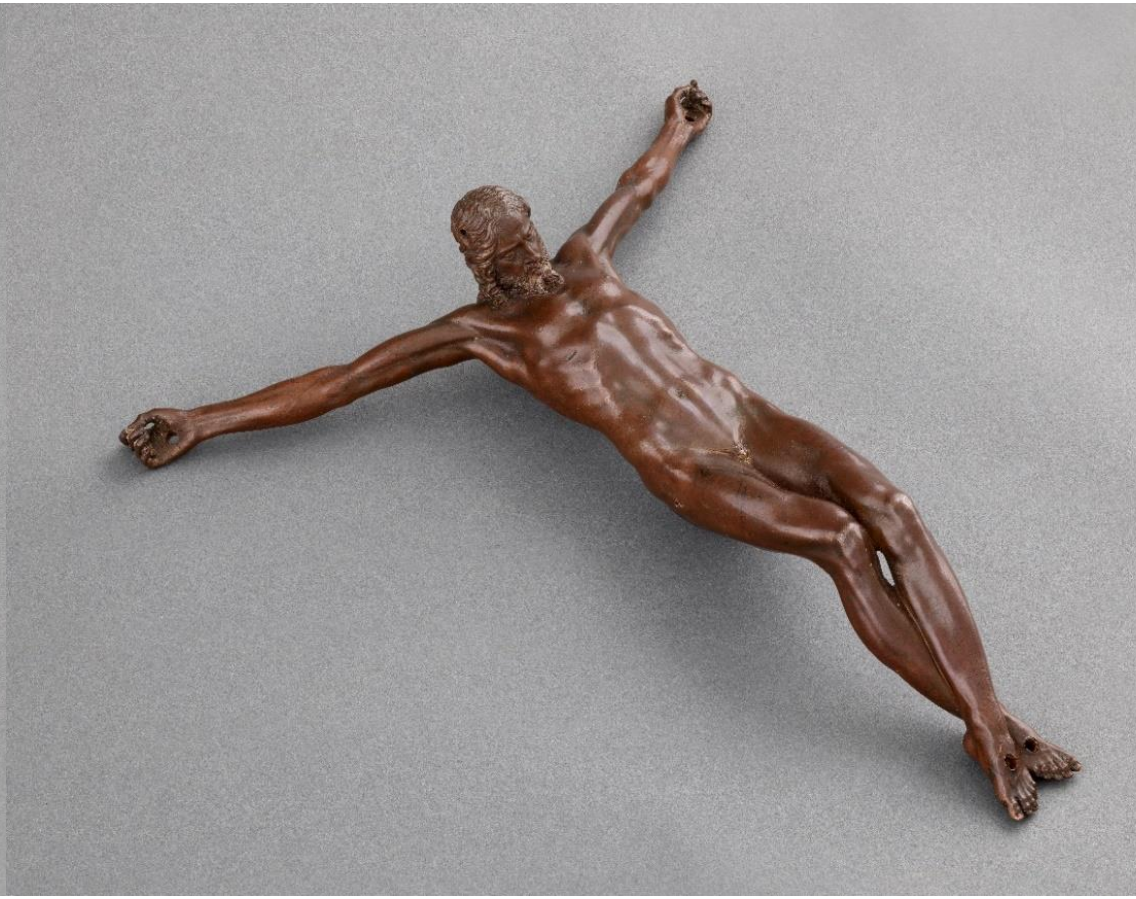
The patina is very homogeneous due to the natural oxidation process of almost pure copper, with minimal interference from the other components, tin and lead, which do not distort the alloy on the surface. An entirely original patina that still retains the indelible mark of the cast wax process and its reddish colour, characteristic of almost pure copper, as seen in high-resolution images, albeit lightly darkened with time and perhaps slightly opaque due to not having been treated by Italian conservators and collectors who seek to maintain or even enhance its transparency over the centuries. Nevertheless, it has magnificently withstood the challenges of being used as a model for multiple castings (Fig. 17, 18). [11]

The radiological data confirm the extreme skill of the cold work displayed in the artwork and the use of the latest technological advancements, something consistent with its origin within the realm of highly skilled Roman goldsmiths who constituted what Baglione referred to as the "Gran Scuola" in the late second and last third of the 16th century; an artistic response to the devastating effects of Michelangelo's death and the new directives of Pope Pius V, which promoted a renewed image of the Catholic Church. All of this is in line with the time limit of 1597, when Juan Bautista Franconio brought this piece to Seville, a date that would act as a "terminus ante quem" in relation to a secure dating of the work.

Fig. 17. Digital image of patina with remains of wax and gesso in the arm of the *Bronze Crucified Christ*, IOMR Collection

Fig. 18. Image silver soft solder in the arm of the *Bronze Crucified Christ*, IOMR Collection





The Crucifix is a Roman bronze prototype, assigned to Michelangelo and model of a series of Spanish casts made in 1600

The Crucified Christ with four nails that we have the privilege to see in its various versions, bears a Renaissance design characterized by its precise lines and symmetry, yet it displays a revolutionary character in its representation of the dead Christ, befitting a genius like Michelangelo.

Never before has the concept of death been expressed so beautifully as in this lifeless body, devoid of life and imbued with the noblest acceptance of human fragility in the face of destiny.

His bowed head expresses an attitude of respect and resignation, set upon powerful shoulders that project outward from open arms, symbolizing universal surrender and sacrifice; the torso features ribs and the linea alba akin to Marsyas, a nod to Hellenistic pathos. The lifelessness of Christ's body is portrayed through his long, linear legs, devoid of any sign of life, extremely elegant, beautiful, and crossed at the lower part in a gesture that, out of context, might bring to mind a ballet step, Nijinsky or Nureyev "en pointe". Lifeless yet in motion ...

No one but Michelangelo could convey the stillness of death with such movement, nor the seamless union between the divine and the human.

Simplicity, restraint, elegance, classicism, immediacy and an eternal sense of modernity are the hallmarks of the design of this work (Fig. 19).

All the Spanish first generation casts of this model are imbued with this magical Michelangelesque character and with the imprint of the Master's perpetual design. However, not all of them captivate us in the same way, due to differences in the quality of the casting and cold work. Art is not just conception; it is the divine expression that manifests through the execution of all those involved in its creation.

Fig. 19. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, > cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, IOMR Collection

Michael Riddick (2025) provides valuable testimonies that corroborate the thesis that the recently discovered Corpus is the prototype for the earliest Spanish metal versions of this model by Michelangelo. Its characteristic striations on the forehead appear in the cast from the Rodríguez-Acosta Foundation (Fig. 22, 23) and in the polychromed bronze from the Italian collection, while its bleeding wound is crudely manifested in the polychromed bronze of the Ducal Palace of Gandia. Likewise, evident casting defects in the undulations of the hair of the Christ from the Rodríguez-Acosta Foundation (Fig. 24, 25) and in the one belonging to a private Italian collection are located in the same places as the holes on the head of the prototype. Finally, its perizonium (Fig. 33, 34, 36, 39) shows signs of wear typical of having been used as a mold for further castings, and its design faithfully corresponds to that exhibited by the version at the Ducal Palace of Gandia.

If we compare our bronze model (Fig. 20, 23) with the magnificent silver cast from the Gómez Moreno collection (Fig. 22), similar to those in the Seville Cathedral (Fig. 21) and the Palacio de Oriente (Madrid), beyond the significant datum that the height of the model (23 cm) is one centimetre higher than that of its subsequent casts (22 cm), one observes differences in quality. Many noticeable details which constitute Michelangelo's hallmarks, rendered in bronze with exquisite cold work gradually, fade away, either only roughly outlined or simply not described in later casts, this being most evident, in the face of Christ, in his extremities, and in the perfect definition of the aureole around his nipples (Fig. 20). [12]

The face in the prototype appears much more complex, both physically and psychologically, exuding that inimitable pathos that we only perceive in Michelangelo's original works; a halo of humanity inherent in the figure of the dead Christ that moves us, not only because of the master's unique conception, but also due to the perfect depiction in bronze of all the details that together represent that moment of contained pain, from which inner peace has finally emerged (Fig. 23).

In the model the broad forehead more clearly displays some striations, and the furrowed brow is more pronounced, as are the eyebrows, defined by tiny holes, completely absent in the first-generation Spanish casts (Fig. 21, 22, 24). The Greek nose, with meticulously carved nostrils on both sides is flanked by the eyelids which

Fig. 20. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560- 70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

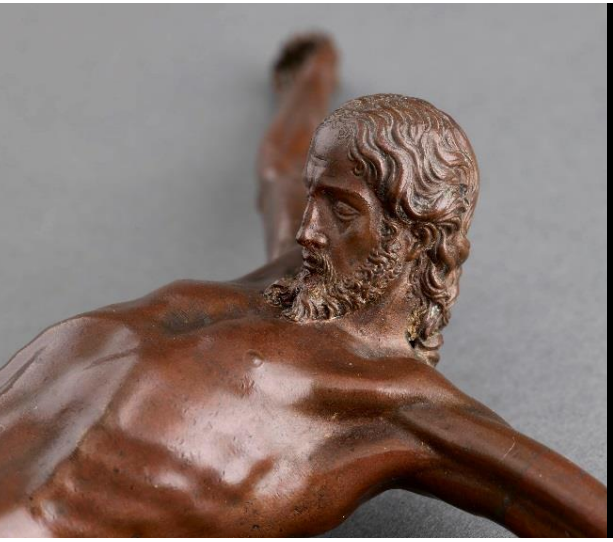


Fig. 21. *Crucified Christ*, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, detail, Catedral de Sevilla

Fig. 22. *Christ Crucified* cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, in silver, detail, Manuel Gómez Moreno collection, Fundación Pública Andaluza Rodríguez-Acosta, Granada

Fig. 23. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

appear gently closed with a double curvature only in the model; deep eye sockets are formed by the simple hollow of the metal and the virtuoso interplay of light with its patina, accentuated by somewhat prominent cheekbones (Fig. 20, 23, 25). The curling of the beard and wavy treatment of Christ's hair, are very well rendered in all these early Spanish silver versions, acquiring great expressiveness (Fig. 21, 22, 24), thanks to a certain rawness of stroke inherent to silverwork; though the bronze prototype presents a more exquisite and crisp manner, displaying excellent cold work. The hair on the left side intentionally reveals the canonical design of the ear, a true "tour de force" of casting technique, perfected by chisel in bronze, extraordinary well integrated into the classic profile of Christ's face (Fig. 20, 23, 25). The neck more strikingly presents in the model the thickening of the jugular vein on its left side and the muscular tension of a position symbolizing death (Fig. 20). The torso is crowned by the nipples which in the prototype take on the michelangelesque form (Fig. 25), something completely absents in the Spanish casts which, nevertheless, faithfully follow the rib-cage and the definition of the linea alba, very much in style of Marsyas and both hallmarks of Michelangelo's nude (Fig. 35).

Fig. 24. *Christ Crucified* cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, in silver, detail showing defect, Manuel Gómez Moreno collection, Fundación Pública Andaluza Rodríguez-Acosta, Granada.

Fig. 25. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, > 1560- 70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

As a unique feature of our Christ, on the right side of his chest, there is a bleeding wound, likely chiselled cold or modelled in the intermediate wax model, though in no case could it have been present in Michelangelo's original wax model, given his spirituals convictions. A symbol not found in other versions, which, as we will mention later, provides a highly significant iconographic clue for dating and attributing the casting (Fig. 25). [13]

The arms reflect the tension inherent in their position, with tendons and veins subtly thickened in the finest versions. The fingers and toes show technical virtuosity, more pronounced in the prototype. The right hand displays the typically flattened thumb so characteristic of Michelangelo's work (Fig. 26). In the bronze's prototype, one perceives a greater freshness specially in the face and extremities of the Christ, no doubt a reflection of the original wax model; the fingers are more stylized with the nails outlined down to the cuticle, as the Master like to convey them; the feet with an extended roman index almost at same height as the Hallux, a common feature in many Michelangelo's sculptures and which in Spanish casts also have the particularity of being more separated from the index, a hallmark burned into Hispanic Mannerism (Fig. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31). [14]

Fig. 26. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Fig. 27. *Crucified Christ*, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, detail, Catedral de Sevilla

Fig. 28. *Crucified Christ*, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, detail, Catedral de Sevilla

Fig. 29. *Christ Crucified*, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, detail, Manuel Gómez Moreno collection, Fundación Pública Andaluza Rodríguez-Acosta, Granada

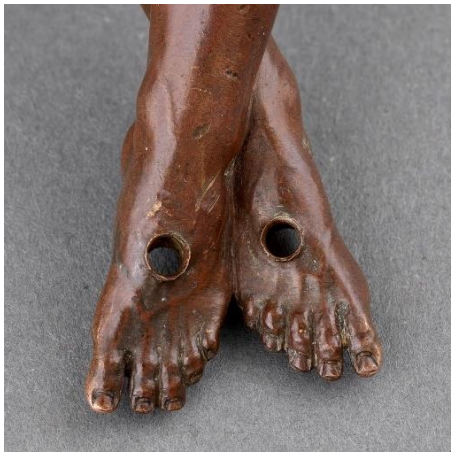


Fig. 30. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560- 70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Fig. 31. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

The bronze Christ was affixed to an ebony cross with silver handles, which, upon analysis, were found to be from a different period (Fig. 15, 32). The Christ was then removed from the Cross, allowing us to, on the one hand, remove the perizonium, revealing the respectful nudity of Michelangelo's original model, and on the other hand, fully appreciate the back of the bronze sculpture.

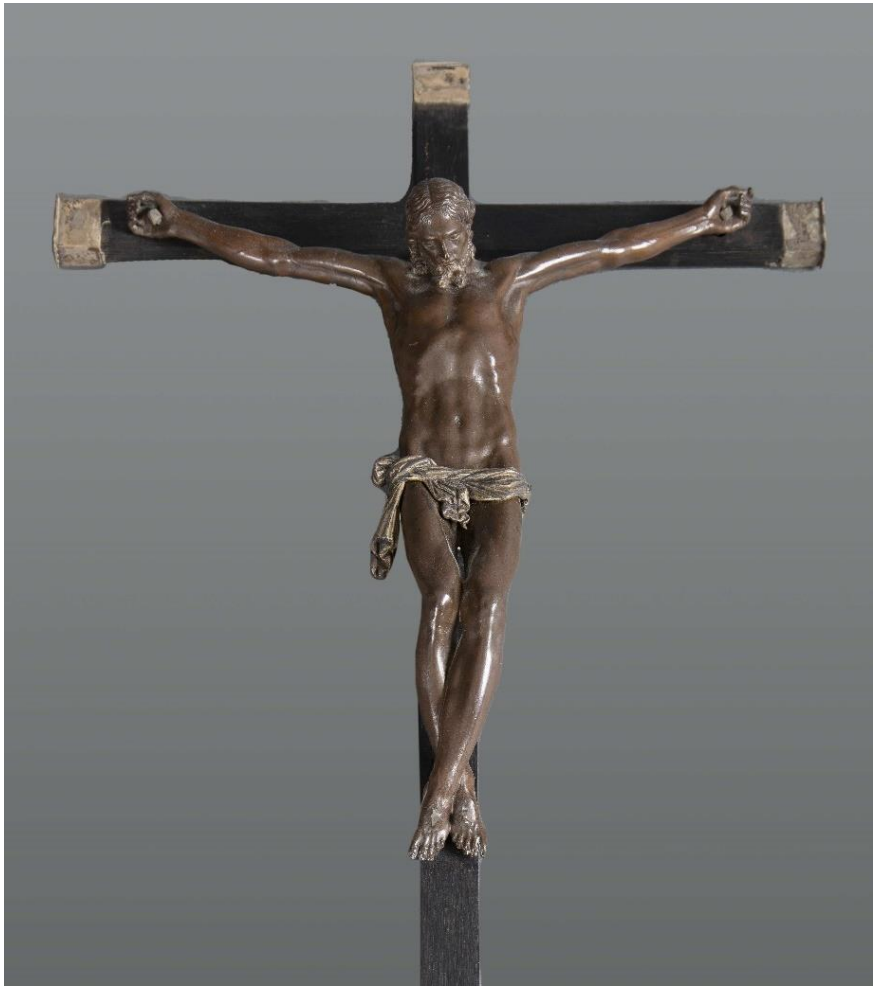


Fig. 32. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, IOMR Collection

The alloy analysis of the perizonium (Fig. 33, 34) concluded that it was an original piece from the 16th century, made of silver with impurities of iron, copper, lead, bismuth and nickel, all of it gilt with mercury. Thus, the piece was inscribed as an original and integral part of the work's history, helping us to assess a possible attribution of the casting to della Porta workshop. In this regard, the use of a movable perizonium for metal sculptures is first known with Giambologna in a gilt bronze nude Christ in 1590 and in the later Christs by Sebastiano Torrigiani which follows drapery models designed by Guglielmo della Porta, who was probably the original creator of this artistic device so characteristic of the Counter Reformation. Apart from Daniel Volterra, who was responsible for preserving the decorum of the Sistine Chapel frescoes, many of Michelangelo's nudes were covered by Guglielmo della Porta´s workshop or external collaborators. The movable perizonium allowed both the preservation of the almost divine origin of Michelangelo's work of art and compliance with the decorum imposed by Pope Pius V in 1566. As it could not be otherwise, all the Spanish casts of the first generation follow the perizonium's of the bronze model brought by Juan Bautista Franconio, based in della Porta design. [(15)]

Fig. 33. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560- 70, documented in Seville 1597, perizonium gilded silver, IOMR Collection

Fig. 34. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, perizonium gilded silver, IOMR Collection

Therefore, we proceeded to detach the Christ from its Cross, bearing in mind that this bronze Christ was brought to Spain by Juan Bautista Franconio without it, unlike all the first-generation Spanish crucifixes provided with crosses for veneration. In Spanish versions sometimes the Cross is made of ebony with square edges, like the one of the polychrome Christ by Pacheco and copied by Velázquez. Other times, it is made of gilt silver with extensive embossing probably done by Juan Bautista Franconio himself, as the four-nailed silver Christ in the Seville Cathedral (Fig. 35). The primary purpose of the Bronze Crucifix under study was utterly different, serving as a model for casting the figure of Christ Crucified. Furthermore, according to Pacheco, once the bronze Crucifix assigned to Michelangelo had fulfilled its function as a model, Juan Bautista Franconio gave it to Father Pablo Céspedes, who wore it around his neck. In the inventory made at his death in 1608, it is mentioned as "metal Christ without a Cross in a leather case". It is also possible that it was inherited by his friend and assistant, Juan de Peñalosa, who took it with him to the Cathedral of Astorga when he was appointed canon, serving as a source of inspiration for many four-nail Christs created in the northern half of Spain. This thesis is attested by the mention of "a Christ figure without a Cross very good, in a box" in the inventory of the auction conducted after the death of Juan de Peñalosa in 1633. (16)

Fig. 35. *Christ Crucified*, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** after the bronze model > he brought to Seville in 1597, circa 1600. Cathedral of Seville

When the Christ was removed from the Cross, it appeared before us unprotected (Fig. 19), within reach of our touch, and due to its small size, susceptible to close inspection from all angles, much like what the supposed first recipient of Michelangelo's original wax model, Vittoria Colonna, describes in their correspondence. As we bring our eye closer to the piece to discern the meticulousness of its finish, in its eyebrows, veins, and nails, it is then when the bronze Crucifix model takes on all the prominence it deserves. In the carefulness of its execution lies its excellence, its distinctiveness compared to later versions, and the aura of being the closest version to Michelangelo's original model.

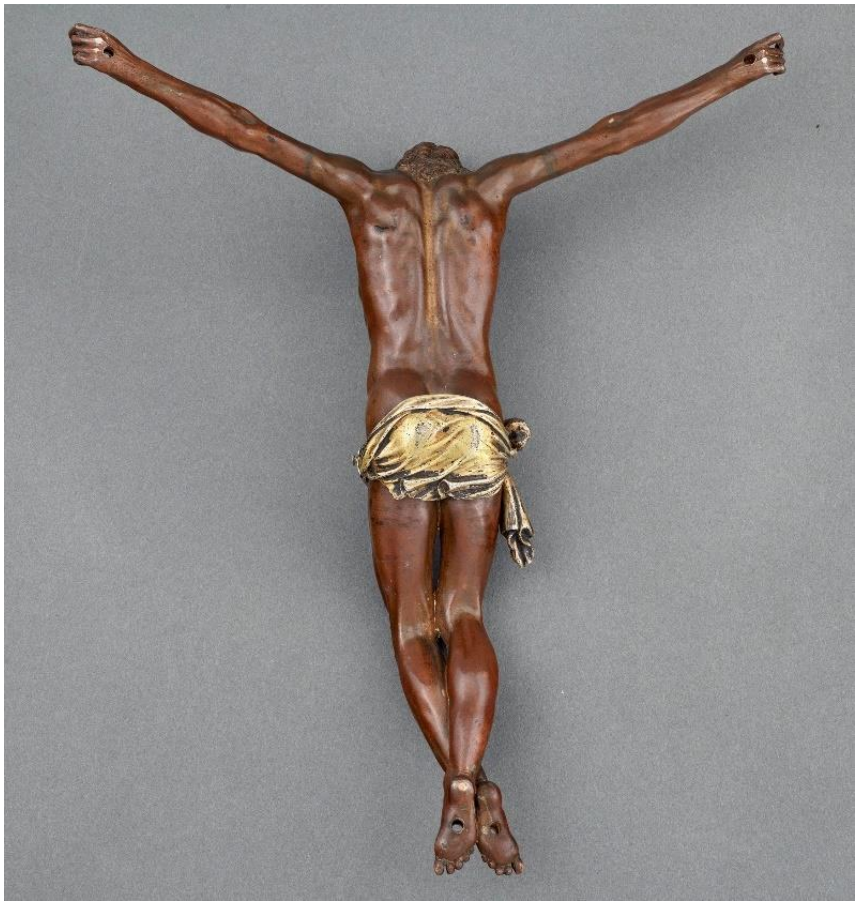


Fig. 36. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, IOMR Collection

Once devoid of the Perizonium, we observe its nudity with awe, presented with an extreme care, very much in line with the Crucified Christ of the Church of the Holy Spirit, Florence (Fig. L, M) and the recently donated to the Louvre (Fig. H).

Finally, when we turn the bronze (Fig. 36), we are struck by the vitality that radiates from the design of the back (Fig. 37, 38). In contrast to the inert character of the body shown on the front of the sculpture, where the expressive burden is concentrated in the resignation of the face and the description of the ribs, the back displays the monumental strength of Man facing death and showing his desperate struggle by means of a portentous conformation, where each muscle is outlined following the natural form. The back is divided by that curvaceous line so characteristic of Michelangelo, which perfectly balances the right side against the left, converging robustly at his powerful pelvis, now liberated from the Cross and the perizonium.

Fig. 37. Christ Crucified, silver, cast by **Juan Bautista Franconio** circa 1600, detail, Manuel Gómez Moreno collection. Fundación Pública Andaluza Rodríguez-Acosta, Granada

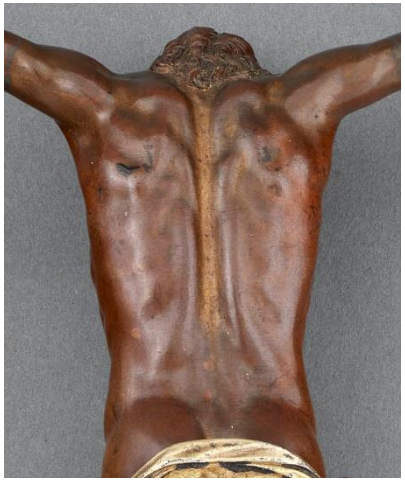


Fig. 38. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560- 70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Fig. 39. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), 23 cm high bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, IOMR Collection

Fig. 40. *Bronze crucifix*, after a model attributed to **Michelangelo**, ca. 1538-41, 23 cm. high, probably cast by **Guglielmo della Porta** and workshop, 16th century, private collection

In order to analysed the prototypical nature of our bronze it is also important to compare it with the almost identical one currently in an American collection, which Michael Riddick considers to be a cast made in the workshop of Guglielmo de la Porta circa 1570, following Michelangelo's Christ model circa 1540 (Fig. 39, 40, 41, 42). (17)

Although the bronze doubtless exhibits outstanding quality, without having seen it in flesh, it is difficult to make a comparative judgement. I will accept Riddick opinion as valid and focus primarily on analysing historical coincidences and formal differences of both pieces that support the Roman origin of our bronze, leaving aside a detailed technical comparison, which would require an examination of the original, technical studies, alloy analysis, radiographs, and high-resolution detailed images. Riddick maintains that both pieces share the same Roman origin due to their similar quality and assembly method; however, he notes subtle differences that lead him to believe that the recently discovered Corpus is chronologically earlier. This is further corroborated by its distinctive iconography, which displays a bleeding wound, and by the analytical results of the bronze alloy used in its his cast.

In this respect, it should be noted that it is possible that there are two or more bronzes, not necessarily contemporaneous, cast from the same original wax model. Michelangelo, who passed away in 1564, may have wished to ensure the survival of his design in a more durable material and, because it was cast using the lost wax method, which preserves the model, multiple versions could have been made, with differences in the finish of the intermediate wax model before cast, as the angle of the arms or the position of the head, and certainly in the cold work after casting each version. (18)

Fig. 41. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, > 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Fig. 42. *Bronze crucifix*, after a model by **Michelangelo**, ca. 1538-41, cast in Rome XVI > century, detail, private collection

Secondly, it is reasonable to believed that both bronzes likely were cast in the same workshop that owned the original wax model. This workshop was probably operated by a renowned bronze caster who had a special relationship with Michelangelo, such as Rafaello di Monteluppo, who collaborate with the Master until 1542; Jacopo del Duca, Michelangelo's last assistant; Antonio Gentili, who claimed to own a model by Michelangelo; Guglielmo della Porta or Leone Leoni, due to his well-known friendship; and Daniele Volterra, for his documented collaboration in Michelangelo's castings. All of them are possible candidates to support the hypothesis that Michelangelo handed over a model created by his own hand, either as a token of friendship, for preservation, or for casting during his lifetime or after his death [19]. This bronze caster, heading an important workshop, was probably the only one to circulate casts of Michelangelo's original four-nail Christ model. These casts may have varied slightly due to differences in the wax model's finish before casting. These variations were common practice in such workshops.

Fig. 43. *Bronze crucifix*, after a model by **Michelangelo**, detail, ca. 1538-41, cast in Rome XVI century, detail, private collection

Fig. 44. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Thus, both bronzes can be considered as early versions of the same original model, created in the same workshop, although probably at different times. It is even possible that they were cast by different masters or craftsmen, as workshops often had different holders who inherited all the models. For example, in Guglielmo della Porta's workshop, Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert was his first assistant in the 50s, Antonio Gentili collaborated from the 1560s until Della Porta death in 1577. In circa 1570s, Sebastiano Torrigiani became one of his leading bronze workers. After Guglielmo's death, Torrigiani married his widow and become his successor as head of the workshop. Juan Bautista Franconio may have worked with him in Rome until Torrigiani´s death in 1596, just before Franconio's trip to Seville. All of them could have had access to Michelangelo's model and to the first generation of Roman casts made directly from the original. One of these casts was brought to Seville by Juan Bautista Franconio in 1597, a year after Sebastiano Torrigiani's death. It served as a model and became the prototype of the most important series of casts known so far, following Michelangelo's original four-nail Christ model. [20]

Fig. 45. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Fig. 46. *Bronze crucifix*, after a model by **Michelangelo**, detail, ca. 1538-41, cast in Rome XVI century, detail, private collection

Regarding the particular formal comparison between both bronze versions cast from the original model, without acknowledging the alloy results and technological data of Riddick's bronze Christ, I will limit my observations to what is evident through the available images (Fig. 39 to 48). Both versions no doubt exhibit superior quality compared to that of the first-generation Spanish casts and of the MET's bronze example. Nevertheless, the two prototypes have minimal but significant differences in technique, with the most prominent being the treatment of the eyebrows (Fig. 47, 48), which is executed in a more exquisite manner in our bronze compared to the somewhat more simplified approach in Riddick's bronze. From an iconographic perspective, it is

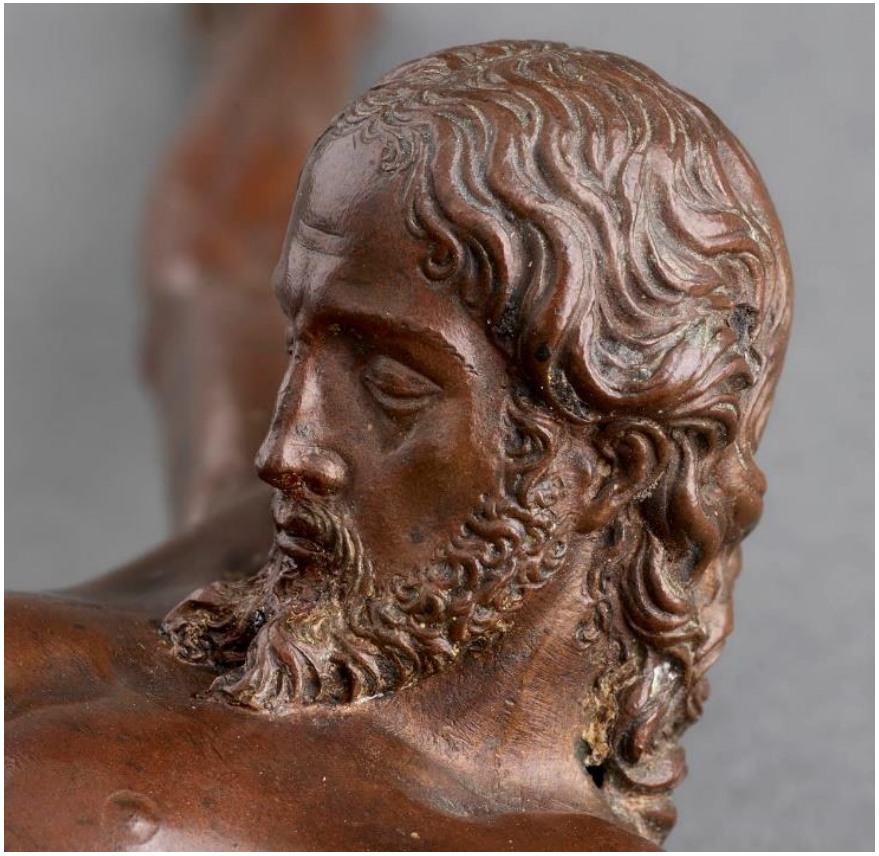
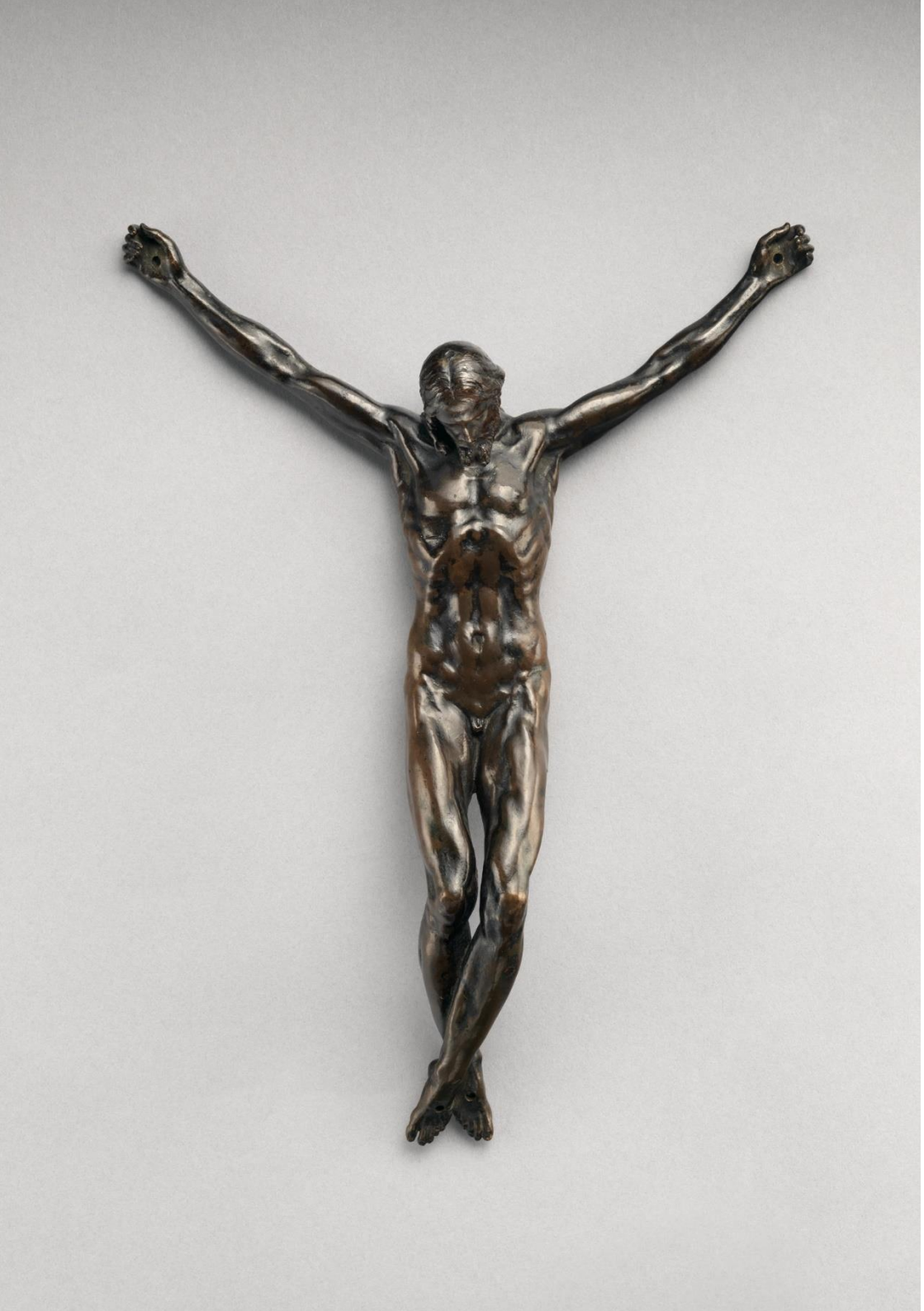


Fig. 47. Crucified Christ, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

important to notice the bleeding wound on the right-side present in our bronze (Fig. 25). This detail suggests a dating closer to 1564, coinciding with Michelangelo's death when the norms of decorum promoted by Pope Pius V had not yet been fully established, and it was still permissible to represent clear signs of Christ's suffering. Furthermore, Riddick points out as differences the holes in the palms of the hands and feet, which are larger in our Corpus, coinciding with the first-generation Spanish casts, and the sprue hole located at the crown of the Christ's head, which is much smaller in the IOMR version and features a more refined sealing system than in the American one. According to Riddick, this would indicate an earlier manufacture and the supervision of Guglielmo della Porta. [21]

Fig. 48. *Bronze Crucifix*, after a model by **Michelangelo**, ca. 1538-41, cast in Rome XVI century, detail, private collection



The comparative analysis with Michelangelo's bronze four-nail Christ at the MET (Fig. 49), based on available images, reinforce our belief that the newly discovered bronze has a more refined and faithful finish to the original wax model. In contrast, the MET version is rendered with a certain rawness and without such minute details, even though being the most well-known version and having universalized the four-nailed Christ Crucified as cast after a design conceived by Michelangelo, accepted almost unanimously by the scholars. The MET's Christ rather resemble the second-generation Spanish versions produced in northern Spain by the silversmith Lesmes Fernández del Moral (see the silver Christs Crucifixes from the Marqués de Lozoya's collection and from the former collection of the Marqués de Toro). Many of these Spanish versions share the common feature of displaying a non-bleeding wound on Christ's right side, similar to the MET Christ.

A specific characteristic of the MET Christ is its larger size, measuring 27,3 cm., which is bigger than the Spanish versions, usually measuring 22 cm, and the two referred prototypes, which both measure 23 cm from head to toe. In common with our version, both are cast completely hollow, even the limbs. The MET version has been traditionally attributed to Zaccaria Zacchi da Volterra and it has been suggested a certain connection with Jacopo del Duca's bronze Crucified Christ, created for the tabernacle of the Certosa di San Lorenzo in Padula. This sculpture is historically considered the first documented bronze version of Michelangelo's four-nail Christ. In particular, this correspondence is mentioned in terms of a greater raising of the arms in both versions. However, one could argue if this is sufficient to provide certainty regarding an Italian origin of the cast and to a more direct link with Michelangelo's original model. In fact, the MET catalogue is more inclined to associate it with the series of Spanish metal Christs. A study of its alloy and X-rays could shed more light on this matter. (22)

In light of the foregoing, it can be concluded with scholarly rigor that from all the foregoing, it can be asserted with full scholarly rigor that the recently discovered bronze Corpus under study is the very one referred to by Francisco Pacheco as the Christ Crucified with four nails by Michelangelo, which Juan Bautista Franconio brought to Seville from Rome in 1597, long considered lost for centuries. Consequently, it shares with the San Juanito of the Ducal House of Medinaceli the distinction of being one of only two documented works by Michelangelo to have arrived in Spain during the sixteenth century."

< Fig. 49. *Crucified Christ bronze*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), Metropolitan Museum, New York

NOTES

1. Francisco Pacheco mentions this bronze Crucifix model as by Michelangelo three times in his book "*Arte de la pintura*", completed in 1641 and posthumously published in 1649, although it was the result of a lifetime of work for him. Edición Cátedra 2009 pp497 -98.

"Michelangelo, the brightest light of painting and sculpture, created a Crucifix model of four nails one tercia high, which we enjoy today. Juan Bautista Franconio, a skilled silversmith, brought it cast in bronze to this city in the year 1597. After enriching all the painters and sculptors with it, he gave the original to Pablo Céspedes, a canon of the Holy Church of Córdoba, who carried it with great esteem around his neck." Original text in Francisco Pacheco 1649 "*Arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y Grandezas*" p 611, Simón Faxardo, Sevilla, 1656.

Another mention is when he says that pictorial anatomy can be studied "in the Christ with four nails by Michelangelo", and the last mention is when he refers to matte flesh tones: "For on January 17th of that year (1600) I painted with matte flesh tones a bronze cast of a Crucifix by Michelangelo which Juan Bautista Franconio a notable silversmith, from the one he brought from Rome" Brown (1970). Original text in Op cit pp405- 06. Velazquez copies this Crucifix polychromed by Pacheco in his Sor Jeronima's portrait. (Fig. E)

2. It is interesting to notice that this Crucifix is mentioned in the inventory of Pablo Céspedes made in 1608 as "Christ of metal without a Cross in a leather case" "*Boletín de Arte*" N 32-33 Universidad de Sevilla pp 437-455. Pablo Céspedes has worked with Daniele Volterra in Rome who most probably knew Michelangelo. It must have been inherited by his great friend and assistant Juan de Peñalosa, who took it to Astorga when he was appointed canon of the Cathedral. This allowed several castings of the model to be made in Northern Spain. It is mentioned in the inventory of Juan de Peñalosa's belongings made at his death in 1633 as "A cast Christ without a Cross, very good, in a box". A H P León Protocolo de Felipe Becerra, 3 de junio 1633. These are the last two documentary references to this bronze Crucifix.

3. Francisco Pacheco was a fervent advocate of the four nails iconography in a letter dated 1620 and, in his book, "*Arte de la pintura*". He based his views on the theories of Francisco de Rioja and Angelo Rocca, Bishop of Tagasta, who, following the testimonies of the revelations of Saint Bridget and the statements of the Bishop of Tuy, argued that the iconography with four nails had more authority than the one with three, where one foot was placed over the other with a single nail. The latter was introduced by the heretical Albigensians in France and entered Spain through León with the aim of diminishing reverence for Christ. In Italy, Nicolo Pisano spread the iconography of the three nails, becoming popular from the 13th century and remaining consistent after the Council of Trent. However, in Spain, the dogma of the four nails promoted by Pacheco gained more ground, thanks to the publicity he gave to this Christ model with four nails by Michelangelo, brought by Juan Bautista Franconio from Rome, among ecclesiastical and cultured circles in Seville. It became an argument in favour of countering accusations that considered this theory contrary to dogma. This iconography spread to Northern Spain through the model brought by Juan de Peñalosa. The fact that important Spanish artists such as Martínez Montañés, Diego Velázquez, Juan Zurbarán, Alonso Cano, and Francisco de Goya chose this iconography for the representation of the Crucified Christ is strong evidence of its success and the significance of the arrival of this Michelangelo model.

4. The "*Spirituali*" was an Italian reformist movement between 1530 and 1540 that promoted an approach to Christ through the spirit imbued by faith alone, rather than through dogma and liturgy. Its doctrine was not written down for a long time, as it was in a way a secret society, until their ideas were written by the monk Benedetto Fontani in his "*Beneficio de Cristo*" in 1543 Michelangelo was influenced to some extent by these principles, which were close to Protestantism when he fell platonically in love with Vittoria Colonna, his friend and spiritual advisor, "the divine lady" who devoted to the Spanish reformer Juan Valdés and very closed to Cardinald Reginald Pol and to the capuchin Bernardino Ochino who promoted a more austere way of life. This happened during an artistic period when he was deeply involved with the Last Judgment, in which he dared to depict himself facing Christ (1536-1541). In his Florentine Pietà of 1553, made to adorn his own tomb, he also represented himself as Nicodemus holding the dead Christ, assimilating his way of following God in secret, as the "*spirituali*" did, seeking the triumph of their thoughts by attaining positions of authority to effect reforms within the Church, rather than through a schism. In his later years, Michelangelo returned to God when his artistic genius was obsessed by the figure of the Crucified Christ, creating models and designs that he gifted, including one to his nephew Lionardo, which probably corresponds to the one in the Casa Buonarroti, made of wood and also with four nails. It represents a spiritual approach as death draws near. In this sense, this design of a nude Christ clearly shows his belief that humans present themselves to God with humility, naked, devoid of the baggage of their good works, with salvation being an arbitrary and gratuitous act of God, which humans face loaded with faith. The "*spirituali*" who artistically advocated for an intellectualization of the Crucifixion, removing all signs of suffering, acted secretly until they were considered heretics at the Council of Trent in 1547, and were severely persecuted, especially during the papacy of Paul IV (1554-1559), Cardenal Carafa, through the Roman Inquisition created by Paul III in 1542.

5. See annex Ignacio Montero CSIC 3 July 2023 "*Informe sobre el estudio de un Cristo Renacentista*", see annex digital microscope and tomographic images of the wax residues; and Sara Cavero "*Memoria final de Restauración de un Crucifijo de bronce*" August 2023.

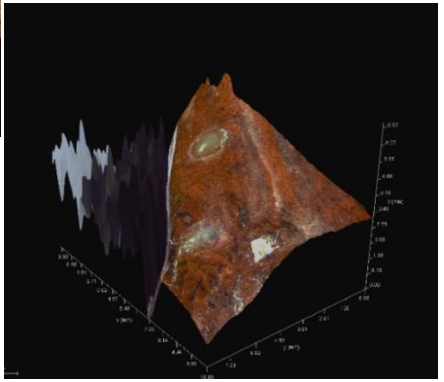


Fig. A. Tomographic images of the Wax

6. Ignacio Montero, CSIC op cit note 5; Vannoccio Biringuccio "De la Pirotecnia" 1540, Smith and Gnudi 1942 p172; Arie Pappot & Robert Van Langh on pages 161-173, "*The Science of Art: Technical Considerations of the Rothschild Bronzes. Michelangelo Sculptor in Bronze*", ed Victoria Avery in 2018. In this article, the authors explain how the copper used for bronze sculpture evolved in the 16th century, shifting from bronze used for cannon production to that used for bells, which had a higher tin content. Initially, alloys contained more lead, as seen in the Rothschild bronzes, and progressively changed to a more purified copper, replacing the "rame duro" (unpurified Fahlerz) with "rame Peloso" (purified Fahlerz) commercialized in the form of cakes, known as "migliace". Several early Renaissance sculptures, as Amor-Artys by Donatello, have similarly impurities content of antimony, arsenic, nickel and silver. Iron, antimony and arsenic can be removed by oxidation process and silver by liquidation with lead, but nickel change very little in the process of refining. Towards the end of the 16th century, they started using Neusohl, which came from present-day Slovakia and was the most refined copper of the late Renaissance. This type of copper was widely used by Giambologna. While the use of lead in the alloy facilitated casting and cold working, it increased the risk of breaking since it does not fuse well with copper. The use of purer copper indicates that the cold working of our bronze must have been carried out by a recognized bronze caster because, although more challenging to work with, the results obtained were superior. The alloy with arsenic and antimony may be related to its greater ease of soldering, as noted by Gauricus, and could explain its use in our bronze, which, based on iconography and technology, should be dated circa 1570. L A Glisman "*The application of X-rays fluorescent spectrometry to Museum objects*". 2004.

7. Following references provided by Massimo Leoni in "Considérations des bronzes antiques", page 178, "*Les chevaux de Saint-Marc*" Olivetti 1977 and by Arie Pappot and R Van Langh in "*Michelangelo Sculptor*", 2018.

8. We are grateful to Arie Pappot from the Rijksmuseum who in a written communication, September 2023 and after checking his data base, considers the alloy of our bronze Crucifix similar to some bronzes cast in Rome before 1570 in the work shop of Guglielmo della Porta, among them the Bacchanal plaquettes attributed Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert of The Met, (Fig. B), the Kunsthistorisches Museum, (Fig. C), and from a private Collection, cast 1550-60, whose alloys references are comparable to our bronze Crucifixes ones, (Fig. D).

This reference is consistent with a possible attribution of the cast of our bronze Crucifix to Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert (Enghien 1535 – Rome 1615) who was an extremely talented goldsmith who "excelled at making small sculptures in metal, though his style is a mystery due to the fact that he has only a documented work in marble". He was "allevato" at the house of Guglielmo della Porta since 1550. CD Dickerson opus cit note 41.

Fig. B. *Bacchanal* bronze plaquettes Rome, circa 1550/60, attributed to **Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert** after a design by **Guglielmo della Porta**, Metropolitan Museum. New York

Fig. C. *Bacchanal* bronze plaquettes Rome, circa 1550/60, attributed to **Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert**, after a design by **Guglielmo della Porta**, Kunsthistorisches Museum Viena

part	Fe	Ni	Cu	Zn	As	Ag	Sn	Sb	Pb
Christ	0.15	0.23	93.90	-	0.22	0.17	4.23	0.28	0.86
Bacchanal plaque	0.35	0.20	91.99	3.43	0.21	0.13	1.57	0.31	1.26

Fig. D. *Bacchanal*, gilt Bronze plaquette, circa 1550/60 attributed to **Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert** after a design by **Guglielmo della Porta**. Private Collection

9. The sculpture of the Giraldillo was hoisted in August 1578 on to the belfry of the Seville Cathedral to act as a weather vane in a display of mechanical engineering, in homage to the end of the Council of Trent, as a colossus of victorious faith. The model was conceived and executed by Juan Bautista Vázquez and was cast by the silversmith Bartolomé Morel. It took two years to complete the casting, following the lost wax technique in a single piece and a single pour. Its alloy does not contain tin, but it does have a significant proportion of lead, likely to facilitate the casting and cold working. In 1997, it underwent restoration, including a study of its structure and the alloy of materials used. Andalusian Institute of Historical Heritage. "*El Coloso de Sevilla*".

10. Xrays and Radiographic report conducted by SGS 2023; Richard Stone "*Italian Renaissance and Baroque Sculptor in Bronze*" pp 25-46, "*Italian Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum*" 2021; Francesca Gabriella Bewer "*A Study of the Technology of Renaissance Statuettes*" Thesis University of London, 1996.

The technique of cold joining, metallurgy, and soldering, something characteristic of classical sculptures, is not so common in the Renaissance. It only appears in the workshops of the best goldsmiths. The documented fact that Cellini and Biringuccio describe the process in their treatises, and Gauricus mentions a method of bronze soldering with an arsenic alloy, demonstrates the existence of this technique in the second half of the 16th century. As Richard E Stone notes, during the Renaissance, soldering techniques were mainly used for repairing defects with patches and not so much for the process of casting in cold parts, replacing the wax joining technique, which was the norm since the widespread use of the indirect casting system in Mantua by Antico. Casting in cold parts, as is the case with our bronze cast in three parts, required extreme skill, achievable only by the most talented goldsmiths and bronze casters. These joints were made using silver or, alternatively, tin and lead. Since these joints are so carefully overlapped by the patina, they are sometimes only visible through radiographs. The Susini family, definitely the bronze casters with the greatest skill in cold working, advanced the soldering technique, creating very fine casts, many of them using copper rich in antimony, Charles Avery suggests that the gilt bronze Crucifix by Guglielmo della Porta, Coll and Cortes, which is very finely cast (3 mm thick) despite its size of 48 cm, must have been cast in three parts like ours, which is only perceptible through radiographs due to the thick layer of gilding. (Charles Avery "Guglielmo della Porta Relationship with Michelangelo. Christ Crucified by Guglielmo della Porta", Coll y Cortes, 2012 p126).

The technique of pouring the liquid bronze through sprues placed in the head was widely used by bronze casters in the Roman sphere of della Porta. It allowed them to conceal the holes with a crown of thorns or a nimbus.

The sight of a silver-soldered patch when the Christ is detached from the Cross is further evidence of the skill in cold working, in this case, to remove the bronze core. The position on the reverse chosen for the patch is common in other Crucifixes, such as the Castello Sforcesco Group of a Crucified Christ and impenitent Thief cast circa 1540 in which a patch is visible in the lower left back where the poring should have taken place.

The use of thread screws is another example of the employ of cutting-edge techniques in the casting of our bronze. The first to apply this technique in an incipient way was Severo de Ravenna, becoming its use more common with the development of clockmaking in the late 16th century. There is visual evidence through X-rays that Giambologna used them, as his bronzes have been the subject of scientific study. This does not rule out their likely use in Roman workshops, given their recognized interaction with Florentine workshops, especially the relationship between Giambologna and Guglielmo della Porta. Bewer points out the use of thread screws in cataloging the version signed by Giambologna of the Mercury at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, considering it one of the key characteristics for attributing his works. Bewer 1996 p 320 op cit.

11. "*Organic Patinas on Small Bronzes of the Italian Renaissance*" by Richard E. Stone, Metropolitan Museum Journal, 2010.

Fig. E. *Portrait by* **Diego Velázquez** *of Jerónima de la Fuente* holding the Crucifix cast by **Juan** > **Bautista Franconio** and polychromed by **Pacheco**, detail, 1620, private Collection Madrid

12. Mike Riddick relates with Guglielmo della Porta's work, well-defined and somewhat pointed halos nipples, the bleeding wound, and the inverted navel. Michael Riddick Ren bronze "Appendix C: Michelangelo Influence on Guglielmo della Porta".

Riddick 2025, p4-10, "Supplementary notes on Michelangelo's Crucifix for Victoria Colonna and the rediscovery of a Crucifix by Michelangelo brought to Spain by Juan Bautista Franconio." 2025.

13. The bleeding wound on the right side is something very peculiar to our Crucifix; on the one hand, it serves as a basis for attributing its casting to Guglielmo della Porta, who frequently added this sign to his Christs. On the other hand, chronologically, it places a time limit for its execution circa 1570 when Guglielmo della Porta made Christs for the Farnese family. After the 1570s, it was not considered appropriate to include a bleeding wound according to the norms of decorum, although it was accepted without blood. See note 40 with regard a solid bronze Crucified Christ dated 1525/1570 with a bleeding wound; Michael Riddick op cit note 12; Rosario Coppel, "Guglielmo della Porta: A Counter Reformation Sculptor", Coll y Cortes, 2012.

14. Michael Riddick, Renbronze.com, "Michelangelo's Crucifix for Vittoria Colonna" he maintains the thesis that the Crucifix could have been a gift to his friend Vittoria Colonna and relates it to various sketches by Michelangelo representing the human body and Christ. In Appendix B, the author compares a bronze Crucified Christ with different Spanish versions, especially with the silver one from the Rodríguez-Acosta Foundation and the polychrome one sculpted by Pacheco in bronze, currently in the Ducal Palace of Gandía.

15. We agree with Michael Riddick when he establishes a stylistic correlation of the perizonium of this Crucified Christ with della Porta's whose drawing at the Museum Kunstpalast, Dusseldorf, confirms it (Fig. A, B). He also points out that the first movable perizoniums were used by Giambologna and Torrigiani in 1590s, although it probably emerged earlier in Rome as a compromise formula devised in the early 1570s, coinciding with the new norms of decorum promoted by Pope Pius V. It certainly most likely emerged as a formula invented by "La Gran Scuola" of della Porta to cover, as in the case of our bronze, the nudity of Michelangelo's Christs. The bronze model must have arrived to Seville in 1597 with the perizonium, and the early Spanish metallic versions, all have an identical perizonium.

Fig. F. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, perizonium, IOMR Collection

Fig. G. **Guglielmo della Porta**, drawing, circa 1570, Museum Kunstpalast. Dusseldorf >

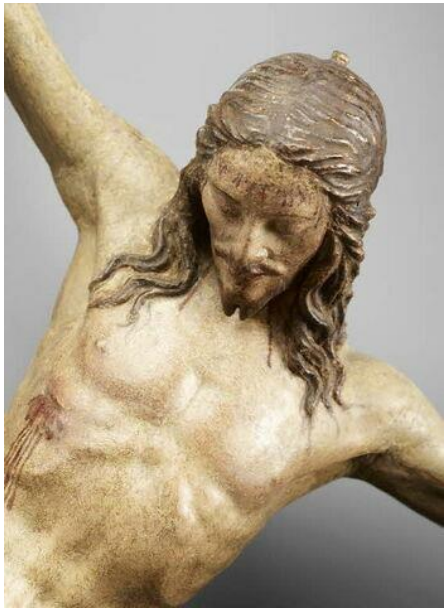
16. Inventario de bienes de Pablo Céspedes, 1608. Boletín Arte N 32-33, Universidad de Sevilla pp 437-55; Fernando Llamazares Rodríguez "Juan de Peñalosa y Sandoval: Enfermedad, Testamento, Muerte y Almoneda, 1633".

17. Michael Riddick, Renbronze.com "Michelangelo's Crucifix for Vittoria Colonna". Both Crucifixes have a clear stylistic connection with the wooden Crucified Christ recently donated to the Louvre and with the Crucifix of the chiesa di Santo Spirito, Florence. (Fig. H, I, J, K, L, M).

Fig. H. *Crucified Christ*, polychrome wood attributed to **Michelangelo**, detail, Musée du Louvre

Fig. I. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

Fig. J. *Crucified Christ*, polychrome wood attributed to **Michelangelo**, detail, Musée du Louvre



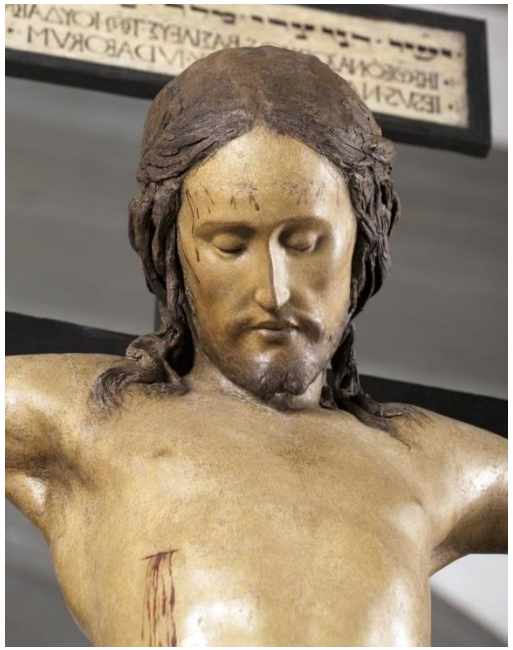


Fig. M. *Crucifix of Chiesa di Santo Spirito*, **Michelangelo,** 1491, 142x135 cm., detail, Florence

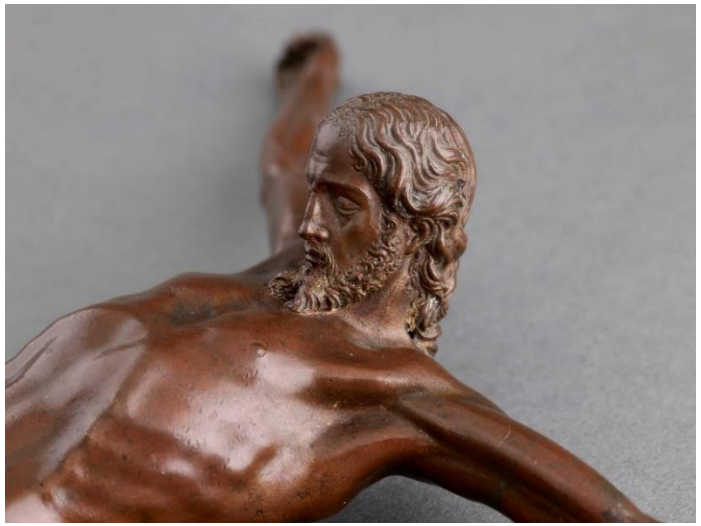


Fig. K. *Crucified Christ*, after a model by **Michelangelo** (1538-41), bronze, cast in Rome, 1560-70, documented in Seville 1597, detail, IOMR Collection

18. Richard E Stone's "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Sculptors in Bronze," p36 Metropolitan Museum 2021.

19. Richard E Stone's "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Sculptors in Bronze," p38 Metropolitan Museum 2021.

20. Michael Riddick Renbronze.com, "Michelangelo's Crucifix for Collona"; "Michelangelo's Influence on Guglielmo della Porta"; "Reconstituting a Crucifix by Guglielmo della Porta and His Colleagues: A Possible Corpus Saint and Siren by Sebastiano Torrigiani"; Rosario Coppel, Margarita Estella, "Guglielmo della Porta: A Counter Reformation Sculptor. Biography"; "Christ Crucified", Coll y Cortés 2012.

21. Michael Riddick op cit note 20; Michael Riddick, March 2025 p10, op cit p49, note 12, Rosario Coppel op cit note 20.

22. John Phillips Goldsmith "A Crucifixion group after Michelangelo" 1937 The Art bulletin vol 79n 4 pp647-668 Metropolitan Museum of Art; Janice Shell, Exhibition catalogue Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal ed Pietro Marani "The genius of the sculptor in Michelangelo work" 1992, pp 254-261; Italian Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes in the MET 2022 cat 101 pp287-294; Michael Riddick Renbronze.com, "A bronze Crucifix attributed to Michelangelo" April 2016; "The Thief of Michelangelo: Model Preserved in Bronze and Terracotta". August 2020; Paul Joannides "Two bronze Crucifixion groups designed by Michelangelo" Colnaghi Studies journal, 11 October 2022, mentions in note 8 p48 that Denise Allen informed him by email that Linda Borsch has examined it in X-rays and consider this bronze Crucifix fully hollow. He relates this model to drawings, in particular to the Teylers Museum which he considers a primo pensiero or sketch for a sculpture.

< Fig. L *Crucifix of chiesa di Santo Spirito*, **Michelangelo**, 1491, detail, 142 x 135 cm., Florence

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