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THE COMEDIANS
OF
FRANZ ANTON Y BUSTELL Y

Michael Newman



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Bustelli the man

His name was Franz Anton Bustelli, porcelain modeller by trade. He was hired on 3 November 1754 as a *figurist* by Count Sigmund von Haimhausen, director of the Bavarian Electoral Porcelain Factory at the small castle of Neudeck on the outskirts of Munich.

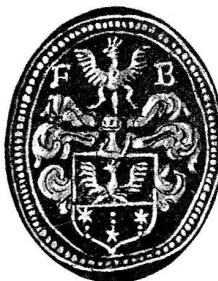
The effective foundation of the famous Nymphenburg factory dates to the summer of 1753. Several unsuccessful attempts had been made since 1747 by a number of so-called experts who, however, were not in the possession of the *arcane*, the art and knowledge of making porcelain. Joseph Jakob Ringler from Vienna, a true *arcane* and kiln engineer, appeared in Munich in 1753 and gained the confidence and financial support of von Haimhausen. Porcelain was made successfully very quickly, and by 1755 the small concern employed thirty workmen, amongst whom we find F. A. Bustelli, supervisor of the *repairers*. This term was originally used to designate the workers in the modelling shop who were engaged in putting together, prior to the firing in the biscuit kiln, the various parts that make up a figure or a group, coming out of a number of plaster moulds. In some factories, the term *repairer* took on the additional meaning of *modeller*. It is this Franz Anton Bustelli with whom we are concerned here. He was evidently not engaged as a modest *repairer* since his work at the Munich factory amply proved him to be an accomplished artist-modeller. In the six and a half years before the Neudeck factory transferred its workshops to newly-built, more spacious premises on the northern periphery of the Nymphenburg Castle complex in May 1761, Bustelli had completed the majority of about one hundred and twenty porcelain figures and groups – amongst them the eighteen figures of the *Commedia dell'Arte* – which it was his destiny to create in his short life. He fell seriously ill at the end of 1762 and died on 18 April 1763 in Nymphenburg, eight and a half years after his arrival in Neudeck. He was buried in the cemetery of Winthir, in the former parish of Saint-Margareth in Sendling near Munich. A terracotta plaque in his memory was unveiled there in 1971¹. The parish register gives no indication of his age.

During Bustelli's short career at the Bavarian factory, his creative genius rose to the greatest heights of artistic achievement in eighteenth century porcelain sculpture. His figures are inspired by the spark of life, an inner substance which results in a display of *joie-de-vivre*, of great verve, and of a most delicate image of elegance. After his death, that excellence expressed in the light Bavarian rococo style was never achieved again in porcelain.

No records related to Bustelli's life and career before his arrival in Munich are known to exist. Moreover, in the few reports of the Nymphenburg factory, in which his name appears, not one establishes a connection between him and the porcelain models created during his presence at the factory. Until the very beginning of this century, his name was not even known in relation to the Nymphenburg concern². In 1905, Otto von Falke, researcher and curator in Cologne, first made the connection between the plastic production at the factory between 1755 and 1762 and a modeller called «Bastelli»³. By the time Hofmann's three volume history of the Nymphenburg factory was published in the early 1920's, the factory archives had yielded the evidence of Franz Anton Bustelli's employment. The information, buried in a file of old invoices dated from 1755 to 1767⁴, tied up with the contents of an Inventory of Moulds, 1760⁵, and most important, a Price List dated 1767⁶. Being the only modeller at the Neudeck works in the years up to his death, and on the basis of stylistic comparisons, Bustelli's oeuvre could finally be catalogued. Hofmann also pointed out the similarity of the impressed initials FB found on the upper part of the bases on a number of Nymphenburg figures and the same initials seen on either side of an eagle on Bustelli's recently discovered seal (fig. 1)⁷.

Indeed, just at the beginning of the first World War, a Swiss heraldist⁸ had found that the heraldic device on the seal corresponded with a coat of arms on the balcony railing of the Casa Bustelli in Intragna at the entrance to the Centovalli⁹. Riva demonstrated that these arms were common to all the Bustellis who had originally come from the Ticino.

The span of Bustelli's career in Munich is limited to just over eight years. They were hard and unsettled times in which the economic prospects for a porcelain factory were not too promising. The Seven Years War (1756–1763) was being waged across Central Europe and occasionally spilled over the borders of Bavaria, causing havoc to the economy. It was in those years that the artist was engaged, worked and died at the Nymphenburg factory, the man named Franz Anton, latterly *Churfürstlicher Porcelain Fabrique Bildhauer und Modelleur Maister Pustelli*¹⁰. At the factory, he was taken for an Italian. His successor, chief modeller Dominikus Auliczek, called him *Franz Pastalli, an Italian by birth* in his autobiography¹¹. Was he identical with Franciscus Antonius Bustelli, born in Locarno on 11 April 1723, as Simona has put forward¹²? The Ticino origins of the Bustellis go back at least to the fifteenth century, both in Locarno, and in the neighbouring Centovalli and the Vigezzo Valley. During the 17th and 18th centu-



1. BUSTELLI'S SEAL.

ries Bustellis migrated to the Italian Romagna and also to Southern Germany, some settling in Bavaria¹³. Although Hofmann and Simona believed that the boy born in April 1723 could well have become the porcelain modeller, and Rose Termolen⁹ avers that he was born to an Italian father and a German-speaking mother, there is simply no proof, no further documentation. During his research into the history of the Bustellis, the genealogist Virgilio Gilardoni of Bellinzona has discovered thirteen Bustelli boys, born between 1690 and 1793, all baptized with the ever popular names Francesco Antonio. Moreover, at the age of twenty-one years in 1744, the Francesco Antonio born in 1723 was still living with his mother in Muralto near Locarno¹¹. He was brought up in the Italian language, under the sway of Italian culture. The Munich modeller, even if born in the Ticino, must have spent the greater part of his education and younger years in a German country. He used the German script, as seen in his signature⁷ (fig. 2), although it should be noted that the «e» in the family name is of Latin origin. Additional samples of his handwriting, discussed below – one dated 1756, the second year of his employment show at the least that a lengthy period of his life was spent in German-speaking surroundings before he came to Neudeck¹⁴. In one of these papers, the description of a modelling tool in its Bavarian patois-form also points to a longish stay in Southern Germany or Austria. His spelling was adapted to phonetic Southern German dialects, which was the usage at that time. Hence it is unlikely that the modeller could have left his mother's house in the Ticino barely ten years before his engagement in Bavaria.

The uncertainty about Bustelli's antecedents has led to a great deal of conjecture: an accomplished artist-sculptor, with considerable ceramic knowledge to boot, was employed by von Haimhausen and set off almost immediately to create masterworks of rococo art. It is likely that the factory's director knew about the man he was about to hire and where this artist had studied, in which other factory he had worked before, but no record of any of this has survived. Neudeck was not generous with its salaries. Bustelli's first weekly wage was 4 florins, a miserable amount compared with that earned by modellers in other porcelain factories of the time, who could obtain up to 30 florins a week.

In 1758, having threatened to try his fortunes elsewhere, Bustelli was promoted to chief modeller with a raised salary of 6 florins. Shortly afterwards he acquired the additional post of technical adviser, and by mid-1761, he was the director of the modelling shop with a salary of a still rather modest 10 florins¹⁵. But he had to pester the directors endlessly for this higher remuneration.

The question has arisen sometimes whether Bustelli might have spent time in Vienna and there attended the Austrian Academy of Arts. If that was the case, he would certainly have come into contact with Franz Ignaz Günther (1725–1775), who is known to have been there in 1753¹⁶. Günther later became one of Southern Germany's most prestigious and prodigious rococo sculptors, accredited to the Electoral Court in Munich. The two artists could have continued to meet in Munich in later years¹⁷. Hofmann relates that Günther independently supplied models for some figures to the porcelain factory, although the only evidence for this in the records is a payment of 29 florins *as per account rendered*, paid to the sculptor in 1769¹⁸. It was not actually recorded for what work or services the invoice had been made out.

On stylistic grounds, on the other hand, Rückert¹⁹ believes that Johann Baptist Straub (1702–1784) had a more impelling influence on Bustelli's earlier work at Neudeck. Until 1760, Straub held a key position in Bavarian rococo sculpture, having come from the Vienna Academy in 1735, and working as an independent artist in Munich until his death. Young Ignaz Günther himself worked in Straub's workshop for several years.

It was usual in the constricted world of eighteenth century porcelain and pottery factories for their directors to cast about amongst the staff of their competitors for technicians and artists to be purloined and lured to their own manufactories. Frequently, introductions and recommendations of suitable candidates were received from sources outside the ceramic industry. There is not a single piece of paper in any archive that Bustelli had benefited from such a manoeuvre. He arrived in Munich with some knowledge in the making and modelling of ceramic figures, but in the absence of any documentary evidence, the considerable speculation as to his previous employments in various porcelain factories seems to be rather futile.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Franz Anton Bustelli". The signature is fluid and somewhat stylized, with "Franz" and "Anton" connected at the top, and "Bustelli" at the bottom.

2. BUSTELLI'S SIGNATURE.

The Commedia dell'Arte

This study will single out Franz Anton Bustelli's ultimate masterpieces: eighteen porcelain figures of the Italian Comedy modelled between 1756 and 1760. The Italian word *arte*, as used in the title, does not so much pertain to the poetic content of the plays they performed, as to the skills of the performers in the spontaneous invention of action and dialogue – according to their appointed roles, mostly held for life – in minimal settings; originally on the steps of a church; on a stage of boards on trestles at country fairs; or in a private tent. A suitable adaptation in English of the term «Commedia dell'Arte» could be the «Comedy of Artistic Dexterity». The original Italian players were helped by their native theatrical gifts, a real aptitude for improvisation and, not least, by their inborn genius for repartee. As a result, the show was never quite the same from one performance to the next; the extemporized antics and pranks delivered with quick-witted patness, and intended to amuse and entertain, were often being larded with derisive allusions to topical subjects and society happenings.

The Commedia dell'Arte originated in 15th century Italy as a lowbrow defiance to and flying in the face of the *Commedia Erudita* or *Commedia Sostenuta*, which latter had a written dialogue to be learnt and to be reproduced verbatim on stage. The improvised parody of this largely survived its forerunner, and attained an extraordinary vitality and popularity all over Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Moving westward across the Alps, the first comedians from Italy performed their ribald pieces on the parvis of French churches and in village squares in the reign of Henry III of France (1551–1589); a date of 1576 is recorded. But it was the arrival of Marie de Medici (1573–1642), on her marriage to Henry IV in 1600, and the massive migration from Italy of architects, artists, painters and artisans of all kinds which ushered in the arrival of Commedia dell'Arte troupes in France.

One of the many incidents recorded of this early period has to do with the tragicomic adventure of an Italian Comedy troupe invited into France by the King. Having played on the squares of Lyon on their way north for a few days, the entire company was condemned to death for some misdemeanour. The court agreed, however, to grant them an ultimate wish, whereupon they asked to be allowed to play their comedy to the people one last time. The public applauded their performance so wildly that the judge freed them and allowed the troupe to go on their way to Paris.

Some years on, when Louis XIV (1638–1715) was still a minor, his chief minister Cardinal Mazarin institutionalized the Commedia dell'Arte, making sure that there would always be a troupe available to the Court, by offering them a theatre in Paris – at first the Petit-Bourbon, later, on a part-

time basis, the Palais Royal theatre. From 1684 Madame la Dauphine established a set of statutes that were to rule the Commedia dell'Arte company, now established in the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

The scurrilous satire of manners as expressed by the actors of the Italian Comedy and the frequent coarseness of their buffooneries finally ended by offending established society. The King's troupe had announced a forthcoming performance of a comedy named *La Finta Madrigna* – the Deceitful Stepmother – but had the insolence to substitute at the last moment a play called *La Fausse Prude* – the Spurious Prude – which was based on a satirical pamphlet published in Holland that scoffed and sneered at the King's favourite, Madame de Maintenon. The piece was never mounted. On the morning of 14 May 1697, Monsieur d'Argenson, Lieutenant-General of Police, carried out the monarch's ordinance of the previous night to close down the troupe's theatre at the Hôtel de Bourgogne and to ban the company from playing in or near Paris or Versailles, *His Majesty no longer considering it appropriate to keep them in his service*²⁰ (fig. 3).

We know from Madame la Dauphine's statutes that at the time of their dispersal the company consisted of twelve comedians. Their names are listed by Olivier Le Bihan: *Harlequin*, the famous actor Evariste Gherardi, who had published the first history of *Le Théâtre Italien* in six volumes only three years earlier, stayed on in Paris with his wife Elisabeth Daneret, who had played the role of *Babet-la-Chanteuse*, and who now became a teacher at the Royal Academy of Music. Angelo Constantini, the former *Mezzetin*, went to Poland where the King, Augustus the Strong of Saxony, commissioned him to form and direct a new troupe in Warsaw. His brother Jean-Baptiste Constantini, *Octave*, went home to his native Verona. *Spinette*, a servant-girl, sister-in-law of Angelo and possibly Jean-Baptiste's wife, also returned to Italy, and so did Michel-Ange Francazini, or Fracanzini, the troupe's *Polichinelle*. The actor Marc-Antoine Romagnesi, listed by *Duchartre* as playing *Cinthio*, but better known as a magnificent *Doctor* (fig. 30), died in Paris in 1706. Jean-Joseph Jératot, *Pierrot*, retired with his wife to a property which they had acquired near the capital. Catherine Biancolelli of the distinguished theatrical family, the resident *Columbine*, married to the actor Pierre Lenoir de la Thorillière, refused a post at the Comédie Française and remained at the side of her husband. A new company was brought into being under the direction of Joseph Tororiti, called *Pascariel*, who had acted the role of *Scaramouch*. This troupe included his wife Angélique Toscano, the former *Marinette*, and Charles-Virgile Romagnesi de Belmont, the old *Léandre*, who had started in that role as



3. *THE EXPULSION OF THE ITALIAN PLAYERS FROM THE HOTEL DE BOURGOGNE IN 1697*. Engraving by L. Jacob, 1729, after a painting by Antoine Watteau of 1705. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

early as 1694 and then played all the *amoureux* until the Expulsion. Tortoriti's company was licensed to appear in the provinces, particularly in the towns and fairs of eastern and southern France. Whilst playing in Lorraine, Romagnesi de Belmont fell in love with the former *Octave*'s daughter. In 1707 he went back to Paris in order to marry his Elisabetta Constantini, who later, in 1730, played the character of *Camille* in Louis Ricoboni's troupe. Charles-Virgile Romagnesi de Belmont died in 1731²¹.

It is not easy to match these twelve to the figures painted by Watteau, who is unlikely in any case to have known them when he was a teenager. But he would have had access to engravings showing them in their role costumes. In the centre of the picture we perceive a stately woman pleading with the police official, who commands that the Royal Ordinance be nailed to the wall of the building. That could well be Babet-la-Chanteuse. Columbine behind her is running away weeping. On the other side we see a cursing Mezzetin waving his arms, whilst Pierrot makes a parting obeisance on the steps of his beloved theatre; and behind them is a vague figure which could be *Octave*. A masked Harlequin

salaams sardonically and black-clad Pascariel walks off protesting to the left. At the rear of Harlequin, a pot-bellied Polichinelle is strutting away, his back to Leandre in conversation with another man, perhaps Romagnesi, the Doctor.

In 1716, a year after the death of the Sun King, the Regent Philippe, Duke of Orléans, recalled the much-loved *Commedia dell'Arte* to Paris. A new company under the guidance of the actor Louis Ricoboni – later to write a history of the *Commedia* in France – was encouraged to move back into the former bastion of classic French drama: the theatre of the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*. Here they gradually abandoned their Neapolitan or Bergamask, their Venetian or Bolognese accents and adopted the language of their host country. *The Théâtre Italien*, a French institution, was born. It became known as such throughout Europe, and differed from the original *Commedia dell'Arte* in that it lost a degree of its native Italian improvisation. Regular plots with simple indications were devised, yet the eventual performances were still interspersed with impromptu situations and extensive deviations from the texts.

We must return to an earlier age for another vignette of the *Commedia dell'Arte*. In 1568, even before Italian comedians journeyed to France, Hans Fugger of the renowned Augsburg family of bankers and merchants, had arranged for a company of four players, the troupe of Maestro Jacopo da Venetia, to travel to Castle Trausnitz, overlooking the town of Landshut, original seat of the Dukes of Bavaria. The reigning duke had assigned the castle to his twenty-years-old son Wilhelm on the latter's marriage in Munich to Renata de Lorraine. More actors were brought to Landshut in time, and soon Castle Trausnitz had its own resident company of Italian comedians. Between 1577 and 1578, only a year before he succeeded to the Dukedom and was obliged to move permanently to the Munich residence, Wilhelm commissioned magnificent *trompe-l'œil* frescoes to be painted on the walls and ceilings of a newly-constructed staircase and a council-chamber (destroyed by a fire in 1961) of the castle, depicting in perfect illusion characters of the *Commedia dell'Arte* in action. These frescoed walls represented the most extensive pictorial record of the Italian Comedy as it was known in central Europe in the third quarter of the 16th century²².

Throughout the latter part of the 16th century, and in the 17th

and most of the 18th centuries, troupes of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, but latterly more often players of the *Théâtre Italien*, roamed across the Continent, to Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, to Scandinavia, and via Flanders to England, from France to Spain and to Germany.

Finally, around the 1780's, the fires slowly died. In Italy, the realistic Venetian dramatist Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793), author of more than two hundred and fifty plays, forcibly hauled the Comedy into the legitimate theatre, his ritualized and inflexible plot constructions replacing improvisation. The players were enjoined to adhere closely to Goldoni's written texts. For him the impromptu character of the *Commedia dell'Arte* was nothing but undisciplined buffoonery – even though he adopted many of the characters and incorporated basic *Commedia* situations into some of his plays.

A lonely voice of protest was raised by Count Carlo Gozzi (1720–1806), another Venetian, who wrote a satirical poem against Goldoni in which he defended the virtues and traditions of the *Commedia dell'Arte* and the highly coloured and bold originality of its jesters. But it was a lonely voice indeed, and little was left by the 19th century but the Punch-and-Judy shows for the children²³.

Bustelli's Creations

The journeys of itinerant *Commedia dell'Arte* troupes from Italy to Bavaria was one of the earliest in Europe, although France became the Italian comedians' second home inasmuch as in that country they achieved the status of accredited companies at Court quite early and were allotted prestigious theatres as their permanent bases. The Bavarian rococo, in which Franz Anton Bustelli played an indisputably important part, was distinguished by its particular vivacity and pronounced assymetry of forms, as can also be seen in the carvings and sculptures of Straub and Günther.

Bustelli's art shows extraordinary bravura. The bodies of his figures twist and turn in rapid movements and show a variety of feelings in their gestures and facial expressions. To this must be added an amazing interplay of rococo scrolls on bases and supports with the flowing, well-defined drapes of the clothes, presenting a fine grace not found elsewhere in eighteenth century porcelain modelling. Under these sharply defined drapes we find real human bodies, and it becomes evident that the artist had a thorough grounding in sculptured anatomy. At his death, his meagre belongings included a number of anatomical *academy studies*, an in-

dication that at some time in his young days he must have undergone first-class tuition in anatomical sculpture¹; but where and by whom will remain unknown.

Bustelli modelled emotion, be it dignity or delight, ecstasy or sorrow. Here we see deceit or avarice, there elegance and humour. Lovesick dandies and frenzied blusterers pursue scheming belles; mirthful pranksters create situations of mistaken identity and of intrigue, with much gesticulation and accomplished mimicry. F. H. Hofmann has pointed out that Bustelli endeavoured to arrange his figures in pairs or groups with a direct relationship one to the other, thus entering into the spirit of the improvised antics of his actors in a world of light-hearted illusion. He must also have been aware that, in his century, porcelain figures were created as «theme» decorations for the dinner table, not as objects to be displayed in a cabinet or a vitrine. His figures are his own creatures, imagined and matured in his mind, and in his heart. It is this which makes his comedians unique works of art in porcelain, standing head and shoulder above all else produced in the second half of the eighteenth century. Like all other modellers in the first century of European porce-

lain, Bustelli disposed of engravings and drawings which factory administrators collected in order to provide subject matter for their artists. He himself left behind at his death in his personal effects a collection of 288 engravings, which were subsequently handed over to join the factory's collection. We do not know what these engravings were, but some of his figures and their costumes, representing traditional *Commedia dell'Arte* characters, indicate that he must have had access to such works as the *Théâtre Italien* by Evariste Gherardi, one of the best-known interpreters of Harlequin in the 17th–18th centuries, published in Paris from 1694; and to the engravings by Joullain *père* after Jacques Callot in the *Histoire du Théâtre Italien* by the equally famous actor and manager Louis Ricoboni, known as Lélio (cf. *Bibliography*). *Illustrated in figure 4* is a typical company of the *Théâtre Italien* as it might have appeared on the stage of a German theatre. It should be pointed out that this is not a troupe of original *Commedia dell'Arte* characters, as the title of the engraving seems to indicate, but rather actors who have adapted the Italian impromptu comedy to the French taste since their re-establishment in a permanent Paris home, the Hôtel de Bourgogne. From there, these «Italian» troupes spread eastwards into Germany. Going from left to right, we do in fact discover a relic of the ancestral 17th century *Commedia*, the figure of Trivelino, an early forerunner of Mezzetin. We then discern Scapin, Pierrot, Harlequin and Isabella, who seems to have stepped straight out of a Watteau painting²⁴. In the shadows behind is a vague figure, which may or may not be a Capitano, followed by a guitar-strumming Mezzetin, then Harlequina, Scaramouch and the Dottore. In front of them the unlikely couple: *old Pantalone flirting with the youthful Columbine*, a group which was modelled in porcelain both at the Vienna factory and by J. J. Kaendler at Meissen. This engraving by Christoph Weigel was pieced together from several series of earlier engravings and etchings, some of them of unknown provenance. It shows the ten core-characters of a company of Franco-Italian players. To this core could be added the eleventh name of Octavio, one of the lovers in a standard comedy, known to have existed since the latter part of the seventeenth century. Of the eighteen actors and actresses to be discussed here, and shown in the Nymphenburg sales lists, seven bore names not generally current in the early literature on the *Commedia dell'Arte*, although used fairly often in the derivative theatre of French provenance. Recent research has shown that actors with these stage names existed in some of the troupes coming out of France and were depicted by eighteenth century French and German engravers. The seven players in question are Anselmo, Corine, Leda, Lalagé, Julia, Lucinde and Donna Martina. It was thought that Bustelli might have come across these names when watching a visiting French company performing in Munich and that

he had adopted their «labels» for his figures. That this assumption is unlikely to be the right one became evident in 1959, when a Munich art dealer, Alois Schmid¹⁴, acquired four engravings originating in the Augsburg workshop of Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756), two of which bore Bustelli's handwriting and signature in pencil. The modeller's text on one sheet includes the date of 3rd October 1756, and the signature is almost identical to the one shown in figure 2. These sheets must have been amongst the possessions left by Bustelli at his death. The use of German script, with a few lapses into Latin lettering, and of a Bavarian dialect word for «repairers' modelling tools» (*posier beinelln*), reinforces the belief of some researchers that Franz Anton Bustelli might well have been born into a Ticino family long settled in Bavaria or elsewhere in southern Germany.

Two of the engravings depict a central scene – three string musicians around a table (fig. 5), and a dinner party of four people (fig. 6) – which is framed by rococo scrolling, and this in turn is surrounded by a group of standing actors of the Italian Comedy.

The engravings provide the key to the names given to the Nymphenburg figures, presumably by Bustelli, in the factory's price list of 1767. In the first (fig. 5), ten of the eleven actors illustrated bear the names of Bustelli comedians; two of them are the missing Corine and Julia. In the second group (fig. 6), a further five characters can be identified. They are, apart from Columbine, the elusive names of Anselmo, Lalagé, Lucinde and Donna Martina. Of the seven missing names, only Leda is not shown. It should also be noted that two of the regular Comedy actors, Isabella and Pierrot, are not represented on these two assemblages.

A study has shown that these two Engelbrecht engravings are really assemblages compiled from several earlier series of individual engravings²⁵, but it is not known if Bustelli owned any of those. It is therefore impossible to determine whether he adopted the names for his figures from these two Engelbrecht sheets or from the single-figure engravings, some of which will be illustrated below. He took the names of the players from these prints, not the postures nor their attitudes shown in the illustrations. Where it applied, however, he clad his characters in the original costumes which had come down from the time-honoured *Commedia dell'Arte* or the follow-up *Théâtre Italien* – thus Pantalone and Scaramouche, the Dottore, the Harlequina, and of course Pierrot – but even then, he allowed his artistic creativeness to run counter to established tradition and dressed up Mezzetin in the patchwork habit of a Harlequin, as opposed to the customary jacket, cloak and knee-breeches of vertically-striped linen, and the floppy cap that goes with them. For the other figures, postures and movements might have been inspired in the first place by an engraved model, some of them to be shown further on, but the artist gave each one of



4. TROUPE OF ITALIAN COMEDIANS. Engraving by Christoph Weigel, Nuremberg, c. 1723. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome.

his creations his own inimitable twist, steeped in the observances and conceptions of Bavarian rococo art. As for the materials of his costumes, he insisted that the painters of the figures simulated, under his personal supervision, the finest silks, brocades and damasks of the period. Going back to the first biographer of Bustelli in the 1920's, it is worth to quote here Hofmann's appreciation of his figures²⁶: «Bustelli achieved the artistic acme of his sculptural output with the comedy figures. Characters from the Italian Comedy, which

basically revolves around the amorous adventures of beautiful Isabella, daughter of old Pantalone, and her admirers Cynthio or Rodomondo, and the Capitano, provide themes which were plainly cut out for the language of lively gestures, the graceful twists and the swift movements of Bustelli's style.» There is no doubt that a Bustelli comedy figure can be seen from any angle with always renewed pleasure, for on each turn a different, bewitching aspect of movement and grace regales the beholder.



5. GROUP OF ELEVEN NAMED ACTORS of the Théâtre Italien, with moralizing verses in Latin and German. Engraving published by Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756), Augsburg, 194×297 mm. Mid-18th century. Sign.: Cum Pr. Sac. Caes. Maj./Mart. Engelbrecht excud. A. V. Deutsches Theatermuseum, Munich.

Three mid-18th century production lists of Nymphenburg porcelain are recorded²⁷, of which the first, a stock-list at Neudeck Castle of 8 August 1755, is too early to be of interest here. The second is the Inventory of Moulds dated 1760⁵, which lists 1 *Harlaquin* and 1 *Harlaquinin*, as well as 16 *Stukh Pantomin Figuren* (16 pieces pantomime figures). In 1760 Bustelli had completed the modelling of the larger Harlequin and Harlequina, as well as the complete standard-sized set of the sixteen comedy actors, but this list contained no additional information on them.

For a more detailed inventory we must go to the Price List of 1767⁶, printed well after Bustelli's death. Under the heading of *Figuren* it itemizes alphabetically all figures then available at the factory, amongst them, under the appropriate letter of the alphabet, seventeen comedians, many of them with the qualification of *Pantomin* after their name. Curiously, the figure of Pantalone is missing, although it must have been one of the characters included in the 16 *Stukh* of the 1760 List. Heights are now given, in *Pariserzoll* (French inch = *Pouce*). The *pouce* was eventually stabilized at 27.07 mm, but

in the eighteenth century it could vary between 25 mm and 34 mm. Since the height of twelve comedy figures is given as 6 *Zoll*, one must tentatively assume that the Nymphenburg measure was situated around 33 mm. The compiler was evidently not informed very correctly: the bent figure of Anselmo is listed as being 7 *Zoll* high, whereas Columbine and Corine are 4 *Zoll*; no example of any comedy figure of a reduced size is known. It is quite possible that these mistakes crept in at the printing shop, the printer having no way of knowing what exactly was produced at the factory. The prices of the 1767 List also show some irregularities: fourteen figures are priced at 9 guilders *decorated* and 5 guilders *white*, whereas the too-high Anselmo and the too-small figures of Columbine and Corine cost 5 guilders *decorated* and 3 guilders *white*. Those prices were for first-rate merchandise; middle quality sold at two-thirds that rate, rejects were sold for a third.

A short word is needed with regard to our nomenclature of the Nymphenburg comedy figures: the names here used have been taken from the Inventory of Moulds 1760 and the



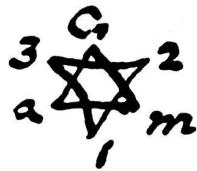
6. GROUP OF THIRTEEN ACTORS of the Théâtre Italien, with moralizing verses in Latin and German. Engraving published by Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756), Augsburg, 194×297 mm. Mid-18th century. Sign.: Cum Pr. Sac. Caes. Maj./Mart. Engelbrecht excud. A.V. Deutsches Theatermuseum, Munich.

printed Price List of 1767. In the first, *Harlaquin* and *Harlaquin* are named as such, separately from the 16 *Stukh Pantomin Figuren* listed below them. The reason for this is the fact that Bustelli modelled this pair in 1756–1757 and that they were, in no way, part of the series of sixteen modelled shortly afterwards, up to 1760. In the second list there are fifteen comedians – Pantalone is missing – in addition to *Arlequin Pantomin Figur* and *Arlequine*. We shall use the names of the fifteen characters as shown in the 1767 List in the belief that it was Franz Anton Bustelli who himself thus christened his creations, names on the whole still used in the literature on the subject. An exception has been made at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, kind providers of the colour illustrations of the magnificent figures of Harlequina, Mezzetin and Lalagé. In New York the first is named Columbine²⁸, whilst Mezzetin has become Harlequin and Lalagé is Columbine again²⁹. In order to avoid confusion, the alternative names will be acknowledged in the captions thus: MMA Columbine.

The mark impressed into the paste of Bustelli's figures was the Bavarian shield of arms, 6 mm high, of a field of lozenges – the *Rautenschild*. On painted figures the lozenges were alternately painted blue and left white, thus representing the colours of Bavaria. The heraldic achievement then was *paly, bendy, argent and azure*. Used at Neudeck Castle from 1754, the mark was not always applied under the base; it was often in full view as part of the decoration. When the model was coloured, the mark was framed with a narrow band of gold. The impressed letters F. B. (Franz Bustelli) are known



IMPRESSED MARKS
On painted figures often outlined in gold



UNDERGLAZE BLUE
HEXAGRAM MARK³¹.

only on a few figures. Most figures have a number from 0 to 3, or a dot, impressed or scratched underneath the base³⁰. Between 1763 and 1767, the factory also used a cryptic mark, applied in blue under the glaze, which represented an alchemical sign for the Four Elements. This was a hexagram with letters and figures at the six points and probably a fancy of the worker J. C. Kilber, who had discovered the process of painting in underglaze blue. An Italian Comedy figure with this mark beneath the base is unlikely to have been produced and painted in Bustelli's lifetime, since he died early in 1763.

In his Catalogue of the European Porcelains at the Bavarian National Museum in Munich published in 1908³² F. H. Hofmann, then the curator of porcelain, first listed ten figures which we now know to be Bustelli's Italian Comedians. At that time, they were enumerated under the heading *Modelled by Franz Bastelli 1754 to 1765*. Hofmann had not yet recognized a Reading Girl (Corine) as a comedian, and only tentatively ascribed a Rococo Lady (Lalagé) to the Comedy. A Gentleman of the Italian Comedy (Octavio) turned out to be a putative *Captain Italien*, whilst Julia is called a Dancer of the Italian Comedy. Isabella is described as Columbine, and a figure (Anselmo), again only doubtfully attributed, is said to be based on *Ricoboni's* Narcisin de Malalbergo. Fifteen years later, Hofmann knew Franz Anton Bustelli's right name, and by the time his history of the Nymphenburg factory appeared in 1923, he had found the List of 1760 and the 1767 Price List in the archives, and had completed the extraordinary tour de force of correctly identifying all

sixteen figures against the names in the 1767 List³³, although he was not convinced himself of the flawlessness of his intuition.

To this day, we adhere to his nomenclature as well as to his pairing of the eight couples, which he arranged with four women actors standing to the right of the beholder, four to the left, thus composing a formation for dancers in a minuet or another such contemporary eightsome. In a display of interweaving bodies, each figure is rotating on its own axis, yet clearly attuned harmoniously to the movements of its partner by bearing, by body-language and, not least, by the flows and twists of its finery and accoutrements.

Hofmann believed in 1923 that with time his arrangements of the pairs would undergo some changes, especially if each name in the 1767 List could be ascribed with some certainty to one or the other of the sixteen figures. No such change has taken place in over seventy years, and as we have since come into possession of an increasing fund of engraved source material about the *Commedia dell'Arte* and the *Théâtre Italien* – material to which Hofmann did not have access in his time – we can only admire the unfaltering intuition with which he named and paired Bustelli's creations. Even in the few cases where no iconographical models have yet been found, Hofmann's attribution of a name seems to be borne out by the gestures and expressions of the porcelain figure.

Franz Anton Bustelli did not slavishly copy postures and costumes from engravings, as was frequently done by lesser modellers at other porcelain factories, neither did he work entirely without two-dimensional models, as was once believed. It is true that his style is unmistakably his very own, which does not preclude the use of engravings and other iconographic material as primary inspiration. In the absence of a list of the 288 sheets which he left behind, we shall attempt to gather here some possible sources for his comedians from the extensive material now available, and compare them with the modeller's creations – emphasizing however that these attributions strictly represent only the writer's opinion.

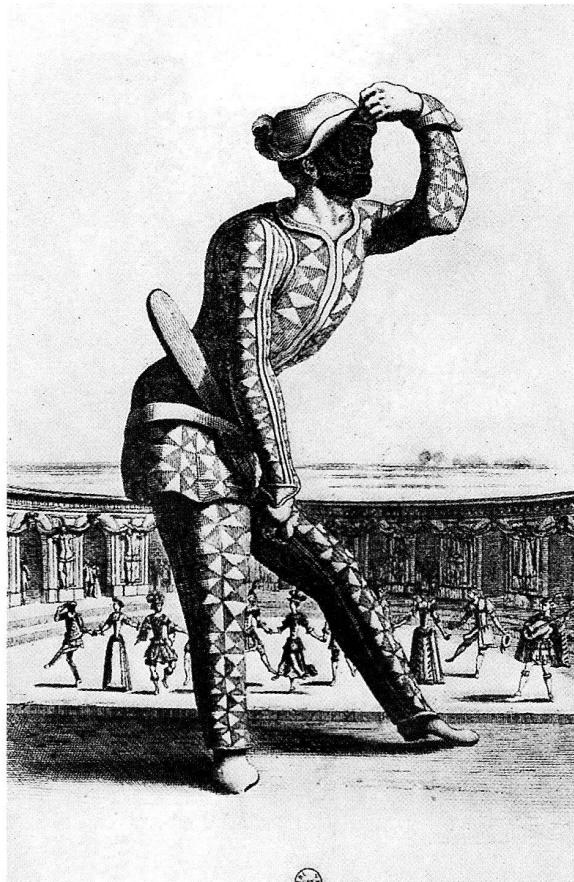
Harlequin & Harlequina

Bustelli's outstanding models of Harlequin and Harlequina are not in the series of sixteen Italian Comedy figures named in the 1760 and 1767 Lists. They were produced earlier and surviving examples of these two are much rarer still than those in the series. Whether these are the reasons why they have been largely ignored in recent literature on the subject

of the comedy figures is difficult to assess, yet they represent the artist's first foray into the rumbustious world of the strolling players, and for that reason become an integral part of this study. They were modelled in an unusual size for porcelain figures of that period, being more robust and 1 cm to 2 cm higher, than the subsequently modelled series.



7. HARLEQUIN. Height 20.4 cm. Impressed shield mark in concave scroll. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.



8. ARLECCHINO. French engraving by Jean Dolivar (1641–1692). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Bustelli created Harlequin and Harlequina in 1756–1757. A coloured pair, priced at 20 guilders, was delivered to the Electoral Court at Munich in 1757³⁴. They are no longer there. These superb models have solidly built rococo scrolled bases with applied flowers and leaves, and scrolled treetrunk supports; the marks are impressed on the concave vertical sides of the cut-out scrolls (figs. 7 & 12). Rückert has likened their modelling and size to another pair of large figures: a Brandenburg soldier gloating over the misfortunes of his wench, whose skirt has been torn at the back by a dog, thus exposing a rounded bottom³⁵.

Harlequin and Harlequina turn one towards the other in a delicate ballet movement. Bustelli immortalized his Harlequin by giving him a tortuous stance that readily calls to mind the rococo scrolled designs of the eighteen century goldsmith and ornamentalist J. A. Meissonnier, and his Harlequina by her teasing response to his impudent gestures.

Harlequin

Harlequin originally came from the town of Bergamo in Lombardy, but soon lost his Bergamask characteristics in his Italian Comedy role. He is the best-known of all Italian Comedy actors. The role first took shape in early sixteenth century masquerades during Carnivals which, in turn, had their roots in Roman Mimes. The earliest of these comedians were called *Zanni*, and Harlequin was one such *Zanni*-figure which appeared within the acting troupes of the *Gelosi*³⁶.

Ricoboni distinguishes two Harlequins in his History: the *Arlequin Ancien* from about 1500, and the *Arlequin Moderne*, active from the 1560's. The first was probably a more aggressive, a more ribald, smutty and violent buffoon, than the second one. This «modern» Harlequin became the role model of all who followed, right into the eighteenth century. His mind was possibly less keen – often he even pretended

to be simple-minded and ignorant – but he was as insolent in his effrontery as his predecessors, scoffing and jeering without let-up, unmasking with frequently offensive sallies all manner of damaging faults in master and servant alike, but withal a faithful and active servitor, in many plots that of Sir Pantalone. Whilst fearful of his master's wrath, he was yet up to all sorts of tricks and impostures. His role demanded that he be agile and acrobatic, his movements rapid, even violent at times. He was a glutton, a philanderer, sometimes a coward. It was the gift of improvisation, the chameleonic capacity to take on all colours and characters which represented the difference between a good and a bad Harlequin. For the quick-witted, just one word or a situation on stage would supply the opportunity for instant prevarication, subterfuge and witty rascality. The dimmer person would lack the gift to make use of a poisonous tongue without running the risk of clumsiness.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Ricoboni considered the role of Harlequin as the symbol of the art and the spirit of the impromptu theatre. What the public demanded of him above all else were agility and acrobatic skills, the capacity to somersault wildly across the boards, to dance. He had to be up to funny monkey tricks and be a consummate mime, and also, always, to show obvious signs of being most insistently amorous of one or the other servant girl, and sometimes of their exalted mistresses too. Frequently depicting a work-shy ne'er-do-well, Harlequin fitted into every scene of the Comedy with his incisive repartee, his crafty cunning and impudence, or his loutish manner. Because he was an irrepressible and lovable rogue, his often coarse buffooneries were easily forgiven.

The costume of the *Arlequin Moderne*, which is the one with whom we are concerned here, consists of a short jacket with a pleated muslin collar and long trousers of a light yellow cloth base sewn with red and green triangular cloth patches, copper buttons and a yellow belt with a metal buckle. He wears white stockings and white leather shoes with red ribbons, a black head kerchief under a grey hat with a hare's tail, black chin scarf and a half-mask. His bat is not a short wooden sword, as it might appear, but a two-bladed slap-stick which he can clack into an opponent's face. Bustelli's *Harlequin*, of whom we can only illustrate an undecorated example (fig. 7), adheres on the whole to this description, although his short jerkin is a tighter fit than that shown by Ricoboni³⁷. The buttons and the buckled belt are there, so are the trousers ending just above the ankles. The shoes here are buckled and not beribboned, and the actor wears no mask – it would hide that unique impudent laugh and the twinkling eyes which Bustelli bestowed on his Harlequin, turning boldly towards his Harlequina. He strides away from a tree-trunk support, left leg forward, right hip out, the upper body turning to the left and his head twisted



9. French engraving of Evariste Gherardi (1666–1700) as ARLECHINO. Private Theatre Collection.

to the right in an axial rotation very distinctive of the artist's concept of his actors' movements. The right hand pushes his hat from the left temple, at the same time making the well-known, somewhat improper gesture of the *mano in fica*, the «intruding thumb». We can trace this and other hand signs to a reproduction of Andrea de Jorio's nineteenth century compilation of ancient Neapolitan hand and finger gestures transmitted from generation to generation³⁸. The left hand holds the slapstick to his side. The solid rococo base with a deep concave scroll, on which we find the impressed shield mark, has applied flowers and leaves. On the whole, the Bustelli Harlequin, and his Harlequina, are more solid, vigorous models in the baroque tradition than the sixteen Comedians which were to follow them shortly.

The Italian Comedy's most popular actor also became the one most frequently portrayed in paintings and engravings. Copper engravings appeared in France in the seventeenth century and often showed Harlequin's cavalier stance in facing his contender (fig. 8).

It is interesting to observe that in this image, which was evidently engraved before the expulsion of 1697, Dolivar places his Harlequin before a dancing troupe on the stage of



Giuseppe Ferd. Miller presentando la persona d' Arlequino.
Die Münter Politur kan Traurige lügen machen | *Selbst ein Harlekin muss meiner Ewigkeit lachen.*
Mein semper froher Geist bringt alles in den Jumor | *Wäig ich den Arlequin stell in der Masque vor.*
Elias Bäck a.H. delin: et sculp.

10. Giuseppe Ferd. Miller in the role of ARLEQUINO. German engraving signed Elias Bäck a.H. delin: et sculp. Early 18th century. The Institute for Theatre, Cinema and Television Research. University of Cologne (Niessen Collection).

a proper theatre, and not on the trestle-boards at a country fair. No one know's whether this, or any of the following engravings, were in Bustelli's archives, but we see here the first elements of inspiration: one foot forward, the other knee bent, the trunk scissoring forward from the hip, the slap-stick held in the belt and the opposite hand at the head. In all seventeenth and eighteenth century engravings, Harle-

quin is invariably masked, as the tradition of his role demanded. This fact went against Bustelli's artistic sensibility and he ignored it completely, for the facial expressions of his figures were important elements of his sculptural talent. Another illustration of a Harlequin with a hand to his head represents the actor and historian of the *Théâtre Italien*, Evariste Gherardi, who himself was one of the famous pre-

senters of the role towards the end of the seventeenth century (fig. 9).

Again, the masked actor with his patched costume assumes the familiar silhouette – the process of one engraver adopting certain features from an earlier one has begun, and will continue throughout the eighteenth century.

A slightly later German etching which comes very close to the Nymphenburg figures, without Bustelli's joyous twistings of the body, however, and which one feels must have been available to the artist, depicts another famous Harlequin, Giuseppe Ferdinand Miller in the titular role (fig. 10). Whereas the French engravings still spelled the name in the Italian manner – Arlecchino – the German engraver had adopted the French spelling – Arlequino. Here we have very similar dancing steps and the trunk bent forward, with the right arm raised to the hat, but without the contortion to the left temple of the porcelain model. Elias Bäck's engraving was later copied and incorporated into a number of composite images of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, like Weigel's troupe (fig. 4), in which this Harlequin is the fourth actor from the left.

The great French painters of the eighteenth century, having broken with the academic restraints of an earlier age, were one and all charmed by the antics and emotional involvo-

ments of the improvised theatre. Lancret and Pater, later Boucher and Fragonard, all pictured scenes from the *Théâtre Italien*, but the most intensely sentimental paintings came from the brush of Watteau (fig. 11), who was an assistant and a friend of Claude Gillot at the Opéra in Paris. This painting is an expression of the nascent spirit of the *rocaille* style in France, a spirit which found its most sparkling revelation in the Bavarian rococo of Franz Anton Bustelli. Yet their Harlequins have little in common but this spirit of joy, even though Watteau has respected the earlier tradition of the hand to the head.

It is clear that Franz Anton Bustelli used two-dimensional and traditional iconographical models as a primary inspiration for his Harlequin figure, and many others, but his genius as a sculptor created an entirely new image of this well-beloved comedy character.

Harlequina

We are more familiar with the role of Columbine in accounts of Italian Comedy plots – the pert servant-girl more or less in love with most of the male members of the cast. Similarly, Harlequina's role is that of a maid, quite often



11. ARLEQUIN, PIERROT ET SCAPIN. Engraving by Louis Surugue, after a painting by Antoine Watteau, 1719. Private Theatre Collection.



12. MADEMOISELLE HARLEQUINE. Anonymous French engraving from a series of fourteen, c. 1720. Deutsches Theatermuseum, Munich.

with a more intimate relationship to Harlequin than that of his other inamoratas. The role was not known in the original *Commedia dell'Arte* and first appears in France, in the *Théâtre Italien*, at the end of the seventeenth century as a variation of Columbine. Harlequina has been described as fickle, a cheeky sparrow with easy backchat, and full of quips and cranks, who twists people round her little finger. One critic said that «she flutters like a blue-tit, but does not coo like a dove»!

Bustelli's figure of *Harlequina* follows in its essentials the rare engravings depicting the role, but again, true to the importance which the artist attached to facial expression,

she wears no mask. Traditionally, the costume is modelled on that of Harlequin, but with patches of different colours to his. In the beautiful model here shown (fig. 13), these patches are alternately iron-red, black, purple and white. The tight-fitting hiplength jacket with a gold hem and gilt buttons is topped by a wide lace collar under a gold-bordered ruff with a red bow, the sleeves have white muslin cuffs. She wears a long voluminous gold-hemmed skirt, white hose and gold-buckled, red-edged yellow shoes. A short slapstick is held in her turned-in left hand, whilst the right holds a green, round hat with a yellow feather. Once again, Bustelli adds his touch of humour, for only the three



13. HARLEQUINA. Height 21.9 cm. Impressed blue and white shield mark outlined in gold on concave scroll. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1950) MMA COLUMBINE.

middle fingers hold on to the hat, index and little finger are raised. Harlequina provides the answer to Harlequin's rude gesture by giving him the cuckold's sign of the *mano cornuta*, the «horned hand»³⁹. The figure stands, with tree trunk support, on a strong, gilt-bordered rococo base with applied flowers and leaves; the blue-and-white, gold-outlined shield mark is impressed into the paste of the concave scroll.

One of the earliest engravings of Harlequina, of unknown provenance (fig. 12), shows *Mademoiselle Harlequine* with her saucy little hat in a similar attitude as our figure, naturally without Bustelli's inimitable movements and expressions – but the posture is there. The same stiff pose, but now

with the left hand raised, can be discerned on the third person from the right in the *Troupe of Italian Comedians* (fig. 4). As we have mentioned, the latter engraving was most likely a composite put together by Weigel from earlier engravings, such as figure 12.

However, there seems to be little doubt that Bustelli knew the Schmidt engraving after Lancret's painting of *Le Théâtre Italien* (fig. 14) in which Harlequina traipses about gaily between the Dottore and Pierrot. Bustelli's porcelain figure is very similar to this picture. It seems that Harlequina is the only one of his comedy figures which was modelled closely after a recognizable engraved source.



14. Detail from *LE THÉÂTRE ITALIEN*. Engraving by Georg Friedrich Schmidt after a painting by Nicolas Lancret, now in the Louvre. First third of the 18th century. Pilet & Saisset, *Les Fêtes en Europe au XVIII^e siècle*.

The sixteen comedians



15. *LA DONNA IULIA*. German engraving signed C.P.Maj.-I. Wachsmuth inv. et delin. – Martin Engelbrecht exc.A.V., Augsburg. Mid-18th century. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo. Rome.

The sixteen Italian Comedy figures – without question Bustelli's finest achievements – were probably modelled in rapid succession between 1759 and 1760. They first appeared in the Inventory of Moulds⁵ in that year. Slightly smaller, and more ethereally conceived in the true Bavarian rococo vein than the two earlier comedians, they stand on lighter, pancake-like flat bases with cut-out rococo scrolling, and with spiral *rocailles* sweeping up from the base at the rear to support the body. As we mentioned earlier, Bustelli has arranged his troupe in eight pairs, each pair with a male confronting a female comedian.

Julia and Pantalone

The artist establishes instantly that Julia and Pantalone are a mismatched pair. Isabella's pretty waiting woman smilingly draws back from the lurking wanton and, looking him straight into the eyes, mockingly rejects his lewd advances, expressed by his lustful glances and a pretentious yet condescending obeisance.

The role of *Donna Julia* is not always strictly defined and varies in different surviving comedy sketches. There are practically no known engraved images of her. Most often,



16. JULIA. Height 20.3 cm. Impressed blue and white shield mark outlined in gold on the right-hand plane of the base, impressed 1. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.



17. PANTALONE. Height 18 cm. Impressed shield mark on scroll support behind the left leg; incised D and three puce dots under the base. By courtesy of Christie's, London.



18. PANTALON. French mirror-image engraving by Joullain père after Jacques Callot for Ricoboni's *Histoire du Théâtre Italien*, second version. First third-18th century. Private Theatre Collection.

she plays Isabella's maid-servant, but Bustelli has made of her more of the lady's companion (fig. 16).

The wasp-waisted girl has turned to her left to glare at the old fellow stalking her, her right hand raised and making the time-honoured sign of *dimitto*, I dismiss⁴⁰. Her left is holding the edge of her close-fitting, gilt-buttoned jacket, flaring out from her thin waist. She is about to accompany her mistress to the hunt and has tied her long fair hair with a black ribbon at the back; another one around her neck is looped into a large bow at the throat. The elegant, green

velvet hunting habit, with large pockets on the jacket, is trimmed throughout with gold piping and bordered with gold braid at the hem of the wide skirt, the flowing folds of which are so beautifully modelled by Bustelli that Julia's left leg, from thigh to ankle, is clearly discernable through the soft cloth. She is still wearing her pale green leather slippers. The rococo base is heightened with gold, the shield mark is impressed onto the flat part near her right foot.

The representation of Donna Iulia at the lower left of figure 5 bears no similarity to Bustelli's porcelain masterpiece. It is



19. PANTALON. German engraving published by Johann Jacob Wolrab (1675–1746). Nuremberg c. 1720. The Institute for Theatre, Cinema and Television Research, University of Cologne (Niessen Collection).

a mirror-image taken from a slightly earlier engraving by I. Wachsmuth (fig. 15). If Bustelli knew this engraving, it certainly did not inspire him for, apart from a certain likeness in the costume, his gracefully animated figure is far from this stiffly set illustration.

Pantalone is a quintessential character of the *Commedia dell'Arte*. This lecherous, miserly satyr has his ancestry in the Greek and Roman theatres and, under various names, amongst them *Gerontio*, was also known in the Italian

commedia sostenuta. In the course of the development in mid-sixteenth century Italy of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, Pantalone's role was moulded into that of a wealthy, more or less niggardly merchant, who carried his gold on his person at all times, but who was also the over-protective father of the beautiful Isabella whom he wished to marry off well – particularly if he could gain his own advantages from such a marriage. During the following two hundred years, Pantalone's flawed character became ever more apparent. At most



SIGNOR PANTALON VENETIANO
Nobilis in scena deridulus
Loven. Sat. VIII. 3^o
In dignis enim generosupi dixerit hunc qui
Insignis

20. SIGNOR PANTALON VENETIANO. Anonymous French engraving from a series of fourteen, each with a Latin quotation, c. 1720. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome.

times, he played a chicken-chested, dissolute Merchant of Venice, cunning, distrustful, a worn-out old skinflint who would moralize in his cups or pretend to be a great seducer. He lurked in dark corners like a bird of prey, coughing, spitting and wiping his nose. Everyone, especially the young women of the cast, took him for a fool, poked fun at him and jeered, whilst Harlequin and his boon companions tricked and duped him right and left. Just occasionally, a comedy plot would give Pantalone the role of a timorous, faint-hearted and distrustful old man.

Circling Julia like a love-lorn billy-goat, left foot forward, the body leaning outward from the waist, his head turned to the right and his hands clasped behind his back under the cloak, Pantalone wears the clothes which have always been customary to his role (fig. 17). A black beak-shaped woollen cap on his wispy grey hair complements the pale face with a hooked nose, above a straggly, pointed beard. The iron-red

cloth doublet with reddish-brown buttons, and iron-red knee-breeches, are edged with gold trimming. A dagger hangs from a leather belt at his left side. His flowing black cloak with a gold-embroidered pink collar has a lining with a gold zigzag pattern. Paler red hose, embroidered above the ankles, and pointed yellow leather slippers complete the costume. The flat, gilt-enhanced base bears the impressed shield mark on the rising support scroll behind the figure's left leg.

The elderly Pantalone in Weigel's composite engraving of 1723 as shown in figure 4, there courting a flirtatious Columbine, has perhaps a few basic similarities with Bustelli's porcelain model, but the real source of all subsequent engravings depicting Pantalone, and hence of the majority of engraved models available to eighteenth century porcelain artists, goes back to the outstanding seventeenth century artist-engraver, Jacques Callot (1592/3–1635) who, during a sojourn in Florence in 1618, engraved *Les Trois Pantalons*, a set of three large figures of the Commedia dell'Arte representing Pantalone⁴¹, the Captain and Scapino. It is the first



LE SIEUR PANTALON.

* delin.

Martin Engelbrecht exc. A. V.

21. LE SIEUR PANTALON. German engraving signed C.P. Maj.-I. Wachsmuth inv. et delin. – Martin Engelbrecht exc. A. V., Augsburg, mid-18th century. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo, Roma.

who interests us here, for he is the prototype of almost all later engravings. Even Ricoboni used Callot's Pantalone for an illustration in his *Histoire du Théâtre Italien*⁴², for which Joullain père engraved a mirror-image, duly acknowledging his source – *Calot inv./ Joullain sculp.* A later version is illustrated here (fig. 18). Noticeably different from the Nymphenburg porcelain figure, it shows Pantalone wearing full length hose from waist to ankles, and a round, not a peaked cap. Furthermore, his right hand is on his heart. Bustelli would also have had knowledge of two other images of Pantalone, published a century after Callot's. In the first (fig. 19), Pantalone walks in a baroque garden landscape and wears the knee-breeches – pantaloons – from which the role name was derived. His left arm is tucked into the cloak, but the right hand flips up the long, ostentatiously false beard which he has hooked over his ears. This engraving is one of a set of fourteen by an unknown engraver. The set was published by Johann Jacob Wolrab of Nuremberg around 1720, the etcher having copied, in most cases, the work of French engravers at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. The art-historical importance of these fourteen prints in the development of Italian Comedy iconography and their significance as source material for eighteenth century porcelain modellers at the Höchst, Fürstenberg and Würzburg factories has been discussed in detail by Hansen and Clarke, both of whom illustrated this engravings⁴³.

The other engraving of 1720 (fig. 20) also comes from a series of fourteen, which includes figure 12. Here we find both of Pantalone's hands well hidden under the voluminous cloak. The shading suggests the red doublet, red pantaloons, and a black cloak. A wiry, pointed tuft of hair jutting out from under his cap presages the later obligatory peaked cap.

Yet another possible source for Bustelli is a mid-century engraving of Pantalone in a wooded landscape with a waterfall (fig. 21) in which almost all the features of the porcelain figure are assembled. What is missing – and must always be missing from an engraved model – are the porcelain figure's shifty mien, the subservient obeisance, the crafty turns of head and body, the incomparable Bustelli touch. This last engraving, as also figure 15 is part of a rare set of possibly twelve sheets, each with two figures⁴⁴.

Isabella and Octavio

Bejewelled Isabella, loved daughter of Pantalone, who strictly forbids her to have any concourse with precious Octavio, nevertheless meets her lover behind her father's back. Whilst he ardently, if a trifle mincingly, blows her a kiss, she draws away from him coyly but, at the same time, invites his advances with a gesture and a pleading look in her eyes. She has attracted his attention to her very kissable lips by applying a beauty spot right next to them. Of all ceramic artists in the eighteenth century, only Bustelli had the genius to create such delicate and telling expressions on the faces of even unpainted porcelain figures.

At first playing the *Amoureuse* in Flaminio Scala's Florentine troupe of *Gelosi*, a sixteen-year old girl from Padua by the name of Isabella was married in 1578 to the actor who played the Captain, Francesco Andreini. Isabella Andreini soon became the most celebrated actress of her time in Italy. The company spent some months in France in 1584, where she renewed her successes. Recalled to France by Henry IV in 1600, she remained until 1604⁴⁵. The name «Isabella» became generic to the role of the principal inamorata in the *Théâtre Italien*, a role which is central to many of the Comedy's actions. Protected by Pantalone, who would like to steer her into a marriage with the Captain, she abandons herself to a love play with beauteous Octavio. She has a calm beauty which often confuses her lovers and she mystifies them with her insistence to stand on ceremony and restraint; but she also shows that there is a brain behind that lovely face. Isabella frequently makes fun of the elderly characters who pursue her and, with her friends, she whispers behind her hands about their failings. In the end, she will yield to the billing and cooing of her lover.

Bustelli's figure of *Isabella* is a pretty young girl, well-groomed, with an air of having been indulged by a doting father at all times. The first signs of a slight double chin are visible, but a wide forehead confirms a self-willed character (fig. 22).

She leans back from her paramour, her head turned to the left in order to look at him. Both hands seem to be raised in a defensive movement; but perhaps they are not altogether pushing Octavio away. Astonishingly, Bustelli must have been quite familiar with the old Neapolitan finger language: Isabella's left hand signal is indeed *adagio*, softly⁴⁶; but her right-hand sign can only be interpreted as *chiedere bacio*, how about a kiss?⁴⁷

Her blond hair is swept back over the right ear and falls in long ringlets to her left shoulder. A necklace of pale blue pearls holds a purple silk bow at the front. Her white muslin shirt appears above the décolleté bodice and has very wide protruding cuffs at the wrists. The skirt of the purple *moiré* silk-taffeta dress, with a richly gilt embroidered bodice, falls



22. *ISABELLA*. Height 19.5 cm. Impressed blue and white shield mark outlined in gold in front of the right slipper, impressed O. By courtesy of Christie's, London (now in Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich).



23. OCTAVIO. Height 19.1 cm. Impressed shield mark and O.
By courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert
Museum, London.



24. *LA DONNA ISABELLA*. Anonymous coloured engraving, cut out and pasted on board. Height 16.2 cm. Perhaps Vittoria degli Amorevoli or Isabella Andreini. c. 1580–1600. From the Recueil Fossard.

in long folds from the hips. The hem is fringed with a gilt-dentil ribbon. She wears purple slippers, the tips of which peep out from under the skirt. The flat scroll and wave base is painted with traces of green and edged with gold. The impressed blue and white shield mark, outlined in gold, has been placed in front of her right foot.

Isabella is rarely found in early engraved material. Whether the central actress in figure 4 is Isabella, Fiorinetta, Aurelia or Flaminia is open to discussion. They all played similar

roles, although that of Isabella was probably the most prominent. Maurice Sand illustrates an Isabella of the year 1600, wearing a very similar costume to that of the Nymphenburg figure⁴⁸, but this picture was published a century after Busstelli's creation, and we do not know where Sand had found his model. An engraving of Isabella, one of the fourteen published by Johann Jacob Wolrab in c. 1720⁴⁹ bears no similarities to the porcelain figure. The nearest image Busstelli could have had to hand is the sixteenth century cut-out



Pater pinceau.
Guillot venoit aimement d'épouser sa Tiselle,
Monnaie des plus fréquentes, rousseante brunelette;
Sur son front paraissoit l'innocente pudeur,
Le sourcil niederent point sa brune naturelle;
Et des quins la pouvoit dans le fond de son Cœur
On sentoit de l'Amour la plus vive émelle.

LE BAISER DONNÉ

*à Paris chez Fillœul éditeur de la rue du Faubourg Saint-Jacques au boutement voisin
par la rue Galande.*

A.P.D.R.

*Un seigneur l'aperçoit et dit en plaisantant,
Ami que je la baise à la charge d'autant.
Octave répond Guillot je Consens à la chose.
Lors le Monseigneur appuie et redouble la dose.
Sur le devant de Tiselle, on vit au même instant
De quel ardent baiser naître plus d'une rose.*

Pierre Fillœul

25a. *LE BAISER DONNÉ*. Engraving by Pierre Fillœul, 1736, after a missing painting by Jean-Baptiste Pater. Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Abt. Deutsche Fototek – Photo A. Rous).

from a coloured engraving of Donna Isabella, one of ten, in the remarkable *Recueil Fossard* (fig. 24)⁵⁰. Here we have a comparable shrinking away of the body, with the hands raised against an impetuous Octavio. Even the flow of the folds in the skirt is faintly familiar. Two hundred years after the unknown engraver immortalized Isabella in the stiff pose prevalent in most prints of that period, Franz Anton Bustelli transformed a two-dimensional image into a fashionable, animated rococo statuette which one can imagine to be on a stage.

The first actor to play Octavio in Paris – on 2 November 1688, having arrived that day from Verona – was Jean-Baptiste Constantini, younger brother of Angelo Constantini, the Mezzetin of the *Théâtre Italien* at the Hôtel de Bourgogne⁵¹. The role was that of the principal lover, and it was

played under different names, depending on the actor who played it. The most famous of these names in the early eighteenth century was Lélio, created by Louis Ricoboni, the author of the *Histoire du Théâtre Italien*. During the eighteenth century, *Octavio* – so spelled in the Nymphenburg factory's Price List of 1767 (fig. 23) – was usually cast as the fervent candidate for Isabella's favours and the persistent rival of the blustering Capitano Spavento. Octavio was a very stylish young man, moderately effeminate in his demeanour, and of somewhat mischievous, if limited intelligence. If he was pining for his lady's love, the emphatic gestures he used to press his suit never quite permitted the pain to show on his brow. He assiduously avoided the company of Pantalone by whom he was despised profoundly.



Pierre Pater

Par bonheur pour Guillot, notre galant Seigneur
Bien peu de jours après pour l'humen fit empêche
D'une Dame Charmante et d'agréable humeur,
Riche, de noble race, enfin toute parfaite :
Et malgré les honneurs d'un état florissant,
Ce qui n'est pas Commun, il fut vaincuissant.

LE BAISER RENDU

à Paris chez De Lormosin, graveur du Roi sur des
Noyaux à l'experte estampe à gauche entouré par la
vie Slaquain. A.P.D.R.

Du baiser qu'il obtint le souvenir l'excite
À vouloir qu'auoit fait Madame l'en acquête.
De ce trait généreux le Manant enchanté
Et qui n'attendoit pas tant de fidélité,
S'écrie, Ah, que ma joie aurait été Complette,
Si Monsieur eût voulu coucher avec Lézette!

25b. *LE BAISER RENDU*. Engraving by Pierre Fillœul, 1736, after a missing painting by Jean-Baptiste Pater. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Photo Jörg P. Anders).

Coyly bending forward from the waist, left foot forward, he turns his head sharply to the right to face Isabella, twisting his body into the shape of an S. With his right hand he blows a kiss to her, Bulwer's *adoro, I love*⁵²; his left is rammed into the pocket of his breeches in order to secure his tricorn hat firmly under his arm.

Octavio's blond hair is held by a black velvet bow at the nape, a similar ribbon round his neck is tied in a bow at the front. Under a long, tail-coated jacket, he wears a tightly fitted doublet, flared from the waist, with gilt buttons down the front and two deep pockets on the flaps – a garment known in France since the seventeenth century as a *justaucorps* – made from heavily brocaded, gold-thread silk. A pleated white shirt cuff shows at the right wrist. The pink silk coat is trimmed at the sleeves and the curved edges with

broad gold lace, frogged on one side. Gilt-edged pink breeches, white stockings, and black shoes with gold buckles and red heels complete the picture of eighteenth century dandy elegance. The usual rococo base with a rising scroll of support at the back is enhanced with gilding.

In the first century of European porcelain manufacture, up to about 1820, it was *de rigueur* in all factories to decorate each copy of a figure, having left the kilns in good order, in a distinctive manner. Different colour combinations were used and different textile fabrics were painted on each example. When examining Bustelli's comedy figures, at least those decorated in his lifetime, one comes to the conclusion that the modeller had insisted on the faithful likeness of the most costly contemporary materials for his creations, the finest silks, velvets and velours, the richest damasks and



DONNA MARTINA.

C.P.Maj.

I. Wachsmuth

26. DONNA MARTINA. German engraving signed C.P.Maj.-I. Wachsmuth inv. et delin. – Mart. Engelbrecht exc.A.V., Augsburg. Mid-18th century. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome.

brocades, grosgrain's and taffetas, the sheerest muslins and lawns, the best cambrics and satins – in a word, the latest refinements of fashion. Thus, each figure became an unique work of art. The emphasis on sumptuousness, added to his superb modelling, is another reason why the corpus of Bustelli's figures and groups stands head and shoulders above all other baroque porcelain art.

Mons. Octavio appears at the extreme top right in Martin Engelbrecht's mid-eighteenth century engraving (fig. 5), with the bow at the throat, his *justaucorps*, flared coat, and the hat under his left arm. We know that Bustelli owned a copy of this print, so here we have the basic attire of his Octavio. The kiss-blowing episode could well have been inspired by the two engravings shown here.

Based on a verse by Jean de La Fontaine in *Contes et nouvelles en vers* which appeared in 1665, the painter Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695–1736) created two pictures LE BAISER DONNÉ (fig. 25a) and LE BAISER RENDU (fig. 25b). Both paintings are missing but, fortunately, the engravings of them, etched by Pierre Fillœul in 1736, have survived.

Donna Martina and the Dottore

Often playing the role of the Doctor's discontented wife, Donna Martina throws him a scornful look as she is about to turn away from his bombastic diatribes to go about her domestic duties. Bustelli's ingenuous modelling gift has invented two figures who relate to each other in their sinuous, dance-like convolutions, the convex curve of the one – his bulging paunch – corresponding to the concave one of the other – her hour-glass waist.

Donna Martina is the calm centre in the eye of the storm – the *Commedia dell'Arte* stage peopled with boisterous and often noisy contenders. In her role as the Dottore's wife, she is figuratively, as well as literally, buttoned up. Not greatly impressed by her inadequate husband, she treats him with icy contempt. In other roles, as confidante of Isabella, or as a housekeeper to one of the men, she is a quiet counsellor going about her business.

She stands, slightly leaning back on her left leg (fig. 27), head turned to the left, right foot forward, cradling a straw-clad



27. DONNA MARTINA. Height 19.7 cm. Impressed blue and white shield mark outlined in gold on front plane of the base, impressed O. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Photo Saturia Linke).



28. *DOTTORE*. Height 19.6 cm. Impressed blue and white shield mark outlined in gold at rear of scroll support, incised 2. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (formerly Sammlung Rothberger, Vienna).



29. *LE DOCTEUR*. Engraving by G.-D. de Geijn, 17th century.
Duchartre Collection⁵⁴.

flagon with a gold stopper in the crook of her left arm, the right hand raising the hem of her wide skirt in order to be on her way. She has a black ribbon in her blond hair and wears a pale rose-purple satin dress with an ample skirt, bordered at the hem by a wavy band of gold-thread embroidery fagoted into palmettes. A diaphanous black lace wrapper over her shoulders, garnished with black flowers and leaves, and with applied roses at the throat and chest, allows wide linen cuffs to be seen at the wrists. A red slipper peeps out from under the skirt. To its left is the gold-bordered impressed and painted factory mark. The scroll base is edged in gold. Since 1959 we are aware that Franz Anton Bustelli obtained a number of the names for his figures from the engravings in figures 5 and 6, including that of Donna Martina (fig. 6) who, there, carries a mask in her right hand. This mask was later handed over to Columbine. We also know that these

two engravings were assemblages by Martin Engelbrecht and that Donna Martina was taken by him from a Wachsmuth engraving (fig. 26) included in an earlier Augsburg series of twelve double pictures – amongst them figures 15 and 21. This series was also published by Martin Engelbrecht⁵⁴. In Bustelli's porcelain figure of Donna Martina – which owes nothing whatever to these engravings except the name – the mask has been replaced by a wine flask. This flask had been an attribute of La Corinne in figure 5 and in the earlier Wachsmuth engraving of the same subject. Bustelli made such attributes interchangeable between the comedy characters, and at the time, they probably were.

Doctor Baloardo avouched that he was a learned fellow of the venerable University of Bologna. He is usually referred to in the relevant literature by his *Commedia dell'Arte* name of the *Dottore* (fig. 28). In the Nymphenburg register of



30. MARC ANTONIO ROMAGNESI as LE DOCTEUR BALOURDE. Engraving by Nicolas Bonnart (1637-1718), signed *Chez N. Bonnart, rue St. Iacques à l'Aigle avec privil* – After 1694. With the verse (transl.): When the Doctor speaks, one wonders whether it is Latin or Low Breton, and often he who listens, interrupts him with a thrashing. Duchartre Collection⁵⁵.

1767 he is simply listed as «Doctor». The man's very name is derived from the Italian *balordo*: a numbskull, a lumpish yokel, an awkward blunderer. At the top of figure 5 the name is *Il Dottore Scatalon Bolognese*, this one descended from the verb *scaturire*: to gush or to spout; and indeed, his role is that of a sententious, hypocritical ignoramus who spouts his long-winded homilies in excruciating dog Latin or claptrap St. Giles Greek, which neither he himself nor anybody else can understand. Ricoboni distinguishes between the costume of the Old Doctor, which he attributes to the original Italian Commedia, and that of the Modern Doctor, which he adopts for his *Théâtre Italien* in France⁵³, but

there is very little difference between the two. The Dottore and his friend, old Pantalone, head the two families around which most Commedia dell'Arte plots are constructed. Whilst Pantalone sired Isabella, the Dottore is the father of Capitano Spavento. Similarly to his old friend, the cuckolded Dottore consistently irritates and amuses the younger women of the cast with his unsuccessful improper advances. Apart from Bologna, he claims affiliation to most of the world's known and unknown universities. His peers, as much as his servants, make rude fun of him behind his back and tease him cruelly and insolently to his face, but he turns not a hair and continues to prattle on in his barbaric, frac-

tured Latin or Greek. As for the Dottore's much vaunted medical skills, they may be judged by a little Commedia doggerel:

If you are ill – call him,
You will be sure not to survive.

Bustelli's Dottore struts about vaingloriously, yet his legs buckle weakly at the knees. His head is turned, questioning, to the right. The artist has modelled this swaggering actor to strike a pose which throws out his right hip and thus pushes the little pot-belly forward against his long waistcoat. His left hand is placed foppishly behind his back, whereas the right is raised with a pointed index finger tapping his forehead, at once pensive and mocking.

The costumes of both the old and the modern Dottore were made of plain black scholastic cloth, except for the collar. Both versions of the Dottore wore a curious short mask which covered only forehead and nose, and which is said to have been devised by one of the original sixteenth century actors who wished to disguise the blemish of a strawberry-mark on his brow. Henceforth, it was retained as an appurtenance of the Dottore's costume. Both doctors had their cheeks heavily daubed with rouge, to indicate their permanent state of agitation, and both wore trimmed pointed beards. These last two features were retained by Bustelli but, true to himself, he would not allow any of his figures – apart from Mezzetin – to wear masks; and with his Mezzetin he had a good reason. Instead, his Dottore wears a tight red headkerchief under the slouch hat, and the entire costume has been imaginatively brightened up and dandified, to conform to the tenets of the Bavarian rococo. The Dottore's academic black felt hat is huge, turned up at the front to lighten the face. Around his neck he has an accordion-pleated soft linen ruff, trimmed with yellow bobbles. He wears a black, three-quarter length broadcloth coat with short sleeves over a long-sleeved, knee-length waistcoat of fashionable silk, exquisitely striped in yellow and iron-red, with red turnups and white shirt cuffs at the wrists. The waistcoat is fastened down the front with gilt buttons. Black knee breeches, white embroidered stockings and yellow, red-trimmed shoe complete the picture. The base is edged with gold.

There are many illustrations of the Dottore, going back as far as the sixteenth century. An early seventeenth century woodcut already shows him holding his academic's hat with his right hand.

The Dottore at the top of the engraving in figure 5 appears to be in the middle of a great storm of words. The full dog Latin oratory is visible in a seventeenth century engraving (fig. 29), where the Dottore holds up an open book – with blank pages – and has raised his left hand in the air, giving a

two-finger sign to demand our attention. In this early image he still wears long, billowing trousers tied at the ankles with large bows. At the end of the century, before the 1697 expulsion from the Hôtel de Bourgogne, the costume, as described by Ricoboni thirty years later, had evolved to the contemporary scholastic attire, with either full black hose or black knee-breeches and stockings. The classic illustration of an actor wearing it is the engraving of Marc Antoine (or Antonio) Romagnese (fig. 30), who was one of the twelve comedians expulsed by the King, and who died in Paris nine years later. We see him here in his role as *Le Docteur Ballouarde*, wearing the curious short mask covering his nose. He holds his wide-brimmed hat with the right hand. There are other similarities here with Bustelli's porcelain figure: the pleated ruff, the buttons down the front of his waistcoat, the long coat-tails. Bustelli has made the Dottore a rakish dandy – which, in the Italian Comedy, he certainly was not.

Lucinda and Pierrot

Lucinda is in the midth of a lovers' quarrel with Pierrot, caused by a misunderstanding about the meeting place of their midnight tryst. She is pointing in one direction, he prefers another, ready to lead the way with his little lamp. Lucinda is a friend of Isabella, but her role in the plots is a minor one. Her name is not known in the Italian Commedia dell'Arte. It might have been derived from one of the early seventeenth century Italian inamoratas, such as Lucia or Lucretia, humorously etched by Jacques Callot in 1622 for his *Balli di Sfessania*⁵⁶. It could also have been developed from the role of Lucile, the name given to an *amoureuse* played by Gabriella Locatelli in the troupe of Giuseppe Bianchi, active in Paris in mid-seventeenth century⁵⁷. Be that as it may, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the *Théâtre Italien* actually had a Lucinde in the cast. There is one playing the guitar at the top left of the Engelbrecht engraving in figure 6, of which Bustelli owned a print, but we think that he was more likely to have drawn ideas from the image of Mademoiselle Lucinde, Fille de Geronte, at top centre in figure 5, in order to name his Lucinda. Sieur Geronte, looking like yet another somewhat geriatric learned clerk, is seen at the top right in figure 6. He does not play any role amongst Franz Anton Bustelli's models.

In spite of their disaccord, *Lucinda* (fig. 31) turns her head to the left and looks longingly at her lover. Her body is inclined and turned to the right, and her right hand points in that direction. With her left she clutches a red rose, a gift of love from Pierrot, to her bosom. A fat beauty spot adorns her right temple. With an aigrette of red feathers in her blond hair, and a necklace of yellow beads tied by a large royal-blue bow at the throat, she wears a décolleté brocaded



31. *LUCINDA*. Height 20.6 cm. Impressed blue and white shield mark outlined in gold on rise of the rococo scroll, impressed O. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (The Lesley and Emma Shaefer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Shaefer, 1973).



32. *MADEMOISELLE LUCINDE FILLE DE GERONTE.*
German engraving signed C.P.Maj. – I. Wachsmuth inv. et delin. –
M. Engelbrecht exc. A.V., Augsburg, mid-18th century. Raccolta
Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome.

bodice with gilt buttons over a white muslin shirt that has wide cuffs. These garments are covered by an off-the-shoulder, flare-skirted housecoat or negligee with a deep pleat at the back. The coat is made of silk brocade, heavily embroidered with a colourful baroque pattern and bordered with pink silk faille. There are red bows, to match the rose, at the breast and the crooks of the arms. Lucinda's long, pleated skirt of finely spun wool is woven with a herring-bone pattern of gold and white thread on a blue ground, crossed by red diagonal lines. The hem is edged with gold braid. She wears white stockings and gilt-buckled, royal-blue slippers. The blue painted shield mark, outlined in gold, is placed inside the rising scroll of the base.

Engelbrecht's picture of Lucinde in figure 5 was a mirror-image copy of the earlier Wachsmuth engraving (fig. 32). Bustelli seems to have taken over the pointing gesture of the right hand, the aigrette in the hair, the bows at bosom and at the arms, possibly also something of the expectant look in her eyes. But Lucinda no longer carries a folded fan in her left hand and now more expressively clutches her red rose; but above all, the porcelain figure does not wear the old-fashioned pannier skirt which hides all movement beneath



33. *PIERROT WITH HARLEQUIN.* Dutch engraving by G. J.
Xavery, published by Petrus Schenk, Amsterdam. 18th century.
From The Amazing Illness, Duchartre Collection⁶¹.



34. PIERROT. Height 20.5 cm. Impressed blue and white shield mark outlined in gold on the rising scroll behind, at the level of the knees, impressed O. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (Photo Saturia Linke).

its rigid framework. Instead, Bustelli has modelled a woman who paces along lightly and sinuously in her modish house-coat and long, loose skirt.

Pedrolino of the *Commedia dell'Arte* was renamed Pierrot in the *Théâtre Italien* of the eighteenth century. Generally, the role was that of a man-servant or valet of Pantalone. Ricoboni, whose illustration engraved by Joullain is entitled «The Habit of Pierrot», then explains in the text that his costume derives from the dress of Narcissino, a citizen of Bologna who is suited in the common habit worn in that town in the seventeenth century⁵⁸. He also explains that Narcissino expressed himself in the language of the people of Bologna, as opposed to the high-flown accents of the spluttering Bolognian Doctor. It is interesting that Ricoboni attributes to the newly-named Pierrot not only the character

of a simple-minded servant, but occasionally the role of a «father» who, although of higher rank, maintains his simplicity and ignorance⁵⁹. Gentle Pierrot plays a languid, wistful young man and has a tendency to look like the eternal underdog who cannot say boo to a goose. Yet, poor and lovable as he appears, Pierrot is far from being helpless and often shows a high degree of resourcefulness. Whilst many of the girls pursue and tantalize him, he is really besotted with Julia; but considering her of a higher station in life to himself, he cautiously casts his amorous eyes on pretty Lucinda instead.

Pierrot is gazing longingly at her, his head turned sharply over his right shoulder. It is a moment of indecision, for she wants to turn to the right, whereas he points to the left, using the ancient hand signal of *indico*, «I point out»⁶⁰. In



35. SCARAMOUCHE-DIOGÈNE at the Paris Fair. Anonymous French engraving: 18th century. Duchartre Collection⁶².

his right hand, also directed towards the left, he holds a black iron lantern with a conical top to light them on their way (fig. 34).

In the seventeenth century Pedrolino was dressed from head to foot in white – even his face was whitened – and this tradition was upheld for the role of Pierrot in the eighteenth. Indeed, most Nymphenburg figures of Pierrot are kept almost entirely white, occasionally with a trim of blue edging to the hat and the clothes. The figure shown here was decorated more colourfully by the factory's painters – perhaps a nod in the direction of softer pastel colours employed in rococo art and also a hint as to the wistfulness of Pierrot's role. The round hat over golden locks is creamy-yellow. At the neck he has a wide frilled collar, edged with gold. His tight jacket with gilt buttons down the front, a black leather belt with a gold buckle around the waist, is pale mauve, tending towards pink, as are the narrow trousers ending above the ankles. His pointed slippers repeat the yellow of the hat and have red bows, red heels and thin red edges. The mark, painted and outlined in gold, is placed on the scroll support at the back, at a level with his knees.

In one of the eighteen engravings which illustrate the extraordinary Italian Comedy farce of Harlequin's pregnancy, listed at the end of the Bibliography, we see Pierrot giving advice to the newly delivered father. The position of arms and legs is almost exactly repeated in Bustelli's porcelain model (fig. 33). The Amsterdam engraver and publisher, Petrus (or Pieter) Schenk, the Younger (1698–1775) was most active in the first half of the eighteenth century, so it is quite likely that Bustelli had a set of these nine double-plates in his collection.

An unusual coincidence concerns the existence, also in the former Duchartre Collection, of an anonymous eighteenth century engraving of Scaramouche in the role of Diogenes, carrying a raree-show magic lantern on his back and a Diogenes dark-lantern in his right hand (fig. 35). Even the head movement and the walking stance show similarities with Bustelli's evidently more graceful and emotionally tender creation.

Mezzetin and Lalagé

When in 1921 *Hofmann* wrote his impressive history of the Nymphenburg factory, he had extracted from the 1767 Price List the names of sixteen figures which he correctly identified as Italian Comedy characters, even if they were not so designated in the List. He was now faced with fitting these names to figures in his Museum's or other public and private collections known to him. Considering the scant information on the *Commedia dell'Arte* available at the time, he solved this intricate puzzle with extraordinary aplomb.

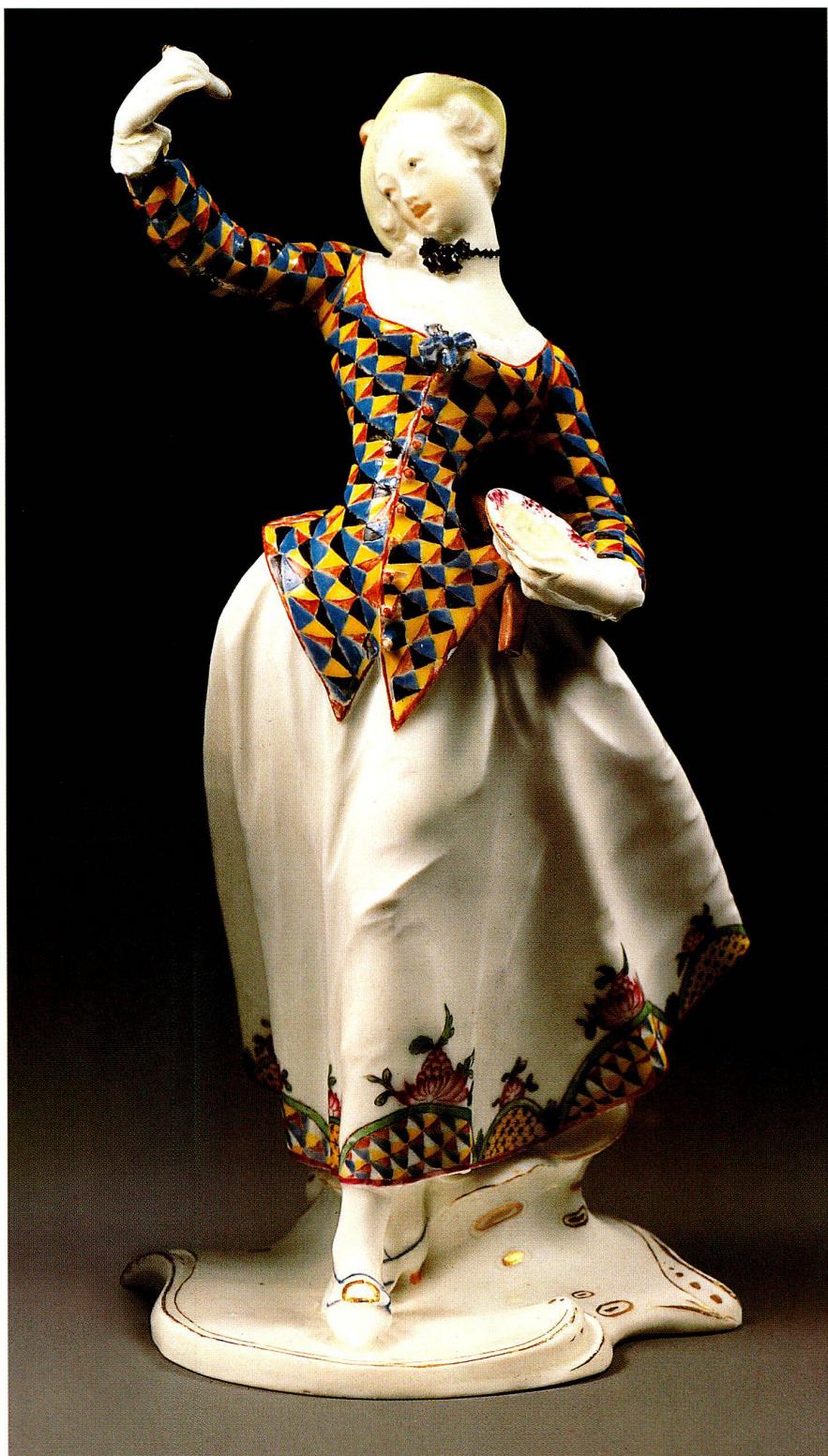


36. ARLEQUIN SOUPIRANT. Probably Evariste Gherardi as the Sighing Harlequin. Engraving by Joullain père after Claude Gillot; sign.: Gillot inv./Joullain Sculp., c. 1720. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome (photo Oscar Savio).

Amongst the difficult decisions to be made were two figures, of which he knew several decorated examples and to whom the names of Harlequin and Columbine fitted eminently, since they both wore the parti-coloured, triangular patchwork costumes associated with those roles. But Hofmann had already identified a dancing Columbine among the sixteen figures, and he could not overlook the fact that Franz Anton Bustelli had modelled in 1757 a large *Harlaquin*, listed with his *Harlaquin* in the 1760 Inventory of Moulds. The patchwork-clad figures would have to be named differently. With some hesitation, Hofmann selected *Mesetin* from the list of available names for the man, since he considered that this was the only figure in the set to which the time-honoured *Commedia dell'Arte* designation could be applied. So he named him Mezzetin, but with a reservation: «in the typical costume of Harlequin». Then there was the figure of the girl who seemed to belong to this Mezzetin with her equally patched costume, her dancing steps and



37. MEZZETIN. Height 20.3 cm. Unpainted impressed shield mark at rear of scroll support. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (The Lesley and Emma Shafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Shafer, 1973) MMA HARLEQUIN.



38. *LALAGÉ*. Height 20 cm. Impressed white shield mark with traces of gold outlines to the right of the right foot. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (The Lesley and Emma Shafer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Shafer, 1973) MMA COLUMBINE.



39. HARLEQUIN WITH MEZZETIN. Dutch engraving by G. J. Xavery, published by Petrus Schenk, Amsterdam, 18th century. From The Amazing Illness, Duchartre Collection⁶³.

body movements, which complemented his own. In addition there was the obvious fact that she was feeding gruel to the baby monkey in his arms. She was given the traditional Comedy name of Lalagé, possibly because the List had emphasized *Lalagé, Pantomin-Figur*. If these choices seem somewhat arbitrary, it must be remembered that Hofmann only had the list of sixteen names to attribute to the same number of figures and since, on the whole, his attributions seem to fit the figures reasonably well – with the exception perhaps of just the Mezzetin – his nomenclature has been retained to this day. The magnificent examples of Mezzetin and Lalagé illustrated here are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where a more recent interpretation has given them the names of Harlequin and Columbine, a fact respected in our captions.

Again Bustelli has modelled a superb pair of figures, interacting in their coordinated dancing steps. Mezzetin's upper body bends forward whilst his right hip is thrown back, thus forming a concave curve in space. This is paralleled by the convex lines of Lalagé's right hip, thrown forward and un-

derlined by the suggestion of a small pannier beneath her wide skirt. Whereas Mezzetin anxiously clasps the swaddled monkey to his breast, Lalage's posture and outspread arms express mockery mingled with loving care.

The role of Mezzetin originated in the earliest Commedia dell'Arte companies in Italy. Subsequently, Mezzetin became a staple character in the *Théâtre Italien*, and indeed in all the later troupes. Yet another of Octavio's servants, he is Harlequin's companion and fellow schemer of extravagant buffooneries but, whereas Harlequin is the scurrilous master of skulduggery, Mezzetin is more of a cunning sentimentalist, a shrewd and artful operator behind the scenes. The original costume for the role consisted of an outfit of red-striped white silk jacket, breeches, coat and cap, but this does not apply to Bustelli's figure which – to adhere to Hofmann's definition – was dressed in the costume of Harlequin. Perhaps, he should have said: «disguised as Harlequin». What is more, the Nymphenburg Mezzetin has taken over one of the most irreverent roles ever devised for the personage of Harlequin, a role which in fact eminently suits

the crafty and audacious character of a Mezzetin. In this connotation, Hofmann has instinctively conferred a fitting name to a figure which, at first sight, could only be taken for yet another Harlequin.

Mezzetin stands with the left foot placed on a tree stump behind him (fig. 37) and before a rising scroll support. His upper body is bent forward, with the right hip thrust out. He is dandling in his arms, and looking anxiously at the swaddled figure of a baby monkey. Mezzetin is the only one of Bustelli's sixteen comedy figures to wear a black leather half-mask, hiding the upper part of his face. The reason for this departure from his usual insistence on unmasked faces,

we suspect, may be found in the engraved model shown below (fig. 39). Mezzetin's harlequinade costume has him wearing a cream-coloured round, feathered hat with a red pattern of triangles around the inner rim, thus crowning him with a glowing sunburst. At the neck, he wears a pleated lace collar. His gilt-buttoned, hip-length and close-fitting jacket, and the long trousers, are made up of triangular yellow, white, brown and iron-red patches; a slapstick is slipped inside a brown leather belt, and the baby monkey is swathed in white clothes with blue crenelated piping. The same blue piping also edges Mezzetin's garments and his hat. On his feet there are red-trimmed yellow shoes with gold buckles.



40. MASQUE EN HABIT D'ARLEQUINE. Engraving published by Martin Engelbrecht (1684-1756), Augsburg. Sign.: C.Pr.S.C.Maj./M. Engelbrech Sc. et exc. a.v. Private Theatre Collection.

The flat scroll base is enhanced with gilding, and an undecorated shield mark is impressed halfway up the scroll support at the rear. There are no impressed or incised marks under the base.

We can perceive a mock-solemn tenderness for his small bundle behind Mezzetin's half-mask and in the hunch of his shoulders. This expression of solicitude is reflected in the pronounced body language of the Sighing Harlequin (fig. 36), originally engraved by the French artist Claude Gillot (1673–1722), the master of Watteau, who was deeply involved in the Paris theatre of his time. Since Bustelli dressed Mezzetin in the costume of Harlequin, it is not unlikely that he also used engravings of that character for inspiration, but the spirited torsion of the porcelain figure's body is the modellers own interpretation of Mezzetin's concerns.

As for the monkey, we can find a precedent by going back to the outrageous and hilarious Italian Comedy spoof of the pregnant Harlequin in *The Amazing Illness...* in which, in Scene V, a masked Harlequin suckles the only baby boy surviving from the triplets, of whom he had recently been delivered (fig. 39). Here the connection is too close to be ignored; with a nod towards the mid-eighteenth century fashion for *singerie*, Bustelli's whimsey has substituted a monkey for the baby, making the scene even more grotesque. He must have owned copies of this set of Petrus Schenk engravings (see also fig. 34) and, here too, we have a small hint of the link with a real Mezzetin giving his advice. We have discussed earlier how Hofmann named Lalagé as a match and partner to Mezzetin. The role of *Lalagé* (fig. 38) seems to have been created after the *Commedia dell'Arte* had crossed the Alps into France. Alter ego to Harlequina, she also acted the role of a servant-girl, but rather of the artless, ingenuous kind who likes to lurk in corners with her friends, to gossip behind their hands. In the present instance, Bustelli has made her the loving if loquacious helpmate of Mezzetin.

She is dancing around him, left foot forward, her head inclined to the right, smilingly waving a spoon in a raised right hand with which to stuff porridge from a purple decorated Nymphenburg dish in her left down the monkey's gullet; the animal's mouth is wide open expectantly. Lalagé's right hip is thrust out, the bulge exaggerated by the pannier beneath her skirt. Once more, Bustelli's modelling of flowing movement and refreshingly irregular but complementary lines has created a splendidly picturesque pair of figures.

Lalagé's little red-edged, pale yellow hat with a red feather sits perched on her wavy blond locks, her lips are parted engagingly, and she has a pleated black riband around the neck, tied with a bow at the throat. Over a white ruffled and décolleté shirt with white cuffs at the wrists, she wears a wasp-waisted bodice that mirrors Mezzetin's costume, the triangles of her patches being iron-red, yellow, blue and

black, with a blue bow at the cleavage. The ankle-length white linen skirt has an intricate hem embroidered with green-bordered semi-lunes of coloured patches alternating with yellow-ground diaper patterns, all surmounted by pink-purple chrysanthemum blooms with green leaves. Lalagé's stockings are white, her white shoes with gold buckles and red heels are trimmed with blue. The impressed shield mark to the right-hand side of the right foot has traces of gold outlines; the flat scroll base is decorated with gold.

The representation of Lalagé at the top of the engraving in figure 6 is copied from an earlier anonymous print (fig. 54). Neither bear any similarities to Bustelli's figure. Only a rare, early 18th century Engelbrecht engraving of *Harlequina* (fig. 40) seems to suggest itself as a possible model by the movements of the hands and the feet.

Capitano and Leda

Captain Spavento pretends to be a fearful warrior – after all, *spavento* is the Italian word for fright or scare. He is Octavio's rival for the hand of Isabella and, for reasons of his own, he advances menacingly on the timid figure of Leda, who is an intimate friend of his heart's desire. Crying out in fear, defensively raising her right hand, she yet looks upon her pretended aggressor with the tender eye of one who knows his anguish and his weaknesses. Once more, Bustelli has known how to create two figures which are closely paired in the orchestration and flow of their movements, and in the mutually complementary expressions on their faces. Ricoboni illustrates both the «Italian» and the «Spanish» Captains⁶⁴ in his History. The first was popular in the original *Commedia dell'Arte*, but as early as the embattled visits of the Emperor Charles V to Italy in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Spanish role started to replace the Italian one and eventually superseded it completely. As Ricoboni put it, the new Captain was a braggart who finished up by being beaten with Harlequin's slapstick. The change to a Spanish costume may have been occasioned by the Emperor's Spanish contingents being victorious over the French armies of Francis I, although it is evident that the costume of Bustelli's *Capitano* is rather fanciful compared with the uniform of a sixteenth century Spanish officer. Octavio's rival is often assumed to be the Dottore's son, and plays his role in that capacity. It is difficult to understand the Bolognese origins of a captain in the Spanish occupation armies at Naples, but that, in essence, is just another of the contradictions one comes across in the *Commedia dell'Arte*. The Capitano's role is not an enviable one. A hero who runs at the sight of a mouse, a secret tippler, he desperately wants to conquer Isabella, and covers his doubts and weak-kneed character with swaggering, and supposedly fearless and irre-



IL CAPITANEO SPAVENTO NAPOLITANO.

C.P. Maj. I. Wachsmuth inv. et delin. Mart. Engelbrecht exc. A.V.

41. *IL CAPITANEO SPAVENTO NAPOLITANO*. German engraving signed C.P. Maj. – I. Wachsmuth inv. et delin. – Mart. Engelbrecht exc. A.V., Augsburg, mid-18th century. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome.

sistible behaviour. But Harlequin and Mezzetin see through all this martial demeanour, this bombast and grandiloquence, and when this horrid swordsman waves his Toledo rapier about, fit to poke out somebody's eyes, they counter with their clacking, flexible slapsticks and send him packing. In some plots the Capitano's name is given as *Spezza ferre* – the iron-cruncher – and the stanza under a seventeenth century engraving of him in Duchartre⁶⁵ tersely portrays his character: «*Spezza ferre*» is tough with the sword, but it is nothing but braggadocio!

Advancing, right foot forward, a fierce expression on his highly coloured face and his head turned to the left, the *Capitano* has drawn a steel dagger, which he brandishes in his right hand (fig. 43). The left clutches his feathered tricorn hat which threatens to fly off during his impetuous progress. Since Bustelli often amused himself by including Neapolitan hand-signs in the modelling of his figures, this gesture could also be construed, most appropriately, as *impatientia prodo*, I feel impatient⁶⁶. The flat rococo base and

the scroll support at the back are enriched with purple enamel and gilding. The costumes of many Nymphenburg figures of the Capitano have been painted in their essentials very similarly to a *Spezzafer* costume, dated 1668, as described by Sand⁶⁷. In the present case, the Capitano wears a gilt-buttoned, red-trimmed jerkin and similar breeches made of bright yellow worsted cloth. Slung over his shoulders is an iron-red three-quarter sleeved, gold-bobbled *pelerine* lined in white, with an embroidered white lawn collar.

A sword is suspended from a yellow leather belt at his left side. In the illustrated example, the handguard of the hilt is missing. White hose and black turn-down topboots complete the martial outfit.

Bustelli's figure of the Capitano must be considered as an amalgam of personal observation of actors in a company of strolling comedians and additionally, of numerous drawings and engravings. Every *Commedia dell'Arte* troupe had a Captain in the cast, and the number of illustrations is extensive. The representation at top right in figure 5 was purloined by Martin Engelbrecht from a drawing by I. Wachsmuth which the very same Engelbrecht had published shor-



42. CAPITANO. Watercolour by Ludovico O. Burnacini. Early 18th century. Oesterreichisches Theatermuseum, Vienna.



43. CAPITANO SPAVENTO. Height 19.2 cm. Impressed shield mark, incised O. Private Collection.



44. LEDA. Height 19.8 cm. Impressed white shield mark outlined in gold on left rise of scroll base, impressed O. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.



45. SCENE NO. 5 of an Italian Comedy sequence of twelve Augsburg engravings depicting «AMOR VEHEMENTER QUIDEM FLAGRANS», Sign.: Joh. Jacob Schübler del. – Joh. Balth. Probst Sculpsit – Cum Pr. Sac. Caes. Maj. – J. M. Probst Haered Jer. Wolffy excud. Aug. V. From the 1750 Edition. The Institute for Theatre, Cinema and Television Research, University of Cologne (Niessen Collection).

tly before (fig. 41). It shows a costume and a cloak with big bobbles, similar to the porcelain figure. The similarities end there. There is also the traditional two-handed sword which goes with the role, but Bustelli had discarded that and replaced it with a more elegant rapier. A dashing figure is cut by the Capitano in a watercolour by Ludovico Burnacini (fig. 42), but Bustelli is unlikely to have known this. On the other hand, engravings of Captains in like stances must have abounded in mid-18th century, and many of them wore the same pouch-shaped headgear, more reminiscent of the cap worn by Scaramouche. Such a baggy-hatted Captain is declaiming in the Schübler engraving (fig. 45), his attitude approaching that of the porcelain figure. He is being applauded here by Pantalone, with a startled Tartaglia listening open-mouthed, and Harlequin mocking him in the background. Again, there is the clumsy two-handed sword, and instead of a dagger, the Capitano waves about a wooden bat in his right hand.

In spite of the distinction made between «*del*» and «*sculpsit*» under each sheet, both Joh. Jacob Schübler and Joh. Balthasar Probst contributed to the composition of this series of twelve engravings, Schübler being responsible mainly for the scenic and architectural backgrounds and Probst for gathering together the participants in each scene, principally from earlier sources⁶⁸. The series was first published by Jeremias Wolff in 1729⁶⁹. Balthasar Probst was the father of Joh. Michael Probst, art dealer and editor, who took over the firm on his father's death in 1750, and published a second, and later, further editions of the set. Balthasar himself was also the son-in-law of Jeremias Wolff, and his successor. The same series was used extensively as models for the Italian Comedy figures created by Wenzel Neu at the porcelain factory in Kloster Veilsdorf, Thuringia, in the mid-1760's. It is no wonder that the Capitano approaches *Leda* aggressively. He wishes her to intercede on his behalf with Isabella, of whom she is a very close friend. *Leda* is a tender, attractive



Joh. Jacob Schübler del. Joh. Balth. Probst Sculpsit Cum Pr. Sac. Caes. Maj. Haered Jer. Wolffy excud. A. V. 1750

46. SCENE NO. 3 of an Italian Comedy sequence, as in figure 45.

Sign.: J.M.Probst – Job.Jacob Schübler del. – Joh. Balth. Probst Sculpsit – Cum.Pr.Sac. Caes.Maj. – Haered Jer. Wolffy excud. A.V. From the 1750 Edition. The Institute for Theatre, Cinema and Television Research, University of Cologne (Niessen Collection).

girl, and we can see that she dresses in the height of fashion, like her elegant playmate. Hofmann states that the naming of this figure had been somewhat arbitrary, but that, in expression and in movement, she was the obvious companion piece to the Capitano⁷⁰. Her role is to listen to his violent outpourings and then, after a few stormy encounters, to calm his tortured ardour. The timidity, which she displays at first, will help to cool the Capitano's agitation, and gently guide him into her own welcoming arms. Indeed, Bustelli's now familiar finger-movement of her raised right hand is not so much repelling him, as to signal *pacificat*, she appeases⁷¹. Her head is turned to the right to face him, open-mouthed, the left hand gathering up her skirt, as if to flee (fig. 44).

Leda's blond curls drop over her right shoulder, her hair is held back with a blue bow at the nape of the neck and adorned with a red rose. A pearl necklace is bound at the throat with another blue rosette. Under the bodice with a very low neckline, she wears a shirt with a frilled collar and

pleated, turned-back cuffs at the wrists. The bodice itself is made of yellow cloth, gallooned at the front and around the edges with ultramarine blue riband; an ample skirt of purple moiré silk swings from her hips, with the outline of her left leg clearly defined beneath, and with blue embroidery of waves-and-rosettes at the hem. Her yellow slippers are also edged in blue. The scroll and wave base and rococo support are enhanced with gilding.

Almost identically attired as the one in figure 45, the Capitano in the next illustration (fig. 46) is advancing boldly towards the main actress in the composition. Here, the Harlequin is even more shamelessly flippant than before, and there are other actresses, thus a Columbine playing a lute. By the attention which she confers on the Capitano, we can tentatively identify the central figure as Leda. Her hand movements are vaguely reminiscent of the figure which was modelled by Bustelli who, however, did not deign to take over the extravagant head-dress or the over-elaborate bodice and mantle.



SCARAMUTIUS, PANTOMIMUS, THEATRALI PLAUSU DIGNISSIMUS.

47. SCARAMUTIUS, PANTOMIMUS, THEATRALI PLAUSU DIGNISSIMUS. Dutch engraving by Petrus Schenk (1660-1718/19), Amsterdam, early 18th century. Sign.: Pet. Schenck fec: et exc. Amstelod./Manil.5 lib.Astronom./ cum Privil.: The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Scaramouch and Columbine

The minuet continues as Scaramouch dances and counter-dances round the bubbling and capering figure of Columbine. There is no doubt that in Bustelli's imagination, these two were conceived as a pair revolving one around the

other, dancing in step. Their movements complement each other, and they gaze into one another's eyes to the total exclusion of the world around them.

The two Neapolitans, Scaramouch and Pascariel, claim the same descent, namely that of replacing, at the end of the seventeenth century, the Spanish Captain who had, it ap-



48. SCARAMOUCHE. German engraving published by Johann Jacob Wolrab (1675–1746), Nuremberg, c. 1720. The Institute for Theatre, Cinema and Television Research, University of Cologne (Niessen Collection).

pears, become obsolete in the *Commedia dell'Arte* in Italy. Ricoboni tells us that the costume, all black with a large white collar, was an imitation of the Spanish suit of clothes worn for a long time in the town of Naples by the people of the Palace, the Judges and the Soldiers⁷². Whilst in Italy, Scaramouch played only the role of the boastful coward and braggart of a Captain, in France, he was made to impersonate a variety of characters. In England, the role, in this later version, was introduced soon after 1670, and a

Neapolitan actor by the name of Tiberio Fiorelli came to the country in 1673 and amazed the public with his feats of agility. He acquired the sobriquet of *Scaramouch Fiorelli*⁷³. In May 1688, at the age of ninety years, he returned to Paris to join the new Italian Troupe formed by Marc Antonio Romagnesi and again play the role of Scaramouch until his retirement in May 1694. He was replaced by Messina-born Joseph Tortoriti (see fig. 3). Fiorelli died in December 1694⁷⁴.

In the eighteenth century, Scaramouch acquires a more defined place in the plots of the *Théâtre Italien* and, hence, in the companies which visited the palaces and the fairgrounds of Europe. He now impersonates another Neapolitan-born servant of Octavio or of one of the equivalent characters of the Lover.

He fools around with Harlequin and Pierrot, and thus comes into closer contact with Columbine – at most times forbidden territory. Now he is often seen to play romantic melodies on his mandoline, and in addition becomes known as an accomplished mimic. At times chicken-hearted and something of a coward, he quietly withdraws into the shadows to observe and remember the action from afar. But his name does not derive in vain from the Italian *scaramuccia*, the skirmish. When the occasion is right, Scaramouch can portray a swashbuckling gallant, and an excellent swordsman to boot.

Bustelli's *Scaramouch* (fig. 51) diverts us with his winged dancing step, the left sturdy leg raised up, the right hand, in a greeting gesture, touching his cap. His left hand and wrist are concealed beneath the tail of a short coat. Since the seventeenth century, the typical costumes of both Scara-



49. SCARAMOUCHE. Dutch engraving, with eight lines of comic verse below (not shown), early 18th century. Print Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.



50. MEZZETINO. French engraving by Jean Mariette, Paris, late 17th century. Private Theatre Collection.

mouch, and his alter ego, Pascariel, are black from cap to shoes, the «Spanish» suits of Naples. We need only think of the actor Joseph Tortoriti, in the role of Pascariel, attired totally in black in the scene of the 1697 Expulsion, at bottom left of figure 3. The decoration of our porcelain model has kept closely to this tradition⁷². Scaramouch's floppy black velvet beret is placed on a white head-scarf. He has a goffered white muslin collar at the neck, and wears a tight-fitting, gold-buttoned black cloth jacket over his distinctly bloated stomach. A yellow sash around the waist is tied on the right hip. Black knee-breeches have bows at the joints. A short black coat falls from his shoulders. White hose over strongly muscled calves, and black, buckled shoes complete this time-honoured outfit. It should be noted that the costume demanded in addition that the face of Scaramouch be whitened, with painted eyebrows and moustaches. The Nymphenburg decorators generally observed this convention, although sometimes applying rouge to the cheeks. The



51. SCARAMOUCHE. Height 19.6 cm. Impressed shield mark on scroll support, impressed O. Bernisches Historisches Museum, Bern (photo S. Rebsamen).



52. *LA SIGNORA ISABELLA*. Dutch engraving by G. Valck of the Ballerina «Isabella» Biancolelli, sign.: G. Valck ex., 18th century.
Print Collection, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

scroll base and support are very lightly gilded. But the decorators did not always adhere strictly to the traditional costume. In the spirit of Bustelli's rococo style, examples of Scaramouch are known to wear costumes painted in subdued colours, other than black. On a model of Scaramouch in the Bavarian National Museum in Munich, the jacket is painted to simulate a fine grey cloth with black frogging and black embroidery of flowers and scrolls, the sash being white with black stripes.

Joseph Tortoriti's portrayal of Scaramouch first found expression in a 1696 pen-and-ink drawing by Bernard Picart

(1673–1733), now in the Cabinet des Dessins at the Louvre in Paris⁷⁴. A mirror image engraving of this sketch, entitled *Joseph Tortoriti faisant le personnage de Scaramouche*, was published in the same year by Jean Mariette of Paris. Early in the eighteenth century, the ever busy Amsterdam copyist Petrus Schenk engraved a mirror image of the Paris print, thus reversing back to the figure's progress from right to left of Picart's presentation (fig. 47). Scaramouch is shown in his customary black habit, which included a curious piping at the edge of the jacket, not retained by Bustelli. The flopping beret, the pleated collar, the short coat and the knee-



53. COLUMBINE. Height 20.6 cm. Impressed blue and white shield mark outlined in gold on rising scroll support on the right. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen. Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.



54. LALAGÉ. Anonymous French engraving from a series of fourteen, each with a Latin quotation, c. 1720. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome.

breeches are all present. Also discernable are Tortoriti's legendary hefty calf muscles, which certainly reappear on the porcelain figure. This engraving does not show the actor's equally notorious pot-belly. He carries the mandoline with which he often accompanied his musical ditties.

In the notes on the engraved Pantalone of figure 19, we have already discussed the importance to eighteenth century porcelain modellers of fourteen engravings of the Italian Comedy, published by Wolrab around 1720. It is most likely that

Franz Anton Bustelli possessed such a set, for his Scaramouch shows distinct features seen on the analogous engraving (fig. 48). The dancing stance is identical, there is a similar *embonpoint* and there are the vigorous calves of Tortoriti. A modeller of Bustelli's ingenuity and invention would evidently use features from more than one two-dimensional likeness in order to create a figure in the round, yet one feels that the Wolrab engraving is the nearest in scene-setting to the porcelain Scaramouch.

Other likenesses do exist. Amongst a set of engravings portraying thirty-two actors and comedians playing musical instruments or singing, by an unidentified engraver, is a Mezzetin or Scaramouch impersonation with familiar features (fig. 49), apart from the position of the left leg. Here the right hand is similarly raised, the left drawn back, albeit without the cover of the coat-tail. However, the loose flouncing at the bottom of the knee-breeches is inconsistent with a Scaramouche costume.

The same flouncing appears on yet another Mezzetin-like etching published by Jean Mariette (fig. 50), in which the dancing step is identical. There is no reason why Bustelli, who clad his own Mezzetin in the costume of Harlequin, should not lay claim to the movements of a Mezzetin for his Scaramouch.

The name of Columbine is a derivation from the Italian *colomba*, the dove, but her role is not that of an altogether



56. HARLEQUINE. German engraving published by Johann Jacob Wolrab (1675–1746), Nuremberg, c. 1720. The Institute for Theatre, Cinema and Television Research, University of Cologne (Niessen Collection).



55. COLOMBINE. German engraving published by Johann Jacob Wolrab (1675–1746), Nuremberg, c. 1720. The Institute for Theatre, Cinema and Television Research, University of Cologne (Niessen Collection).

dovely young woman. Columbine appears quite early in the history of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, as a maid for Isabella or one of the other *inamorata* in the household of Pantalone. Together with that of her mistress, her role was one of the first to be played by an actress in a hitherto totally male-dominated theatre. In the seventeenth century Columbine would, in addition, double as a ballerina in musical intermezzos woven into the performances. As a counterpart to Harlequin, with whom she made common cause to cheat on Pantalone, the role demanded a wily and impudent character, but also cheeky pertness. Although her enduring love was for fickle Harlequin, she was an inveterate flirt – as here, in Bustelli's version, she uses her charms on Scaramouch – and often she was the decoy to lead Pantalone, and also the besotted lover of Isabella, by the nose.

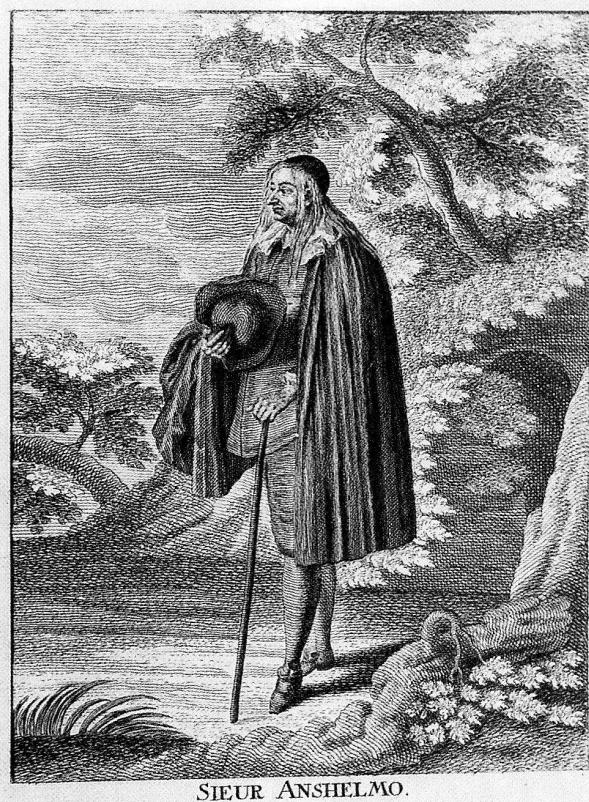
Matching her dance-step to that of Scaramouch, right foot forward, *Columbine* (fig. 53) turns her head and inclines her

upper body to the right, her right hand lightly lifting the hem of her skirt, the left arm raised with a black half-mask in her hand. Perched on her tightly curled blond hair, at a dangerous angle, sits a blue-trimmed, yellow hat with a blue feather, a costume attribute of her role, as is the mask. It is to be noted that Bustelli has not made her wear the mask so that we can see her facial expression, and the beauty spots which adorn her left temple and her chin. A blue accordion-pleated ruff encircles her neck modestly – contrary to her fellow-servant Lalagé, whose similar costume is very décolleté. The yellow silk, wasp-waisted bodice is trimmed with blue ribbon and gilt buttons. Her wrists emerge from white muslin shirt sleeves. There are blue bows at the breast and the wrists. The ample red-purple skirt of watered silk is bordered near the hem with gold *passamanerie*, and the folds in the front are moulded by the outline of Columbine's right leg. The skirt is lined with green taffeta, the slippers are purple with blue bows. The rococo scroll base is enriched with gilding and combed blue enamel.

Columbine's secondary role is best illustrated by a portrait of the ballerina Catharina Biancolelli, called Isabella (fig. 52). She was the daughter of Domenico Biancolelli from Bologna, the Harlequin in the Fiorelli-Locatelli Troupe of 1653–1684⁷⁵, in which she danced and also played the Columbine. When the new Paris troupe was created in May 1688 by Marc Antonio Romagnesi, both Domenico and his daughter joined it, the father again as Harlequin, the daughter as Isabella. As we know, she was present as the Columbine nine years later, at the Expulsion of 1697. In 1739, Teresa Biancolelli, a member of the next generation of this illustrious family, joined Louis Ricoboni's troupe at the Hôtel de Bourgogne as his Columbine⁷⁶.

No painting or engraving could have greatly influenced the independence of Franz Anton Bustelli, for his creations were always imbued by the spirit of his own genius, and by his belief in and the practice of the forms of the Bavarian rococo. But Bustelli would not offend against a body of time-honoured usage, and his comedy figures retain many features traditional to their roles in the *Théâtre Italien*. Columbine has her mad little hat pinned to her hair at a dangerous angle, she carried a mask in her hand, and she plucks at her skirt to raise the hem – all these features are present in the early engraving of Lalagé (fig. 54), standing stiffly in a garden landscape which owes nothing to the *Commedia dell'Arte*. We know that Lalagé was often cast to take over the roles of other *comédiennes*, as she has here, and as she has been embodied by Bustelli.

The Columbine which J. J. Wolrab published at about the same time, around 1720 (fig. 55), would only have the mask to identify her role, were it not for the caption below. This print cannot then have had any impact on Bustelli's model. In the same series of fourteen vignettes portraying Italian



SIEUR ANSELMO.

Mart. Engelbrecht exc. A.V.

57. SIEUR ANSELMO. German engraving signed: C.P.Maj. – I. Wachsmuth inv. et delin. – Mart. Engelbrecht exc. A.V., Augsburg, mid-18th century. Raccolta Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome.

Comedy troupers, there is however a Harlequina (fig. 56) who not only has the same little feathered hat attached to her curls, but from whom the modeller might also have adopted the ruff at the neck, the wasp-waisted, flared bodice and the bows adorning the bust and the wrists; even the footwork is familiar, but Franz Anton Bustelli left no notes on the subject of his day-to-day work.

Anselmo and Corinne

The last actress at bottom left in figure 5 is La Corinne, and Sieur Anselmo stands at the top right in figure 6. Franz Anton Bustelli chose the names for his figures from these engravings. Looking closely, we discover that Corinne holds a plaited-straw covered wine flask in her right hand, an attribute which Bustelli took away from her and transferred to his Donna Martina. The porcelain figure of Corinne has nothing in common with the engraved image. The case is slightly more flexible with Sieur Anselmo, for he has at least

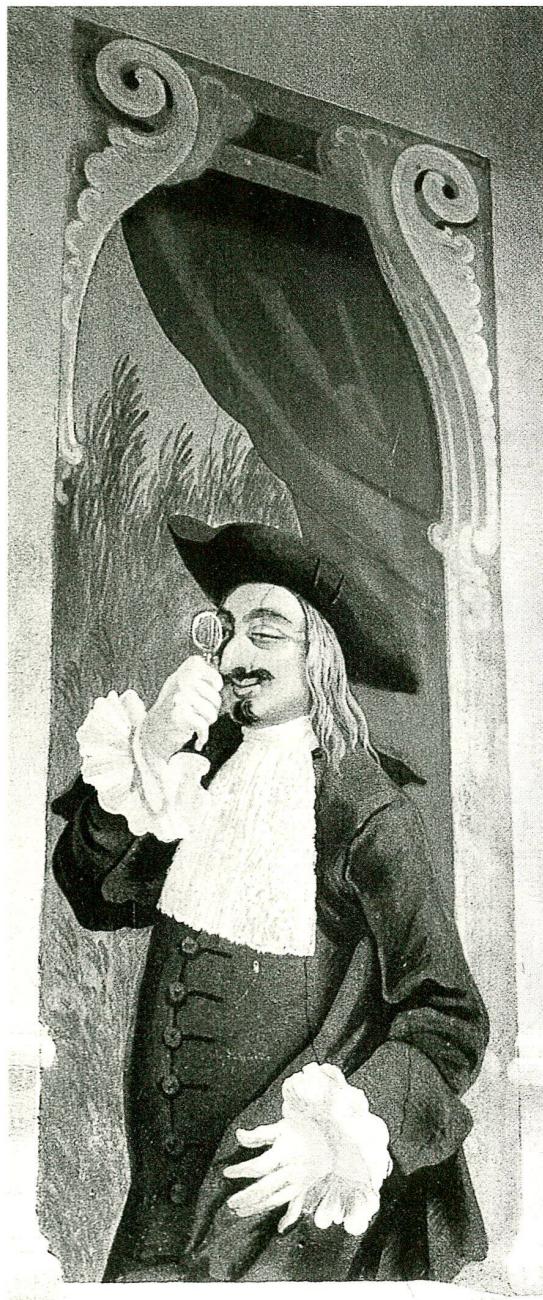
a three-quarter length cloak and the walking stick in common with the porcelain model. Both the portrayals in the two engravings were copied by Engelbrecht from the slightly earlier double-images engraved by I. Wachsmuth (fig. 58), which could also have been in Bustelli's private portfolio of prints. In the 1767 Pricelist, the girl's name is spelled «Corine» which Hofmann rightly qualified as a printer's error but – not being aware of the Wachsmuth-Engelbrecht engravings, nor the subsequent Engelbrecht assemblages – he thought that the name should have read «Clorinde», the designation of a role known in the Italian Comedy⁷⁷. By way of the engravings in question, we realize now that the character-role was indeed called Corinne, possibly one of the many variants of Corallina⁷⁸. Hofmann also mooted the question whether Anselmo might not have been meant to portray the role of Narcissino de Malalbergo, a low-class servant from Bologna, illustrated by *Ricoboni*⁷⁹, whose costume looks very similar to that of Anselmo, a theory which can now be abandoned.

Anselmo and Corinne, the last pair in the set of sixteen figures, are perhaps the least typical in their portrayal of *Commedia dell'Arte* actors. Weak-kneed Anselmo shuffles faint-heartedly up to the pretty girl, who completely ignores his approach, whilst her attention is riveted to the letter in her hand.

The role of *Anselmo* (fig. 59) is not too clearly defined in the literature on the Italian Comedy. It may only have evolved after the return of the *commedianti* to Paris in 1716, and could well have been modelled on the seventeenth century archetype *Abbé* of Molière. Indeed the Nymphenburg porcelain figure is occasionally described as the Abbé, like the model illustrated here⁸⁰. Anselmo has sometimes been cast to play a role similar to that of old Pantalone or that of the latter's friend, an elderly, lecherous dodderer. He has also played a servant to the avaricious Venetian merchant, then impersonating a teetering, prattling old bore. We see him walking hesitantly, leaning with his right hand on a brown cane and coming round a handsome, scrolled rococo support, slightly bent, with his head turned to the left. The left index finger is raised towards his mouth to express the Neapolitan *silenzio*, silence⁸¹, in order not to disturb Corinne.

A wide-brimmed, two-cornered black hat sits on his grey hair, his eyebrows and moustaches are painted onto his face, the cheeks are rouged to show his inner agitation. The short, sleeveless cloak, his long, buttoned jacket and his knee-breeches are made of a heavy woollen material, all in black, as are his buckled shoes. At the neck he has starched linen, lace-bordered «canonicals» – a clergyman's kerchief, a purple-edged white shirt sleeve peeps out of the left arm of the jacket. His stockings are white. The scroll support and the flat rococo base are enriched with apple-green enamel col-

our and gilding. Other models are known with a discreetly coloured, embroidered jacket under the black cloak. The I. Wachsmuth engraving (fig. 57), used by Engelbrecht for his group picture, was not an original itself. The engraver borrowed almost all his images from earlier French sheets of *Italian Comedy* or *Théâtre Italien* actors, or from engrav-



58. *L'ABBÉ*. Painting in fresco by Josef Lederer on the ballroom wall of the Castle at Český Krumlov, Czech Republic, 1748. From *Bohème*.



59. ANSELMO. Height 18.5 cm. Impressed shield mark under the base, incised 2. By courtesy of Christie's, London (now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich).



60. CORINNE. Height 19 cm. Impressed shield mark on front scroll, under base script «Mad Col.» in black. By courtesy of Kunsthaus Lempertz, Cologne (formerly Sammlung Jahn).

ings after well-known French painters. Wachsmuth's Sieur Anselmo descends directly from the early eighteenth century engraving «La Coquette» by H. S. Thomassin *fils* after the painting by Antoine Watteau⁸², in which Anselmo stands, hat in hand, next to Columbine attended by Mezzetin and Donna Martina.

An amusing and somewhat libertine portrait of the *Abbé* ogling a cross-dressed gentleman is to be found on the ballroom wall of the Castle at Český Krumlov, about 145 km due south of Prague in the Czech Republic (fig. 58). It is unlikely that Bustelli could have had any knowledge of its existence. Prince Josef Adam von Schwarzenberg commissioned the Viennese painter Josef Lederer in 1748 to decorate the walls, loges, niches and recesses of this large, elegant room with *trompe-l'œil* frescoes⁸³. In 189 days the artist painted 125 people all around the room. Amongst them we find the masked, seated figure of the Prince himself, numbers of masked and unmasked courtiers and their ladies, and other revellers, officers and soldiers belonging to the Prince's private army, the artist's self-portrait, a Chinaman and a Turk, a transvestite and men in Bohemian folk costumes; amidst them all are a number of beautifully rendered Italian Comedy characters: the *Abbé*, Pantalone and Pierrot, Scaramouch and Brighella, Mezzetin and, of course, Harlequin and Columbine⁸⁴.

Corallina was presumably one of Isabella's urbane friends, another *soubrette* in the tumultuous and labyrinthine plots of the *Commedia dell'Arte*; we can deduct, therefore, that Corinne played a similar role in the *Théâtre Italien* in France and elsewhere. She has at times been thought to have played the part of yet another housemaid of one of the principals, but this would not apply to Bustelli's Corinne in view of the message in her billet-doux from the courtly, besotted Leandro, one of the *amoureux*. Different from her high and mighty girl-friends, she seems to be an attractive but reserved young woman.

Corinne (fig. 60) stands demurely before a rococo support, her left elbow leaning on its uppermost scroll, the left foot is slightly in front of the right, and her head is inclined to the right. In her hands she holds a letter inscribed: «Ricordato Della Parolo Promese Leander», remember the given word, Leandro. It is obvious that Bavarian porcelain painters were not very familiar with Italian grammar or spelling. Some models have been known with musical notes on the sheet, instead of the message. Corinne's blond hair is tied at the

back with a pink riband, her head is covered with a white cap. Some models have a feather on the left of this cap. A small white ruff at her neck is tied with a pink bow. Over a décolleté white linen shirt with wide sleeves, she wears a buttoned pale blue, gold-bordered bodice brocaded with iron-red and other flowers and leaves, and having mauve bows on the sleeves. The pink satin skirt with a gold-bordered pale-grey ruche at the hem is partly covered with a black apron, ruched around three sides in darker grey and tied at the waist with yellow ribbon. She has white stockings and flower-embroidered, yellow-edged silk slippers with gold buckles. The scroll base is enhanced with gilding.

The mark, as with almost all models, is impressed on the upper side of the base on the front of a scroll but, curiously, under the base there is the black script notation «Mad Col.» – Mademoiselle Columbine. This is not the only model with such an inscription. In the 1925 sale of the Darmstaedter Collection⁸⁵, the model of Corinne was catalogued as a Columbine and the black inscription read «Mad. Columb.». Both these inscriptions must have been applied before the publication of Hofmann's History of the Nymphenburg factory in 1921/1923. The Bustelli Columbine with the correct attributes (fig. 52) was well-known by then, and the Nymphenburg figure of «Corinne» had been identified by Hofmann. It is therefore surprising to find that the erudite cataloguer of the Darmstaedter auction sale, Prof. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, himself a connoisseur and museum expert of antique ceramics, was misled by the inscription under the base.

None of the prints portraying Corinne show the slightest features which could have been adopted by Bustelli for his porcelain figure. Apparently, he only used the name. The engraving with the name of Corinne in the French series with Latin quotations of 1720 shows a mincing lady with a Columbine-like hat perched on the side of her head and a ruff at the neck, but no other attributes. The unknown French engraver copied this image directly from an etching by P. Simmoneau *fils* after the painting of *Comediens* by Antoine Watteau of c. 1710–1715. In this, the actress whom we call Corinne stands in front of a Columbine as shown in figure 13⁸⁶. The mid-eighteenth century Wachsmuth print depicts a stoutish woman with a flask, a picture which was used by Engelbrecht for the group in figure 5. A model engraving of an unassuming young woman, reading a letter, has yet to be discovered, possibly an illustration of a scene from a romantic French melodrama.

Summary

The eighteen figures of the Italian Comedy which Franz Anton Bustelli modelled for the Bavarian Porcelain Factory of Neudeck-Nymphenburg between 1757 and 1760 are, without question, the artist's finest achievements. In his short career in Munich his genius rose to outstanding heights of artistry in porcelain sculpture. These splendid figures, as a body of work, stand head and shoulders above similar porcelains produced in the second half of the eighteenth century. Their expression is that of the Bavarian rococo, in which Bustelli played an indisputably eminent part, and which distinguished itself by its great vivacity and a pronounced assymetry of forms.

Bustelli arrived at Neudeck with a fund of ceramic knowledge, with a trained artist's eye for anatomy and with a considerable gift of transforming these into three-dimensional sculpture. Almost from the beginning of his employment, he proceeded to create masterpieces of rococo art in a material which, since its original invention in China centuries earlier, had lent itself to multiple production, but which Bustelli, the sculptor, handled as if each one of his figures were an unique creation.

Although we have latterly come to understand that Bustelli made use of iconographic sources, such as engravings, drawings and prints, as did all other porcelain modellers in the early years of European production, these two-dimensional models played only a secondary role in the inception of his figures, which were his own creatures, imagined and matured in his mind, and in his heart.

Franz Anton Bustelli's Italian Comedy figures are inspired by the spark of life, an inner substance of great verve which radiates *joie de vivre*, emotion and a most delicate image of elegance. It matters little that he selected a mixture of actors both from the time-honoured troupes of the Italian Commedia dell'Arte and from the more recent, eighteenth century French casts of the *Théâtre Italien*. The incomparable Bustelli touch blended his characters into a coherent company of his own. He modelled emotion, be it dignity, humour or sorrow, deceit or avarice. Dandies and blusterers pursue his scheming ladies, and pranksters create intrigue and turmoil. Bustelli's art shows much bravura, as his figures twist and turn in rapid movements and display a variety of feelings in gestures and facial expressions. Under the sharply defined drapes, we detect real human bodies. Created as table decorations on a pre-determined subject – in the eighteenth century porcelain had replaced earlier sculptured sugar and marzipan confections as centre pieces – Bustelli composed a ballet of interweaving bodies in a minuet of figures rotating on their own axis, but attuned harmoniously to the movements of their partners.

These movements, frozen in porcelain, allow us to behold each figure from any given angle with always renewed pleasure. As a final accomplishment, at least in his lifetime, the artist ensured that the painters of the factory decorated his figures with a faithful simulation of the most costly and elegant contemporary materials, the finest silks, brocades and damasks, the latest refinements of fashion. Thus each of Franz Anton Bustelli's figures became a unique work of art.

Notes

(Short codes are listed in the Bibliography.)

- 1 *Termolen*, p. 29.
- 2 *Hfmn Geschichte*, Vol. III, p. 389.
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- 7 *Hfmn Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 85.
- 8 *Riva*, p. 18.
- 9 *Termolen*, p. 26.
- 10 *Electoral Porcelain Factory Sculptor and Modelling Master Pustelli*.
- 11 *Rückert*, p. 26.
- 12 *Simona*, p. 51 ff.
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- 14 *Schmid*, p. 15 ff.
- 15 *Hfmn Geschichte*, Vol. II, p. 265.
- 16 *Flnr Günther*, p. 4.
- 17 *Flnr Skulptur*, p. 124 and *Newman*, p. 1 ff.
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- 20 *Parfaict*, Paris 1780, Vol. I, p. 129 ff.
- 21 *Bihar*, p. 117 ff; *Sand*, Vol. I, p. 337 and *Duchartre*, p. 116.
- 22 *Schöne*, Heft 1, p. 74, illustr. I–IV; and Heft 2, p. 179, illustr. V–VIII.
- 23 *Frischauer*, Vol. 3, p. 318; p. 325; Vol. 4, p. 449/450.
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- 34 *Hfmn Geschichte*, Vol. III, p. 410.
- 35 *Rückert*, p. 15, and figs. 18 & 19.
- 36 see *Jockel*.
- 37 *Ricoboni*, HABIT D'ARLEQUIN MODERNE, engraved by Joullain *père*, illustr. 2.
- 38 *Hollar*, p. 233, No. 1, (From Andrea de Jorio, *La mimica degli antichi investigata nel gestire napolecano*, Naples 1832, pl. 20).
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- 41 *Kahan*, p. 21, fig. 25, signed *Ja. Callot fc. firenza*.
- 42 *Ricoboni*, Tome II, p. 310 ff. fig. 3 HABIT DE PANTALON ANCIEN, signed *Calot inv. – Joullain sculp.*
- 43 *Hansen*, p. 130, fig. 107 and *Clarke*, fig. 18.
- 44 *Hansen*, pp. 220–224.
- 45 *Sand*, Vol. II, p. 172 ff., and Luigi Rasi, *I Comici Italiani*, Florence 1894, Vol. I, p. 87 ff.
- 46 *Hollar*, p. 232, No. 1 (From Andrea de Jorio, pl. 19).
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- 48 *Sand*, Vol. II, opposite p. 175.
- 49 *Clarke*, fig. 10.
- 50 *Recueil Fossard*, fig. XXXIII.
- 51 *Sand*, Vol. I, p. 334.
- 52 *Hollar*, p. 227, fig. O (From John Bulwer, op.cit., pl. II).
- 53 *Ricoboni*, Vol. II, fig. 5: HABIT DE DOCTEUR ANCIEN; fig. 6: HABIT DE DOCTEUR MODERNE; both engraved by Joullain.
- 54 *Duchartre*, p. 212.
- 55 *Duchartre*, p. 213.
- 56 *Kahan*, p. 14, fig. 9 (Pulliciniello + Sig.^a Lucretia) and p. 19, fig. 21 (Sig.^a Lucia + Trastullo).
- 57 *Duchartre*, p. 92–93.
- 58 *Ricoboni*, Vol. II, p. 319 and fig. 17.
- 59 *Ricoboni*, Vol. II, p. 320.
- 60 *Hollar*, p. 228, fig. F (From John Bulwer, op.cit. pl. III).
- 61 *Duchartre*, after p. 48, pl. IV top: Harlequin is delivered of three boys, but only one survives (from *The Amazing Illness ...*).
- 62 *Duchartre*, p. 113: Scaramouche-Diogène sur les tréteaux de la Foire (XVIII^e siècle).
- 63 *Duchartre*, after p. 48, pl. V top: Harlequin gives suck to the child. Mezzetin gives good counsel (from *The Amazing Illness ...*).
- 64 *Ricoboni*, Vol. II, fig. 9: HABIT DE CAPITAN ITALIEN; fig. 10: HABIT DE CAPITAN ESPAGNOL; both engraved by Joullain.
- 65 *Duchartre*, p. 255 – Seventeenth century engraving of LE CAPITEN SPEZZA FERRE captioned: «Spezza ferre est rude a l'Espade, mais ce n'est qu'en rodomontade.»

66 *Hollar*, p. 227, fig. L (From John Bulwer, op.cit., pl. II).

67 *Sand*, Vol. I, p. 355, No. 13.

68 *Hansen*, p. 105 ff.

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79 *Ricoboni*, pl. 16, engraved by Joullain.

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81 *Hollar*, p. 234, No. 1 (From Andrea de Jorio, op.cit., pl. 21).

82 *Hansen*, p. 155, fig. 151.

83 see *Bohême*.

84 see also *Nicoll*, pp 198–199, figs. 117 & 119.

85 Sammlung Darmstaedter, Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus, Berlin, 24–26 March 1925, pl. 64 & p. 59, No. 261.

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