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# Carlo Maria Pozzi *stuccatore*

by CHRISTINE CASEY

Recent research on Ticinese stuccatori active in eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland has thrown new light on the virtuoso Luganese *stuccatore* Carlo Maria Pozzi.<sup>1</sup> Pozzi is now known principally for his published designs entitled *Artis Sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata* (Augsburg, 1708). This suite of ceiling designs (fig. 1) is a remarkable document in the history of interior ornament for its production by an active master craftsman and not, as was then the norm, by an architect, an engraver or a designer of decoration.<sup>2</sup> Despite the currency of his plates, Pozzi's work has received little attention since the mid-twentieth-century research of Baron Ludwig

von Döry, who considered his best work comparable to that of acclaimed *stuccatori* such as Antonio Bossi, Johann Baptist Zimmermann and Santino Bussi. Active principally at Mainz, Pozzi's mature style was seen to represent a watershed between the high relief modelling of the late baroque tradition and the flat, abstract patterning of Régence band work, which was the central theme of Döry's research.<sup>3</sup> In the half century since, disparate corrections and addenda have emerged and the facts of Pozzi's biography have recently been established. While significant gaps remain in Pozzi's career, it is now clear that it culminated in a prestigious commission at

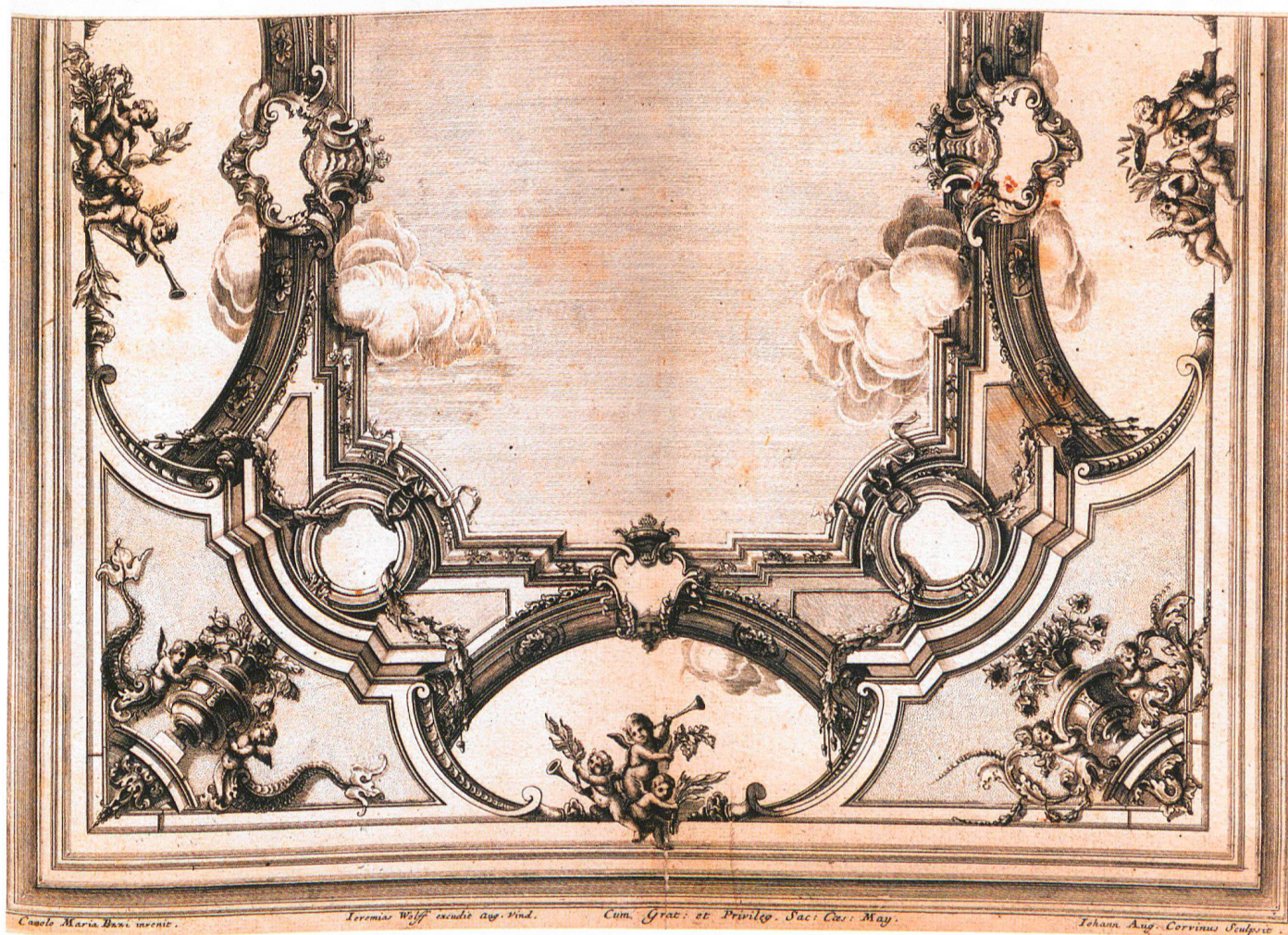


Fig. 1 Carlo Maria Pozzi, *Artis Sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata* (Augsburg, 1708), Plate 1 (follows dedicatory frontispiece).





Fig. 3 The Orangerie, Schloss Weilburg, Hessen. Ceiling and wall plasterwork by Carlo Maria Pozzi, 1704.

the Würzburg Residence rather than petering out ignominiously as hitherto supposed. Pozzi's performance at Würzburg also raises new questions about the training of the Würzburg court *stuccatore*, Antonio Bossi.

Carlo Maria Pozzi was born in 1676 in Lugano. His father Francesco was a pharmacist and originated from Castel San Pietro and his mother was Maria Caterina Splendore from Canton Grigioni or Graubünden.<sup>4</sup> Since the sixteenth century the Pozzi family of Castel San

Pietro had produced architects, sculptors and *stuccatori*. Attention has focused on the *stuccatore* Francesco Pozzi (1704–1789) and his sons Giuseppe, Carlo Luca and Domenico.<sup>5</sup> Carlo Maria Pozzi was a second cousin of Francesco whose son Carlo Luca was christened Carlo Maria Luca, probably in honour of his elder kinsman.<sup>6</sup> Carlo Maria Pozzi (1676–1747) was thus a generation older than his cousin Francesco and a contemporary of Diego Francesco Carloni (1674–1750) and of the painter

Fig. 2 Rathaus Koblenz, Rheinland-Pfalz, ceiling in staircase, Carlo Maria Pozzi, 1699–1700.

Luca Antonio Colomba (1674–1737), with whom he worked on several occasions.<sup>7</sup> As is true of many *stuccatori*, nothing is known of Pozzi's apprenticeship, probably begun when he was between twelve and fourteen years old, perhaps at Passau where his maternal uncle is recorded at the cathedral as a painter.<sup>8</sup> His work is redolent, in its decorative vocabulary and vigorous plastic modelling techniques, of the Carloni workshop at Passau which dominated stucco production in southern Germany and Austria in the last decades of the seventeenth century. However, a more likely candidate for Pozzi's apprenticeship is the workshop of Giovan Pietro Magni whose family was intermarried with that of Francesco Pozzi and whose work bears resemblance to that of Pozzi.<sup>9</sup>

Like so many of the *maestri dei laghi* in the early eighteenth century, Pozzi's career was based in Germany. However, unlike Diego Francesco Carloni, whose wife occasionally shared his peripatetic existence, Carlo Maria Pozzi's family was firmly rooted in Lugano.<sup>10</sup> He thus conforms to the common practice of seasonal or periodic migration.<sup>11</sup> Also in contrast to Carloni, whose activity was centred in southern Germany and Austria, Pozzi was mainly active in Hessen and central Germany. Among his principal rivals there were Giovan Pietro and Carlo Antonio Castelli, Giacomo Ghezzi and Donato Giuseppe Frisoni. Like them, his work reached maturity at a pivotal moment in the history of European architectural ornament. His presence at Fulda in 1708 and again in the 1720s, alongside several craftsmen who would migrate to Britain and Ireland, together with a classicising tendency in his work, suggests that his workshop has particular significance for these islands.

### Early work

Pozzi's earliest known commission was for two ceilings executed in 1699–1700 in the aula and stairhall of the former Jesuit College in Koblenz, now the town hall. The aula was swept away in the nineteenth century but the stairhall ceiling survives and reveals the virtuoso handling of the twenty-four-year-old *stuccatore*.<sup>12</sup> Pozzi's task was to provide a stucco frame for ceiling paintings: two roundels and a central oval depicting the reward of industry, the triumph of faith and the punishment of the idle. A rich skein of figurative and foliate stucco spreads from the cove across the ceiling surface and entirely upstages the now heavily over-painted canvases (fig. 2). The principal ordering elements are a sequence of acanthus cartouches set into the cove and attached to the central panels and a series of putti, single and in pairs which carry instruments of the faith in the cove and act as supporters of the picture frames. On the surfaces between are rich pendants and festoons of flowers. The ceiling ground is entirely tooled or pocked with small circular

punctures that serve to increase the relief of the modelled form and to distinguish between figure and ground. This technique, usually confined to specific parts of a scheme and often obscured by over-painting, is clearly represented in Pozzi's engraved designs. Its sheer extent at Koblenz is remarkable and different levels of precision are manifest in the tooling which must have consumed the energies of several apprentices for the duration of the seven-month project.<sup>13</sup>

The fluid, spirited and richly plastic technique evident at Koblenz is also emphatically present in the Orangerie at Schloss Weilburg (fig. 3) in Hessen which Pozzi contracted for in February 1704.<sup>14</sup> Four years on, the desire to fill every surface was evidently less compelling and here ornament is more concentrated around apertures and angle foci. Still, the achievement of acanthus, palm and scallop shell is sumptuous rather than controlled. A year after the Weilburg commission Pozzi journeyed north to Denmark where he worked at Rosenborg Palace in Copenhagen.<sup>15</sup> His early presence in Denmark explains the dedication of the published plates to Wilhelm Frederik von Platten (1667–1732), superintendent of royal buildings from 1705, and Pozzi would return to Denmark on at least one occasion in 1731.<sup>16</sup> At Rosenborg he worked alongside a lesser known *stuccatore* named Antonio Auzoni<sup>17</sup> and the authorship of the various parts of the scheme have been disputed.

### *Artis Sculptoriae, vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata*

The ceiling designs published at Augsburg in 1708 may well have been in preparation during Pozzi's sojourn in Denmark though the dedication was signed by him at Fulda in Hessen.<sup>18</sup> The drawings were engraved by Johann August Corvinus, at the behest of the principal Augsburg publisher of artistic material, Jeremias Wolff.<sup>19</sup> At least 170 publications by Wolff are known and these range from hand-coloured pirate editions of French ornament engravings to small-scale designs for silver- and goldsmiths, to sumptuous illustrated folio volumes, of which the most acclaimed was Paul Decker's *Fürstliche Baumeister* of 1716.<sup>20</sup> Decker collaborated with Wolff from 1703 when they produced a four-part series on the newly finished Berlin Schloss. The ceilings in Decker's *Fürstliche Baumeister* are each represented in full and in a perspectival manner. This was not the norm for published ceiling designs which efficiently and economically depicted half or one quarter of the composition. Pozzi's simpler and more conventional designs appeared in the same year as Wolff's German edition of Andrea Pozzo's *Perspectivae Pictorum atque Architectorum* and this may be significant if, as has been suggested, a family link existed between the two men.<sup>21</sup> In comparison to Wolff's plates for goldsmiths, the folio sheets of *Artis Sculptoriae* belong in the luxury category of the publisher's

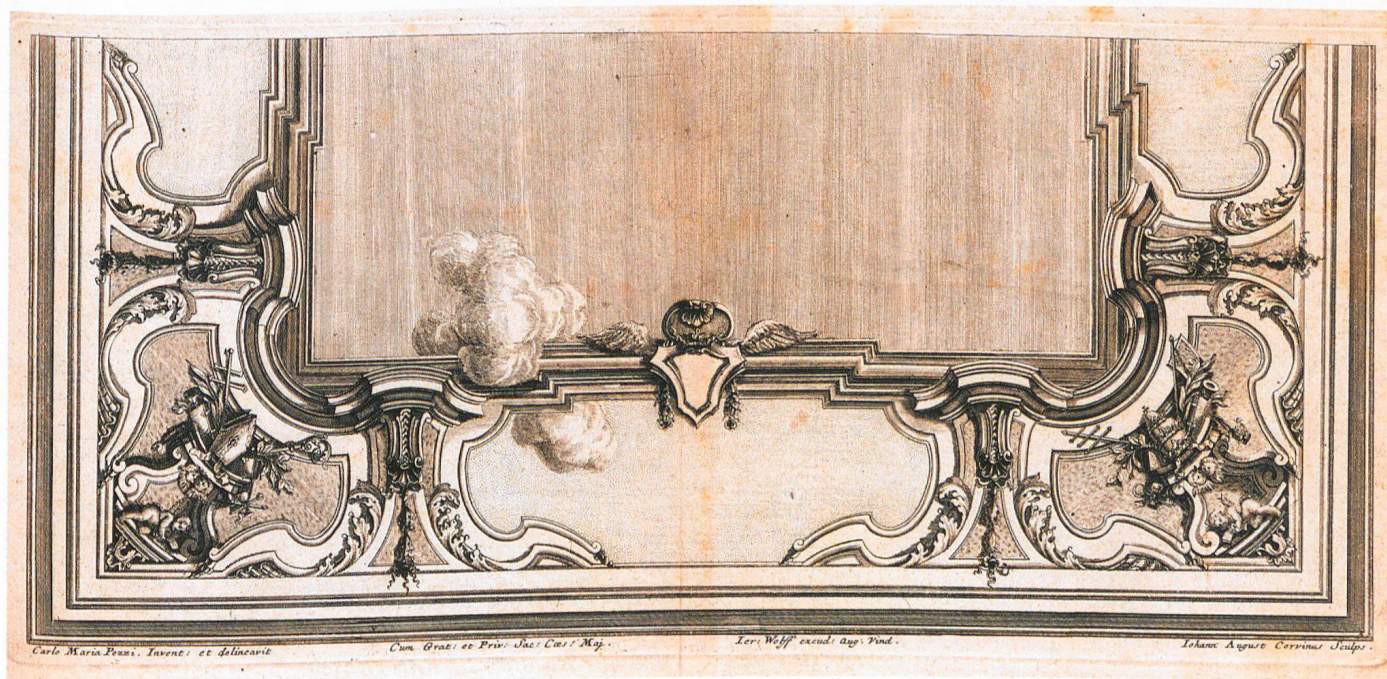


Fig. 4 Carlo Maria Pozzi, *Artis Sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata* (Augsburg, 1708), Plate 5.

repertoire and this would be surprising if Pozzi simply intended them as exemplars for craftsmen.<sup>22</sup>

The suite consists of eight designs and a dedicatory plate and no differences in sequence have been detected.<sup>23</sup> A puzzling aspect of the suite is the variation in the size of the plates as suites of ceiling designs of this period usually have consistent plate sizes.<sup>24</sup> Here there is consistency in just three of the plates (Nos. 5–7) which represent approximately half of the ceiling designs and are inscribed ‘Carlo Maria Pozzi Invent. et delineavit’ (fig. 4). These are also the most consistent in terms of

design, with strongly framed cartouches at the centre of each side and solid decorated angle spandrels. Plates 1–4 depict more than half of the respective designs, though all differ in size, while Plate 8 represents an entire ceiling design and almost fills the folio sheet (figs. 1, 5, 6). To what might we attribute this diversity in scale and representation? Peter Fuhring has suggested that the designs may represent specific schemes, and other instances of variation in scale are based on project drawings.<sup>25</sup> However no corresponding ceilings by Pozzi have been identified. Intriguingly, three of the designs were used c. 1709

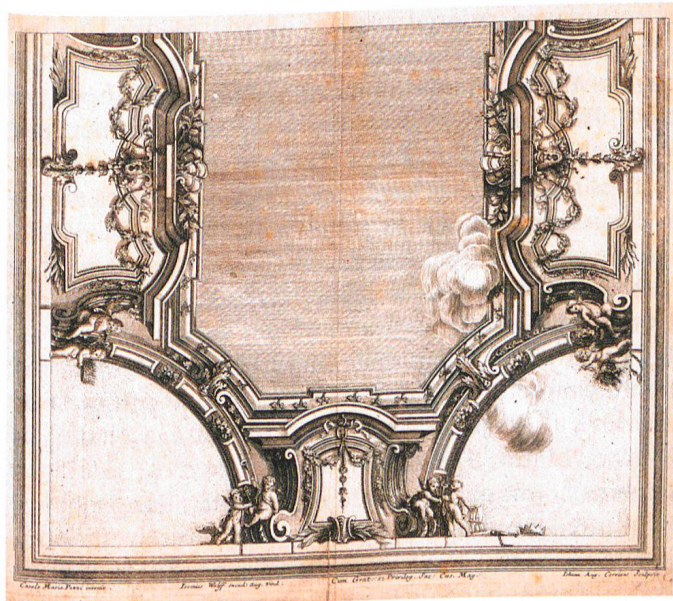


Fig. 5 Carlo Maria Pozzi, *Artis Sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata* (Augsburg, 1708), Plate 4. Reproduced courtesy of the Irish Architectural Archive.

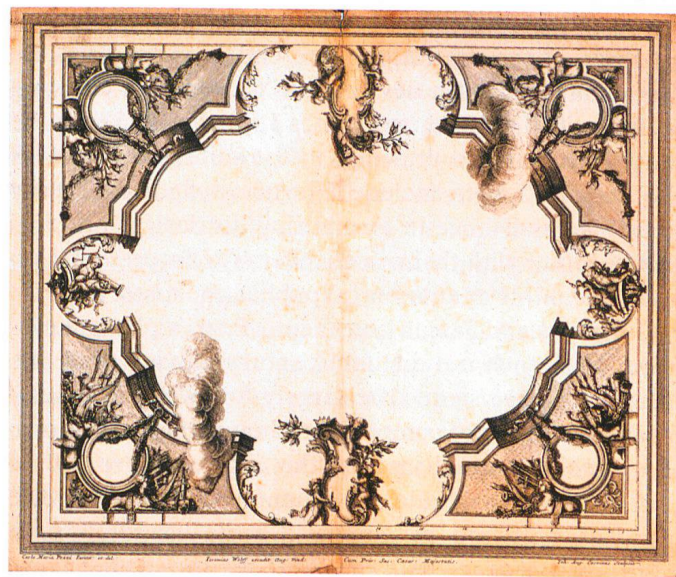


Fig. 6 Carlo Maria Pozzi, *Artis Sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata* (Augsburg, 1708), Plate 8.

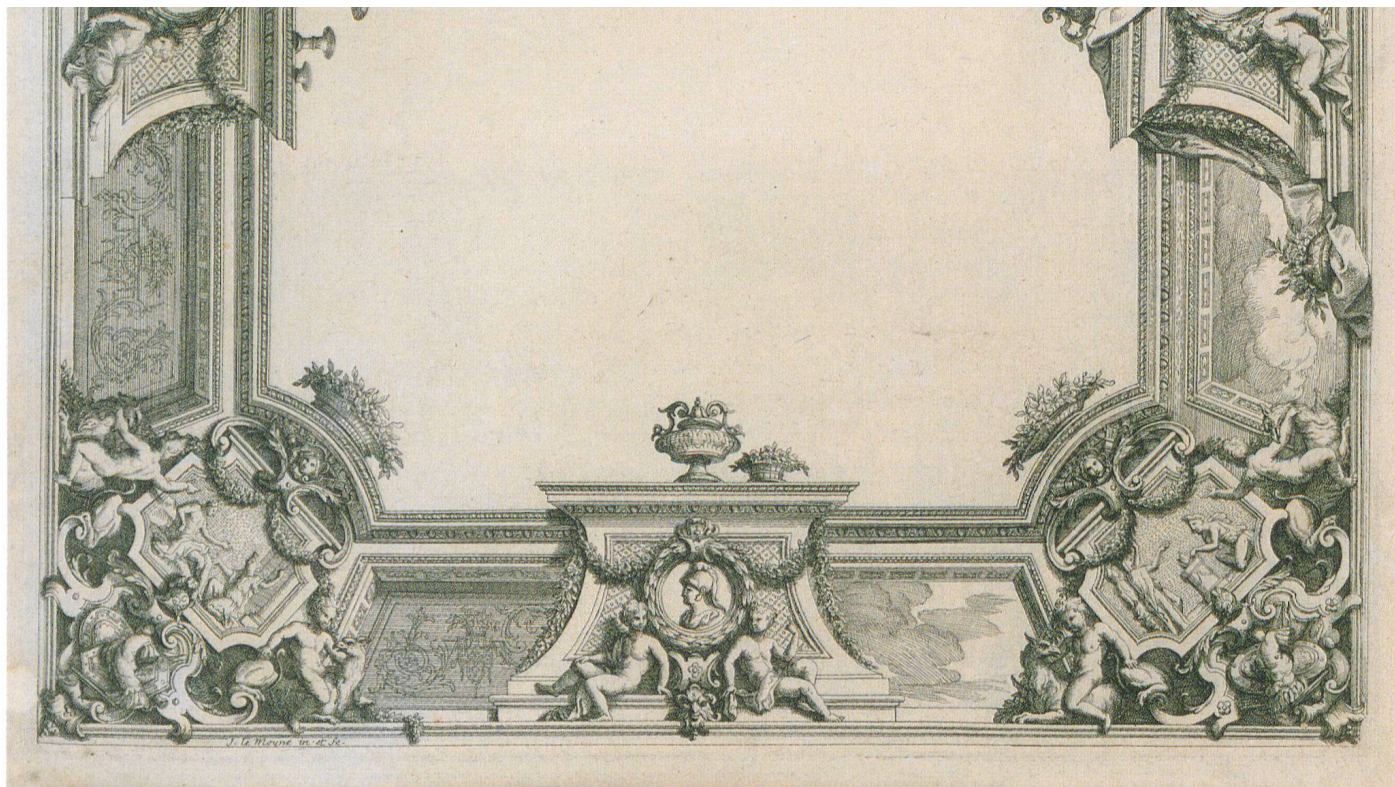


Fig. 7 Jean Le Moyne, *Plusiers desseins de Platsfonds (sic)*, Paris, circa 1695, Plate III. Reproduced courtesy of Berlin Kunstbibliothek, Ornament Sammlung.

at Herrenhaus Hohen Luckow in Schleswig Holstein in a scheme that is convincingly attributed to Giovan Battista Clerici, a *stuccatore* who had previously worked with Pozzi.<sup>26</sup> This is the only recorded instance of direct transcription from the plates. A scale is given on only one of the designs; Number 8, the largest and most idiosyncratic of the suite which depicts a scalloped quatrefoil composition with angle roundels and putti groups at the cardinal points (fig. 6). The scale ascends in multiples of three, unlike those in Pozzi's surviving drawings (figs. 10, 12) which follow Ticinese practice with multiples of five piedi or feet. Presumably Pozzi was here adopting the German foot measure of twelve zoll. The inscriptions on three of the drawings (Plates 1,3,4) differ from the rest giving the Latin designation 'Carolo' and omitting 'delineavit'. Two of these (Plates 1, 4) (figs. 1, 5) are the most accomplished drawings in the suite and Plate 3 is the only design to include allegorical figures. Clearly Pozzi had assistance in formalising his designs and this fact, together with the curious diversity of representation and scale, hints at an eventful publication history.

Guilmard and Jessen considered Pozzi's plates derivative of French seventeenth-century models and the infrequent analysis to date largely follows their assessment.<sup>27</sup> In terms of composition they certainly conform to a typology established by the mid-seventeenth century in which a regular or chamfered central picture frame is bordered by emphatic angle spandrels with panels or openings between. Perhaps the closest comparable example to Pozzi is plate III of a suite by Jean Le Moyne entitled *Plusiers desseins de Platsfonds (sic)* published in Paris c.1695 (fig. 7).<sup>28</sup> Here figurative corner panels with atlantes supporters are surmounted by

flower baskets and, at the centre of each side, a splayed pedestal is adorned with putti, a portrait roundel and crowning flower baskets. Pozzi's plates differ from those of Le Moyne in several ways. Most striking is the spare character of Pozzi's designs in contrast to the rich figuration and elaborate mouldings in the French plates where there is barely a surface that is not the subject of ornament, however controlled. By contrast Pozzi leaves broad framing panels to his corner cartouches and trophies, the void relieved only by pocked tooling (fig. 1). A second distinguishing feature of Pozzi's designs is the complexity of the moulded cornice that marks the junction of the plastered and painted surfaces. Pozzi follows *quadratura* painting in a series of complex curving entablature chunks that surmount and define the elements of the cove. This essentially Italian illusionism is further seen in the threading of leaf and flower garlands through the orifices in the solid elements of the coving, particularly in the angle roundels in plates 1 and 8 (figs. 1, 6). The mobile central frame, the pedestals and the angle roundels are all found in contemporary stuccowork by the Castelli workshop.

Thirdly and perhaps most importantly is the very different character or mood in the depiction of figurative elements in Pozzi's designs. In Le Pautre, Coltellè, Le Moyne, Marot, Decker, *et al*, the classical figuration remains heroic and idealised in character. Pozzi employs figuration more sparingly and with entirely different emphasis. In only one of the seven designs do female allegorical figures appear (Plate 3), in another paired sphinx flank trophies of arms at the angles (Plate 8) (fig. 6) but for the most part the figures are pairs or groups of light-hearted, emblem-bearing putti. The informality in the

figuration is amplified by the expressive, plastic character of the detailing in frilly over-scaled scallop shells, rocaille-like brackets and cartouches and foaming acanthus (fig. 1). Indeed the branch-sprouting asymmetrical cartouches in Plate 8 seem positively precocious for 1708 (fig. 6). Because Pozzi's plates are less crowded and densely worked than many French and German engravings, the techniques suggested in the designs are more clearly read. These include the aforementioned pocked tooling, a mottled surface found in areas of gilding or bronzing (figs. 4, 6) and the distinction through colour of discrete parts of the composition, all standard elements of contemporary plasterwork production in Germany.

None of these distinctions would earn Pozzi a badge of originality among historians of ornament. However his designs reflect a precise moment in the history of European interior ornament and speak of the dilemma which confronted Italian-speaking *stuccatori* in Germany at the turn of the eighteenth century. These were craftsmen schooled in seventeenth-century composition and illusionism but alive to the implications of Régence and *rocaille* ornament and conscious of a changing taste that threatened their livelihood. Some, such as the Ludwigsburg *stuccatore* Donato Giuseppe Frisoni, embraced band work and it is instructive to compare a contemporary drawing attributed to Frisoni with Pozzi's designs (figs. 8, 1, 6).<sup>29</sup> Here the roundel with threaded foliage and concave upper entablature is effectively freed from a solid angle panel and combined with an ethereal band work termination. The turn away from the rich modelling and idealised figuration of the late seventeenth century to lighter and more abstract ornament is vividly evoked in contemporary descriptions of Pozzi's plasterwork in the orangery at Schloss Weilburg and of a scheme at Mainz decorated by the Bamberg court *stuccatore* Jacob Vogel. In 1706 in preparation for the decoration of the castle at Philippsruhe a delegation was dispatched to report on recently executed projects.<sup>30</sup> At Weilburg (fig. 3) the stucco was considered 'quite beautiful' but over filled with figures and foliage while at Mainz the *horror vacui* characteristic of Vogel's work appalled the Philippsruhe delegate who felt that the craftsman must surely be conscious of his bad taste. Carlo Maria Pozzi's published designs are reflective of this watershed and in the years following their publication his work exhibits a transition from virtuoso modelling to a more minimal and informal style.

#### A growing reputation

What is utterly remarkable about *Artis Sculptoriae* is the ambition of its thirty-year-old author in achieving such a publication less than a decade after his début as an independent master. The sources support the image of a self-confident, hard-nosed, virtuoso craftsman, much

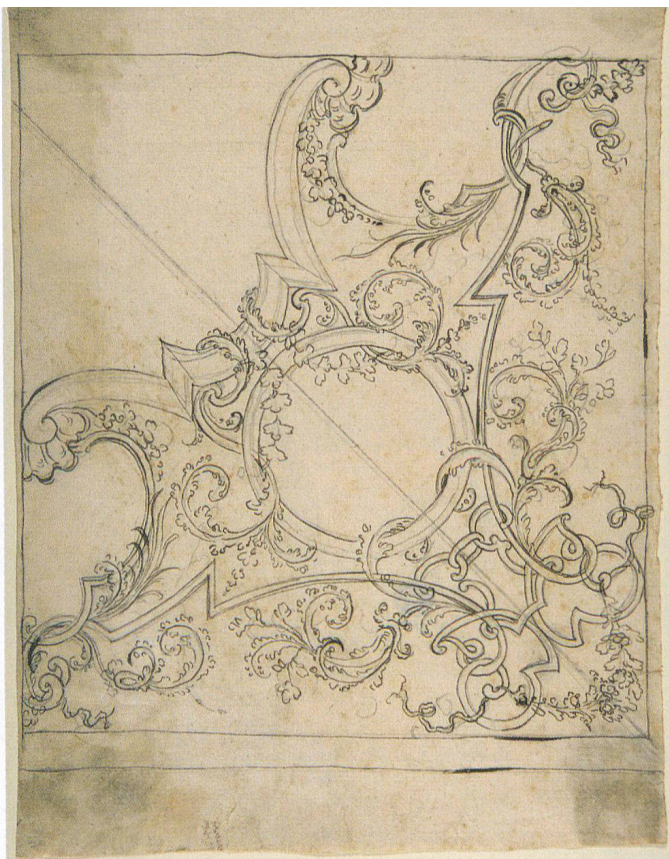


Fig. 8 Drawing for ceiling ornament, attributed to Donato Giuseppe Frisoni. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Acc. No. 65.654.117.

in demand and with a workshop of apprentices and assistants. Protracted deliberations over a proposed plasterwork scheme at the pilgrimage church at Schönenberg near Ellwangen in 1710 testify to Pozzi's reputation. Despite delaying the decoration of the interior, the Bishop of Pfalz-Neuburg preferred to pass over the petition of the principal *stuccatore* at Schloss Ludwigsburg, Donato Giuseppe Frisoni, in favour of Carlo Maria Pozzi, whose work he knew at Mainz.<sup>31</sup> When Pozzi finally came to Schönenberg and made an estimate for the work, his price was so high that it was necessary to employ a German *stuccatore*, Melchior Paul, who executed the nave ceiling according to Pozzi's design. At Schloss Idstein in Hessen, in an agreement of August 1713, Pozzi contracted for three relatively modest ceilings, his price of 440 gulden to be supplemented by a supply of good wine, all materials, his bed and board and that of his apprentices and helpers.<sup>32</sup> A subsequent agreement for the castle chapel included the provision of a *Dienstpferd* or loan horse for travel to the Catholic chapel at Camberg on Sundays and holy days. Such favourable conditions were not always assured and Pozzi was often obliged to fight his corner with patrons, architects and rival Ticinese *stuccatori*. At Kassel in 1702, where he was engaged to work on the stucco scheme for the Karlsberg at Wilhelmshöhe, he fell foul of the Roman architect Guernieri and left to seek work elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> At Wabern near Kassel in 1705, where three independent *squadre* were employed at the palace for Marie-Amalie of Hessen-Kassel, Pozzi's team was out-



Fig. 9 Ceiling of the Kaisergemach, Schloss Idstein, Hessen. Photograph courtesy of Hans Michael Hangleiter.

manoeuvred by the machinations of the Castelli workshop.<sup>34</sup> Later, at Mannheim, a *stuccatore* named 'Pozzi' would employ similar tactics to gain a commission by spreading rumours that a rival *stuccatore* was ill.<sup>35</sup> In 1721, at Schloss Biebrich near Wiesbaden, the office of Prince Georg August queried Pozzi's bill comparing his demands to the clerk's daily worksheet and offering 603 gulden instead of 728. Pozzi's bristling reply stated that he was not a day or week labourer nor was a *stuccatore* to be regarded as such.<sup>36</sup>

Three surviving schemes in southern Hessen at Idstein, Biebrich and Vollrads illustrate a distinct development in style that was first evident in 1710 with the design for the nave at Ellwangen and which was sustained into the 1720s (fig. 9). The reduction in relief and in ornament and the predominance of framing mouldings is notable, as is the refined character of the work which has none of the robust plasticity of Koblenz or Weilburg. While Döry applauded Pozzi's abandonment of over-laden late baroque ornamentation, the triumph of restraint over exuberance provides less evidence of his superb modelling skills. Two of the three projects were executed for Count Georg August von Nassau-Idstein, who during the first two decades of the eighteenth century remod-

elled the interior of the ancestral castle at Idstein and built a grandiose new palace at Biebrich on the north bank of the Rhine. At Schloss Vollrads in the Rheingau, the Pozzi scheme adorns two adjoining first-floor rooms in a garden building decorated c.1711 for Johann Erwein von Greiffenclau. Of the three, Vollrads is the earliest and entirely indicative of Pozzi's new approach. A signed drawing survives showing two alternative schemes to frame a central chamfered *Deckenspiegel* or central ceiling panel (fig. 10).<sup>37</sup> In the more elaborate of the two, groups of fully modelled playing putti are seated on shallow, scrolled plinths that fill the long and short sides of the ceiling with medallion portraits at the corners and festoons 'suspended' from points along the moulded central picture frame. In the alternative and more controlled design the illusionism of festoon and figures is replaced by broad framing bands that define the elements of the shallow cove, enclosing the portrait medallions in outer circles and creating a defined ornament field at the centre of each side and in the trapezoidal spaces between centre and ends, setting pairs of bas-relief, cloud-borne putti. The latter, more spare scheme was chosen and was to be the proto-type for Pozzi's work at Idstein. The precision of the modelled elements and the sophisticated juxtapo-

sition of incident and void produces a work of enduring elegance and charm. Was the shallow relief of Régence band work the impetus to this new, restrained idiom or might more prosaic factors have played a role? Pozzi's design makes no concessions to the highly ornate forms of Bérain-esque design and his composition, however spare, remains resolutely Italian. Not surprisingly, three-quarters of his drawing was given to the more expensive illusionistic scheme with its high degree of modelling. In the increasing taste for shallow relief and modelling Pozzi may gradually have recognised a pragmatic, cost-saving opportunity for his workshop.

Five surviving rooms at Idstein were decorated by Pozzi between 1713 and 1720: the chapel at the west end of the south wing; the private study of the Countess; the 'oriel' room in the centre of the south front; the *Kaisersaal* or state ante-room and adjoining state bedroom or *Kaisergemach* at the east end of the north range (fig. 9).<sup>38</sup> In the chapel and *Kaisersaal* Pozzi again created a frame for the illusionistic paintings of the Ticinese artist Carlo Luca Colomba and in the state bedroom his ceiling frames the grotesques of Valentin David Albrecht. Here the emphasis on framed fields is dominant. The ceiling of the small study is among Pozzi's most engaging creations (fig. 11). A spare bas-relief of three cloud-seated putti is set within a deep moulded and canted frame ornamented by scallop shells and cartouches. This is the language of Pozzi's plates in a diminutive and refined form. In its simplicity, clarity and charm, this work clearly reflects the increasing restraint and stylisation of Pozzi's work. In the fragmentary remains of Pozzi's work at Biebrich – a first-floor corridor and the upper ambulatory of the rotunda – strapwork is more in evidence combined with pairs of birds and acanthus-tailed putti.

#### Later career

The reduction in depth, figuration and ornament and an increasing emphasis on framed fields is fundamentally a more tectonic approach to ceiling design and it is noteworthy that Pozzi collaborated on a series of projects with the engineer-architect Maximilian von Welsch, who worked extensively for the Schönborn bishoprics in the Rhine-Main area. Pozzi's first recorded involvement with von Welsch was at Ellwangen where the new decorative system first appears. Von Welsch was also architect at Idstein, Biebrich, Schloss Johannisberg and at the Fulda Residence where Pozzi advised on the decoration of the *Kaisersaal* in 1727. In the 1720s von Welsch produced a series of designs for the court chapel at the Würzburg Residence and a lost interior elevation includes exactly the type of trapezoidal ornament panel and roundels employed by Pozzi, suggesting at the very least a dialogue between the two men.<sup>39</sup> In a letter to his uncle, Lothar Franz von Schönborn, archbishop of Mainz and

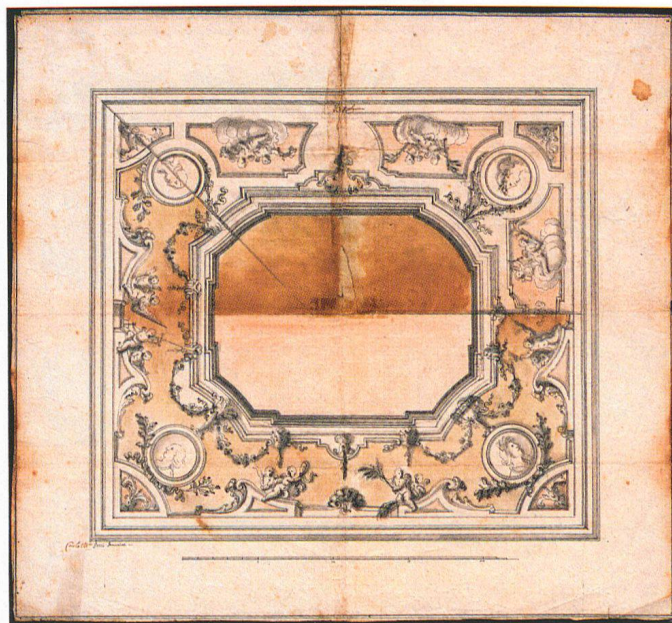


Fig. 10 Carlo Maria Pozzi, drawing of alternative ceiling designs for the garden pavilion at Schloss Vollrads, Rheingau, Hessen.

patron of von Welsch and Pozzi, Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn wrote of the architect's ability to produce ornament at a reasonable price.<sup>40</sup>

Our knowledge of Pozzi's work in the 1720s and 1730s is limited. This is partially due to the loss of interiors at Schloss Johannisberg in the Rheingau, the archiepiscopal palace at Mainz, the choir of Worms cathedral and the palace of Hirschholm in Denmark. Mid twentieth-century attributions of work at Fulda and Mannheim have since been challenged or set aside.<sup>41</sup> For a *stuccatore* who was much occupied in the previous decades, the known work is curiously limited and one senses a lacuna in the record. That said, Pozzi's personal circumstances changed in April of 1720 when, at the age of forty-four, he married twenty-nine-year-old Joanna Francesca Carli of Lugano.<sup>42</sup> Nine months later their first child was born followed by eight more in the ensuing thirteen years.<sup>43</sup> Of the nine, four were boys and might have been expected to join their father's workshop. Giovanni Battista born in October 1723 may well have done so prior to his early death at the age of eighteen in 1741. However Domenico Francesco and Carlo Sebastiano born respectively in 1731 and 1734 were too young to have assisted their father on his last recorded projects. Pietro Francesco Bonaventura, a twin born in 1727, died in June 1729.<sup>44</sup> The support of a large family clearly necessitated the continuance of Pozzi's practice, perhaps closer to home in a yet to be discovered location. Two signed and dated drawings for Schloss Berleburg in the Rothaargebirge north-west of Cologne, made in Lugano in 1735, confirm the sustained activity of the fifty-nine-year-old *stuccatore* (fig. 12).<sup>45</sup> Though much more band work is in evidence, the compositional corner spandrels and recti-



Fig. 11 Carlo Maria Pozzi, ceiling of the Retiradezimmer, Schloss Idstein, Hessen. Reproduced courtesy of the Pestalozzi Schule, Idstein.

linear bridging elements remain, as do framed panels of putti pairs. One of these was drawn by G.F. Carli, possibly Carlo Giacomo Filippo Carli, his wife's brother. In the event the interiors at Berleburg were not executed by Pozzi who had more pressing concerns at the new archiepiscopal residence at Würzburg.

#### *The Würzburg Residence*

The facts of the Würzburg stucco commission are well known. In 1734 Antonio Bossi signed a contract for the stuccowork in the Residence agreeing to co-ordinate the work of the *stuccatori* and to create with his own hands the figures and bas-reliefs.<sup>46</sup> In the initial years work focused on the reception rooms of the central block and decoration of the court chapel (fig. 13). In 1736 Bossi himself received four payments amounting to 467 florins. One other *stuccatore* was paid the substantial single sum of 190 florins. His name appears in the records as 'Carl Maria Bozi' and it has hitherto been assumed that he was a kinsman of Antonio Bossi.<sup>47</sup> However, no other work by a *stuccatore* of this name has emerged from the extensive biographical documentation of the *maestri dei*

*laghi*.<sup>48</sup> A similar spelling 'Bozy' occurs elsewhere in German payments to Pozzi and there can be little doubt that this payment records the sixty-year-old Carlo Maria Pozzi working alongside Antonio Bossi and characteristically resisting daily or weekly payment.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the clause in Bossi's contract, Jahn rejected the possibility of his single-handed authorship of the chapel's figure and bas-relief modelling and suggested the involvement of Gerolamo Francesco Andreoli and Giovanni Battista Pedrozzi. In the absence of the lost craftsmen's receipts tantalisingly listed in the building accounts, authorship of the various parts of the scheme cannot be fully determined. However, vivid proof of Carlo Maria Pozzi's part in the upper chapel is provided by a signature inscribed on the plaster surface of a spandrel in the north gallery wall. The signature of Antonio Bossi, discovered here several years ago, has been published and is well known.<sup>50</sup> A second, tripartite and equally rough signature inscribed some 30 centimetres below it, which has thus far resisted identification, can be no other than that of Carlo Maria Pozzi.<sup>51</sup> That two master craftsmen, one nearing sixty and the other in his mid thirties should sign their names together in this way suggests a relationship of mutual affection and respect.

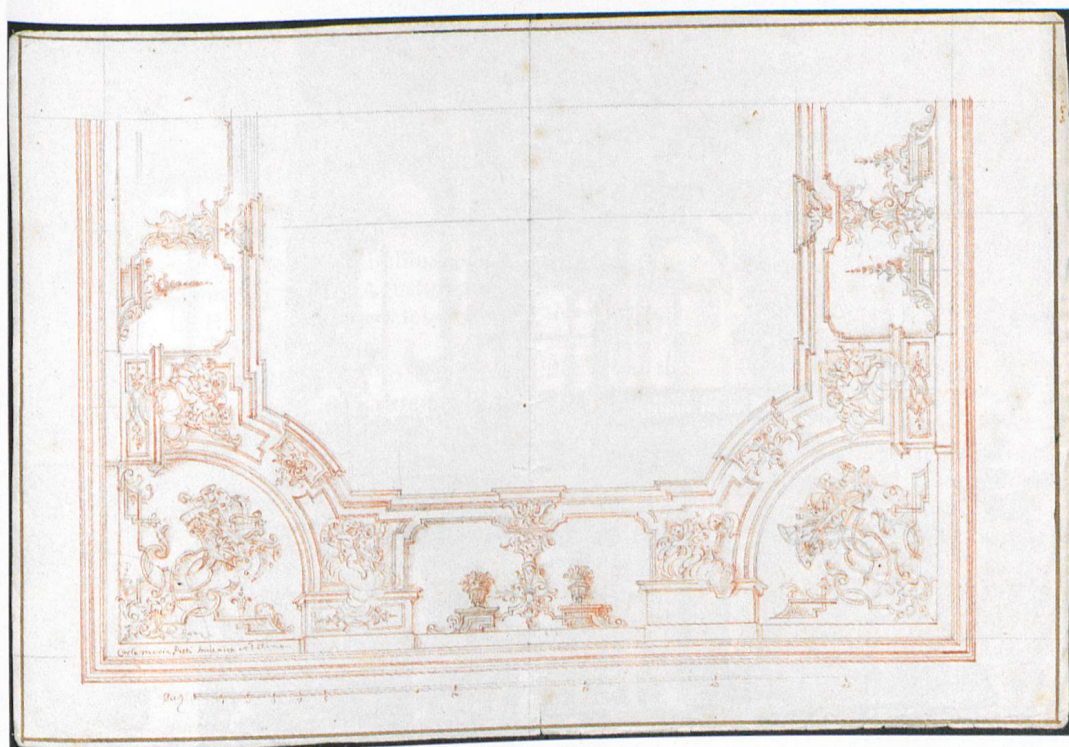


Fig. 12 Carlo Maria Pozzi, ceiling design for Schloss Berleburg, Rothaargebirge.

The intriguing question is why Pozzi should be second only to the thirty-seven-year-old virtuoso and workshop leader. It has been noted that several of the *stuccatori* at Würzburg had previously worked with Bossi and it may be that Carlo Maria Pozzi's presence at Würzburg in 1736 has some significance for Bossi's shadowy early career. Intriguingly, an eighteenth-century Würzburg source refers to Bossi's former work at Mainz.<sup>52</sup> A proven record at Mainz would certainly have met with the approval of Schönborn and would explain Bossi's acquaintance with Carlo Maria Pozzi and perhaps also with Nicholas Zuber, another Würzburg *stuccatore* who had worked with Pozzi at Johannisberg as early as 1721.<sup>53</sup> At Johannisberg a similar system of payment to that at Würzburg was employed, namely the separate remuneration of individual *stuccatori* by time or piece-work rather than a single payment to the workshop principal. At Johannisberg Carlo Maria Pozzi worked alongside younger, lesser-known and lesser-paid craftsmen that included Zuber and a quadrator named Johann Pedrolli. Among the few details to emerge of Antonio Bossi's personal life at Würzburg is his sponsoring in 1753 of the son of a *stuccatore* named Joseph Anton Pedrolli.<sup>54</sup> Could it be that Bossi began his career at Mainz in the workshop of Carlo Maria Pozzi? Evidence to the contrary is a large bequest of 1,500 florins left to Bossi in 1731 by his elderly cousin, the *stuccatore* Donato Polli, which certainly points to a period of activity with Polli's Nürnberg workshop.<sup>55</sup> However, while the French character of Bossi's surface ornament certainly has an affinity to Polli's oeuvre, there is nothing in the Nürnberg master's work to prepare for the spectacular modelling skills evi-

dent in the altars and vaulting zone of the Würzburg court chapel. That Antonio Bossi managed to marry the delicacy and abstraction of French ornament with the virtuoso figuration of late-seventeenth-century Italian stucco suggests that he was exposed to both traditions in his formative years.

Whatever the relationship of Antonio Bossi and Carlo Maria Pozzi, the spectacular stucco achievement of the Würzburg court chapel is a fitting place to end an account of Pozzi's work. The stucco decoration of the chapel was completed in 1738, thirty years after the publication of *Artis Sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata*. That too was a remarkable achievement which speaks of a specific moment in the history of European plasterwork and evokes the self-confidence of a young master craftsman with the world at his feet. The published plates clearly helped to build and maintain Pozzi's reputation during his lifetime and beyond. However, it was his superb modelling skills which sustained Pozzi's activity as a *stuccatore* over a period of forty years and ensured his participation in the swan song of the European baroque at Würzburg.<sup>56</sup>

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Fig. 13 Interior view of the Hofkirche, Würzburg Residence.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Paolo Lafranchini, who worked extensively in Ireland, is recorded alongside Pozzi at Schloss Johannisberg im Rheingau in 1721. BARON LUDWIG DÖRY, *Die Tätigkeit italienischer Stuckateure 1650–1750 im Gebiet der Bundesrepublik Deutschland mit Ausnahme von Altbayern, Schwaben und der Oberpfalz* in *Arte e artisti dei laghi Lombardi II*, Gli stuccatori dal barocco al rococo, ed. by EDOARDO ARSLAN, Como 1964, p. 143.
- <sup>2</sup> Discussion of *Artis Sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigma* is based on copies held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, British Library, Landesbibliothek Fulda, Getty Research Center Malibu, Metropolitan Museum of Art New York (2), Museum für angewandte Kunst Vienna (MAK), Salzburg University Library, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Library Zürich (ETH), Victoria & Albert Museum and a partial set of five plates at the Irish Architectural Archive.
- <sup>3</sup> BARON LUDWIG DÖRY, *Die Mainzer Stuckateure der Bandlwerkzeit*, PhD Diss. Goethe Universität Frankfurt, 1953, *Die Mainzer Stuckateure der Bandlwerkzeit*, Mainzer Zeitschrift 48–49, 1953–54, pp. 109–153, *Die Stuckateure der Bandlwerkzeit in Nassau und Hessen*, Schriften des Historischen Museums Frankfurt-am-Main 7, 1954, *Gemalte Raumdekorationen in Hessen von 1710 bis 1740*, Schriften des Historischen Museums Frankfurt-am-Main 10, 1962.
- <sup>4</sup> Ex info Anastasia Gilardi. Archivio Diocesano Lugano, Register of Baptisms, 16 Feb. 1676.
- <sup>5</sup> URSULA STEVENS, *Francesco Pozzi*, Mendrisio, 2007, *passim*, EDOARDO AUGUSTONI / IVANO PROSERPI, *Decorazione a stucco del Settecento nel Luganese e nel Mendrisiotto*, Kunst + Architektur in der Schweiz 3, 1995, pp. 277–278.
- <sup>6</sup> Ex info Ursula Stevens, Castel San Pietro.
- <sup>7</sup> SILVIA A.COLOMBO / SIMONETTA COPPA, *I Carloni di Scaria*, Artisti dei laghi, Itinerari europei, vol. 2, Lugano, 1997, p. 127, LUCIA PEDRINI STANGA, *I Colomba di Arogno*, Artisti dei laghi, Itinerari europei, vol. 1, Lugano, 1994, pp. 153–155.
- <sup>8</sup> MARCO DUBINI, *I'Pacta ad artem*, una fonte per la storia dell'emigrazione, Col bastone e la bisaccia per le strade d'Europa, migrazioni stagionali di mestiere dall'arco alpino nei secoli XVI–XVIII, Bellinzona, 1991, pp. 73–82. Ex info Anastasia Gilardi, GOTTFRIED SCHÄFFER / GREGOR PEDA, *Der Stephansdom zu Passau*, Freilassing, 1996, p. 42.
- <sup>9</sup> R.E. KUHN, *Der Thronsaal der himmlischen Herrlichkeit: Das Lebenswerk des Stukkator-Architekten Giovanni Pietro Magno im Würzburger St. Kiliansdom*, Würzburg, 1981, p. 81–93.
- <sup>10</sup> SILVIA A.COLOMBO / SIMONETTA COPPA 1997 (see ref. 7), pp. 132–147.
- <sup>11</sup> LAURA DAMIANI-CABRINI, *Le migrazioni d'arte*, in *Storia della Svizzera Italiana. Dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, ed. by RAFFAELLO CESCHI, Bellinzona, 2000, p. 290.
- <sup>12</sup> HERBER DELWING / REINHARD KALLENBACH, *Kulturdenkmäler in Rheinland-Pfalz, Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik*, vol. 3/2, *Stadt Koblenz, Innenstadt*, Worms, 2004, p. 90, for a full image of the ceiling.
- <sup>13</sup> KURT EITELBACH, *Johann Christophorus Sebastiani, ein kurtrierischer Hofbaumeister des 17. Jahrhunderts*, PhD Diss., Gutenberg University Mainz, 1950, p. 182, n. 18.
- <sup>14</sup> The work began at Easter (23<sup>rd</sup> March 1704) and was com-

- pleted by November. It was executed by three *stuccatori*, three quadrators and a labourer. BARON LUDWIG DÖRY, *Die Geschichte der Stuckierung der Philippsruher Schlossräume in den Jahren 1706–07*, Neues Magazin für Hanauische Geschichte 6, 1954, pp. 129–31.
- 15 BREDO GRANDJEAN, *Stukarbejder I Danmark 1660–1800*, Copenhagen, 1994, pp. 68–73.
- 16 GIUSEPPE MARTINOLA, *Lettere dai paesi transalpini degli artisti di Meride e dei villaggi vicini*, Bellinzona, 1963, p. 143.
- 17 Auzoni was a member of the Agustoni family from the Mugio Valley in Ticino. <http://www.tessinerkuenstler-ineuropa.ch/deu/mastri-a-deu.html>
- 18 In June 1708 Pozzi delivered to Lugano a letter from the *stuccatore* Stefano Melchion written in Münster on May 27<sup>th</sup>, GIUSEPPE MARTINOLA 1963 (see ref. 16), p. 86.
- 19 WERNER SCHWARZ, *Vom 'stimpelnden' Uhrmacher zum Kunstverleger: Jeremias Wolff und seine Nachfolger*, in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by HELMUT GIER / JOHANNES JANOTA, Wiesbaden, 1997, pp. 587–619.
- 20 BARBARA KUTSCHER, *Paul Decker's 'Fürstliche Baumeister' 1711/1716*, European University Studies, Series xxviii, Vol. 241, Frankfurt, 1995, *passim*.
- 21 ANDREA SPIRITI, *Esse est percipi: stucco sculptors from the Lombard lakes in eighteenth-century Ireland*, in *Decorative Plasterwork in Ireland and Europe: Ornament and the early modern interior*, ed. by CHRISTINE CASEY / CONOR LUCEY, Dublin, 2012, p. 82.
- 22 Instances of direct transcription from the plates are rare. In the opening decades of the century, the Castelli workshop employed similar compositional devices at Oranienstein and Neuwied and it is clear that Pozzi's designs codify practice rather than offering novel exemplars.
- 23 In the bound copy at the Getty Research Centre Malibu, the order of plates 7 and 8 is reversed.
- 24 I am most grateful to Professor Peter Fuhling for his generous commentary on Pozzi's suite.
- 25 GEORGE RICHARDSON, *A book of ceilings, composed in the style of the Antique Grottoes*, London, 1776, *passim*. I am grateful to Conor Lucey for bringing this example to my attention.
- 26 BARBARA RINN, *Stuckdekoration in Gut Hohen Luckow – gestern und heute*, ed. by Karin Holland, Schloss Hohen Luckow, 2003, pp. 48–56.
- 27 DÉsirÉ GUILMARD, *Les maitres ornementistes*, Paris, 1880, facsimile Amsterdam, 1968, p. 330, PETER JESSEN, *Der Ornamentstich. Geschichte der Vorlagen des Kunsthandwerks seit dem Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1920, p. 167.
- 28 Berlin Kunstbibliothek, Ornament Sammlung 4030.
- 29 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Prints & Drawings, 65.654.117.
- 30 BARON LUDWIG DÖRY 1954 (see ref. 14), p. 130.
- 31 LUDWIG MANGOLD, *Stuccatoren und Stuckarbeiten in Ellwangen*, Stuttgart, 1938, pp. 24–39.
- 32 CHRISTEL LENTZ, *Idsteiner Schloss*, Idstein, 1994, pp. 85–86.
- 33 BARBARA RINN, *Italienische Stukkateure zwischen Elbe und Ostsee*, Kiel, 1999, p. 26.
- 34 GIUSEPPE MARTINOLA 1963 (see ref. 16), p. 20.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 36 Hessen Staatsarchiv Wiesbaden, Schloss Biebrich, 130–II–4081–278.
- 37 Hessen Staatsarchiv Wiesbaden, Hausarchiv Vollrads in Abteilung 4, Nr. 31.
- 38 CHRISTEL LENTZ 1994 (see ref. 32), figs. 27–28, 56–59, and DAGMAR SÖDER, *Kulturdenkmäler im Hessen-Rheingau-Taunus-Kreis II Altkreis Untertaunus, Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Stuttgart, 2003, pp. 387–391. The picture captions in Lentz are correct.
- 39 Illustrated in FRITZ ARENS, *Maximilian von Welsch*, Munich/Zürich, 1986, p. 61.
- 40 BARBARA KUTSCHER 1995 (see ref. 20), p. 52.
- 41 INGRID KRUSCH, *Andreas Schwarzmann, ein Stukkateur in Fulda (1708–1739)*, Fuldaer Geschichtsblätter 69, 1993, p. 16.
- FERDINAND WEBER, *Die Kurfürstliche Residenz zu Mannheim*, Worms, 2006, p. 186.
- 42 Archivio Diocesano Lugano, Lugano, Register of Marriages 2/4/1720, Register of Baptisms 31/7/1692.
- 43 *Ibid.*, Register of Baptisms, Lugano, 13/1/1721, 7/10/1723, 10/10/1724, 14/7/1727, 14/9/1729, 30/8/1731, 9/6/1733, 30/10/1734.
- 44 Archivio Diocesano Lugano, Register of Deaths, Lugano, 15/6/1729.
- 45 LWL-Archivamt für Westfalen, Münster, Fürstliches Archiv Bad Berleburg, Karten, Nr. 1–2.
- 46 WOLFGANG JAHN, *Stukkaturen des Rokoko*, Sigmaringen, 1990, pp. 357–59.
- 47 VERENA FRIEDRICH, *Rokoko in der Residenz Würzburg*, Munich, 2004, p. 37, seeks to rationalise the large payment to 'Bozy' which is overlooked by most other sources.
- 48 MAX PFISTER, *Repertorium der Tessiner Künstler: der grösste vergessene Kulturbeitrag der Schweiz an Europa*, Thalwil, 1994, 2 volumes, vol. 2, unpaginated; URSULA STEVENS, [www.artistiticesi-ineuropa.ch](http://www.artistiticesi-ineuropa.ch)
- 49 Staatsarchiv Marburg, Rechnungen II Johannisberg 1716–1729, 21:3, series of payments to 'stocator Bozy'.
- 50 MATTHIAS STASCHULL, *Antonio Bossi: Werktechnik an stuckplastischen Ausgestaltungen der Residenz Würzburg – das Beispiel Kaisersaal*, in *Stuck des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts Geschichte-Technik-Erhaltung*, ed. by JÜRGEN PURSCHE, ICOMOS, Berlin, 2010, p. 112.
- 51 CHRISTINE CASEY, *New light on the court chapel at Würzburg* in CHRISTINE CASEY / CONOR LUCEY 2012 (see ref. 21), pp. 240–253.
- 52 WOLFGANG JAHN 1990 (see ref. 46), p. 203, n. 451, cites a source of 1765, 'Bossi sei vorher in Mainz beschäftigt gewesen'.
- 53 BARON LUDWIG DÖRY 1953 (see ref. 3), p. 37.
- 54 WOLFGANG JAHN 1990 (see ref. 46), p. 231.
- 55 CHRISTOPH NIEDERSTEINER, *Donato Polli 1663–1738. Uno stuccatore ticinese a Norimberga*, Muzzano, 1991, p. 30–31.
- 56 Acknowledgments: Many thanks to Ursula Stevens, Barbara Rinn, Anastasia Gilardi, Professor Peter Fuhling, Christel Lentz and Hans Michael Hangleiter for their comments, suggestions and photographs. Thanks also to Christian Algar, Dr Rainald Franz, Pierina Hunziker, Beatrix Koll, Albina Mayer-Hungershausen, G.Lobe-Röder, Femke Speelberg, Dr Marcus Stumpf and Lois White.

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## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Der Tessiner Carlo Maria Pozzi (1676 Lugano – 1747) war der einzige Stuccatore seiner Generation, der Radierungen als Vorlagen für die Gestaltung von Stuckaturen fertigte. Als Zeitgenosse von Diego Francesco Carloni (1674–1750) und Donato Giuseppe Frisoni (1683–1735) war er ein viel beachteter Künstler; die aktuelle Forschung bringt ihm hingegen nunmehr wenig Aufmerksamkeit entgegen. Der vorliegende Artikel beleuchtet einige Aspekte der Biografie Pozzis und trägt wesentlich zu unserem Verständnis seiner späten Karriere bei. Aufbauend auf den Forschungen Baron Ludwig Dörys aus den 1950er Jahren kommen im Beitrag neues Material aus Primärquellen sowie eine Reihe von deutschen und italienischen Forschungsergebnissen zur Sprache. Pozzis *Artis sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata* (Augsburg, 1708) wird in Zusammenhang mit veröffentlichten Entwürfen für Decken-Ornamente und den eigenen ausgeführten Projekten des Künstlers diskutiert. Ebenso werden die Bezugspunkte der Arbeit Pozzis mit den Werken Antonio Bossis herausgearbeitet, was weitere Fragen zur Ausbildung der Würzburger Hofstuckateure aufwirft.

## RÉSUMÉ

Carlo Maria Pozzi (1676–1747) fut le seul stuccatore de sa génération à avoir réalisé des gravures servant de modèles à des décorations en stuc. Contemporain de Diego Francesco Carloni (1674–1750) et Donato Giuseppe Frisoni (1683–1735), Pozzi connut un grand succès de son vivant, mais n'a étonnamment que peu retenu l'attention de la recherche moderne. La présente contribution s'intéresse tout particulièrement à la biographie de Pozzi et nous permet de mieux cerner les dernières années de sa carrière professionnelle. Reposant sur les recherches menées par le baron Ludwig Döry au milieu du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, elle ajoute une nouvelle documentation provenant de sources primaires et de différentes études réalisées en Allemagne et en Italie. Le texte de Pozzi *Artis sculptoriae, vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata* (Augsbourg, 1708) est analysé en relation avec les dessins publiés par le stucateur pour la décoration de plafonds et les projets qu'il a personnellement réalisés. Le rapport entre l'œuvre de Pozzi et celle d'Antonio Bossi est également étudié, soulevant de nouvelles questions à propos de la formation des stuccateurs actifs auprès de la cour de Wurtzbourg.

## RIASSUNTO

Carlo Maria Pozzi (1676–1747) è stato l'unico stuccatore della sua generazione a utilizzare incisioni come bozze per l'esecuzione delle sue stuccature. Contemporaneo di Diego Francesco Carloni (1674–1750) e di Donato Giuseppe Frisoni (1683–1735), Pozzi era a suo tempo molto apprezzato. Ciononostante la sua carriera è stata pressoché ignorata dagli studiosi moderni. Il saggio riassume gli aspetti salienti della biografia dell'artista aggiungendovi informazioni importanti ai fini della comprensione della sua opera. Partendo dalle ricerche compiute dal Barone Ludwig Döry a metà del XX secolo, il saggio illustra del materiale supplementare, ripreso da fonti primarie e da una serie di ricerche compiute da studiosi tedeschi e italiani. Inoltre tratta le *Artis sculptoriae vulgo stuccatoriae paradigmata* di Pozzi (Augsburgo, 1708) in relazione ai disegni per la decorazione di un soffitto e ai progetti realizzati dallo stesso Pozzi. Un altro aspetto esaminato dal saggio è il rapporto fra il lavoro di Pozzi e quello di Antonio Bossi, e i nuovi aspetti che ne emergono sulla formazione degli stuccatori di Würzburg.

## SUMMARY

Carlo Maria Pozzi (1676–1747) was the only *stuccatore* of his generation to publish engraved designs for plasterwork decoration. A contemporary of Diego Francesco Carloni (1674–1750) and Donato Giuseppe Frisoni (1683–1735), Pozzi was much acclaimed in his day but his career has received surprisingly little attention from modern scholars. This article establishes the facts of Pozzi's biography and adds significantly to our understanding of his late career. Building on the mid twentieth-century research of Baron Ludwig Döry, it adds new material from primary sources and from a range of German and Italian scholarship. Pozzi's *Artis sculptoriae vulgo e stuccatore paradigmata* (Augsburg, 1708) is discussed in relation to published designs for ceiling ornament and to his own executed schemes. The relationship of Pozzi's work to that of Antonio Bossi is also discussed, raising new questions about the training of the Würzburg Hofstuckateur.