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ON PEDESTALS: MICHELANGELO'S *DAVID*,
BANDINELLI'S *HERCULES AND CACUS*
AND THE SCULPTURE
OF THE PIAZZA DELLA SIGNORIA*

* This study was supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. I am happy also to acknowledge my debt to the graduate students in my seminars on Bandinelli at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, particularly Beth Holman, Jane Lempereur, and Jane Lloyd, and to those in my seminar at Harvard University, on Michelangelo, especially Jeremy Strick and David Stone. Eve Borsook, Janet Cox-Rearick, and Bernice Davidson, took precious time to read the manuscript and offered valuable comments and corrections as did Christof Thoenes. I gained much from conversations with my colleagues, P.H. von Blanckenhagen and Günter Kopcke, on

antique sources for Renaissance pedestals. Eric Frank contributed helpful suggestions, research assistance and typed the manuscript with his usual intelligent *prontezza*. In Florence, Christine Smith, Elizabeth Wicks and their helpers examined and measured the pedestals of Michelangelo's *David* and of Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* with the kind consent of Dott. Giorgio Bonsanti, Director of the Accademia delle Belle Arti, and of Dott. Fulvio Abboni, Assessore di Cultura, Florence. I owe warmest thanks to H. W. Janson, Virginia Bush and William Barcham for help with photographs and to the Bibliotheca Hertziana, the American Academy in Rome and their staffs.



1. Maarten van Heemskerck, *Courtyard of Casa Sassi in Rome*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett



2. Giovanni Stradano, *Piazza del Mercato Vecchio, Florence*, Palazzo Vecchio, frieze from the *Quartiere di Eleonora*

Even before Michelangelo had finished carving the *David*, contemporaries recognized it as a triumphant achievement for the artist, the art of sculpture and the city of Florence¹. The pedestal of the statue², however, did not share in this extraordinary fame. It was scarcely mentioned in earlier sources and has fared no better in the inexhaustible later literature on the *David*³. The pedestal

is most often omitted in photographs of the sculpture and has not been accurately measured. This lavish neglect is neither unique nor accidental. It has been extended to the bases of most Renaissance statues and for reasons that have deep historical roots.

Pedestals were not often of great concern to the sculptor when Michelangelo was a young man. Most sculpture was set directly into niches so that elaborate pedestals were neither necessary nor possible. Antique statues, mostly found without their pedestals, were usually set up on available antique altars or architectural fragments. Heemskerck's drawings of sculpture collections in Rome show what such pedestals could look like (Fig. 1)⁴. Modern free-standing sculpture was rare and was destined to be installed on top of columns, old or new, like Donatello's now lost marble *Dovizia* (Fig. 2) or Michelangelo's bronze *David* sent to France⁵. Columns and other sorts of pedestals were generally made by professional carvers

1 See the deliberations to choose a site for the *David* of January 25th, in C. Seymour Jr., *Michelangelo's David, A Search for Identity*, Pittsburgh, 1967, pp. 140–157; See below, n. 20.

2 The nomenclature used to describe sculpture supports is highly inconsistent. For simplicity's sake, I have used "base" to mean the lowest part of the rocky material from which the sculpture is made, e.g. the rocky base under the *David's* feet. Below that a plinth (see figs. 4–5) rests on the pedestal proper that is composed of a dado or body topped by the cornice and terminating in other mouldings which are, in turn, supported by a socle.

3 Laudable exceptions are: W.P. Tuckerman, "Die Sockelbildung statuarischer Werke", *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, VI (1895), pp. 269–275, 292–301; H. Keutner, "Über die Entstehung und die Formen des Standbildes im Cinquecento", *Münchener Jahrbuch*, Ser. 3 (1956), pp. 138–168; V. Bush, *Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento, (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts)*, New York, 1976; W. Sheard, in C. Seymour Jr., *The Sculpture of Verrocchio*, London, 1971, pp. 182–184; M. Jacob-Felsch, *Die Entwicklung griechischer Statuenbasen und die Aufstellung der Statuen*, Waldsassen, 1969; I. Gesche, *Neuaufstellungen antiker Statuen und ihr Einfluß auf die Römische Renaissance-Architektur*, (Frankfurt 1968), Mannheim, 1971. I am grateful to H.-W. Kruft for this last reference.

4 C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Martin van Heemskerck im königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1913–1916, I, fols. 24, 25r, 45r, 47r, 53r. Fol. 71r, pl. 81, for the Casa Sassi with many bases but many appear modern (by 1536). C. Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, IV)*, Heidelberg, 1917.

5 W. Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument*, Leipzig/Berlin, 1939; H.W. Janson, "The Image of Man from



3. Donatello, *Judith and Holofernes*, Florence Piazza della Signoria (now in the Museo Nazionale)

of architectural ornament, scarpellini or, at best, by other sculptors⁶. Thus Vasari says Desiderio da Settignano carved the column for Donatello's *David*. Pedestals of equestrian monuments on the other hand, were designed, but not made, by the sculptor of the statue⁷. If, as happened with surprising frequency, a statue was moved about, the original pedestal was likely to be left behind, lost in transit, or to be unsuitable in the new setting. This is what happened to the original supports of Donatello's *Marzocco*, of his bronze *Judith* (Fig. 3) when it was confiscated by the Florentine Republic after the Medici ouster of 1494 and, ultimately, to his bronze *David* as well⁸. When the pedestal was not simply an element that could be added or changed at will, it was considered an extension of the architectural setting⁹. Architects were paid to

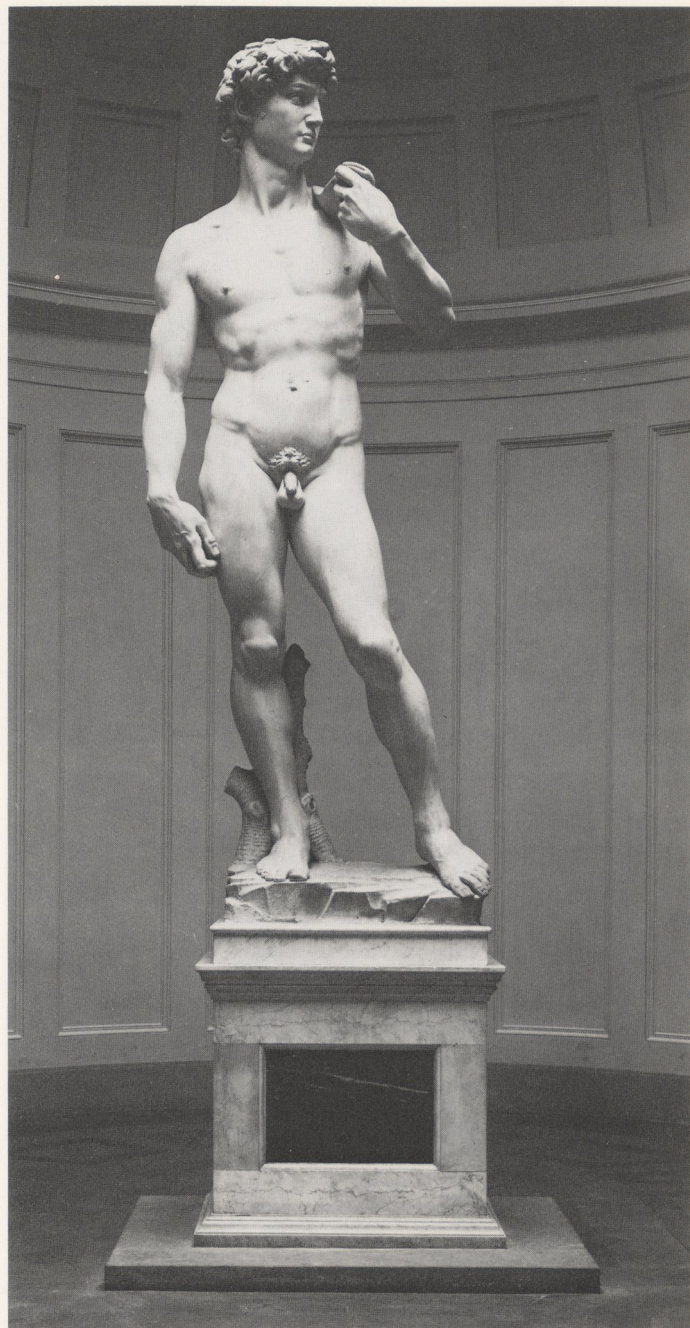
Donatello to Michelangelo", *Sixteen Studies*, New York, 1973, pp. 119–148. For the *Dovizia*, and bibliography, H. W. Janson, "La Signification politique du David en bronze de Donatello", *Revue de l'Art* XXXIX (1978), pp. 38, n. 30. For Verrocchio, M. Cruttwell, *Verrocchio*, London (2nd ed.), 1911, pp. 65, 67–68; Seymour, *Verrocchio*, p. 163. For Michelangelo's bronze *David*, G. Gaye *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Florence, 1839–1840, II, pp. 105–106, 13 Nov. 1508.

- 6 Desiderio da Settignano carved the base of Donatello's *David*, although it was possible not made for the statue (H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton N.J., 1957, II, p. 80). Benedetto da Rovizzano, the base of Bandinelli's *Orpheus* (Fig. 21). G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Milan (Club del Libro), 1962, VI, p. 25. F. Ames-Lewis, "Art History or the Stilkritik? Donatello's *David* reconsidered", *Art History*, II (1979), p. 153, suggests that Donatello himself may, nonetheless, be the designer. The column of Verrocchio's *David* was probably carved by shop members. Seymour, *Verrocchio*, p. 163, but see Passavant, *Verrocchio*, London, 1969, p. 174.
- 7 Keutner, "Standbild", p. 139, n. 5, on the importance of the bases of equestrian monuments by Donatello, Verrocchio and Leonardo. Also in Seymour, *Verrocchio*, pp. 182–184; Janson, *Donatello*, Princeton, N.J., 1957, II, pp. 152–161. It should be noted that Leonardo's projects for the *Trivulzio Monument* enlarge the base until it becomes a full-size triumphal arch all'antica.
- 8 Janson, *Donatello*, pp. 42–43, 77–80, 198–201; M. A. Fader, *Sculpture in the Piazza della Signoria as Emblem of the Florentine Republic* (Unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan), 1977; V. Herzner, "Die *Judith* der Medici", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* XLIII (1980), 2, pp. 139–180.
- 9 Keutner, "Standbild", p. 138, points out that the pedestal always involves the encounter of sculpture and architecture. L. B. Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, J. Leoni trans., J. Rykwert ed., London (rpt), 1955, bk. VIII, ch. III, p. 167, says that pedestals are the remains of "a continued low wall under the columns" that has been opened up to allow free passage. "Imbasamento", the Italian word most generally used for sculpture supports also, suggests a derivation from architecture. Vasari, *Vite* V, p. 139, says that sculptors learn architecture or become architects "per situare le statue loro".

design and install the pedestal of Michelangelo's *David*. Nonetheless, pedestals are of the greatest interest for Renaissance sculpture.

The significance of the pedestals resides in a seeming paradox. It is ultimately the support, not the statue that determines the monumentality of a work of sculpture. Even a small figure on a large pedestal requires to be understood as a monument, whereas the reverse need not be true. Certain kinds of pedestals deprived of their sculpture can even continue to function as architecture: triumphal arches and columns are examples. A statue, on the contrary, must be set up on a support. Pedestals transform architectural environments by giving them new focus, as in Michelangelo's Campidoglio¹⁰. In turn, pedestals shape the emotional response of the spectator by determining the angle and distance from which the statue is seen¹¹. Pedestals even exert special powers of attraction across space, for their ornaments and inscriptions can persuade the viewer to approach the sculpture more closely than he otherwise might have done. If "monere" is the root of "monument", it is the pedestal that fixes what we are to remember. The peregrinations of Donatello's *Judith* and *David*, reveal just how permeable sculpture is to vastly differing meanings until it is anchored by a pedestal and inscriptions. Finally, pedestals offer visual and verbal information that the sculpture itself is quite unable to communicate.

Michelangelo's *David* represents a turning point in the history of pedestals. Just as the *David* is the first surviving free-standing monumental statue of the male nude carved since antiquity, its pedestal marks the first extant Renaissance use for this purpose of a simple antique architectural socle form¹². Practical considerations affected the choice of this support. A column able to



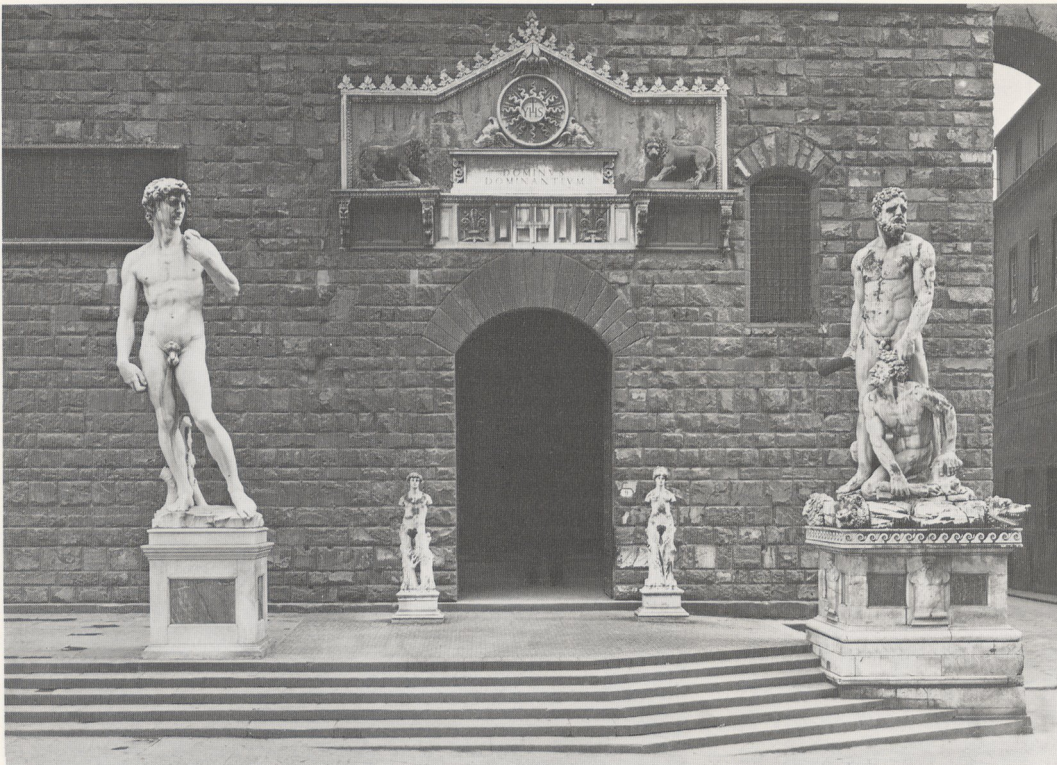
4. Michelangelo, *David*, Florence, Accademia di Belle Arti

support the colossus would, for instance, have been impossibly large and high, to say nothing of the difficulties of installation. Otherwise, however, the form and dimensions of the pedestal were freely chosen. Today, the classicizing aspect of the pedestal and of the proportions of the figure to its support, are given mistaken emphasis when we see the *David* in its nineteenth century niche at the Accademia or the copy of the statue standing in front of the Palazzo Vecchio (Fig. 4), looking ambiguous in relation to the architecture and meager in contrast to the assertive bulk of Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* (Fig. 5).

10 For triumphal arches as pedestals, see below, n. 54. For the Campidoglio, J.S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2nd. ed., London, 1961, p. 66, 68, T. Buddensieg, "Zum Statuenprogramm im Kapitolsplan Pauls III", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* XXXII, 1969, pp. 177–228, and W. Lotz, *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1975, pp. 86, 155.

11 Tuckerman, "Sockelbildung", pp. 272–275; Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, ch. II.

12 C. de Tolnay, "L'Hercule de Michel-Ange a Fontainebleau", *Acts of the Twenty-First International Congress of the History of Art*, Bonn, 1967, pp. 121–127, stresses that the lost *Hercules* had priority in this respect. Keutner, "Standbild", p. 141, also points to forerunners in the sculpture depicted by J. Bellini and to the statue of Virgil planned in 1499 for Mantua (fig. 15). Also, J.T. Martineau, *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, (cat.), London, 1981, no. 92. Keutner properly stresses the history and position of the *David* pedestal. Donatello's giant *Joshua* for the Cathedral of Florence was also an important forerunner, Seymour, *David*, pp. 21–37.



5. Michelangelo, *David*,
Baccio Bandinelli, *Hercules
and Cacus*, Florence,
Palazzo Vecchio

The present arrangement was perpetrated in 1812, by the architect Giuseppe del Rosso¹³. He tore down the *ringhiera*, the Trecento rostrum where the Signori gathered for all important public occasions. This platform, surmounted by three steps and edged by a low parapet, originally ringed the north and west sides of the palace and terminated at the south entrance, where a flight of stairs, polygonal in plan, led up to the portal of the palace. The appearance of the complex can be deduced from the well-known early sixteenth century paintings depicting the death of Savonarola (Fig.6)¹⁴. Del Rosso

simply extended the front edge of the old stairs leading to the portal, creating a broad empty platform in front of the palace. Thus the emphasis which the stairs had given the entrance was completely neutralized and the sculpture that had formerly been integrated with them was visually cast adrift (Figs.5, 15). Still, a considerable amount is known about the circumstances of the *David's* installation in 1504 and something of its appearance can be reconstructed. The evidence has long been available but remains unfamiliar and it has not been examined for what it can reveal about Michelangelo's sculpture, its pedestal and its setting.

13 For the relevant passage in Del Rosso's own report of his activities, A. Gotti, *La Storia del Palazzo Vecchio in Firenze*, Florence, 1889, pp. 293–294. Rosso himself was doubtful of what he had done and the outraged reactions of critics are recorded in the later literature on the Palazzo, e.g. an unsigned article in *Il Marzocco*, Oct. 1910, p. 3. M. Marangoni, "A proposito della ricollocazione del David", *Rivista d'Arte* VII (1910), pp. 43–45. Also A. Lensi, *Il Palazzo Vecchio*, Milan/Rome, 1929, pp. 294–296, 300, 315; and G. Lensi-Orlandi, *Il Palazzo Vecchio di Firenze*, Florence, 1977, pp. 210–211, who gives the date for the demolition as 1812 whereas 1809 is favored in the older literature.

14 The three early 16th century paintings purport to show the appearance of the piazza in 1498 and seem to be variants of a common prototype but yield slight variations in the information about the *ringhiera* and the *Judith*. For the other two versions see Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, figs. 70, 71. Fig. 71 (in the Museo di San Marco) shows both the parapet of the *ringhiera* and the socle of the *Judith* decorated with insets.

The *ringhiera* was constructed in 1323 and the portions abutting the west palace entrance were apparently rebuilt when the fortifications erected there in 1342, by the Duke of Athens, were torn down. The *ringhiera* parapet simply came to an end in front of the portal¹⁵. The *ringhiera* and

This detail is given in no other *veduta*. If correct, it would provide a further impetus for Michelangelo's choice of a similar form.

15 A 14th century fresco (ill. in Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, fig. 27) shows the portal and the *ringhiera* at the time of the fortifications. The *ringhiera* ends at the portal and no steps are visible in front of the portal itself. A 15th century relief on the Torre dei Girolami (ill. Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 30) may show a few steps in front of the portal that do not extend beyond the *ringhiera* which, probably because of the perspective representation, appears partly to cover the entrance. The same odd distortion occurs in D. Ghirlandaio's Sasseti Chapel

its parapet were altered or augmented in the 1490's¹⁶. When Donatello's *Judith* was installed in 1495, a tall granite socle, slightly higher than the parapet, was built at the end of the *ringhiera* into the stairs as a kind of newel post (Figs. 6, 7). This construction may have entailed some alteration to the stairs¹⁷. A month earlier, as part of the same anti-Medicean impetus that led to the *Judith*'s installation, a ramp, built on Medici orders, leading from the portal to the Loggia dei Signori was torn down. It had impeded free traffic in the piazza and the citizens complained¹⁸. With its removal the piazza was literally and figuratively liberated again and the palace stairs with the *Judith* were now its visual and political focus. The *Judith*,

fresco of the confirmation of the Franciscan rule (ill. Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 31). It would appear that the visitors enter the palace by means of the steps behind the *ringhiera* that run parallel to it. Certainly the steps still do not protrude beyond the *ringhiera*. In the National Gallery, London, a portrait attributed to Piero di Cosimo and dating after 1504 (M. Bacci, *Piero di Cosimo*, Milan, 1966, p. 120, pl. 73), however, also shows no stairs protruding although they were in all likelihood built long before. They are shown in the form they kept until the 19th century in the three interrelated representations of the *Execution of Savonarola*. See above, n. 14. See below, n. 17.

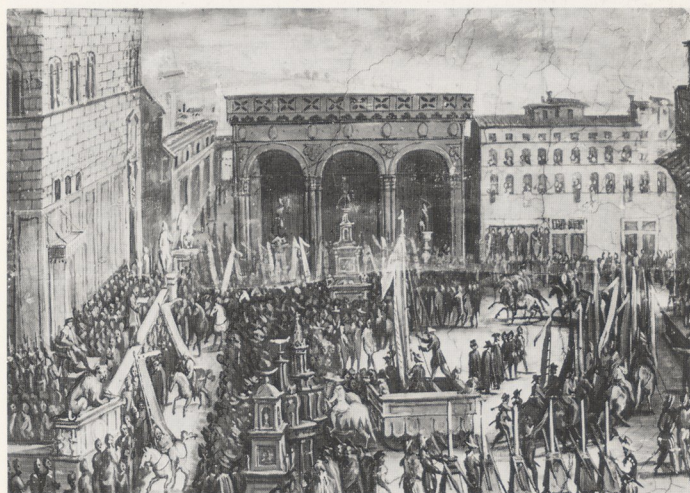
- 16 C. von Fabriczy, "Simone del Pollaiuolo, Il Cronaca", *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* XXVII (1906), Beiheft, p. 51, gives documents showing that the *ringhiera* was being worked on in 1491–1496. Also K. Frey, "Studien zu Michelangelo Buonarroti und zur Kunst seiner Zeit", *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* XXX (1909), Beiheft, p. 3, n. 7, nos. 118, 119.

- 17 Janson, *Donatello*, pp. 198–199. Documentation published by Lensi suggests that the stairs underwent alterations before they reached their Renaissance shape and that, even then, building and painting activity there was associated with the installation of statues in front of the palace. Documents for the portal fortifications of the Duke of Athens mention no stairs, but after his fall, in 1343, the frontispiece with lions was made for the portal and an external staircase was restored "scalineas que fuerent penes portam palati versus vaccheriecciam". In 1349 the *ringhiera* was also reconstructed and the fortifications of the portals removed. Stairs are not mentioned. Lensi does not record the stairs in the earlier 15th century (Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, pp. 24, 26, 28, 33, 34), but the *Judith* socle had to be fitted into the stairs as did the socle of the *David* in 1504. Indeed, on May 23, 1507, orders were given to begin repavement of the piazza beginning at the "porta principale del palazzo" (Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 105, Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, pp. 111–112). In 1531, the *signoria* petitioned to have the piazza repaved again. When Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* was installed in 1534, some readjustments of the stairs and pavement must also have been required. Documents and Landucci, *Diario* in Gotti, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 64.

- 18 Demolition of the "rialto" was begun 22 November, 1495, with the directive that the materials obtained were to be reused for the construction of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio. This demolition may also have necessitated repairs on the palazzo stairs.



6. Anonymous 16th century, *Execution of Savonarola, Florence*, Galleria Corsini



7. Giovanni Stradano, *Festa degli Omaggi in the Piazza della Signoria, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio*, frieze from the *Quartiere di Eleonora*

standing on a triangular base decorated with reliefs, was supported by a carved baluster¹⁹.

Michelangelo's *David* was "quasi finitum" when, on January 25th, 1504, the famous deliberations were held to determine where the statue should be set up²⁰. Ultimately, it was decided that the *Judith*, an indecorous „segno mortifero" for the city, would yield her place in

19 See below, n. 62.

20 The deliberations of the commissions were transcribed by Gaye, *Carteggio*, pp. 454–463, and retranscribed by G. Milanesi, *Le Lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875, pp. 620–623. English translations were made by R. Klein and H. Zerner, *Documents on Italian Art, 1500–1600*, New York, 1966, pp. 39–44 from Gaye, and by P. Watson in Seymour, *David*, pp. 140–155. New transcriptions were made by Settesoldi and translated by S. Levine, "The Location of Michelangelo's *David*: The Meeting of January 25th, 1504", *Art*

front of the palazzo to the marble *David*²¹. At the beginning of April, 1504, orders were given by the Operai of the Cathedral to move the *David* from the Opera del Duomo to the Piazza della Signoria. On April 28th and 30th, the order was repeated (Frey, A 18–20; Gaye, p. 462)²². Four architects, led by Simone del Pollaiuolo (Il Cronaca) and Antonio da Sangallo the Elder²³, were assigned the task, to be completed within the space of one month. In the event of an accident in transit, “quod Deus aduertat (sic)”, the contract says, the architects were not to be held responsible (Frey, A 19). A complex cradle, supported by twin wooden towers, was constructed so that the statue was suspended upright as it was moved on a rolling bed of fourteen greased logs by forty men. The transport through the streets took four days, from the 14th to the 18th of May²⁴. Documents of May 28th and

29th (Frey, A 24) reiterate that the *David*, apparently still in its scaffolding, was now standing in the piazza somewhere near the *Judith* which, however, still stood on its pedestal at the juncture between the *ringhiera* and the steps. The order for the *Judith*'s removal²⁵ was given ten days later (Frey, A 24) only once the *David* had safely arrived and, Landucci reports, it took another week, until June 8th, to replace the old statue with the new (Frey, A 25).

Landucci's account indicates that the *David* had now been set up on some form of support in the place and at the level where it was to remain. The support may have been the old socle on which the *Judith* had stood, or a core of some other material. It was, in any event, only at this moment that a contract for the *David* pedestal was made. On June 11th, 1504, the architects who had transported the statue, Cronaca and Sangallo, were ordered to prepare a marble base “subtus et circum circa pedes gigantis” (Frey, A 26)²⁶. Since the *David* was already in place, it would appear that the pedestal was a sheathing around a supporting core rather than a solid block intended to take the weight of the statue.

Bulletin LXI (1974), pp. 31–49. All of these versions vary significantly among themselves. For readings and interpretations sharply contrasting with those of Levine see R. N. Parks, “The Placement of Michelangelo's *David*: A Review of the Documents”, *Art Bulletin*, XVII (1975), pp. 560–570.

21 Parks, “Placement”, p. 562, n. 10, believes that, instead, the commission decided to place the *David* in the Loggia dei Lanzi (then still de' Priori). Indeed, an order of April 30, 1504, (Gaye, *Carteggio*, p. 463) does give the destination as the Loggia. Also Frey, “Studien”, p. 108, no. A 20, for the Latin version of the same date, “in lodiam” here means loggia, not “in praise” as suggested by Fader, *Sculpture*, p. 210.

22 The documents are all given in Frey, “Studien”, pp. 103–180. The delays and repeated orders throughout the month of April might support Parks's contention that the destination of the *David* was still in dispute. However, a report of 19 April (Frey, A 18) and another of 11 May (Frey, A 21) show that there were still disputes about the destruction of the “Murus” surrounding the figure in the Opera. “Deliberaverunt per tres fabas Simeonem del Pollaiuolo posse rompere murum circum circa factum gigante (sic) pro ducendo eum in plateam etc. (sic).”

23 Fabriczy, “Cronaca”, pp. 45–69 and Frey “Studien”, for the other architects involved. In 1503–1504, Cronaca built a house for Michelangelo at the corner of Borgo Pinti and Via della Colonna at the expense of the Opera del Duomo as part of the contract for the 12 Apostles commissioned from Michelangelo. In these years Cronaca was also made responsible for the design of the new marble pavement for the Duomo and worked in the Palazzo della Signoria as well. He had been Capomaestro at the Duomo since 1495 and at the Palazzo since 1497, the year when Antonio da Sangallo was also named *capo* there. The other two architects were Baccio d'Agnolo and Bernardo di Marco Renzi, called La Cieca. The former is also identified in many documents as “legnaiuolo” whereas the latter worked as “intagliatore” as well as architect. Like Cronaca, he took part in the deliberations on the *David* of 1504. Vasari, *Vite*, VII, 122, says that Giuliano da Sangallo helped to move the *David* but he does not appear in the documents although he was certainly involved in the same work as the others at the Palazzo during this period.

24 Parts of the door to the Opera were broken down so that the *David* could be removed. The machinery and the cradle for

the marble and the way in which it was moved are described in a dated *Libro di Memorie ed Ricordi* in the Opera (text Gaye, *Carteggio*, pp. 463–464) and in the Pietro Marco Parenti, *Storie Fiorentine* (ms. VI, fol. 9v, text A. Gotti, *Vita di Michelangelo*, Florence, 1876, p. 29, n. 5). The same system is described at length in Vasari's account of how the marble for Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* was moved. Vasari, *Vite*, VI, pp. 44–46 as well as by Landucci (Frey, A 21, A 22). The latter is more informative on the machinery used. Both accounts report that stones were thrown at the statue during the transport. See also Vasari, *Vite*, VII, p. 122. Transcriptions vary as to whether the logs were “uniti” or “unti”. The latter is correct.

25 Janson, *Donatello*, p. 199.

26 Frey, A 26. 1504, 11 June: “Deliberaverunt quod precipiatur spectabilibus Operaris Opere sancte Marie Floris de Florentia quatenus sumptibus et expensis dicte Opere quam citius fieri potest facere faciant basam marmoream subtus et circum pedes gigantis ad presens ante portam eorum palatii existentis modo et forma et prout designabitur per Simonem del Pollaiuolo et Antonium de Sancto Gallo, architectores Florentinos” (Deliberazioni degli Operai dal 1496–1507). Gaye, *Carteggio*, p. 463, read “destinabitur” as did Frey, “Studien”, A 26. “Disegno” is, however, used as a verb in the sense of “designate” or “judge”, “envisage” by Gallieno Ricamatore, (“disegno stia bene dovè il leone”), Milanese, *Lettere*, p. 622. Frey, “Studien”, C 27, gives a second important document for the pedestal that specifies “per scarpellinos debere fieri basam ad pedes et subter pedes gigantis ad expensas dicte opere ...”. In any event, the document seem fully to empower the architects even if it does not exclude that Michelangelo was consulted or even provided a sketch. In other such orders, for instance to Cronaca for Michelangelo's house (Fabriczy, “Cronaca”, pp. 48–49), the architect is to follow a “modello”.

Two weeks later, on June 11th, Francesco di Capello “legnaiolo” was paid a small sum for “pezzi (di) ornamento dabeti” (Frey, A28). Were these pieces of pinewood temporary revetments to serve until the marble was ready or perhaps even models borrowed to see if they would be satisfactory when installed²⁷?

On September 5th, Michelangelo received his final payment for the “gigante”. Three days later, according to Landucci and Lapini, the scaffolding was removed and the *David* revealed to the public (Frey, A31)²⁸. As late as October 31st, however, further decorations were recorded. A goldsmith was paid to gild the strap of the slingshot, the tree stump supporting the figure and a “ghirlanda”, a victor’s wreath, consisting of twenty-eight copper leaves soldered with silver onto a brass filet (Frey, C189, 190, 192)²⁹. The image of the *David* was thus considerably less austere and pure than the one we know. The gilded ornaments also linked him to the traditions of the piazza sculpture. The *Judith* had been partially gilded as had the original Trecento *Marzocco*. This lion had also worn a golden crown bearing the inscription “Corona porto per la patria degna, a ciò che libertà ciascun mantegna”³⁰. Perhaps some such inscription was also part of the original *David* ensemble. In any event, the meaning of

27 1504. 26 no. VI: “Specie del gigante Y (lira) una soldi diecj per loro a Francesco di Capello legnaiuolo per pezzi (di) ornamento dabeti achatati, pagato dj deto.” The work cannot have been very extensive. In 1497, the young Antonio da Francesco da Sangallo received 4 soldi apiece for the carving of balusters in the Sala del Consiglio. (Frey, C45). An “Uscio” of wood made for the Sala del Consiglio in the palazzo cost Y 1, sol. 1. In 1508 the two sawhorses made for Leonardo da Vinci while he worked on his fresco cost Y 1, whereas Cappelli himself received Y 8. so, 1” when he made a wood armature to protect Leonardo’s fresco in 1513. (Frey “Studien”, pp. 225, 244.)

28 Vasari, *Vite*, VII, p. 123.

29 Frey, C189, 190, 191. 31 October, 1504: A Francesco di Bernardo battiloro lire settantuna et sol. 1111 per resto di pesi 5200 doro, dato alla decta Opera per dorare la cigna e’l bronchone e la ghirlanda al gigante et laudenzia del gonfolaniere ... a Y 3 sol. 10 el conto, et per fogli 12 di stagno per mectere doro el broncone di decto gigante Y 71 sol. 4; “A Francesco di Piero del Orto Y VII sol. X per havere messo doro el broncone del gigante et la cigna (cinghia) et la ghirlanda: in tutto Y 7 sol. 10.” Francesco also painted the stone crenellations on the palazzo campanile and worked in the Sala del Consiglio. On the same day, “A Bastiano di Domenico Cennini, orafo, Y XXII per un filo dottone con ventotto fogle di rame et per saldatura di decti fogle in su decto filo, saldato con l’ariento (argento) per il gighante: in tutto Y 23 sol. 0.” Bastiano seems to have been one of a family of goldsmiths working at the palazzo. On the same day, a cartolaio was paid for furnishing the paper for Michelangelo’s Cascina cartoon.

30 Janson, *Donatello*, pp. 3, 42, 201, n.4. Parts of Donatello’s marble *David* and its pedestal were also gilded.



8. Bernardo Bellotto, *Piazza della Signoria, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*



9. Bernardo Bellotto, *Piazza della Signoria, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (detail)*

the gilding and crown must have been clear to those who saw it.

The nineteenth century changes to the palace façade have obscured much but, fortunately, *vedute* survive that help us form an impression of what happened next. When the *David* replaced the *Judith*, the high socle that had supported the bronze group was reduced or destroyed and a lower one, perhaps larger in plan, was substituted to support the *David* pedestal. This arrangement is partially visible in Fig.7 but is most clearly depicted in a painting of the piazza done between 1740–1745 by Bernardo Bellotto (Figs. 8, 9)³¹.

31 Bernardo Bellotto, *View of the Piazza della Signoria, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum*, 61 cm × 90 cm, 1740–1745. The

The figure of the *David* was raised above the *ringhiera* parapet at least by the height of the rocky base beneath his feet and probably by the full height of the pedestal. Thus the *David* stood at least as high and probably higher than the smaller *Judith* on its pedestal had done. The *David* pedestal still acted as the terminal element of the *ringhiera*³² and the foot of the pedestal was set flush with the top stair at the level of the portal. The remaining vertical distance to the piazza was approximately equal to the height of the pedestal above and was bridged by a socle divided horizontally by mouldings.

In Bellotto's painting, the pedestal of Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* is arranged in the same way, both in respect to the stairs and in the subdivision of the lower socle. Since the *Hercules* supports in the painting correspond to what one sees today, one may conclude that the present arrangement of the *Hercules* also accurately reflects the original appearance of the *David* installation and that the height of the supporting structures was generally equivalent. Like the *Hercules*, the *David* was integrated horizontally at the level of the *ringhiera* parapet with the palace steps. Like *Judith*, Michelangelo's *David* was now the defender of the *ringhiera* and of the gates of the palace, a guardian of both aspects of Florentine freedom. The vertical, established by the figure together with its underpinnings, originally reached down, uninter-

rupted, to the level of the piazza. Thus the supports beneath the *David* were at least twice as high as they appear to be today. As a result, the elevation and dignity of the statue were enhanced. One could approach it only by the palace steps or from the *ringhiera*. It was not possible, as it is now, to meet the figure on its own level from all sides.

As soon as the *David* was installed, a sumptuous repaving of the piazza in front of the steps was begun but remained unfinished for lack of funds. Since then, however, the level of the piazza has certainly changed considerably³³. This, together with the disappearance of the *ringhiera*, makes it impossible to say how the ideal viewing distance between spectator and statue was envisaged³⁴. There is no doubt, however, that the original setting of the *David* somewhat reduced the impact of the classicizing pedestal, if only because it was then only one vertical element in the total substructure of the sculpture. The ensemble was less radical in appearance than what we see today and more reminiscent of the traditional placement of figures on high columns or bases³⁵.

picture was published in *Il Marzocco*, 2 Oct., 1910, p. 3, as part of the campaign to reconstruct the *ringhiera* and is illustrated again in Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, fig. 157. The implications for the placement of the piazza sculpture have not been discussed. The northern tract of the *ringhiera* was removed by Ammanati during the construction of the *Neptune Fountain*. Thus the Marzocco was moved nearer the main portal and parallel to the façade. In the 18th century a guard box had been placed at the angle formed by the *ringhiera* and the *David* socle. The same arrangement is visible in a print of 1799, (Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, fig. 163) but the height of the *ringhiera* is inaccurate. This means that it protruded forward of the parapet, something not clear from other *vedute* and different from the *Judith* which was, apparently on a line with the parapet. Bringing the *David* forward would have reinforced the impression of its size. The Piero di Cosimo (see above, n. 15) is illegible in this respect but is unique in showing the *David* pedestal as flush with the top of the *ringhiera*. Raphael's tapestry border showing the *ringhiera* with the *David's* pedestal is also too schematic for our purposes (J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London, 1972, p. 85, fig. 17). For *vedute* of the later 16th century, including Vasari's paintings depicting the piazza, in the Sala di Gualdrada and the Quartiere Leone X, see Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, figs. 110, 122, 138, 139.

32 Condivi, (J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, London/New York, (2nd. ed.), 1970, p. 309) locates the *David* "all'estremo della ringhiera".

The placement of the *David* was, in most respects, a monumentalized continuation of political and visual ideas established by the installation of Donatello's *Judith* in 1495. Both sculptures were transformed into portal guardians and stair-post finials. This arrangement also had roots in antiquity. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger was to draw the Hercules Temple at Cori, showing the stairs flanked by cubic socles, one of them supporting a statue. In the 1460's, Filarete, illustrating the portal he planned for the church of the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, shows the stairs flanked by monumental statues of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate, supported by simple pedestals placed on squarish socles. The most compelling example, however, must have been the colossal statues of St. Peter and St. Paul of 1462 that guarded the stairs to Old St. Peter's and that were set up in the same way³⁶. The sparse forms of the *David* pedestal seem more closely related to such newel posts of stairs and parapets than to bases and altars.

33 Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 105, Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, pp. 110-111, 214 (for piazza levels) and Fader, *Sculpture*, pp. 17-18.

34 Tuckerman, "Sockelbildung", passim; Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, pp. 48-49; Fader, *Sculpture*, pp. 219-228.

35 See, however, Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, pp. 118-119 for a differing interpretation.

36 UA 1165 in G. Giovannoni, *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*, Rome, 1959, fig. 4; J.R. Spenser, *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*, New Haven/London, 1965, II (facs.), bk. XI, fol. 83v, fig. B; V. Bush, "Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* and

Architecture provided the sources and context of the *David* pedestal, but it was still extraordinary by Florentine standards in its simple classicism of shape and size and in its implication of proportional relationships with the statue above. All these characteristics were particularly striking in the early Cinquecento when, not yet flanked by Bandinelli's *Hercules* group, the *David* stood alone.

Before one can look more closely at the pedestal, however, another effort of reconstruction becomes necessary. Early representations of the piazza show that the forms of the pedestal were those that we see today (Figs. 6–8), yet it underwent considerable vicissitudes. The statue stood directly beneath a rain spout on the palace roof and there were several moments when the original pedestal could have been restored or even substituted. Indeed, the palace stairs and the *ringhiera* may have undergone changes even before the nineteenth century³⁷. With the Napoleonic occupation, when the *ringhiera* had finally lost all civic function, it was eliminated. The *David*, however, was to remain in place and its presence is documented in newspapers and in *vedute* of the period. A photograph of the early 1870's³⁸ suggests that it had, nonetheless, been necessary to move the *David* forward of its original position to bring the pedestal flush with Del Rosso's new palace stairs.

In 1845, the sculptor Lorenzo Bartolini undertook a restoration later described as a "spellamento" of the statue³⁹. It would be remarkable if the pedestal had escaped untouched. Commissions, convened to assess the condition of the *David* during the 1850's and 1860's, also

report evidence of recutting on the statue⁴⁰. After the unification of Italy and the brief period of Firenze Capitale, the Florentine Communal Council took over the Palazzo Vecchio. Representations were made that the *David* was in dangerous condition and that it would be the worst conceivable augury for the government, if the statue were to fall off its pedestal at the beginning of the new regime. The *David* was removed to the Accademia on July 31, 1873. Fears for its condition had probably been exaggerated until Bartolini's acid bath opened the marble to the action of rain and the clouds of heavy soot pouring from the chimneys of the Ottocento city⁴¹. Abandoned as the capital of the new nation, however, Florence drifted back into melancholic provincialism, lacking even the energies needed to sustain the nostalgia for its great civic past. The *David* was the symbol of this abdication.

The removal of the *David* was as complicated a procedure as its installation had been, but better documented. Still, accounts are vague and contradict each other about what happened to the pedestal. In any event, photos dateable after 1873 show that it was gone⁴². The space where it had stood remained empty for thirty-six years, guarded only by a municipal gas lamp, vestigial symbol of the protection and guidance provided by the Commune to the citizens (Fig. 10).

In the first decade of the new century, Alfredo Lensi, Giovanni Poggi and others mounted a campaign to restore the Palazzo Vecchio to its former civic and artistic splendor. Money was raised, largely by private subscription, to realize longstanding plans to set up a marble copy where Michelangelo's *David* had stood. The copy was unveiled in the summer of 1910 and was much criticized. The surrogate for Michelangelo's great defender of Florentine liberties was characterized now as "una vera

Florentine Tradition", in H. Millon, ed., *Studies in Italian Art and Architecture I, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XXXV, Rome, 1980, p. 168; R. Olitsky-Rubinstein, "Pius II's Piazza S. Pietro and St. Andrew's Head", in D. Fraser, H. Hibbard, M. J. Lewine, eds., *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, pp. 22–23, pls. IV, V. I am grateful to Eric Frank for the last reference. Eve Borsook, (personal communication) notes that Ghirlandaio's *David* on a classicizing pedestal in S. Trinita was also placed above an entrance, i.e. to the Sassetti Chapel.

37 P. Gori, *Il David di Michelangiolo Buonarroti. Reintegrazione storica*, Florence, 1905, p. 21. Relying on Nardi's *Istoria di Firenze*, Gori propagated the mistaken report that the *David* and its pedestal were damaged by lightning 1512. In fact it was Donatello's *David* and its pedestal standing in the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio, that were hit in 1511. In the political upheavals of 1527 the *David*'s left arm was broken by a stone. In 1543, Vasari supervised the erection of a scaffolding and the reattachment of the marble, Gotti, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 129; Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, 109. Also see above, n. 17.

38 Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, figs. 171, 175, 176, p. 230, fig. 186, for views and photographs after 1809 and before 1873.

39 Gori, *Il David*, pp. 22–24.

40 Gotti, *Michelangelo*, pp. 35–51. The commission of 1851 reported a "scollagazione del materiale che compone l'imbasamento" but it is not clear that this referred to the pedestal itself (p. 35). The commission of 1866 notes "(fu) raschiata la superficie della statua da rapa temeraria e profana" (p. 47). Both committees refer continuously to the action of air pollution.

41 Gori, *Il David*, p. 124; S. Macchioni, "Il San Giorgio di Donatello: storia di un processo di musealizzazione", *Storia dell'arte*, 1979, pp. 135–156.

42 Gotti, *Michelangelo*, p. 50, clearly states that the *David* was installed in the Accademia "sul nuovo suo piedestallo". F. Porra, the engineer in charge of the transport reported on 6 March, 1875, however, that the lower parts of the statue had been encased in wood "solidamente raccomandata alla base" (p. 50–51). This seems to be the pedestal. No base is visible in photos taken after 1873. See Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, figs. 193, 198.



10. Piazza della Signoria, Florence

occupazione del suolo pubblico”⁴³. All observers agreed, moreover, that the figure on its isolated pedestal looked unsightly and that there was no point in replacing the

43 The idea that the *David* should be replaced by a copy was born along with the idea of moving the original. See Gotti, *Michelangelo II*, pp. 45–50. However there was disagreement about whether it should be of bronze or of marble (Clemente Papi’s bronze copy of 1866 was placed on the new Piazzale Michelangelo in 1873). In 1900 a “Circolo degli Artisti” and a “Comitato Pro Davide” were organized to raise interest in and money for a marble copy. In 1902 a referendum held among Florentine artists came out in favor of the copy. Gori, *David*, pp. 28–29. G. Poggi, “La Questione del David”, *L’Arte* V (1902), p. 346 and in “Per il David di Michelangelo”, *Rivista d’Arte*, I (1903), p. 71, spoke out against a copy and warned against Chiapelli’s breathtaking suggestion to remove the *Hercules and Cacus* as well. Adolf von Hildebrand wrote an article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 3 July, 1903, recommending that a marble copy be made. This was translated in *Rivista della Letteratura Tedesca II*, Florence (1908), pp. 398–400 and had considerable influence although C. Justi, *Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 147–148, expressed doubts that a copy would look well while also rejecting the idea of placing the bronze copy in front of the palazzo. For negative comments once the copy was installed, see above, n. 13, and the article signed “Gaio” in *Il Marzocco*, Anno XV, no. 27, 3 July, 1910, “l’inaugurazione

David without first reconstructing the *ringhiera*⁴⁴. Plans to do so were made but never realized.

The result is that today there are two pedestals, one beneath the copy of the *David* in front of the palazzo, the other under Michelangelo’s statue in the Accademia. The palazzo pedestal is made of solid blocks that fit badly together, but the dimensions of the pedestal are more standardized than those of the Accademia example. The latter is made of marble scantlings about 3.4 cm thick laid over a core of unknown shape and material. The marble pieces fit together better, the profiles are more precisely carved, but the dimensions vary far more erratically than those of the piazza pedestal. The red slate inset of the latter is unpolished and its condition resembles that of the insets in the pedestal of Bandinelli’s neighboring *Hercules*. The inset of the Accademia pedestal is highly polished, and only the marble plate directly beneath the plinth shows any marked signs of weathering or repair. Thus, although the original pedestal was in all probability transported to the Accademia, it would seem that very little of its actual material survives today. The reason for this lies in the structure of the pedestal itself. The marble merely clothed a core, probably of brick or rubble, perhaps containing some form of metal anchoring for the figure above. The extraction of the statue from its supports and the dismantling of the pedestal in the nineteenth century provided ample opportunity to damage the marble. Nonetheless, the concordance of dimensions between the two versions of the pedestal and the evidence of *vedute* reassure us that the pedestals reflect basic characteristics of the original supports of the statue.

The Accademia pedestal measures 173 cm × 128.3 cm in plan at its base, 153 cm × 108 cm including base and cornice and 153 cm × 122 cm without them. White marble strips, all about 25 cm wide, frame a central field that measures 65 cm × 55 cm on the sides. None of the dimensions are exactly proportional to each other and none seem directly related to fractions of the Florentine braccio. The dimensions of the pedestal may have been generated according to rules governing column bases and may also have been derived, even if roughly, from some dimension of Michelangelo’s statue. I suspect but cannot,

silenziosa”. No sculptor is named. The copy was widely known as “il terzo *Davide*”, the second being the bronze copy. A photograph in Lensi-Orlandi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, fig. 22, shows the *David* copy being installed. For the similar political history of Michelangelo’s *Victory*, see D. Heikamp, “Scultura a politica. Le statue della Sala Grande di Palazzo Vecchio”, *Le arti del principato mediceo*, Florence, 1980, pp. 201–254.

44 Marangoni, “A proposito”, p. 45 and above, n. 13.

at this writing, demonstrate that this is true because of an astonishing flaw in the otherwise tightly woven fabric of Michelangelo studies. Accurate measurements of the *David* are not available and efforts to obtain them have not yet met with success. One can, therefore, speak only in the most general terms. The pedestal, together with the low plinth directly above it, measures 182 cm, that is, slightly more than 3 braccia⁴⁵, the height given by Renaissance writers on proportion as the ideal height of a man⁴⁶. Vasari and earlier documents tell us that the block from which the *David* was carved was 9 braccia high⁴⁷. This does not, as many have thought, establish the height of the finished figure but it does allow us to say that the relation between pedestal and sculpture must be on the order of 1:3.

This conclusion hardly sounds surprising but, in fact, earlier Renaissance statues were usually placed on columns or other supports higher than themselves. The famous deliberations of 1504 that settled where the *David* was to be installed, also reflect such expectations. An “imbasamento et ornato alto” was recommended so that the statue could easily be seen by all passers-by⁴⁸. Certainly, late Quattrocento and early Cinquecento paintings, some small bronzes, antique adlocution scenes (Fig. 11), and various other sorts of antique remains provided examples of statues on architectonic pedestals⁴⁹. The



11. *Adlocutio* relief from the *Arco di Portogallo*, Rome, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*

pedestals of the *Dioscuri* may, for instance, have been important sources for the *David* as were the figures themselves⁵⁰. Nonetheless, the *David* pedestal appears unusually small and low⁵¹, an impression strengthened by the horizontal format of the red inset field. The proportion of figure to support marks an important shift in the way sculpture was perceived. High supports emphasized the historical and hierarchical distance between the spectator and the figure whereas the new lower pedestal invites the spectator to compare himself with the sculpture⁵², to see,

colonnade on socles with insets linked by a balustrade. The huge socle of the *Column of Trajan* was also drawn repeatedly by Renaissance architects, stressing the horizontal inset panel, e.g. T. Ashby, Jr., “Sixteenth Century Drawings of Roman Buildings Attributed to Andreas Coner”, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, II, (1904), London, f. 129.

50 Bush, *Colossal Sculpture* pp. 55, 111. The base of the *Hercules* from the Forum Boarium (her fig. 76) on the Capitol may also have been significant although all these examples differ, in proportion to the statues above, from the *David* and its pedestal. Until ca. 1504, the *Apollo Belvedere* also stood on a simple socle in the gardens of S. Pietro in Vincoli. See H. Egger, *Codex Escorialensis*, Vienna, 1906, I, Fol. 64, II, p. 154; Hülsen, *Heemskerck*, I, fol. 23, II, p. 13.

51 The height of the body of the pedestal is less than its width (122.2 cm × 153 cm). The proportion is even more squat than that of the shortest column socles, that of the Tuscan order.

52 Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, pp. 550–555 also makes this point.

45 It is difficult to reconstruct the total height of the pedestal since we do not know the height of the element that originally separated the *David* pedestal from its socle. If it was 17 cm, as the transitional torus is on the *Hercules and Cacus*, the pedestal with its moulding and the torus would come to 176.3 cm, very close to 3 br. (174.9 cm).

46 Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, p. XXXVII.

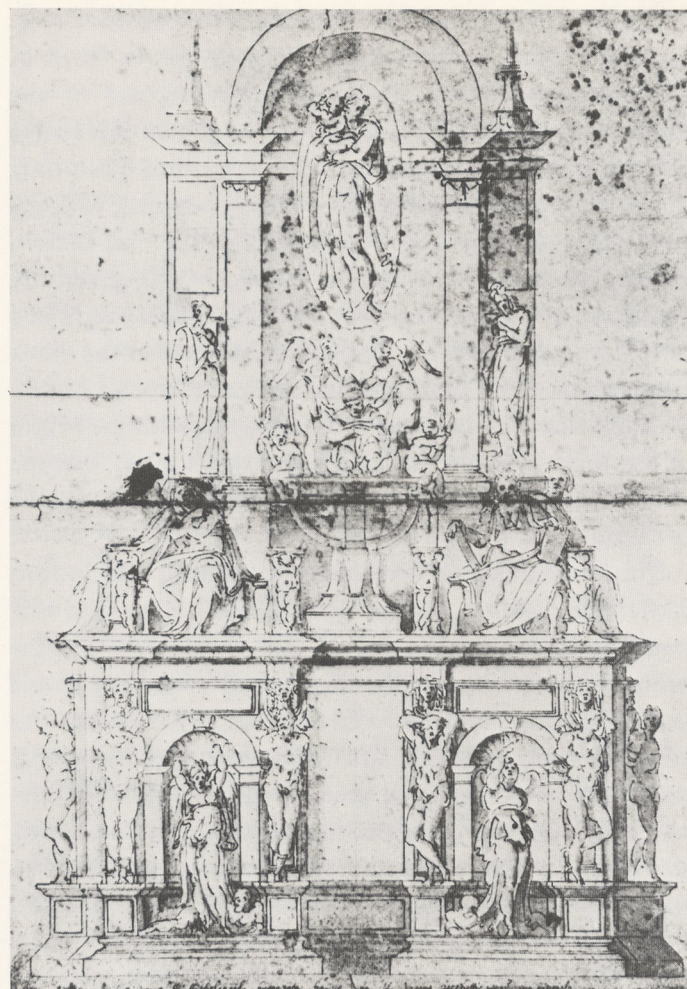
47 Seymour, *David*, pp. 123–137; Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, pp. 100–108.

48 Milanesi, *Lettere*, p. 631.

49 For antique bases, see above, notes 3, 4. Altars and *cippi* were also used as bases and as the prime models for them. For types, see S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, I, Paris, 1897, pp. 120–124, and W. Altman, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1905; B. Candida, *Altari e cippi del Museo Nazionale Romano*, Rome, 1979 and particularly I. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, Rome, 1955. Altars are ubiquitous in Renaissance sketchbooks. See notes 50, 58, 59. For well-known images of figures standing on socles see below, n. 50, and Keutner, “Standbild”, pp. 140–141; Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, p. 117. The *tondi* and attic scenes of the *Arch of Constantine* with their scenes of sacrifice and allocution are of special interest. This monument also provided columns on socles as was the relief of the *Allocution of Hadrian* from the destroyed *Arco di Portogallo* (ill. in D.E. Strong, *Roman Imperial Sculpture*, London, 1961, figs. 79, 137). Early illustrated editions of Vitruvius, e.g. *Vitruvius, De Architectura libri dieci, tradotto dal Latino da F. Lucio Durantino*, Venice, 1524, bk. II, ch. III, p. 28 show an Ionic



12. Antonio Averlino, *Il Filarete, Caryatids, Trattato di Architettura, libro XVIII, fol. 149r, Codice Magliabecchiano, Florence, Biblioteca Reale*



13. after Michelangelo, *Design for the Julius Tomb, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett*

in it, an aggrandized and perfected but still recognizable image of himself, one that allows him to measure the distance between reality and ideal. The pedestal of the *David*, about the height of a man, demonstrates that the statue is not merely “big” but a genuine colossus, conforming to antique specifications: three times the height of a man⁵³.

The architectonic pedestal form refers to antiquity as directly as do the allusions to ancient sculpture in the figure of the *David*. In a sense this was true of higher pedestals and columns as well. As Pliny had pointed out, to place a statue on a column gave it elevation, both literally and figuratively and, in later centuries, this elevation gave the statue an ambiguous character as an ancient idol⁵⁴. The lower, architectonic pedestal, derived from a

column base implies that the human image it supports is analogous to a column in strength, dignity and proportionality. It would seem, therefore, that the *David* pedestal is another expression of the Classic perception, so popular in the Quattrocento, of a profoundly significant accord between the proportions of the human body, architecture and the structure of the cosmos itself.

Images of the man as column, derived from Vitruvius, haunt Quattrocento treatises, and Michelangelo himself was later to evolve a very different version of this concept. Thus it is also not surprising that low architectonic socles appear regularly in representations of Caryatid figures as, for instance, in Filarete’s treatise (Fig. 12)⁵⁵.

53 Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, p. xxvii. For the relation of an Ottocento Florentine man to the base, see Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, fig. on p. 321.

54 K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny’s Chapters on the History of Art*, New York/London, 1896, XXXIV, 22, p. 17,

27–29, p. 23. Triumphal arches have the same effect. Alberti, *Ten Books*, bk. IX, ch. viii, p. 200, bk. XII, ch. iii, p. 168; T. Buddensieg, “Gregory the Great, Destroyer of Pagan Idols”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXVIII (1965), pp. 44–65. Janson, “David”, p. 38.

55 F. Granger, tr. and ed., *Vitruvius on Architecture*, London, 1934, bk. III, ch. i, 1, p. 158; e.g. all early illustrated editions

Indeed, the closest parallels to the figure-pedestal relation of the *David* are Michelangelo's own so-called *prigioni* of the 1505 *Julius Tomb* design (Fig. 13).

Aside from its reduced dimensions in relation to the statue, the most unusual characteristic of the *David* pedestal as we see it today, is the absence of all forms of decoration. Its austerity goes beyond anything found in earlier or later Renaissance pedestals of standing figures. Donatello's *Judith*, for instance, stood on a base of sumptuous reliefs supported on a carved baluster. If the 1504 commission had also envisaged such an "imbasamento ad ornato"⁵⁶, it was to be disappointed, for the *David* pedestal is simple, even in its mouldings, to the point of poverty. It thus implies that the height and nobility of the monument derive from the figure itself and not from factors external to it⁵⁷. At the same time, such heroic simplicity reflects the moral and political virtue of David himself.

The contrast of the white marble figure and pedestal with the red central field commands attention. Such polychrome elements are not typical of ancient pedestals or altars but they can be found in antique and Renaissance architectural contexts, particularly on triumphal arches⁵⁸. Demarcated central spaces are, however, far more common. They are usually enframements filled by relief orna-

ment or, more often, by inscriptions⁵⁹. The combination, in the *David* pedestal, of color emphasis and empty field is highly unusual. It is usually a prime function of pedestals to supply some form of comment or text to the image above. The *David* pedestal is entirely mute⁶⁰.

In later works, Michelangelo avoided inscriptions whenever he could⁶¹. It is doubtful though, whether as a young man, he would have been given free choice in this matter in respect to the *David*. Certainly inscriptions or other identifying insignia were considered essential to other sculpture associated with the piazza. The *Marzocco* bore a civic inscription on his crown. When the *Judith* was transformed from a Medici image to a public Florentine symbol, a new inscription "EXEMPLUM SAL. PUB. CIVIS. POS. 1495"⁶² was carved on the pedestal⁶³. When Donatello's *David* was brought into the cortile of the palace four marble civic coats of arms were attached to the old base⁶⁴. The same arrangement was envisaged for Michelangelo's bronze *David* for Blois⁶⁵. All these identifications were added on to earlier works to transform their political significance. It seems very likely that some such addition was also planned for Michelangelo's

show caryatids on plain socles (bk. I, ch. i). Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di architettura etc.*, C. Maltese, ed., Milan, 1967, I, pls. 24, 28, 29, II, pls. 216, 217, 227, 228, 236. Also A. Chastel and R. Klein, eds., Pomponius Gauricus, *De Sculptura*, 1969, p. 85. At the end of book I of his *Trattato delle perfette proporzioni* (1567), V. Danti promised that the (never published) next book was to show "architecture (derived) from the members of the human body". For the close connection of this treatise with Michelangelo's own ideas see D. Summers, "Michelangelo on Architecture", *Art Bulletin* LIV (1972), pp. 146-157, and by the same author, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, Princeton, N.J., 1981.

56 Milanese, *Lettere*, pp. 621-622. Both Cosimo Roselli and Galieno Ricamatore use this phrase.

57 The earliest architectural carving for the *Julius Tomb* is still decorated with *intaglio*, e.g. C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo* IV, p. 11, figs. 62-70, and there are isolated passages of *intaglio* in the Medici Chapel. It is only in ca. 1550, that Michelangelo told Vasari that *intaglio* and figures do not go well together. Vasari, *Vite* VI, pp. 201-202, VII, p. 188: "... il lavoro di quadro, quando è fatto bene, è molto più bene che l'intaglio e meglio accompagna le statue ...".

58 S. Serlio, *I sette libri dell'architettura*, (Venice 1584) facs. Sala Bolognese, 1978, IV (1537), fol. 126, warns that "incastrati con pietre miste" should be avoided "perchè l'oscurità d'esse fa una debole ... apparenza". G. da Sangallo draws the side elevation of the *Arch of Constantine* with dark insets on column bases (C. Hülsen, ed., *Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo*, Leipzig, 1910, fol. 20. See also fols. 7, 9, 18, 19, 36 v, for reconstructions of ancient monuments with socles having insets of the same material as the socle itself).

59 See above, notes 3, 4, 49, 58, and Keutner, "Standbild", pp. 140-141. It is possible, however, that the red and white evoke the heraldis colors of Florence (J. Cox-Rearick, personal communication).

60 E.g. Jex-Blake, Sellers, *Pliny*, XXXIV, 15, p. 14; Alberti, *Ten Books*, bk. VIII, ch. III, p. 167; Tuckerman, "Sockelbildung", p. 272.

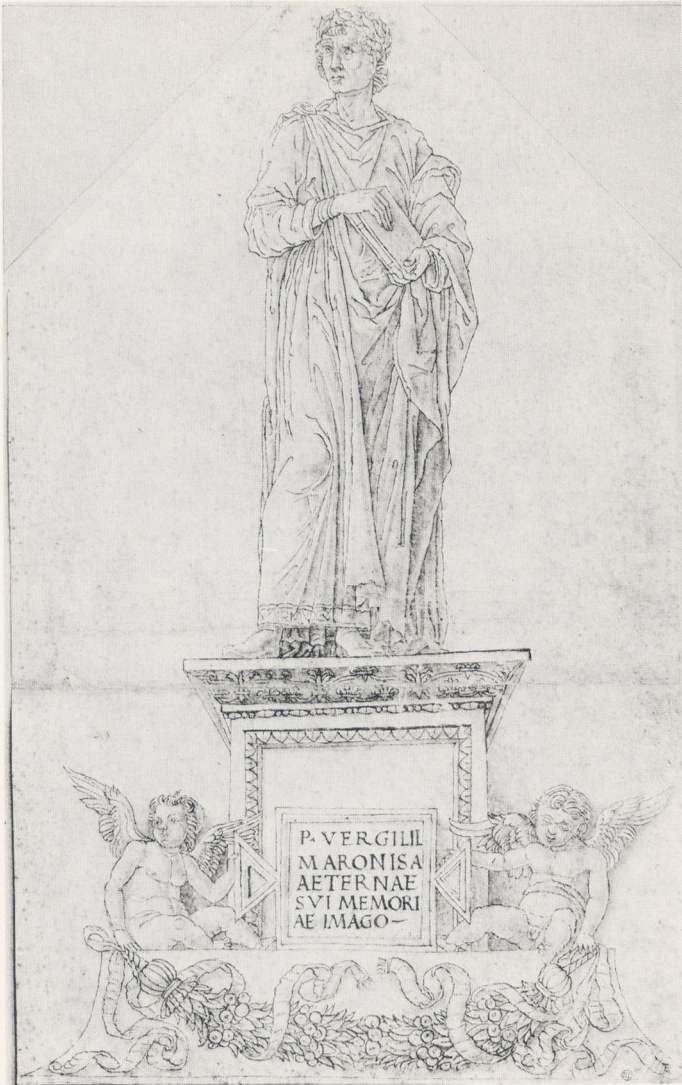
61 Inscriptions were mandatory for funerary monuments and Michelangelo planned them in the early projects for the Medici Chapel. As the dialectic interaction between form and meaning evolved, however, all inscriptions became excessive and inadequate. The papal inscription for Michelangelo's pedestal for the *Marcus Aurelius* on the Campidoglio was also mandatory.

62 See Janson, *Donatello*, pp. 42, 198. "Augustus set up a statue not of himself but of 'Salus Publica'." Dio Cassius LIV, 35, 2, in J.J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966, p. 113.

63 It is not certain whether the present *Judith* pedestal is the one originally made for it by Donatello under the Medici regime. See Janson, *Donatello*, pp. 200-201. Curiously, the carved drum now beneath the baluster does not appear in any of the versions of the *Execution of Savonarola* (e.g. fig. 6) but it is shown in Vasari's painting of the *Entry of Leo X into Florence* in the Palazzo Vecchio. The pedestal had to be made as high as possible to make up for the statue's small size.

64 Janson, *Donatello*, p. 77; Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 84. 3., Donatello's marble *David*, moved from its intended position on the Duomo to the Palazzo Vecchio, received, before 1512, an inscription which may also date from the upheavals of 1495: FORTITUR DIMICANTIBUS ETIAM ADVERSUS TERRIBILISSIMOS HOSTES DII PREASTANT AUXILIUM!

65 See above, n. 5.



14. Mantegna school, Design for the Monument to Virgil in Mantua, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins

Gigante when it was transported from the Duomo to the piazza. It remained a symbol of the commune but took on a more aggressive character as sole defender of the palace. The fact that the *David* once wore a gilt wreath reminds us that such additions were conceivable. Indeed, the famous Mantegna School drawing showing the monument planned for *Virgil* in 1499 (Fig. 14) casts an interesting sidelight on this question. The dedicatory inscription to the patron of the city is carved on a tablet held by two putti in front of the pedestal⁶⁶. Apparently this group was to be carved of the same marble as the pedestal but the

66 Keutner, "Standbild", pp. 140–142. He asks if the Louvre drawing might not reflect a graphic rather than a plastic concept but this hypothesis seems to me unnecessary. From the 1499 letter to Isabella d'Este we know that the monument was to have a pedestal inscription including a reference to the patroness.

illusion communicated is that the tablet is an object independent of the pedestal although related to it. If the *David* was meant to have an inscription it, too, could have been in some sense removable from the pedestal.

The silence of the *David* pedestal could, however, also have been motivated by political reasons. Some years ago, Levine interpreted the *David* as a dangerous polemical anti-Medicean image and the deliberations of 1504 as a show put on to avoid offending pro-Medici sentiment in the city. Were this historical image accurate, the pedestal's silence might be seen as an attempt not to underscore further the hostile message of the statue. The golden victor's garland, however, hardly argues for such prudent motives. Indeed, a vigorous riposte to Levine's ideas by Parks, showed that the Medici faction was not strong enough to need placating at the time the statue was erected. He also emphasized that one reason for moving the *David* from Duomo to piazza was the recognition of the statue's extraordinary artistic quality and the desire that it should be more visible than it would have been on the Cathedral's *tribuna*⁶⁷. Alberti had prescribed that „figures of the greatest quality and perfection should be displayed in places of peculiar dignity”⁶⁸. Perhaps the size and the silence of the pedestal were, after all, intentional. Certainly they had the effect of making the statue stand for itself in a new way and emphasized the *David*'s status specifically as a work of art.

The integration of the classic socle form with a free-standing figure in the *David* led, as Keutner saw, to the creation of the modern “Standbild”⁶⁹. The same union also pointed the way to a change in traditional relationships between pedestal and figure, between monument and setting. The *David* pedestal was not an arbitrary decorative element that could be substituted for another. It was still, in one sense, an extension of the architectural environment but it had been generated in response to the figure it supports. Pedestals were, henceforth, to become integral parts of the sculpture. In other respects, however, the example of the *David* pedestal was seldom taken up.

67 Levine, “Location”, pp. 31–49; Parks, “Placement”, p. 569.

68 Alberti, *Ten Books*, bk. IX, ch. viii, p. 203. This prescription is, however, preceded by another of equal importance: “I would have the ornaments which you affix to your structure be the work of various hands and those of moderate masters but if you can procure any rare pieces of greater excellence and perfection . . . let them be fixed in places of peculiar dignity and honour.” The notion that architectural sculpture need not be of masterpiece quality was widely propagated in practice in the later Cinquecento and certainly had a deleterious effect on the quality of sculpture.

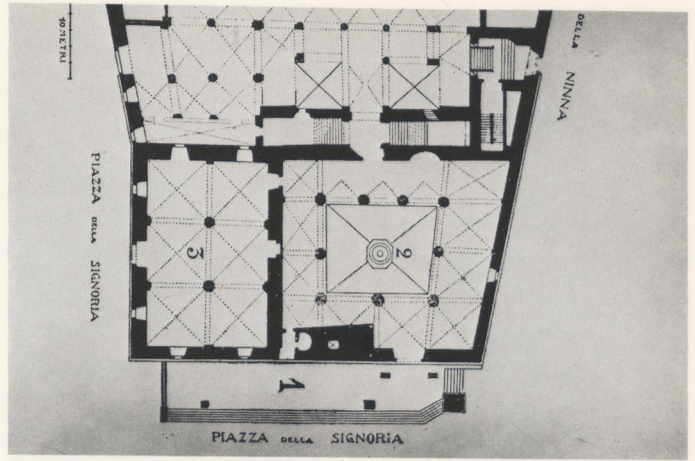
69 Keutner, “Standbild”, p. 143. The Mantuan *Virgil* would have had comparable historical importance.

Its definition of form and function was too normative and narrowly restrictive at a moment when artists were beginning to see that pedestals held new possibilities for ornament and meaning. Because architects “designed”, built and installed the *David* pedestal, it has been thought that they were responsible for it in every way⁷⁰ but was not such an idea more likely to have been Michelangelo’s own?

After the destruction of the *ringhiera*, Michelangelo’s *David* was moved further away from the palace façade. A comparison between the Bellotto view (Fig. 8) and a modern plan of the Palazzo Vecchio (Fig. 15) shows how the present arrangement renders meaningless the relation between the *David* and Bandinelli’s *Hercules and Cacus*, and thus obscures the degree to which they became twin guardians of the stairs and the palace.

During the deliberations of 1504, Botticelli suggested that the new *David* be flanked by a *Judith*. Once the *David* was actually installed next to the portal, a pendant *Hercules and Cacus* was quickly commissioned by Piero Soderini from Michelangelo. After the return of the Medici, however, it was Baccio Bandinelli who was chosen to carve the marble group. It was erected in 1534, creating the symmetrical sculptural and architectural ensemble⁷¹ still to be seen in Bellotto’s *veduta*. The painting almost certainly regularizes the relation between figures and architecture and maximizes both the size and visual effect of the stairs and statues in accord with the requirements of Rococo scenography. Nonetheless, Jacopo Sansovino’s *Scala dei Giganti* at the Palazzo Ducale in Venice shows that contemporaries also grasped just these aspects of the Florentine composition⁷².

Much has been said about the rivalry between Michelangelo and Bandinelli and critics have rightly emphasized that Baccio’s *Hercules and Cacus* (Figs. 5,



15. Plan of ground floor, Palazzo Vecchio

16–17) is in many ways a critique of Michelangelo’s great prototype rather than a pendant to it⁷³. Bandinelli’s architectonic pedestal, on a higher socle and articulated by red slate inserts, however, refers so clearly to the *David*, that their kinship is simply taken for granted and ignored. The singularity and the closeness of that kinship in fact make Bandinelli’s pedestal as unusual and as significant as its prototype.

Many of the problems that render discussion of the *David* pedestal difficult also apply to the *Hercules and Cacus*. The dimensions of the statue are in dispute and there were no modern measurements of the pedestal. It seems highly likely, however, that Bandinelli used a system similar to Michelangelo’s to arrive at the relative heights of the figure and its supports. Vasari reports the height of the block from which the figures were carved as 9 and 9½ braccia, in the *Vite* of Michelangelo and Bandinelli respectively. Thus Vasari thought the *Hercules* block was either as large or larger than the marble for Michelangelo’s sculpture. Had this been true, it would be hard to understand why Bandinelli did everything in his power to augment the height of his group, all the more so since the *David* figure must have been less than 9 braccia high. No matter how much Baccio wished to outdo the *David*, he was bound to the same general figure height if his statue was to be judged a successful pendant to Michelangelo’s sculpture. Early reports show, however, that the *Hercules* marble measured only 8½ × 2½ braccia⁷⁴. In that case, it would have been necessary to apportion nearly the full height of the marble for the figures

70 Keutner, “Standbild”, pp. 142, 143, n. 16, suggests with typical judiciousness that Michelangelo would have discussed and agreed with the plans of the architects. Tolnay, *Michelangelo I*, (1947), p. 152, and others do not address the question and thus, by inference, credit the architects with the pedestal. Opinions differ widely about the site Michelangelo preferred for the *David* and on his role in the final decision. See Tolnay, *Michelangelo, I*, p. 152, for a summary of earlier opinion; Keutner, “Standbild”, p. 142, n. 16; Seymour, *David*, pp. 64–66 and Parks, “Placement”, pp. 562–563.

71 Alberti, *Ten Books*, bk. IX, ch. vii, p. 201, insists on the natural twinship of the statues. The story of the commission for the *Hercules* is summarized by Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, p. 363, and Bush, “Hercules”, p. 167–170. See also Levine, “Location”; C. Avery, S. Barbaglia, *L’Opera completa del Cellini*, Milan, 1981.

72 Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, p. 76; Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, pp. 139–142.

73 Bush, “Hercules”, also for the bibliography of the statue and p. 184, where she stresses parallels with the *Judith*.

74 Vasari, *Vite*, VI, p. 34, n. 1, VII, p. 121; Gaye Carteggio, p. 464; Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, p. 120, n. 63.



16. Baccio Bandinelli, *Hercules and Cacus*, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio

alone, if they were to equal the height of the figure of *David*. Apparently this is what happened, for Bandinelli's figures stand on a very thin plate over a separate rocky base which is not itself part of the marble above as it is in the *David*. Baccio's procedure lacks elegance to our eyes but did not threaten the stability of the group because of the pose and weight distribution of the figures⁷⁵. All this implies that the vertical dimensions of Bandinelli's group were predetermined by those of the *David*.

If there were technical and aesthetic constraints on the height of Bandinelli's sculpture, he felt freer to expand it horizontally. The rocky base of the *Hercules*, and its four animal heads⁷⁶, are pieced on and jut far out beyond the

75 For the piecing of the *Hercules* group and Bandinelli's other works, Vasari, *Vite* VI, pp. 63, 64; E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, p. 23. A.F. Doni, *Il Disegno* (1549) M. Pepe, ed., Milan, 1970 (fasc.), Fol. 34v says that piecing is a demonstration of skill when used in a colossus. It was known that the *Laocoön* was composed of pieces. For the Cinquecento mystique of the single block see I. Lavin, "The Sculptor's Last Will and Testament", *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* XXV, 1-2 (1977-1978), p. 39. Vasari, *Vite*, VII, p. 121 and Condivi claim that Andrea Sansovino had initially offered to use the block by adding pieces to the block which Michelangelo ultimately *obtained for the David* when he undertook to carve the statue without additions.

76 Since neither the dog nor the wolf allude to Hercules's labors, and since not all of the beasts appear to symbolize Tuscan towns, the meaning of the animals must be allegorical. Boar, lion and eagle occur, evidently as moral attributes, on the base of Ammanati's Benavides *Hercules* in Padua. Wolf, lion and dog constitute the famous tricephalic allegory of Prudence that Bandinelli used for his own portrait drawing (E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic*, London/New York, 1969, pp. 102-107) but the boar, usually a symbol of unrestrained physical strength and ferocity, seems odd in this context. The ferocious boar and wolf look out over the public space whereas the merciful lion and faithful dog face the



17. Baccio Bandinelli, *Hercules and Cacus*, pedestal, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio

confines of the original block. They could easily have extended less or more than they actually do. It therefore seems that their horizontal dimensions were made to correspond with those of the pedestal beneath. Certainly the block was reported as having been only 2½ braccia deep (146 cm) whereas the pedestal measures ca. 235 cm at its narrowest width. The fact that Baccio carved the figure from the bottom up may also point to the need to match the statue to preexisting dimensions for the pedestal⁷⁷.

Bandinelli favored large pedestals throughout his career. On this occasion, however, his choices of size and form were determined by Michelangelo's ensemble. Once it was established that Bandinelli was to use the formal vocabulary of the *David* pedestal, and since the vertical dimension had also to accord with it, the terms of the problem were set. Even if Bandinelli had followed Michelangelo in making the pedestal as narrow as possible, the greater width of Baccio's group would have yielded an awkwardly flattened single horizontal inset field that would have blunted the vertical thrust of the colossus. Furthermore, Bandinelli apparently understood that the red inset of the *David* pedestal was to be seen in some sense as the architectural equivalent of the single figure above. Thus it was logical that a two-figure group should be dignified, as nearly as possible, by two inset fields. Baccio felt this so strongly that he even repeated the two-field pattern on the short sides of the pedestal where a single field would have yielded a more proportionate rectangle. And yet, simply to have doubled the width of the *David* pedestal would have resulted in a support vastly too broad for the size of the marble from which the sculpture was carved. Thus Bandinelli took about one and a half the width of the *David* pedestal for the width of his own (234.8 cm)⁷⁸ and, even at that, he had, as we have seen, to expand the rocky base of the figure to join it visually to the supporting structure.

The other dimensions of the Bandinelli pedestal are also derived, whenever possible, from that of the *David*.

palace. Perhaps this moral division corresponds to the two protagonists aspects of Hercules as just judge and courageous defender as the exemplum both of active and contemplative virtues. Vasari, *Vite*, VII, pp. 121, 122, also characterizes the *David* as governing justly and bravely. Eagle, dog, ox, capricorn, ram and lion adorn the armor of Bandinelli's bust of Cosimo I, ill. in Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, p. 68.

77 Vasari, *Vite*, VI, pp. 34, 35. B. carved the block when it was "rizzato", i.e. in an upright position.

78 The dado measures 234.8 cm × 175 cm in plan and is 102.9 cm high. Including the lower torus and all other mouldings, the pedestal is 165.5 cm high and the distance between the torus and the present day pavement of the piazza (i.e. the height of the socle) varies very approximately between 260 and 270 cm.

The *Hercules* pedestal is less than 8 cm taller than its prototype. It is only the proportions that are different because Bandinelli's mouldings are so much more elaborate. Bandinelli's white marble enframements of the red fields are exactly the same size as Michelangelo's, 25 cm. The width of the red inserts on the side faces of Baccio's pedestal is equal to that of the slate panels on the side faces of the *David* pedestal. Today the *Hercules* pedestal undoubtedly looks pretentiously large in terms of the *David*. Bellotto's *veduta* shows, however, that the *David* stood above a socle like that now supporting the *Hercules* and that the parapet of the *ringhiera* would have been continued visually in the two pedestals so that they would have appeared harmoniously balanced.

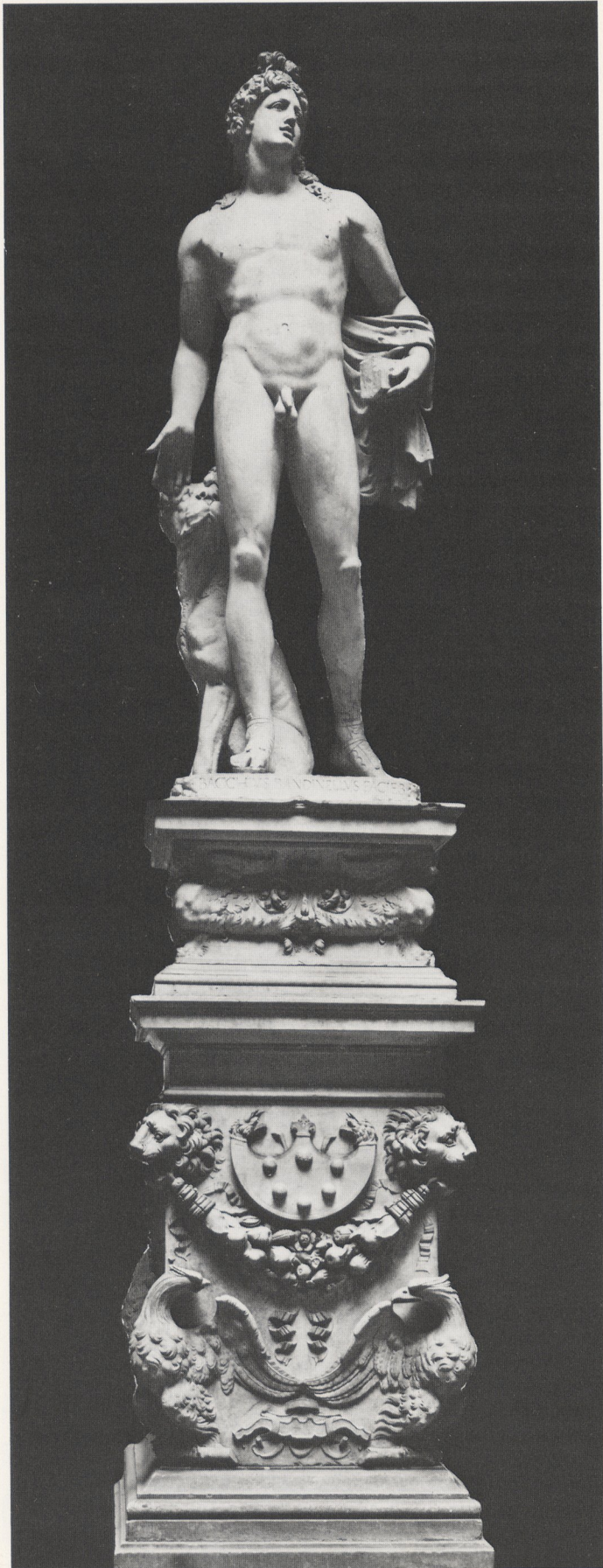
The twin "giganti" had been set up as stair ornaments, so the pedestals had to resemble each other if Renaissance demands for architectural symmetry were to be respected. Bandinelli approached this task with sensitivity and boldness. He placed the figures diagonally on the pedestal and in its forms, he now applied to the classicism of his great contemporary the sophisticated *imitazione* he had performed a decade earlier in his copy of the Vatican *Laocoön*⁷⁹. In fact, however, Baccio's attitude was more nearly comparable to his freer, more creative and critical treatment of the *Apollo Belvedere* in his *Orpheus* of ca. 1519 for the Medici Palace (Fig. 18). Vasari had said, admiringly, of the *Orpheus* that everyone recognized the famous prototype was being invoked although the actual forms of Bandinelli's statue were quite different⁸⁰. This is the spirit in which the divergences between the *Hercules* pedestal and that of the *David* can best be understood.

The vigorous, elegant, wave motif of the upper cornice and the variety of the mouldings of Bandinelli's pedestal demonstrate that adherence to antiquity need not mean Michelangelesque austerity but, rather, decorative sumptuousness in the architectural tradition of Raphael and particularly of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. Baccio's mouldings seem a variation on a composite base – which Serlio was to call the most licentious style of ornament⁸¹.

79 Vasari, *Vite*, VI, p. 25.

80 Vasari, *Vite*, VI, pp. 23, 24; E. Langedijk, "Baccio Bandinelli's *Orpheus*: A Political Message", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XX (1976), pp. 33–52. A drawing in Bayonne (J. Bean, *Les Dessins Italiens de la Collection Bonnat*, Paris, 1960, no. 247 verso) of a statue of a male nude with a ram on a decorated pedestal, has numerous formal and contentual similarities with Baccio's *Orpheus*.

81 See Raphael's famous letter to Leo X, V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti*, Città del Vaticano, 1936, pp. 78–81. The wave motif appears in sketchbooks (e.g. Ashby, "Coner", F. 109). In the Cinquecento it is used characteristically to demarcate the lower zone of the elevation from those above, e.g. A.



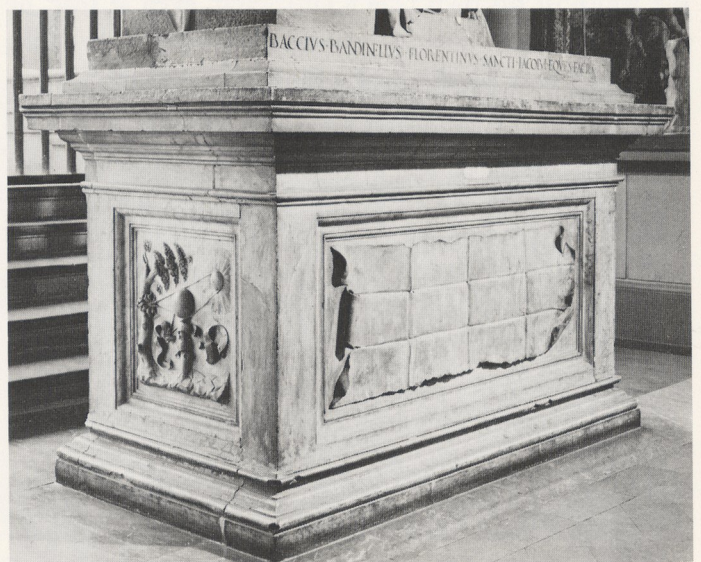
18. Baccio Bandinelli, *Orpheus*, Florence, Palazzo Medici

The Atlantes applied to pilasters at the center of each pedestal face were also elements both sanctioned by antiquity and fashionably modern. The turbans of these bearded creatures identify them as *prigioni*; denizens of a conquered domain⁸². Such vanquished, supporting figures, and forms derived from them, were to be found in designs for pedestals by Leonardo and in the *prigioni* and herms of the *Julius Tomb*; a complex that can indeed be seen as a monumental pedestal for the portrait statue of the pope at its summit. Bandinelli himself included herms in a design of the early thirties for the pedestal of the *Doria Monument* (Figs. 21, 23–25)⁸³. Grotesque forms

Sansovino, Tombs, S. Maria del Popolo (1505–1507); A. Sangallo il Giovane, Palazzo Baldassini, Rome (1510–1515); Palazzo Pandolfini, Florence, (1520 inscribed on façade); Serlio, *Sette Libri* III, f. 117, IV, fols. 184r and v, 185v, draws the motif from a triumphal arch in Verona as an illustration of the composite most “licentiuosa” order used in the antique only on triumphal arches.

82 For caryatids as prisoners, Vitruvius, *Architecture*, bk. I, ch. ii, pp. 9–11 and bk. VII, ch. vii, 6, 11, 50, 5, for the terminology of anthropomorphic supports. Cesariano’s illustrated *Vitruvius* of 1521 and subsequent editions depict them; for Atlantes, bk. VII, ch. vii, 6, p. 5. Serlio, *Sette Libri*, III, f. 113v, describes representations of “prigioni” with hands and genitals cut off to signify that they are “di animo vile e corpo debole”. An interesting earlier example of Atlantes and indeed of ornate pedestal forms is to be found in Filippino Lippi’s *St. Philip and the Dragon* in the Strozzi Chapel, Florence, (by 1502). For Terms seen, on the contrary, as images of steadfastness, see E. Wind, “Aenigmata Termini”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* I, (1939), see below, n. 89.

83 Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design, 1938–88–1741, pen and ink. 342 cm × 268 cm. C. Wilkinson et al., *Drawings of the First Maniera*, Providence, R.I., 19, no. 7. Turbaned prisoners occur in related drawings such as Louvre



19. Baccio Bandinelli, *Laocöon*, pedestal, Florence, Uffizi

derived from *prigioni* types had also come into use as decorative elements in Rome and Florence. Vasari's 1534 portrait of Alessandro de' Medici (see below, note 89) had used *prigioni* in the same way. On the *Hercules* pedestal, the bodies give no support to the architecture but have become simply emblematic cartouches. Arms and legs have been replaced by flat curling scrolls, early examples of the fashion for strapwork that Rosso exported to France in the Galerie François I^{er}⁸⁴. Certainly the combination of licence of invention and cool classicism of form is characteristic of both artists in these years.

The *Hercules* Atlantes seem to offer a critique by contrast of the pedestal of the *David*, done exactly thirty years earlier. The idea could have been derived from the successive phases of the *Julius Tomb*. It may well be, however, that Bandinelli saw his pedestal as something of an homage to Michelangelo's newest and very different style of the Medici Chapel⁸⁵. There Michelangelo marks off the *basamento* from the upper wall by transforming a traditional leaf cymation into a frieze of tortured curling masks. Bearded and turbaned *prigioni* of the "carcer terreno," they give only nominal support to the emphatic dentil frieze above⁸⁶. The curvilinear forms of Bandinelli's pedestal cornice and of the *termini* occur nowhere else in his work. Perhaps they separate out the combined motifs and respond in classicizing cadence to Michelangelo's disquieting decorative invention in the analogous zone in the New Sacristy.

Vasari had praised the "licenza" of the orders and decoration of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel architecture for its power to liberate the artistic imagination. Recently, David Summers has emphasized that these innovations gave positive value to the kind of inversion and suppres-



20. Baccio Bandinelli, *Design for a St. Michael for the Castel Sant'Angelo, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (Inv. 92)*

sion of function that had been censured by classically oriented critics of art and literature since antiquity. A striking metaphor for the process of invention of architecture was, as he points out, the *grottesco* understood, not as the chimerical combination of natural forms, but as the freely imagined creation, by the artist, of beings not existing in nature⁸⁷. Anton Francesco Doni, Bandinelli's friend and spokesman, mentions *termini* and masks in just this sense⁸⁸ and, for all their sobriety, Bandinelli's *Hercules* Atlantes belong to this category. Contradicting their original supporting function by their decorative forms, varied in virtuoso fashion on each side of the pedestal, the Atlantes, in a limited way, respond to Michelangelo's innovations and claim a similar freedom and fecundity of artistic invention for Bandinelli himself.

The primary public meaning of the Atlantes was, of course, political. As Vasari explained, they denoted the Medicean subjection of rebellious forces that is a theme of the *Hercules and Cacus* group. Pope Clement had also chosen, among the models offered him by Bandinelli, the one depicting Cacus "a guisa di prigione"⁸⁹. Earlier ver-

no. 85, 89, see D. Heikamp, "In margine alla 'Vita di Baccio Bandinelli' del Vasari", *Paragone* XVII (1966), no. 191, pp. 54-55, fig. 40; a pen and ink drawing (Florence, Uffizi 501, published by M. G. Ciardi-Duprè, "Per la cronologia di Baccio Bandinelli (fino al 1540)", *Commentari*, XVII (1966), p. 157, fig. 15, as preparatory for the *Martyrdom of San Lorenzo* print of the mid 1520's should be associated with the *Hercules and Cacus* base.

84 J. Shearman, "The Galerie of François Premier", *Miscellanea Musicologica: Adelaide Studies in Musicology* II (1980), pp. 1-15.

85 Michelangelo returned to Florence for the last time in May or June, 1534, after the erection of the *Hercules and Cacus*. He left for Rome on September 20th, 1534 (Tolnay, *Michelangelo* III, p. 13).

86 Ashby, "Coner", f. 107, combines a cymation with the Lesbian cymation wave motif; f. 142 shows a frieze of masks, all drawn after the antique. Leaf masks were also a prototype for Michelangelo's mask frieze. The idea of the frieze itself seems to be a conflation of forms and an inversion in sense of the cherub frieze crowning the walls of the Old Sacristy.

87 Vasari, *Vite*, VII, p. 156; D. Summers, "Michelangelo", p. 150ff.

88 Doni, *Disegno*, fols. 22r and Summers, "Michelangelo", p. 150ff., also cites Vitruvius and Francesco da Hollanda describing "licentious" motifs and fantastic creatures such as herms and terms.

89 Vasari, *Vite*, VI, p. 34. In Vasari's 1534 portrait of Alessandro de' Medici (K. Forster, "Metaphors of Rule: Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici", *Mit-*

sions of the group had, however, shown Hercules about to kill the vanquished Cacus⁹⁰. Thus the final restrained composition symbolized Medicean papal "Clementia" just as the *Orpheus*, carved by Baccio under Leo X for the Medici Palace, had proclaimed an era of harmony between the Florentines and their Medici ruler⁹¹.

Hercules had long been a civic symbol of Florence and was honored as the city's legendary founder⁹², but the Cacus myth was seldom represented⁹³. The subject was nonetheless planned as early as 1508 as the pendant to Michelangelo's *David*⁹⁴. When other Labors of Hercules could exemplify the victory of Florentine civic courage and virtue over evil and disorder, why was this relatively obscure episode in the hero's career given such prominence? In fact, the Cacus myth, which tells about the liberation of a precious herd from a monstrous thief and its return to rightful ownership was an apposite justification of violent political action taken to establish legitimate

teilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz XV, (1971), pp. 69–70, fig. 4); *Palazzo Vecchio: Committenza Collezionismo Mediceo* (cat.), Florence, 1980, p. 267; K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici*, Florence, 1981, I, p. 226, no. 14, the duke is shown sitting on a bench supported by bound "prigioni", herms supporting a row of dentils. In a letter to Ottaviano de' Medici (probably of 1534), Vasari minces no words about the meaning of the picture and provides precious evidence also for an interpretation of the *Hercules and Cacus* (G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878–1885, VII, pp. 241–242). The duke, dressed in armor, is seated "avendo in mano il bastione di dominio ... La sedia tonda, dove siede sopra, non avendo principio nè fine, mostra il suo regno perpetuo. Quei tre corpi tronchi (the herms) per piè di detta sedia, in tre per piede, sendo numero perfetto, sono i suoi popoli, che, guidandosi secondo il volere di chi sopra li comanda, non hanno nè braccia nè gambe. Convertesi il fine di queste figure in una zampa di leone, per essere parte del segno della città di Firenze". Below, an allegory of "volubilità" shows that the people must be bound and a red cloth recalls how much blood was spent by those who rebelled against the duke.

90 Bush, "Hercules", pp. 177–180, figs. 18–21, for the bozzetto in Berlin that seems to reflect Bandinelli's earlier composition. It should be pointed out, however, that this version is difficult to envisage in front of the palazzo as a pendant to the *David*, since the 'front' view of the bozzetto is the least communicative.

91 Bush, "Hercules", pp. 181–182; Langedijk, "Orpheus", esp. pp. 43–46.

92 L.D. Ettliger, "Hercules Florentinus", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz XVI* (1972), pp. 120–122.

93 Andrea Pisano's relief on the Campanile of the Cathedral, a Pollaiuolesque relief in the Palazzo Guicciardini, Florence, and a drawing after Pollaiuolo in Turin (Bush, "Hercules", p. 180, n. 74) are the examples usually given. To this one may add a 16th century marble relief from a series of 8 labors preserved in the Palazzo Medici. The subject also occurs in prints.

94 Bush, "Hercules", pp. 169–170.

Republican civic government⁹⁵. The Cacus story also has, however, other aspects that gave it even greater appropriateness to any Medici regime. Indeed it may be that Michelangelo avoided it for this very reason⁹⁶. When during the brief return of the Republic between 1527 and 1530 he was given back the block that Bandinelli had already begun to carve, Michelangelo preferred to continue the composition as a *Samson and the Philistines*⁹⁷. Thus he characterized the Medici as barbarous foreign usurpers. As soon as they returned and the commission was returned to Bandinelli, the subject became, once again, Hercules and Cacus.

The Cacus episode, alone among all the Labors of Hercules, takes place at Rome⁹⁸. Hercules finds the cattle stolen from him by Cacus when he hears the lowing of one of the imprisoned flock. The faithful shepherd recovers them by breaking into Cacus's cave, kills him, and displays his corpse to a grateful public. Hercules himself⁹⁹ erects an altar to commemorate this triumph on the Forum Boarium, the Roman cattle market¹⁰⁰ where the battle had taken place and where Cacus lived. Hercules is hailed as the true son of Jove and, thereafter, his cult is celebrated in perpetuity on the *ara maxima*¹⁰¹ of Rome by

95 G.K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 145–146, for the Virgilian basis of this idea; Fader, *Piazza*, p. 381, n. 13, points out that Castiglione in *The Courtier* uses Cacus as an example of the same idea.

96 Michelangelo's *Hercules and Anteus* compositions are very likely to represent his plans for the pendant to the *David* during the 1520's. Anteus, son of Gea, the Earth, is invincible as long as he is in contact with his mother. Hercules overcomes Anteus by holding him in the air until he loses his power. Thus in its moral dimension, the labor celebrates the victory of the higher will over lower instincts, certainly an important exemplum for political life and one that was frequently represented under the Medici. (Ettliger, "Hercules Florentinus", pp. 127 et passim). For a Florentine Republican living under a Medici regime, however, the Anteus story might suggest that if the Florentine could only get their feet on the ground again, they might too regain their rightful strength.

97 Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, p. 365; Bush, "Hercules", pp. 174–176 and n. 58 for bibliography.

98 J.G. Winter, "The Myth of Hercules at Rome", in H. Sanders, ed., *Roman History and Mythology (Univ. of Michigan Human. Series 4)*, New York, 1910, pp. 171–273, also for the later versions of the myth; J. Bayet, *Les origines de l'Hercule romain*, Paris, 1925, K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1960, pp. 213, Galinsky, *Herakles*, pp. 126–152.

99 Accounts differ about whether the hero himself or Evander consecrates the altar. See Galinsky, *Herakles*, p. 126.

100 See G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, III², (1897) pp. 574–575; VIII¹ (1912), cols. 551–571. Also Winter, "Hercules", p. 193.

101 For the *ara maxima* see Addendum below Galinsky, *Herakles*, p. 126f.



21. Baccio Bandinelli, *Monument to Andrea Doria*, Carrara



22. Baccio Bandinelli, *Design for a Monument to Andrea Doria*, London, British Museum

the families of the aristocratic founder of his rites and the custodian of his shrine¹⁰². The *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Fasti* were the best known of several ancient accounts of the myth¹⁰³ but it was also taken up by Christian fathers like St. Augustine who identified Hercules with light and virtue, Cacus with darkness and evil (Cacus = Κακόν)¹⁰⁴. Pliny, in turn, tells that the statue of the triumphant Hercules was also erected, at the site of the *ara maxima* in the

102 Some accounts conflate the Potitii and the Pinarii. See Winter, *Hercules*, pp. 200–204 et passim.

103 Ovid, *Fasti* I, 581; Virgil, *Aeneid* VIII, 271; also among others, Livy, *Ab urbe condita* I, 7, 10, IX, 34, Propertius 9, 67, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitatum Romanorum* I, 40, 6; see also Winter "Hercules" for the sources of the legend and Galinsky, *Herakles*, pp. 153 ff.

104 Winter, "Hercules", pp. 224, 234, 236–238, Pauly-Wissowa, as above, n. 100.

Forum Boarium¹⁰⁵. These sources were, of course, common currency among Florentine *litterati*.

The myth shows that Hercules, traditional founder of Florence, brought peace and religion to Rome before its foundation by Aeneas. Thus the ancient links between Rome and Florence and, by implication, the greater antiquity and nobility of Florence are established. The choice of the Cacus myth as the subject for monumental sculpture in the piazza, therefore, parallels the development of the "mito etrusco" of Florentine supremacy that became an increasingly important instrument of Florentine state propaganda during the Cinquecento¹⁰⁶.

105 Jex-Blake, *Pliny*, pp. 26–27.

106 Ettliger, "Hercules Florentinus", p. 122. This notion was itself of recent date, propounded by Annius of Viterbo in his *Antiquitates* of 1498. The idea, however, took firm root in

Attempts to glorify and legitimize the Medici by linking them to the founding of Rome and to the Italic Hercules had been made earlier. Familiar instances are the ceremonies, held on the Campidoglio in 1513¹⁰⁷, to make Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici citizens of Rome, the festive entry of Leo X into Florence of 1515¹⁰⁸, and the Roman triumphal elements in the Medici Chapel¹⁰⁹. The Hercules and Cacus myth lends itself to similar ends.

Hercules, traditional founder of Florence, is also involved in the founding of Rome. The saving of the stolen cattle by their faithful shepherd, armed with a club¹¹⁰, and son of Jove¹¹¹ can become the Medici restoration, willed by the people who cry out for help. On the other hand, the rebellious native Cacus is also a good symbol of anti-Medicean factions in Florence. The Roman *ara maxima* and the priestly custodians easily evoke the Medici papacy and its guarantee of power to the Florentine wing of the family and its supporters. The *ara maxima* was dedicated to Hercules Invictus. Livy's version stresses that the coming of the ruler was foretold, a theme also dominant in Florentine ducal iconography. Dionysus of Halicarnassus says that the people crowned Hercules with laurel¹¹², a ubiquitous Medici symbol. The installation of the altar could also be assigned even more precise and timely references. The Palazzo della Signoria and its *piazza* were built at the edge of the ancient Roman core of Florence on a site demarcated on the south by the Via della Ninna. The street was, however, the extension of the route leading into Florence from the Porta dei Buoi, so

Florentine rhetoric. See H. Utz, "The Labors of Hercules and Other Works by Vincenzo de' Rossi", *Art Bulletin* LII (1971), 3, pp. 346–351; G. Cipriani, *Il mito etrusco nel rinascimento fiorentino*, Florence, 1980, p. 34, 86 et passim.

107 F. Cruciani, *Il teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513, con la ricostruzione architettonica del teatro di A. Bruschi*, Milan, 1968; Cipriani, *Il mito*, pp. 49–55. It should be noted that the visit of the Magnifici to Rome is compared to the visit of Hercules to King Evander in Rome (Cruciani, *Il teatro*, p. 121).

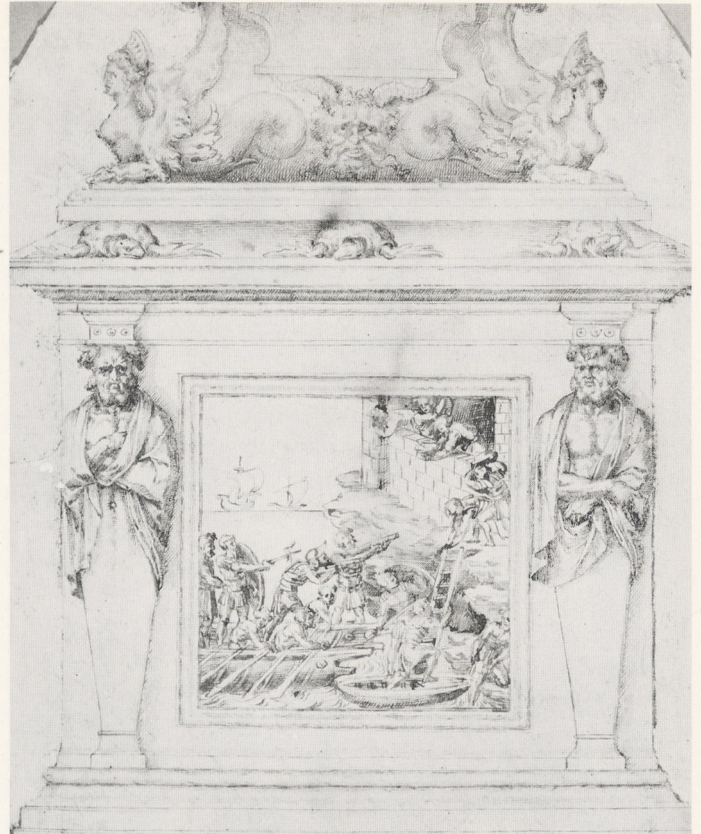
108 J. Shearman, "The Florentine Entrata of Leo X, 1515", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXVIII (1975), pp. 136–154 esp. pp. 145–146; Cipriani, *Il mito*, pp. 55–57.

109 The Pantheon-like dome, the sarcophagi modelled on the one standing in front of the Pantheon, the apotheosis of the dukes dressed and seated all'antica in triumphal settings all suggest that the Chapel is to be understood as still another Rome – Etruria image. See also, K. Weil-Garris, "Comments on the Medici Chapel and Pontormo's Lunette at Poggio a Caiano", *Burlington Magazine* CXV, October, 1973, pp. 641–649.

110 Livy I, vii, also Winter, "Hercules", pp. 122, 241. Livy and Propertius make Hercules a shepherd.

111 Virgil *Aeneid*, VII, 301. Ettlinger, "Hercules Florentinus", p. 140 shows that the Medici are also designated as the sons of Hercules.

112 Livy I, vii, 10; Dionysius of Halicarnassus I, 40.



23. Baccio Bandinelli, *Design for the Pedestal of the Andrea Doria Monument*, New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum

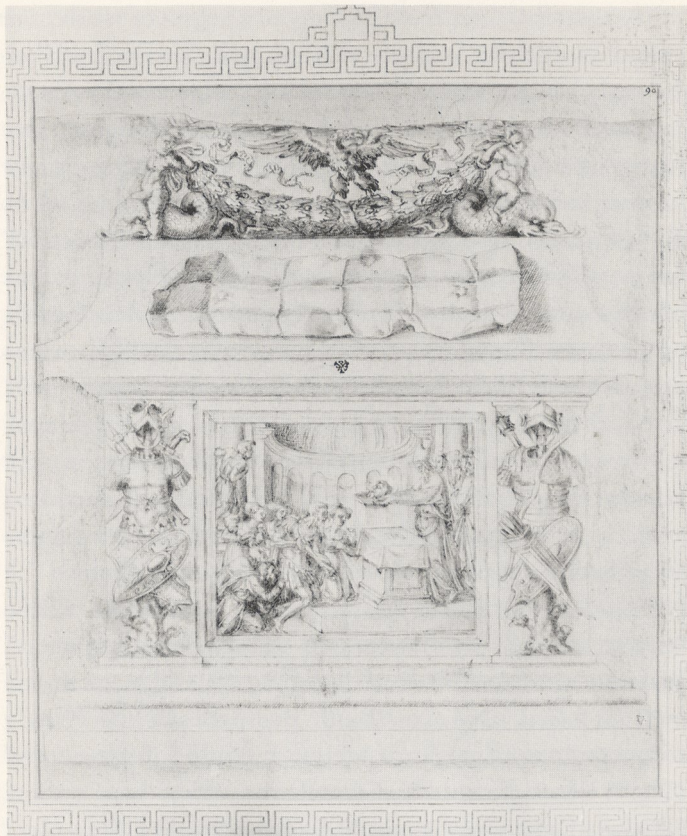
called because of the cattle market outside the walls¹¹³. This route led to the Torre della Vacca that was incorporated into the Palazzo della Signoria, past the new *piazza* and into what is still today the Via di Vaccareccia, that faces the palazzo. Florentine documents habitually identify the west palace façade as "versus viam vaccareccie."¹¹⁴ Ovid had stated specifically that the *ara maxima* was set up "hic ubi pars urbis de bove nomen habet."¹¹⁵ The *piazza* was, indeed, the equivalent of the Roman Forum Boarium¹¹⁶, and Hercules triumphant over Cacus, the uniquely felicitous subject for the second guardian of

113 R. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* I (1st ed. 1896) Florence, 1956, I, map and p. 791, V, p. 283, n. 1.

114 e.g. Gotti, *Palazzo Vecchio*, pp. 24, 26, 59. The tower and the street might have taken their name from the della Vacca or Vacchia family but this is uncertain. See, for instance, B. Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, Florence, 1888, II, p. 145; M. Rastrelli, *Il Palazzo Vecchio*, Florence, 1792, pp. 28–29, who speculates that the piazza itself may once have been a Forum Boarium.

115 Ovid, *Fasti* I, 580–582.

116 Renaissance writers knew the location of the Forum Boarium and of the connection with the Hercules and Cacus story and the *aedes Hercules*. In Trecento Florentine documents, "forum" is the word habitually used for "piazza". See, for instance, the *Mirabilia*, Albertini, *Opusculum*, and the



24. Baccio Bandinelli, *Design for the Pedestal of the Andrea Doria Monument*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

the palace. It has always seemed odd that Bandinelli's *Hercules* looks in the same direction as the *David*, rather than symmetrically toward him, but if Hercules, victorious over the rebellious cattle thief, who looks to the *palazzo* for mercy, stands next to the ancient cattle route into Florence, he guards it against future usurpers. The unusual diagonal placement of the figures in relation to the pedestal reinforces this axis of meaning¹¹⁷.

The idea that Florentine sites could represent Rome was not a new one. During the festivities for the entry of Leo X into Florence in 1515, it was thought that the city

Anonimo magliabecchiano in R. Valentini and G. Zuchetti, eds., *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, Rome, 1953, III p. 52, IV, pp. 141, 476, 481, 515, 516; Winter, "Hercules", pp. 224, 225.

117 For the stylistic implications of this important innovation, see Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, p. 45; Bush, "Hercules", pp. 183–186. The meaning of the *Hercules* also changes with the angle from which it is observed. Seen from the piazza, Hercules, as watchful guardian, dominates. Cacus is his attribute. As one moves closer and up the stairs, it is Cacus who appears the protagonist. With him, we become petitioners. From this viewpoint it is also clear that Cacus's glance is directed both at the palace and at the club of Hercules. Mercy and justice are to be purchased by submission only.



25. Baccio Bandinelli, *Design for the Pedestal of the Andrea Doria Monument*, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (Inv. 86)

"seemed to be not Florence but Rome."¹¹⁸ Also on this occasion, a colossal gilded stucco *Hercules* by Bandinelli, perhaps reminiscent of the *Hercules* found in the Forum Boarium, was placed in the eastern arch of the Loggia dei Lanzi. It is possible that this figure was already intended as an allusion to the pope as Hercules, founder of the Roman religion¹¹⁹. In the same way and with still greater

118 Shearman, "Entrata", pp. 140, 145, n. 29, 149, n. 39. Leo entered Florence at the Porta S. Piero Gattolino (Porta Romana). The cortege was greeted at the Ponte S. Trinita by the inscription LEONI X LABORUM VICTOR and by other Herculean allusions. The bridge had what was understood to be the Vatican obelisk at its north end and a historiated column like the column of Trajan decorated the Mercato Nuovo. Jacopo Sansovino had prepared a 9 braccia copy of the Dioscuri (Landucci). It is worth noting that Alessandro de' Medici in 1531 (Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 124) also entered the city ceremonially through the Porta Romana as did Charles V in 1536 (Vasari in a letter to Aretino, Vasari-Milanesi, *Vite VIII*, xiv, p. 255).

119 Shearman, "Entrata", pp. 138–141; Bush, "Hercules", pp. 170, 171, n. 36. Although its origin was known, the *Hercules* was already on the Capitoline. Bacchus's figure is, however, closer in pose to the Hercules Scal of the Florentine commune thus stressing the identity of Leo with Hercules and the city (Bush, "Hercules", pp. 172, 173).

emphasis the *Hercules and Cacus* symbolized the Roman papal basis of Duke Alessandro's power over his unruly flock. Thus the statue prefigured the more systematic exploitation of Hercules imagery that was increasingly to characterize the reign of Cosimo I¹²⁰.

The great bell of the palazzo had, from its casting, taken the name of the tower in which it hung, La Vacca. It was understood as a popular political symbol and, during the Trecento, gave rise to the motto, "la vacca mugghia"¹²¹. In Virgil's account of the Cacus story, the thief's plans are given away when, "una boum vastoque sub antro mugit"¹²². In October, 1532, Duke Alessandro destroyed the bell to make coinage and thereby silenced what a contemporary called the voice of liberty. The call of the Vacca, once having been answered, would have been an embarrassment had it sounded again during the new regime¹²³. This symbolic act caused great public resentment and must have contributed to Alessandro's hesitancy to erect the *Hercules and Cacus* as a further provocative symbol of Medici dominion¹²⁴. Writing in a later, calmer, era for Duke Francesco, Vasari did not hesitate to make clear the meaning of the theme and of Bandinelli's group. The combat with Cacus signifies "l'odio e lo sdegno che la giustizia de' principi buoni ha di continuo con la natura de' ladri e malfattori" and the group was therefore chosen as "insegna di questo palazzo"¹²⁵.

120 Forster, "Metaphors", pp. 72–82. Forster properly also emphasizes the apotheosis of Alessandro and later of Cosimo I as Augustus. For Hercules, Alexander, Apollo and Augustus as figures of Medici rule, see also P.W. Richelson, *Studies in the Personal Imagery of Cosimo I De' Medici, Duke of Florence*, New York (Garland), 1978. Virgil's Hercules and Cacus story makes the myth into a metaphor of Augustan rule and the Renaissance understood this (see Galinsky, "The Hercules and Cacus Episode in Aeneid VIII", *American Journal of Philology* LXXXVII (1966), pp. 18–51).

121 Gotti, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 28; Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 119.

122 Virgil, *Aeneid* VIII, 217, 218. This moment is represented in Vasari's *Cacus* fresco in the Salone d'Ercole, Palazzo Vecchio.

123 Gotti, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 31; J.R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control*, London, 1977, p. 123. Alessandro's building of the Fortezza di Basso was the most powerful demonstration of this idea. The first indication of this project is found in a letter by the duke to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger of March 10, 1534 (Gaye, *Carteggio*, p. 252), just before the unveiling of the *Hercules and Cacus*.

124 Vasari, *Vite* VI, p. 43.

125 See Vasari's *Ragionamenti* in Vasari-Milanesi, *Vite* VIII, p. 82. In the "Giornata prima", ragionamento settimo, describing the significance of the scenes of the Sala di Ercole in the Palazzo Vecchio. Vasari's fresco shows Hercules killing Cacus. This account is also a precious source for the Medicean meaning of other Herculean imagery. For the *Ragionamenti*, see J.L. Draper, *Vasari's Decoration in the Palazzo Vecchio*, (unpub. Diss.) Univ. of North Carolina, 1973.

Fortunately, Bandinelli had already begun to work on a more conciliatory version of his statue. Vasari describes the early violent Cacus composition in specifically Virgilian words but the model of the sculpture chosen by the pope with Cacus "a guisa di prigionieri", has no exact counterpart in the text. Nonetheless, the culmination of the Virgilian Cacus story is less the slaying of Cacus than the establishment of the perpetual cult of Hercules that results from his victory¹²⁶. The *Clementia* of Bandinelli's statue opens the way to the acceptance by the Florentines of the Medici cult, but the pedestal seems to carry this idea considerably further and to add an important dimension to it. For all their apparent reference to antiquity, neither the Michelangelo nor the Bandinelli pedestal mimics ancient types. The *David* pedestal may, in its severity, recall column pedestals but its ornaments link the *Hercules* pedestal far more closely to ancient altars. Alberti asserted that statues of deities were set up on altars in antiquity, indeed "arula", little altar, was the term he often used for "base" or "pedestal"¹²⁷. Pliny's account of the triumphant Hercules statue complemented Virgil's description of the installation of the hero's altar. Perhaps the sumptuous mouldings of Bandinelli's pedestal evoke the altar of Hercules that completes the story of Cacus and gives the violent myth its reconciling and triumphal meaning¹²⁸. Thus the pedestal would add a crucial narrative element to the statue rather than serving only as a support.

A Medicean foundation ritual was, in fact, enacted when the pedestal was erected. Because of public opinion, Vasari says, Duke Alessandro avoided setting up the Hercules group until he was commanded to do so by Pope Clement¹²⁹. In a somewhat unclear passage of his *Memorie Fiorentine*¹³⁰, Settmani says that the statue was set up on May 1, 1534. This was the second anniversary of

126 Winter, "Hercules", p. 195, and above, note 122.

127 Alberti, *Ten Books*, bk VII, ch. xiii, p. 154; H.-K. Lücke, *Alberti Index*, Munich 1975, I, p. 114, for full listing of this usage. I am most grateful to Christof Thoenes for this suggestion. As F. Yegul pointed out to me, statues were displayed on table tombs. See H. von Hesberg, "Tischgräber in Italien", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1980, Heft 3, pp. 422–438, Fig. 10.

128 See notes above, 99 ff. and Winter, "Hercules", p. 236, for the pacific aspect of the Virgilian version of the myth.

129 Vasari, *Vite* VI, p. 44.

130 Settmani in Gaye, *Carteggio* II, p. 177. S. Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine* (1634–1671), Florence, 1849, p. 109; Vasari, *Vite* VI, pp. 44–46. It is not clear whether the statue was moved on that day from the Opera or installed, as seems more likely, on the piazza. The move from the Opera took place three days earlier, i.e., probably April 27th. This was the anniversary of the establishment of the new constitution that made Alessandro Duke of the Republic. See Hale, *Florence*, p. 118–121.

the public ceremony in which the Signoria gathered on the *ringhiera* to recognize Alessandro as first duke and as constitutional ruler of Florence¹³¹. It is clear, however, that the installation of the statue was preceded by what was apparently a private ceremony to lay the cornerstone of the pedestal. A fence having been built around the site, Vasari says, letters commemorating Pope Clement VII and a goodly number of medals depicting the heads of the pope and the new duke were built into the bottom of the pedestal¹³². Thus whereas the statue communicated the “Clementine” clemency¹³³ and justice of the new rule and the specific role of the duke as *Fundator Quietis*¹³⁴, it was the pedestal and its foundation ceremony that gave the group its specifically commemorative function and emphasized the sacred legitimacy of the regime.

The degree to which the *Hercules* pedestal imitated that of the *David* also conveyed this political message. The *Hercules* thus becomes the neutral and legitimate continuation of the *David*, that is, of Florentine communal government¹³⁵. In much the same way, Alessandro had been named “Duca della Repubblica Fiorentina.” No attempt was made to remove the *David* when the Medici took power in 1512. In later years, moreover, when the Medici regime was more secure, the dukes were once again to be allegorized as David¹³⁶. The *Hercules* pedestal appears to be an early attempt to co-opt and transform the meaning of Michelangelo’s statue in the same sense. This motive also helps to account for the notable absence of all Medici symbols or inscriptions on the *Hercules* pedestal. It aspires to the same unquestionable identification with the state that the *David* had acquired.

In 1534, however, the significance of the *Hercules* as a symbol of rebellion crushed and of Medici control was too well understood and little liked by the citizenry. Whether or not political prudence had been a motive in

leaving the *David* pedestal bare, caution was necessary now. This was certainly demonstrated by the intense popular outcry that greeted the unveiling of the statue. The pedestal was now immediately covered with quite a different sort of inscription, derogatory mottoes and verses in Tuscan and Latin. These were addressed to the statue and its sculptor but the duke understood that the real target of the criticism was his regime for he imprisoned the most enthusiastic versifiers as offending against an “opera pubblica”¹³⁷. Intending to recall a Roman Hercules, he had created, instead, a Florentine *Pasquino*.

Three faces of the *Hercules* pedestal were left bare but the insets of the front face were inscribed

BACCIUS
FLOR.
MD

BANDINELL.
FACIEBAT.
XXXIII

Monumental signatures were not unheard of in Bandinelli’s time and in the preceding century but they were sufficiently uncommon that Vasari sometimes records them. In every instance, however, the signature was carved on the material of the statue itself. Baccio’s signature, placed in a space normally reserved for the name of the donor or a dedication¹³⁸, made Bandinelli a Medici surrogate and secured for him the opprobrium due both the artist and his patron. Puns on Bandinelli’s name, “Buaccio”, and on a verse on Hercules and Cacus ending “ma il bue l’ha havuto Baccio Bandinelli”¹³⁹, demonstrate that contemporaries fully understood the significance of the bovine metaphor in the Cacus myth for Florence and branded the sculptor as the Medici ox¹⁴⁰. Bandinelli was, however,

131 Beth Holman brought this connection to my attention. For the ceremony making Alessandro duke, see B. Segni, *Storie fiorentine* quoted in Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, p. 42.

132 Vasari, *Vite* VI, p. 44. See Hale, *Florence*, pp. 518–520, for the tradition of foundation ceremonies in Florence.

133 Bush, “Hercules”, p. 181. Clement’s iconography of peace is displayed also in the medal made for him by Cellini in 1533–4. The obverse shows his portrait, the reverse a figure of peace and the temple of Janus, inscribed CLAUDVNTVR BELLI PORTAE.

134 Forster, “Metaphors”, p. 70, for Alessandro’s medals with this motto adopted, in turn, from Charles V.

135 Bush, “Hercules”, p. 185, sees similar motivation in Bandinelli’s stylistic reliance on Donatello’s *Judith*. This *imitazione* is even stronger in Cellini’s *Perseus* and, although it is certainly aesthetic in intent, could also have a political dimension. See below, note 171.

136 Cipriani, *Il mito*, p. 72; Forster, “Metaphors”, pp. 84–85.

137 Vasari, *Vite*, VI, p. 47; D. Heikamp, “Poesie in vituperio del Bandinelli”, *Paragone* XV (1964), 175, pp. 58–68.

138 Tuckerman, “Sockelbildung”, p. 272. A fascinating exception is the *Zen Monument* in San Marco, Venice (J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London/New York, 1963, fig. 163). The Madonna sits on a high socle that is decorated but without a narrative relief and inscribed with the name of the bronze caster: PETRI IOANNIS CAMPANATI MDXV.

139 Vasari-Milanesi, *Vite*, VI, p. 159, n. 1: “Ercole, non mi dar, chè i tuoi vitelli? Ti revidero con tutto il tuo bestiame: / Ma il bue l’ha havuto Baccio Bandinelli”. Cellini takes up the same theme, even including references to the Ovidian account of the Cacus story. Curiously, however, he seems to attribute the cattle theft to Anteus: “... rimase ... le vacche al Bandinello ...”. The subject of the poem seems to be the dispute over the marble for the *Neptune Fountain*. See G.G. Ferrero, ed., *Opere di Benvenuto Cellini*, Turin, 1971, pp. 972–973, pl. CXXXIX.

140 Cellini’s famous criticism of the *Hercules* as having the head, not of a human but of a *lionbue*, may also have this meaning (*Vita* II, LXX in Ferrero, *Opere*, p. 508). Baccio was to take the *bue*, symbol of abundance, *ubertati*, as one of his own

a loyal Medici partisan and consistently used images of the victorious Hercules as emblems of his own artistic triumph over detractors and challengers¹⁴¹. Indeed, the artist's encroachment on the patron's role also provided a positive sense of identification with the Medici and a reinforcement of his social status.

The sculptor had taken the noble Sienese name of Bandinelli only four years earlier as part of a successful campaign to obtain an imperial knighthood of Santiago. He was apparently the first artist to achieve this distinction and it provoked angry comment both at the court and in Florence. One verse composed in protest laments, "Fu fatto gentilhuom in due hore. Non ti crepa el cuore / Veder un scarpellin commendatore?"¹⁴² Now Baccio apparently began to rewrite his past by carving his new name in Latin on some of his already completed works. The *Orpheus* and his copy of the *Laocoön* (Figs. 18, 19) were signed in this way although on the marble of the statue, not on the pedestal. Both works were Medici commissions. The *Orpheus* had been made to replace Donatello's *David* in the first courtyard of the Medici Palace and was placed there in 1519 while the future Clement VII was governor of Florence. The *Laocoön* was commissioned by Cardinal Giulio in 1520 as a gift to the king of France. The statue proved such a success that it was sent, instead, to Florence where it was installed in the second courtyard of the Medici palace¹⁴³ in 1531¹⁴⁴. The *Orpheus* was understood, as we have seen, to be the new *Apollo*

Belvedere. By pairing it with a modern version of the most famous of all *Belvedere* antiques, the *Laocoön*, Pope Clement designated the family palace as the Florentine Vatican, just as the placement of the *Hercules and Cacus* in the Piazza evoked the Forum Boarium. These two symbolic invocations of Rome and the papacy were mutually reinforcing since the newly created Duke Alessandro still lived in the Medici palace. The pope undertook both these sculptural installations in exactly the same years and they seem to be parts of a single idea: to strengthen the new Medici dukedom. Bandinelli was the self-conscious instrument of this policy.

When the *Laocoön* was removed from the Medici Palace in 1659, an inscription, hidden by the sculpture, was discovered on the upper surface of the pedestal: AUSPICE CLEMENTE VII PONTIFICE MAXIMO BACCIUS BANDINELLUS FLORENTINUS EQUES. S. IACOBI FACIEBAT ET LAOCHOONTE POSUIT IN ATRIO ILLUSTRISSIMAE MEDICES DOMUS ANNO MDXXXI. X. OCTOBRIS¹⁴⁵. The responsibility of the patron was celebrated but hidden, as in the cornerstone of the *Hercules* pedestal. The sculptor is fully aware of his historic and artistic role but realizes that it must remain covert, to be uncovered by the future. This notion of vindication by posterity is also articulated in his graphic works and in his *Memoriale*¹⁴⁶. It is tantalizing to think that such inscriptions may be hidden beneath other works.

The *Laocoön* pedestal (Fig. 19) has no other inscription but each of its long faces is decorated with a huge unfolded un-inscribed *cartiglio*¹⁴⁷, seemingly the same metaphor

impresa. See P. Barocchi, ed., *Scritti d'Arte del Cinquecento*, Milan/Naples, 1973, II, p. 1378.

- 141 K. Weil-Garris, "Bandinelli and Michelangelo: A Problem of Artistic Identity", L.F. Sandler, M. Barasch, eds., *Art the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, New York, 1981, p. 237. Baccio's attitude also had a counterpart in Vitruvius's admonition to sculptors that ancient sculptors acquired reputation "by working for great states or kings or famous citizens. But for those who had not less eagerness, and were distinguished by talent and skill, but being of humble fortune executed for their fellow-citizens works not less perfect, gained no reputation...".
- 142 Weil-Garris, "Bandinelli", p. 247, n. 40; Barocchi, *Scritti*, Milan/Naples, 1973, II, p. 1373. This verse also stresses the role of Medici influence in obtaining the knighthood for Baccio.
- 143 Langedijk, "Orpheus", pp. 38, 51; Vasari, *Vite*, VI, p. 27, n. 1; Barocchi, *Scritti* II, pp. 1371, 1380-1381. A fresco of *Laocoön*, by Filippino Lippi, had already been begun by 1492 for Lorenzo de' Medici in the vestibule of his villa at Poggio a Caiano. See M. Winner, "Zum Nachleben des Laokoon in der Renaissance", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* XVI, 1974, pp. 103, 117. It was Cardinal Legate Silvio Passerini who had Baccio's statue installed. Winner notes the analogy to the Roman *Belvedere* in passing.
- 144 Vasari claims (*Vite* VI, p. 27) that the statue was installed in 1525, but see below, p. 404.

- 145 Vasari *Vite*, VI, p. 27, n. 1; G. Pelli, *Saggio storico della R. Galleria degli Uffizi*, Florence, 1779, I, pp. 51 ff., II, p. 24 ff. Pelli recorded the inscription from a copy in the "Archivio della Reale Guardaroba". The statue was taken to the Casino S. Marco in 1659 and to the Uffizi in 1761 where it was damaged in the fire of 1762. At some time the base was broken and reassembled and the workmanship is not of the highest quality. A later expression of the Florentine *Belvedere* notion seems inherent in the antiques gallery constructed for duke Cosimo in 1561-2. See M. Daly Davis, "La galleria di scultura antica di Cosimo I a Palazzo Pitti", *Le arti del principato mediceo*, Florence, 1980, p. 51.
- 146 Barocchi, *Scritti* II, pp. 137, 1376-1377, 1381, and Vasari takes up the same motif at the end of the *Vita*. See also the so-called self-portrait of Bandinelli in the Gardner Museum (Weil-Garris, "Bandinelli", p. 246, ns. 37, 43 and fig. 13). In the Niccolò della Casa engraving, the artist mimics in his own prose the *Hercules* statuette whose head he holds covered with his right hand while he points down to the figure with his left. The sculptor stands below in the shadows, whereas an Apollonian figure, in the bright light of the window above, points upward to the artist's name.
- 147 The fact that this motif also appears on the back of the base suggests that Bandinelli may have intended the statue to be visible from all sides.

of future judgement that Bandinelli used in the same years in a design for the Monument to Andrea Doria and also in designs for statuary for Castel Sant' Angelo (Figs. 20, 25)¹⁴⁸. The less visible short sides of the *Laocoön* pedestal are more explicit. They bear the impresa of tree, sun and burning glass inscribed CANDOR ILLAESUS, the personal device of Clement VII¹⁴⁹ that Bandinelli had also adopted for his own. Thus patron and artist are identified. Finally, the sculpture itself is signed BACCIUS · BANDINELLUS · FLORENTINUS · SANCTI · IACOPI · EQUES · FACIEBAT. This, the most elaborate of all Baccio's signatures, was his first opportunity to give a monumental display of his new nobility and he probably felt free to do so because the work was to be installed in a private space, the home of his powerful protector. The parallels with the *Hercules* inscriptions are evident but the differences are even more significant. In the piazza inscription, Baccio omits his title of nobility. It was undoubtedly prudent to do this in an already highly sensitive political context¹⁵⁰, since his knighthood had

been acquired through Medici patronage. Instead, Baccio chose other means to the same goal, by signing the pedestal. Again, the social motivation of Bandinelli's signatures was clear to his contemporaries. "O Baccius faciebat Bandinello" is the beginning of Alfonso de' Pazzi's mordacious sonnet¹⁵¹. Baccio's pretentious signatures, like his change of family name, had not conferred nobility but had proven him to be literally a self-made man.

For Bandinelli, the locution "faciebat" had quite a different meaning. Like other Renaissance artists, he alluded to Pliny's report that Apelles had favored this form¹⁵². Indeed, the *Hercules* signature is even more an expression of artistic than of social ambition. The unadorned Latinized form of his name shows that Bandinelli wished on this occasion to be celebrated above all as an artist. His unprecedented placement of the signature on the pedestal was also motivated specifically by this desire. The pedestals of the colossal *Dioscuri* on the Quirinal were inscribed OPUS PRAXITILIS and OPUS FIDIAE and it was believed that these inscriptions were signatures¹⁵³. Bandinelli's signature declares that he has met the challenge of antique art and claims the status and privileges of the ancient masters for himself.

Baccio's signature on the otherwise uninscribed pedestal also responds to the challenge of Michelangelo's *David*. That sculpture was not signed in any way yet everyone knew and admired the artist and his work. Bandinelli's presumptuous and ostentatious signature proclaims his apprehension that his own fame may not be equally lasting and great.

Bandinelli also made another far-reaching assertion through the placement of his signature. Any pedestal inscription identifies the statue in some sense. Thus to write only the author's name and the date of his work on the pedestal makes the artist and his achievement the subject of the statue. The *Hercules* was, indeed, for Baccio an ideal definition of the self much as the *David* may have

148 K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1936, II, p. 50, no. 85; Ciardi-Duprè, "Cronologia", pp. 158, 159, 168, n. 37, fig. 17. The central relief depicts Andrea Doria venerating the famous enamel and chalcedony relic of the head of the Baptist, then in the Cappella di S. Giovanni in the Cathedral of Genoa and now in the Tesoro. See T. Müller and E. Steingraber, "Die französische Goldemailplastik um 1400", *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 3rd ser. V (1954), pp. 52ff., 73ff., no. 16. I am grateful to Julian Gardner and Marilyn A. Lavin for this reference. See also H.W. Kruff, "La Cappella di San Giovanni nel Duomo di Genova", *Antichità Viva* IX (1970), 4, p. 50. In 1532 Filippo Doria had donated the new baldachin over the relic and its altar, inscribed ANNO QUARTO RESTITUTAE LIBERTATI that is, Andrea Doria's liberation of the city in 1528. The monumental *cartiglio* also appears beneath Bandinelli's project for the Castel Sant'Angelo, usually dated ca. 1530 on the basis of Vasari's description (Ciardi-Duprè, "Cronologia", pp. 159, 160, our fig. 20). The composition, however, clearly presupposes the *Laocoön* ensemble. By placing the Castel Sant'Angelo figures directly on the architecture and affixing the *cartiglio* to it, Bandinelli makes the entire building the base for the sculpture while, at the same time, giving the group the startling immediacy of a *tableau*.

149 M. Perry, "'Candor illaesus': The 'Impresa' of Clement VII and Other Medici Devices in the Vatican Stanze", *Burlington Magazine* CXIX (1977), pp. 676-686 and Bandinelli's *Memoriale* in Barocchi, *Scritti* II, p. 1375; also Lavin, "Last Will", p. 22, n. 23. The base is damaged. Drawings for it are preserved in the Florentine Archivio di Stato, *Aquisti e doni*, *Filza* 141.

150 One might think that similar considerations dictated the curious use of "Florentinus" in the signature of a Florentine artist working at home, were it not that Bandinelli did the same on the *Laocoön*. Donatello, it is thought, used the "Florentinus" only on commissions outside Florence (Janson, *Donatello*, p. 202). Cellini, however, signs himself CIVIS FLOREN-

TINUS on the *Perseus* and on the crucifix intended for his own tomb (Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, p. 371).

151 Heikamp, "Poesie", p. 66. This poem, however, is of later date than the *Hercules* and refers to the Duomo sculptures.

152 Pliny, *N.H. Praes.* 26: Weil-Garris, "Bandinelli", p. 250, n. 56. Apelles meant in this way to suggest that the work of art was not finished but would have become still more perfect had the artist taken up work on it once again.

153 Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, pp. 55-56. T. Buddensieg, "Zum Statuenprogramm im Kapitolsplan Pauls III", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* XXXII, 1969, p. 196, reports that, by mid-16th century, the *Horse Tamers* were believed to be statues of Alexander the Great. Might this identification already have been known to Baccio, suggesting another link to Duke Alessandro?

been for Michelangelo¹⁵⁴. As usual, Baccio's audacity did not go unnoticed. A terse comment in Lapini's diary, explicitly signals the political occasion, the artist's personal accomplishment and the unusual placement and content of the inscription: "il gigante Ercole e Caco è di mano propria del Cavaliere Baccio Bandinelli et il milesimo quando lo fè è scritto nella base"¹⁵⁵.

Bandinelli's signature was one sign that the function of pedestals was now to be understood in a new way. As with the *David*, the *Hercules* pedestal was erected by the architects of the Opera and palazzo, Antonio da Sangallo the Elder and Baccio d'Agnolo¹⁵⁶. The supports of the *Hercules* are integrated into the stairs and sloping piazza with great sophistication but it was perfectly clear that the architects were not the creators of the structure. Vasari specifies that Bandinelli carved it himself¹⁵⁷. A further important reversal had taken place. The *David* base had been commissioned, designed and rapidly made only once the *David* was finished and set up in place. The *Hercules* pedestal was, on the contrary, set up before the statue was brought to the piazza from the Opera where it had been carved. The pedestal must also have been designed at an earlier moment since, according to Vasari, Baccio began work on it soon after the end of February, 1533, more than a year before the statue was installed¹⁵⁸. This was possible, of course, because the site of the *Hercules*, unlike that of the *David*, was fixed from the first. However, Baccio was to use the same procedure in the monument to Giovanni delle Bande Nere¹⁵⁹. It also points to the importance assigned to the pedestal as part

of the composition. The pedestal was a presupposition to the sculpture, not a consequence of it. By the same token, Vasari seems to imply that the actual carving of the pedestal was a major time-consuming undertaking. Clearly the result was no longer a minor extension of the architecture but a challenge to it. Doni, in fact, unashamedly says that architecture basically belongs to the work of the sculptor who has, after all, the greatest knowledge and skill in the art of ornament¹⁶⁰. No less than the *Hercules* group, its pedestal was a *dimostrazione* of the sculptor's art. It had, moreover, become an integral part of a sculptural ensemble in which statue and support were of comparable importance.

Because the *David* pedestal was Bandinelli's model, he sharply curtailed his tendency to emphasize and augment the supporting structure of the statues. We know this was intentional since he did the same in earlier works imitating the *David*, the stucco Colossi at the Villa Madama in Rome¹⁶¹. Baccio's own, very different predilections can be gauged from a pedestal design in the Louvre for his Monument to Andrea Doria from the early thirties¹⁶², (Fig. 25) just at the time when the *Hercules* was begun and Bandinelli had already confronted the implications of the *David* pedestal.

The Doria pedestal is also based on antique architectural forms but Baccio's design lacks any concern with the static, proportional, or metaphorical implications of the figure as column. Instead, the pedestal is strikingly large, elaborate and covered with decorative and narrative elements. It is essentially an expanded surface to support relief carving¹⁶³.

Relief was for Bandinelli the most privileged form of sculpture. It combined the authority of antiquity with the capacity that most dignified painting and literature and

154 Bush, *Colossal Sculpture* "Hercules", p. 130; Seymour, *David*, specially p. 4-9.

155 G.O. Corazzini ed., *Il Diario fiorentino di A. Lapini*, Florence, 1900, p. 67: at the end of a description of the transport of the *David* taken from Landucci. Florentine chroniclers who had recorded the installation of the *David* as an historic event, say little or nothing about the *Hercules*; e.g. Ammirato, *Istorie* 1849, VI, p. 209. Bandinelli himself (Barocchi, *Scritti* II, p. 1371) also says nothing further about his "Ercole di Piazza". The episode had been a painful one.

156 Vasari, *Vite* VI, p. 46.

157 Vasari, *Vite* VI, p. 43. The forms are, however strongly reminiscent of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and he may have collaborated with Bandinelli in some sense. Their most recent meeting had been at Loreto, ca. 1531.

158 Bandinelli had begun to carve the statue between 1525 and Michelangelo's inspection of the marble before 1530 (Vasari, *Vite*, VI, pp. 31-49, esp. pp. 35, 40, 43) but Vasari specifies that Baccio beginning in early 1534, "e fatto mettere mano allo imbasamento del gigante e lavorando lui di continuo l'anno 1534 lo finì del tutto".

159 Vasari, *Vite*, VI, pp. 56-57; also the *Memoriale* in Barocchi, *Scritti* II, p. 1389, where he stresses that the base was carved first and for a chapel, not the piazza.

160 Doni, *Disegno*, Fol. 14r.

161 Heikamp, "In margine", pp. 52-53, figs. 33 a, b, 36, The stucco *Hercules* of 1515 also had a low base but it was round or oval in plan. See Vasari's painting of the *Entrata* of Leo X into Florence ill. in J. Holderbaum, "The Birth Date and a Destroyed Early Work of Baccio Bandinelli", in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, pp. 93-97.

162 Keutner, "Standbild", pp. 143-148, discusses the Doria *Nephtune* from other points of view. For the history of the commissions, see Heikamp, in Vasari, *Vite*, VI, pp. 38-40, and "In margine", pp. 54-55. The drawings represent Doria's deeds against the Turks and, perhaps, the battle of Tunis of as late as 1535. I am grateful to George Gorse for discussions on this subject. The Ashmolean drawing is unlikely to date before 1532. See above, note 148.

163 This is, of course, also an antique idea and is explored ceaselessly in Renaissance drawings after ancient monuments, particularly those by Giuliano da Sangallo.

26. Giovanni Signorini, *Pedestal of Bandinelli's Monument to Giovanni delle Bande Nere in Piazza S. Lorenzo* (1830), Florence, Museo di Firenze com'Era



that other forms of sculpture lacked: *historia*¹⁶⁴. Bandinelli applied reliefs whenever possible but pedestals were uniquely suited for such treatment because of their large size and their closeness to the spectator's eye level which offset a limitation inherent in relief sculpture, its relatively low visibility. Pedestals had long been decorated with ornamental and emblematic forms carved in relief¹⁶⁵. Bandinelli's innovation was to bring the narrative resources which he identified with the relief mode itself to the design of statue supports. Thus he invented for the Renaissance, the historiated pedestal.

Sources for this innovation lay in antique relief, primarily on altars and sarcophagi¹⁶⁶, but the few models in Renaissance sculpture were also important: the relief ornament on the base of Donatello's *Judith* and the narrative panel beneath the niche of his *St. George*. Bandinelli transposed the idea of the sculptured predella and its painted counterparts to the free-standing pedestal, recast

the relief style in neo-antique diction and enlarged the physical size and contentual freight of the predella form until they exceeded all precedents in earlier Cinquecento art. Essentially, Baccio vastly increased the quantity of all kinds of visual information conveyed by monuments. Most important of all, however, he added to the pedestal what the statue could not contribute, the dimension of time. On the one hand this meant the narration of events (*historia*), discursive explanation and ornamentation of the narrative in a quasi-literary sense. On the other hand, Bandinelli's pedestals actually increased the time and attention needed by the spectator who looks at the sculptural ensemble. Bandinelli's pedestals were always large in relation to the figures and, eventually, in the monument to Giovanni delle Bande Nere of the 1540's, the immense pedestal with its narrative relief field threatened to reduce the portrait statue above to a mere finial. Indeed, the pedestal stood by itself for many years on the Piazza S. Lorenzo in Florence (Fig. 26)¹⁶⁷. In every way, however, Baccio's design for the Doria Monument marked the apo-

164 Weil-Garris, *Leonardo and Central Italian Art*, New York, 1974, pp. 38-39, and "Bandinelli", pp. 227-229.

165 e.g. Filippino Lippi's *St. Philip and the Dragon* fresco, Strozzi Chapel, Florence, S. M. Novella, and Bandinelli's *Orpheus* pedestal (below, note 167) and Heikamp, "In margine", p. 55.

166 See above, note 49, and J.M.C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, pl. LVIII/2-4, the "Ara Casali" in the Vatican for an example of an altar decorated with superposed strips of continuous narrative; pl. XXX/4, the base of the Colonna Antonina for narrative around the entire body of the pedestal. This example was not, however, available except through numismatic representations until the 18th century.

167 See *Palazzo Vecchio* (Cat.), p. 319, no. 648. A similar tendency may be observed in Tribolo's large pedestal decorated with fictive reliefs for the equestrian monument to Giovanni delle Bande Nere made in 1539 for the wedding *apparato* of Cosimo I and displayed on Piazza S. Marco (H.W. Kaufmann, "Art for the Wedding of Cosimo de' Medici and Eleanor of Toledo", *Paragone*, 243, 1970, p. 53). Baccio's tendency to enlarge pedestals was, however, already apparent in the teens. Although Vasari attributed the *Orpheus* pedestal to Benedetto da Rovezzano, he blamed Bandinelli for what he considered its

gee of his ambitions for the pedestal form. It boasts an historical and allegorical program that rivals those of far larger painted and sculptural complexes.

The pedestal is divided horizontally into three zones whose forms correspond to a column shaft and base, seen in section, over a rectangular socle with mouldings, broader than it is high. The ensemble cleverly combines the altarlike pedestal type of the *Hercules* with the impression of an antique historiated triumphal column. In fact, the depiction of an attack on a seaport unrolls across the entire field of the socle in imitation of the relief bands of the column of Trajan, the source also for the battle composition itself. This lower zone, crowded and rich in detail, is closest to the observer and is the contingent realm of earthly events, of the *gestae* on which the admiral's fame is literally and figuratively based. Two flanking figures of *Fortuna*¹⁶⁸ rise out of the relief scene itself to make unstable caryatids for the cornice above. The edifice of even the greatest fame is founded on a happy turn of fate.

The socle plate marks the transition from history to the region of allegory. A winged putto holds up huge open books that record Andrea Doria's deeds. This seems to parallel Michelangelo's celebrated drawing in the British Museum for the Medici Tombs where "Fame holds the

exaggerated height and size (Vasari, *Vite* VI, p. 25). Curvilinear antique candelabrum forms rise above an antique altar (cf. Reinach, *Répertoire* I, p. 28, no. 130, p. 37, no. 120, for examples in the Louvre) so that the *Orpheus* pedestal undergoes a subtle transition from architectural to sculptural forms as it mediates between the two. Even in later, more architectonic pedestals, Bandinelli maintained this bipartite vertical arrangement, seeking to integrate rather than to distinguish the various parts of the monument. By the same token, he emphasized, to a new degree, the importance of peripheral, supporting or decorative elements of the statue itself, also to maximize the amount of information conveyed. All of this is exemplified in the unfinished Doria Monument in Carrara (Fig. 21) where Neptune's dolphins, astonishing in size and visual interest, wriggle down from the base toward the pedestal. Because (Heikamp, "In margine", p. 56) Neptune actually stands upon their heaving backs, pressing water from their mouths, a degree of forward motion is implied that was new to Renaissance monumental marble sculpture and was not to be fully realized until Giambologna's own *Neptune Fountain* in Bologna over 30 years later. It is significant, however, that the relation established by Baccio between attribute and figure could be found in antique statues of Neptune; the large dolphins, the cloak, trident, ruler portrait in the guise of the sea god (e.g. Reinach, *Répertoire* I, p. 428, nos. 1796 A (Coke coll.), 1789 (Dresden), 4799 (Naples).

168 Heikamp, "In margine", p. 55, for a parallel interpretation of the meaning of the pedestal. Martineau, *Gonzaga*, no. 92, cites H. Burns's observation that the Mantuan *Virgil* pedestal also reflects the Column of Trajan.

epitaphs"¹⁶⁹. There death has fixed them but the admiral is alive and the pages of the book can still be turned. For that matter *Fame*¹⁷⁰ is perhaps depicted here as "new" as an infant who will grow with time. Directly above, tritons "in guisa di prigionieri" support a rich cornice of sea shells and are chained to an inscription tablet illusionistically placed in front of the architecture but not attached to it, much as in the Mantegna *Virgil* pedestal. The admiral has conquered the natural forces of the sea so that its creatures, linked forever to his name, support it on the pedestal of eternal renown and carry his portrait statue in the role of Neptune. Andrea Doria, raised to the pinnacle of his life and achievements, is immortalized in the ideal image of the seagod. Without the elaborate structure of the supporting elements, however, the statue would have been deprived of all but the most superficial meaning. Even its identity would have been in doubt since it is the pedestal that most clearly identifies the statue as Andrea Doria and embodies his transformation through time and beyond, from the human to the divine. Bandinelli's conception of the pedestal was as radically innovative as Michelangelo's and, by changing the relation between figure and support, challenged the definition of the "Standbild" that the *David* had established. If Michelangelo's pedestal had made the sculpture stand for itself, Bandinelli had made the pedestal speak for the sculpture.

The Doria pedestal, designed in the same period as the *Hercules* and also intended for a public monument in a piazza, makes it easy to see just how great a compromise Bandinelli had made in his Florentine *Hercules* pedestal in order to meet the demands of the *David* and of the commission. The other sculptors who were to make statues for the piazza were faced with the same problem: to make choices that would honor Michelangelo's example without sacrificing the valuable new resources that Bandinelli had opened up to monumental sculpture. This involved accommodations and interactions as complex as those that had gone before. Here only a few parallels and contrasts can be suggested.

Cellini's bronze *Perseus* (Fig. 27) was designed as the pendant for Donatello's *Judith* which had been moved to the southernmost arch of the Loggia dei Lanzi in 1506 having been displaced by Michelangelo's *David*¹⁷¹. Thus

169 J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings ... in the British Museum: Michelangelo and his Studio*, London, 1953, no. 28r, BM 1895-6-25-543.

170 Alberti, *Ten Books*, bk VIII, ch. iii, p. 168, praises pedestals representing "cheerful deities such as Victory, Glory, Fame, Plenty and the like".

171 The story of the commission is repeated with variants in Cellini's *Vita* II, liii, Ferrero, *Opere*, p. 475. The *Perseus* was a

the *Perseus* pedestal was planned together with the statue for its site¹⁷². Its large size and organic, ornate shapes make copious response to the curves of the *Judith's* Quattrocento baluster pedestal and decisively reject the architectonic restraint exemplified in the marble supports of the Palazzo colossi. Cellini emulated Bandinelli, as Baccio had confronted Michelangelo, and enthusiastically accepted the mandate articulated in Bandinelli's pedestals.

Like that of the *Hercules*, the pedestal of the *Perseus* is an altar to the Olympian gods who protect the Medicean

rectification of the menace inherent in the *Judith*, a woman who triumphs over a man and kills him. See Milanesi, *Lettere*, pp. 620–623. Cellini himself emphasizes that the idea of a *Perseus* for the piazza stemmed from Cosimo and that both he and the sculptor explicitly saw the statue as a challenge to Donatello's *Judith* and Michelangelo's *David*, the two works considered most clearly to have bested the antique (Cellini, *Della scultura, Dell'oreficeria*”, *Vita, Discorso*, all in Ferrero, *Opere*, pp. 475, 678–679, 803, 820; also Vasari, *Vite* VIII, p. 46. The theme is also repeated tirelessly in the 22 surviving poems written in praise of the statue. See G. Milanesi, ed., *I Trattati dell'oreficeria e della scultura di Benvenuto Cellini*, Florence, 1857, pp. 403–418). The composition is, in fact, based on that of Donatello's *Judith* and of his *David* (E. Camesasca, *Tutta l'Opera di Benvenuto Cellini*, Milan 1955, p. 22, A. Grote, “Cellini in gara”, *Il Ponte* IX, January, 1963, Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, p. 47). M.G. Ciardi-Dupré, “La prima attività dell'Ammanati scultore”, *Paragone* XII, no. 135, March, 1961, p. 19, notes Cellini's allusion also to Ammanati's Michelangelesque *Victory* for the Nari Monument. The *Perseus* pose, with arm outstretched and accoutrements like the helmet, scimitar and Medusa's head, can, however, all be found in antique representations of the hero. W. Braunfels, *Perseus und Medusa*, Stuttgart (Reclam), 1961, pp. 7–8, fig. 4, adduces an Etruscan bronze *Perseus* statuette in Hamburg. See also, Reinach, *Répertoire* II² (1898), p. 508 (Lante, heavily restored), III (1904), p. 145/9 (Forman), IV (1910), p. 312 (Lyon). K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, Bonn, 1960, gives examples of vase painting where Perseus holds a sickle or curved sword.

172 The statue is, thus, not a colossus like the guardians of the palace portal. Camesasca, *Cellini*, p. 44, reports the height of the figure as 320 cm, of the marble pedestal as 199 cm, and of the relief without its frame as 82.3 cm. Cellini, *Trattato della scultura*, in Ferrero, *Opere*, p. 768, says that the statue was more than 5 braccia (292 cm) high. Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, p. 134, n. 111, presumes that the cm 320 included the figure's raised arm and the cushion beneath the *Medusa*. E. Plon, *Benvenuto Cellini Orfèvre, Médailleur, Sculpteur*, Paris, 1883, p. 220, gives the height of the interior of the pedestal niches as 100 cm. On November 15, 1548, the Greek marble used for the pedestal arrived in Italy (Plon, *Cellini*, p. 219). The payment to “Maestro Bernardo muratore per condurre il Perseo in piazza”, is dated 23 May, 1554, too late to give a precise date for the event (E. Plon, “Comment fut payé ‘Le Persée’ de Benvenuto Cellini”, *L'Art*, anno XVIII, LIII, tome XXXI, 1892, pp. 121–126, p. 124). See also G. Somigli, *Notizie storiche sulla fusione del Perseo*, Milan, 1958, pp. 41–45, for documents and F. Melis, “Comunicazione”, in *Benvenuto Cellini Artista e scrittore* (convegno 1971), Accademia



27. Benvenuto Cellini, *Perseus*, Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi

“son of Jove”, now Duke Cosimo I¹⁷³. The burgeoning formal and contentual elaboration are reminiscent of Bandinelli’s aims as are the equivalence and continuity between statue and support, as well as individual motifs like the bearded masks and allegorical animals. The iconographical program continued to proclaim the sacred legitimacy of the Medici regime but, now that it was secure, in a new vein. Ideas that Bandinelli had still encoded now appear also as allegorical inscriptions alluding to the patron and to his foreordained dynastic role¹⁷⁴. The sculptor’s signature is returned to the sculpture itself, as on the *Judith*, but it is carved on the diagonal baldric of Perseus’ scabbard in homage to Michelangelo’s signature on the Roman *Pietà*¹⁷⁵. Nonetheless, Cellini’s pedestal still celebrates the artist as Bandinelli’s had done¹⁷⁶. Possessed of an abundance that resembles and rivals nature’s own, the sculptor transforms it into art much as the duke tames and cultivates nature’s abundance for the good of his people and glorifies his rule by patronizing the arts. Thus Michelangelo Vivaldi’s poem in praise of the *Perseus*

ends, “Cosmo e più forte e più saggio; a cui piacque / difender e nutrir maestro si raro”¹⁷⁷.

The political and artistic imagery of the *Perseus* conveys easeful triumph rather than the repressive alertness of the *Hercules and Cacus*, made during the crisis years under Alessandro de’ Medici. Neither does Cellini share Bandinelli’s obsession with classicizing relief. The forms of the *Perseus* pedestal run the full gamut of plasticity, even incorporating *bronzetti* in niches¹⁷⁸. Marble and bronze, sculpture and architecture, are conmingled in a monumental interpretation of the “licenzioso” vocabulary of the decorative arts. Significantly, the full scale model of the pedestal was made of wood whereas the model for the statue was, for technical reasons, made of plaster¹⁷⁹. The result was the most elaborate and ambitious pedestal executed in large scale sculpture up to that time. It is only 119 cm shorter than the statue itself and is of Greek marble with elaborate gilded bronze ornaments¹⁸⁰.

The ensemble is arranged in ascending levels of history, allegory and apotheosis, just as in the Doria Monument, but all levels apply to Perseus rather than directly to the duke. Cosimo’s merit does not, like Andrea Doria’s, rest on his own recent deeds. Medusa’s head, symbol of Discord, has been cut off¹⁸¹. The dramatic events that led to

Nazionale dei Lincei, anno CCCLXIX, quaderno 177, 1972, pp. 57–60; also B. Bearzi, “Benvenuto Cellini ed il Perseo”, in the same publication, pp. 45–56, specially, p. 54. The statue was attached to the pedestal by a complex metal hinge. It was removed from the piazza during World War II. Camesasca, *Cellini*, p. 45, notes repairs on the side of the pedestal containing the statuette of Mercury. The scimitar was made by Bearzi to replace the original. The relief is preserved in the Museo Nazionale as are the *bronzetti*, which were replaced by copies made in 1975 by Romanelli and the studio of B. Bearzi. See C. Davis, “Benvenuto Cellini and the scuola Fiorentina”, *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* XIII, 4, 1976, n. 61, nn. 8–9, who supports F. Schottmüller’s suggestion (U. Thieme, F. Becker, *Künstlerlexikon* IX, p. 492) that the actual carving was done by Fr. del Tadda. Janson, *Donatello*, p. 80, suggests that the *Perseus* pedestal may reflect the original pedestal of Donatello’s *David*.

- 173 For the *Jove* and the other *bronzetti* of the pedestal and their inscriptions, see Camesasca, *Cellini*, pp. 44–46, pls. 56–60. The thunderbolt in the hand of Jove (cast separately) is the personal *impresa* of Cosimo’s father, Giovanni delle Bande Nere (e.g. G. Pollard, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation at the National Gallery of Art*, London, 1967, p. 79, noted by Richelson, *Cosimo*, p. 94). The inscription beneath the *Jove*, TE FILI SIQVIS LÆSERIT VLTOR ERO, also invokes the reputation of the great condottiere in the service of his son’s regime.
- 174 For the preordained role of Cosimo and its astrological aspect, see Forster, “Metaphors”, p. 85, and Utz, “*Labors of Hercules*”, pp. 355–357.
- 175 BENVENVTVS CELLINVS CIVIS FLOR. / FACIEBAT MDLIII (Camesasca, *Cellini*, p. 44). Casting was done in 1549 (B. Bearzi, “Cellini”, p. 49).
- 176 The figure on the right of the pedestal relief is said to be a self-portrait (Camesasca, *Cellini*, p. 45) in the guise of Cepheus, father of Andromeda. See below, note 192.

- 177 Milanese, *Cellini*, p. 404, III. Also poems XII, XIII, XIV, XVII. The Diana of Ephesus appears in the same sense of artistic and natural fecundity in Cellini’s designs for the seal of the Accademia Fiorentina (see Camesasca, *Cellini*, p. 47, P. Calamandrei, “Il Sigillo e i caratteri dell’ Accademia”, *Il Ponte* XII, 1954, pp. 1345–1347, and M. Winner, “Federskizzen von Benvenuto Cellini”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* XXXI, 1968, pp. 293–304).
- 178 During this time Etruscan statuettes were unearthed which Duke Cosimo himself, with Cellini’s aid, cleaned and restored. A *Pallas* and a *Bacchus* were acquired in 1541 (M. Cristofani, “Per una storia del collezionismo archeologico nella Toscana granducale”, *Prospettiva*, 1979, n. 17, pp. 5, 10–12. For such objects in the Medici Collections, see *Palazzo Vecchio 1980*, pp. 20–42. When the *bronzetti* for the *Perseus* pedestal were cast, the Duchess Eleanora declared them “meglio degli antichi” and wished to keep them in the palace (Cellini, *Vita* II, LXXVIII, in *Opere*, pp. 542–543). Like the statue, the figures were gilded after their installation.
- 179 Bearzi, “Perseo”, p. 55. The wooden model was recorded in the inventory made at Cellini’s death on 16 February, 1571.
- 180 Vasari describes the pedestal with admiration (*Vite* VIII, p. 46) but Cellini says little about it. In a letter to Cosimo soliciting payment for the statue, he refers to the figure and “(il) resto dai sua ornamenti”. He mentions the *bronzetti* and calls the pedestal “la base” throughout, in Ferrero, *Opere*, pp. 987, 995, 997. Lapini, *Diario*, p. 111, also lauds the “bellissima base”.
- 181 For the Medusa as Discord, see Vasari-Milanese, *Vite*, VIII, p. 566, as part of the decoration of the portal of the Palazzo

Cosimo's dukedom are consigned to the past, transmuted into myth. His rule is presented as inherent in the cosmic and natural order. The sign of Capricorn rules his destiny whereas¹⁸² the neo-Etruscan statuettes of the divine ancestors of Perseus/Cosimo make the transition between myth and the beginnings of history. By the same token, personal identity has become at once too sacred and too intimate to be the subject of public sculpture¹⁸³. It remained for the filial piety of Cosimo's son, Ferdinando I, to erect an equestrian portrait of his late father in the northern part of the piazza thereby imitating, at colossal size, the *Marcus Aurelius* on the Campidoglio and continuing the Medici tradition of evoking symbolic Roman places on Florentine soil¹⁸⁴.

Vecchio for the marriage of Francesco I de' Medici. On the other side of the portal, bound *prigioni* signified *Furore*. A medal made by Francesco del Prato for Duke Alessandro with a Perseus carrying the head of Medusa on the obverse (Langedijk, *The Portraits*, I, pp. 76, 237), was inscribed SIC TVTE OPTIME DIVQ(VE) VIVITVR, may already imply a similar idea.

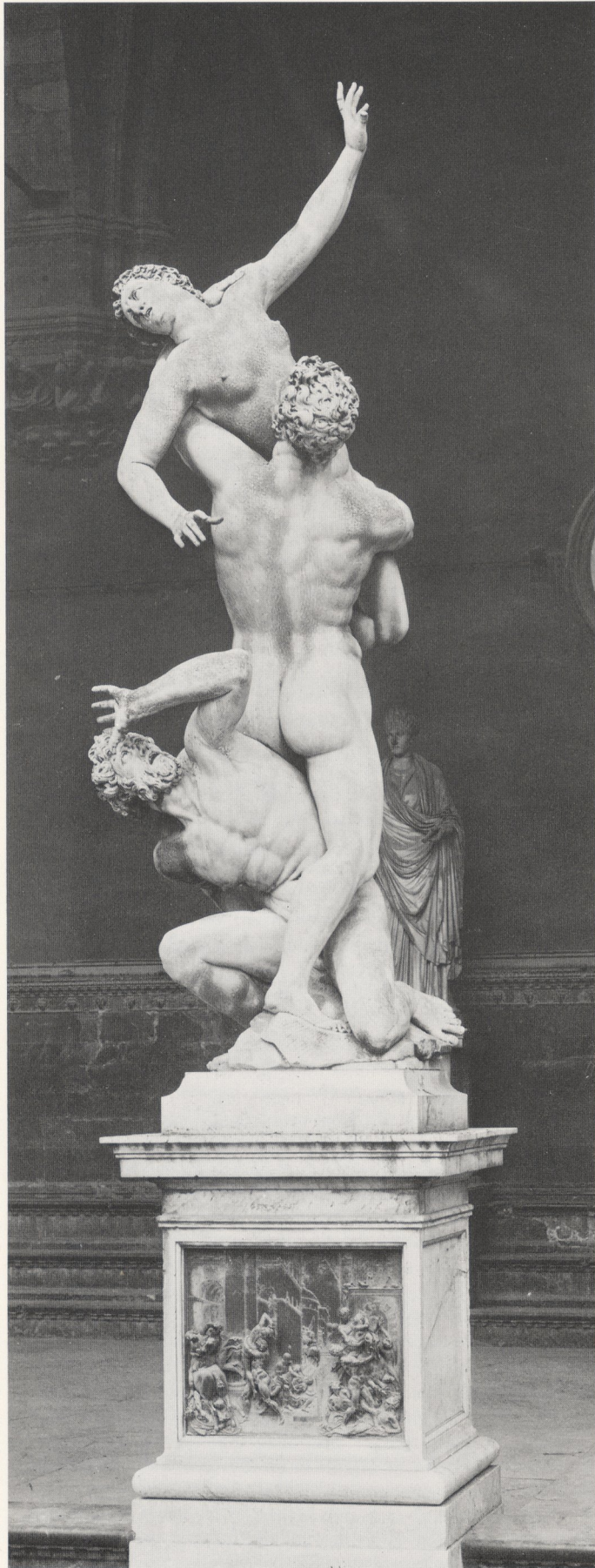
- 182 Goat's heads adorn the corners of the pedestal. Cellini makes much of Cosimo's "ascendent Capricorn" in his "Dichiarazione" of sonnet LXXXV, in Ferrero, *Opere*, pp. 924–930. See also, Forster, "Metaphors", pp. 79, 85–86.
- 183 For Cosimo's image and Medicean art as "ideology", see Forster, "Metaphors", pp. 89, 102–103.
- 184 For the equestrian statue of Cosimo I, see Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, pp. 387–388, pl. 90 (without pedestal); C. Avery and A. Radcliffe eds., *Giambologna Sculptor to the Medici* (cat.), Edinburgh/London/Vienna, 1978–1979, pp. 229, no. 241, and G. Spini, *Architettura e Politica*, Florence, 1976, pp. 66–71, Langedijk, *The Portraits* I, p. 97, for the politicization of public space through statuary. Michelangelo's installation of the *Marcus Aurelius* and its pedestal was conceived as early as 1538–1539 (see above, note 10). For the construction of Giambologna's pedestal, see Lapini, *Diario*, p. 322 (5 Dec., 1591). For its precedents, see above, note 167. According to Plutarch (B. Perrin tr., *Plutarch's Lives*, Cambridge, Mass., 1967, III, p. 185), Hercules was the father of Fabius Maximus who set up a colossal statue of the hero on the capitol "and near it an equestrian statue of himself, in bronze". The statue celebrated Fabius as the just and brave ruler of his people. An antique inscription, famous in Florence in the 15th century, was the source of Ucello's inscription on his equestrian portrait of John Hawkwood which represents a bronze statue of the 'new Fabius Maximus'. The original inscription was in the possession of Cosimo I in the 16th century and Borghini thought, wrongly, that it had been found beneath the Palazzo Vecchio. It had come, in fact, from the area of the Florentine forum (E. Borsook, lecture, "Il ritratto di G. Acuto di Paolo Ucello e le traduzioni delle vite parallele di Plutarco", *Artisti e Società a Firenze nei secoli XV e XVI*, Convegno di studi, Università di Roma, Nov., 1981). Perhaps Borghini was implying that Cosimo, too, was 'founded' on Fabius Maximus and was like him. Thus Giambologna's equestrian *Cosimo I* on the Florentine campidoglio may refer to Fabius as well as to Marcus Aurelius. Furthermore, as J. Cox-Rearick points out (personal communication), the sequence initiated by the

It was Cellini, not Bandinelli, who introduced narrative relief into the sculpture of the piazza. As in the Doria project, relief is assigned to the lower socle which Benvenuto, however, sinks into the parapet of the Loggia¹⁸⁵. Thus the sculpture now invades the architectural setting but in a way that restores the relief to the traditional role of predella. This is a highly sophisticated solution that makes the statue complex appear taller without raising the head of the *Perseus* further above that of the *Judith*. Nonetheless, this arrangement makes the relief look like a picture hung below the sculpture to meet the new expanded requirements of the pedestal genre, but not essential to its formal conception. The present scheme may not, however, fully correspond to Cellini's original idea. Writing to Vasari in Rome on the 20th of August, 1552, the Bishop of Arezzo, Bernardo Minerbetti, reported that he had just seen the newly cast *Perseus* set up on its "vera base" in the garden of Cellini's studio. All was well and ready for chasing with the exception of "due bassorilievi" for which the wax models were nearly complete¹⁸⁶.

Cellini and the duke were both prey to anxious anticipation when the statue was installed in the Loggia. While Benvenuto was still applying finishing touches including gilding and "certe vernicie", behind protective screens, the duke insisted that the front screen be removed for a preliminary unveiling. From a window in the Palazzo, Cosimo watched the reaction of the public which was, to the relief of both patron and artist, highly favorable. More than twenty sonnets were attached to the screens. As Cellini explained, this literary outpouring was due to the fact that the University of Pisa was on vacation and so all the intellectuals were in town. The statue was finally

Cosimo statue would have terminated, symmetrically, at the end of the forum-like Uffizi corridor with another statue of Cosimo as the just ruler flanked by *Rigor and Equity*. V. Danti's statue, carved for this location by 1572, showed Cosimo in the guise of Alexander. A decade later, this figure was replaced by Giambologna's statue of the ruler (D. Summers, *The sculpture of V. Danti* (diss.) Yale University, 1969, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1975, pp. 144).

- 185 The relief is a copy. The original is in the Museo Nazionale, Florence.
- 186 Barocchi, *Scritti* II, p. 1200. The *bronzetti* were, at this stage, finished but not chased. Perhaps the second relief was to be placed on the inside of the Loggia parapet but this provides, today, a much smaller field than the outer façade. Ghirlandajo's *veduta* of the Loggia in the *Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule* in the Sassetti Chapel, S. Trinita shows that the loggia parapet already existed then in its present state. It is also conceivable that the entire pedestal of the *Perseus* was originally to be free-standing. A model of the relief was recorded in the inventory of Cellini's studio at his death.



28. Gianbologna, *Rape of the Sabine*, Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi

unveiled on April 27th, 1554¹⁸⁷, again the anniversary of the institution of the Medici dukedom through the new Florentine constitution¹⁸⁸.

In 1582, the *Judith* was removed once again and replaced by Giambologna's marble *Rape of the Sabine* which was, therefore, now paired with the *Perseus* (Figs. 28–29). In this instance, we know that Giambologna's bronze narrative pedestal relief was indeed added as an after thought, as a "ben aperto pitaffio", explicitly to fix the identity and meaning of the figures and that the pedestal can have been designed only once it was decided

187 A vivid description of the excitement on the piazza in Cellini, *Vita* II, xci, in Ferrero, *Opere*, pp. 544–548. Thereafter, the figure was once more hidden and the sculptor returned to work on it. Lapini, *Diario*, p. 111, makes the unveiling the following day but the entry must be read with some reserve since it is inaccurate in other aspects. For the significance of such public criticism, see Z. Wazbinski, "Artisti e pubblico a Firenze nel '500", *Paragone* XXVIII², no. 327, May 1977, pp. 3–24.

188 Ammanati's *Fountain of Neptune* can certainly also be understood as a pedestal for the colossal figure of the sea god, but fountains have such complex formal and contentual traditions of their own that discussion of them would lead beyond the limits of what is possible here. See Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, pp. 72–78, 374–475, 381, and related catalogue entries, H. Keutner, *Renaissance to Rococo*, London, 1969, pp. 34–35, Bush, *Colossal Sculpture*, pp. 143–163, Davis, "Scuola Fiorentina" pp. 1–70, and above, note 167. The pedestal of the *Neptune* represents a chariot but the forms are related to Montorsoli's *Neptune Fountain* at Messina (completed 1557) which, in turn, has important elements in common with Bandinelli's earlier designs for the *Doria Monument* and his thinking on pedestals in general. This tradition is continued in Giambologna's *Neptune Fountain* in Bologna, although Tommaso Laureti was responsible for the architectural parts of the fountain. Ammanati's fountain also belongs to the political history of the Florentine piazza. Commissioned by Cosimo I, begun after 1560 and partly set up in time for the 1565 marriage of Francesco I to Giovanna of Austria, the fountain invoked Habsburg power, Florentine naval ambitions and celebrated the duke's provision of new water sources for the city. See Vasari-Milanesi, *Vite* VIII, p. 565, also M. Cambell and G. Corti, "Ammanati's *Neptune Fountain*", in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, Florence, 1978, p. 92. A drawing in the Dubini collection, Milan, first published by E. Dhanens, *Jean Bolougne*, Brussels, 1956, fig. 25, as related to Gianbologna's Bolognese *Neptune*, has not been accepted by other scholars. See Avery and Radcliffe, *Giambologna*, p. 203, no. 202. Instead, D. Summers, *The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti*, New York (Garland), 1979, p. 132, fig. 144, suggests that the drawing should be associated with Danti's model for the Florentine piazza *Neptune* project. The design is of interest here because it seems to reflect an experience of Bandinelli's *Doria Monument* while conjoining a *David*-like pedestal with a plinth that echoes that of the *Perseus*. This suggests that the artist was aware that these types constituted contrasting alternatives for piazza sculpture.



29. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence

to bring the work to the piazza, as with the *David*, because of its prestige as a work of art¹⁸⁹.

Compared to the *Perseus* pedestal, Giambologna's is assertively retrospective and conservative, although certain concessions had to be made to Cellini's composition if the two works were to be understood as a pair. *The Rape of the Sabine* was more than two braccia taller¹⁹⁰

189 R. Borghini, *Il Riposo* (1584), M. Rosci, ed., Milan, 1967, I, p. 73, Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, pp. 52, for the distinction between "subject" and "programme" and p. 383–384, for the history of the commission; Avery and Radcliffe, *Giambologna*, pp. 231–232, no. 245. The relief must have been made shortly after the installation of the statue. F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in quà* (1688), Florence, 1846 (rpt 1974), II, p. 565, is particularly revealing. "(Giambologna) volle che la stessa arte sua a se medesima servisse d'un ben aperto pitaffio, che più chiaramente dichiarasse il significato dell'opera." Thus Baldinucci stresses the quasi-verbal character of the relief as inscription and its aspect as narrative decoration. Donatello's *Judith* was removed from the Loggia on 30 July, 1582 (Settimani) and the *Sabine* was installed the 28th of that August. The final unveiling took place on 14 January, 1583.

190 Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, pp. 232–236, gives the height of the statue as 410 cm (ca. 7 braccia) and this measurement is

than the *Perseus* and so the height of Giambologna's pedestal had to be correspondingly reduced. Like Cellini, Giambologna also let his socle into the Loggia parapet and he adopted the Ghibertian format and the bronze medium of Cellini's narrative relief. Beyond that, it is remarkable how little the younger artist was bound by the requirement that the statues should be perceived as pendants. In fact, the supports of Giambologna's sculpture recreates, in every respect, those of Michelangelo's *David*. All forms are rectilinear and severely architectonic, entirely devoid of carved ornament. As Michelangelo had said twenty years earlier, *intaglio* and figures do not go well together¹⁹¹. The proportional relation between statue and support is cognate. The bronze relief has been pulled up from the socle zone to the pedestal so that it is read like the dark inset of the *David* pedestal. There are no inscriptions and the artist's signa-

restated in more recent literature. She gives the dimensions of the rocky base as 106 × 106 cm. I have not found measurements for the pedestal's height. The group was removed from the piazza in 1940 and replaced in 1946.

191 See above, note 57.

ture, hidden among the figures, is not easily legible from the piazza¹⁹². Giambologna's socle relates to the Loggia exactly as that of the *David* did to the *ringhiera*.

The demonstration of artistic virtuosity in competition with the antique, had been important themes in all the piazza sculpture but, as has often been pointed out, they are the real subject of Giambologna's group¹⁹³. Nonetheless, Borghini was quick to see that the theme, the Rape of a Sabine, could be given Medicean political significance. He argues that the story and the statue demonstrate how the Romans (the youth, Talasius,) gained greatness when they subdued the Sabine people (the old father) and then

192 The inscription is carved on an inclined plane between the thighs of the lowest of the figures, the father of the Sabine woman, and is hidden by the figure's left leg from the spectator standing in the piazza directly in front of the group. Pope-Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, pl. 85. Strangely, the signature, OPUS IOANNIS BOLONII FLANDRI MDLXXXII, is presented directly beneath the kneeling figure's genitals. Such a placement is otherwise unknown to me and is unexplained unless we are somehow to understand the artist's role as creative or generative in the sense that Michelangelo claimed his sculptures were his children (Vasari, *Vite* VII, p. 240). Had this been Giambologna's intention, the lowest figure should be a self-portrait. In 1582, Giambologna was 53 years old and bearded, but portraits of him (see Avery and Radcliffe, *Giambologna*, pp. 168–170, 208–213) can hardly be reconciled with the generalized features of the figure in the marble statue. The face of the father in the plaster model in the Accademia, Florence, is more individual but, as in most such cases, the comparison remains inconclusive. The notion of self-portraiture in the group was not, however, foreign to Cinquecento perceptions. Bernardo Davanzati, in his poem on the statue, identified the figure of the young Roman (Talasius) with the sculptor and the concept is repeated even more succinctly by Cosimo Gaci:

Disse un dotto pastor che la donzella,
era l'eterna Idea della bell'arte
é il fabro il predator che la rapiva
a lungho studio, il qual volea che fosse
di quel canuto veglio il simulacro

(in Michelangelo Sermartelli, *Composizioni di diversi autori in lode del ritratto della Sabina sculpito in marmo dell'eccellentissimo M. Giovanni Bologna, posto nella piazza del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana*, Florence, 1583, in Barocchi, *Scritti* II, pp. 1210–1242, esp. pp. 1221–1222. If the sculptor himself used this metaphor, the signature may stress that his creation was born of "lungo studio", that it is the fruit of the great *fatica* and is the sign of great *virtù*. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 75, informs us, however, that it was first intended that Giambologna's group be considered as an expansion of the Perseus myth and that the oldest figure be identified as Cepheus, father of Andromeda, and the youth as Phineus. Camesasca, *Cellini*, p. 45, reports that the figure of Cepheus in the *Perseus* relief was also considered a self-portrait. Finally, Borghini, *Il Riposo*, p. 122–123, recounts that Giambologna chose the famously tall and handsome nobleman, Bartolomeo Ginori, known as "il grande Italiano", as the model for the young man.

193 See above, note 189.

united themselves with them (the Sabine woman)¹⁹⁴. Lapini's *Diario* shows that this interpretation was, indeed, publicly understood and accepted when the group was unveiled. He explains that the Romans first stole away the Sabine women but then took them "per loro legittime moglie"¹⁹⁵. Cosimo Gaci, the author of an epic poem on the marble group, makes Borghini's point again with perfect explicitness. Indeed he goes on to claim that the youth is a miraculous statue of Hercules come to life and that the young Sabine is a Florentine maiden¹⁹⁶. Thus the statue stood for the history, legitimacy and triumph of the Medici dynasty in Florence and also echoed the traditional idea of fusion between Florence and Rome; the themes that were so important for the other sculpture on the piazza.

The installation of Giambologna's group in the piazza by the Duke was also, in itself, a political communication. It continued and extended the meaning of the earlier *Perseus* in the sense that the patron, now Duke Francesco, was thereby characterized as a secure and fortunate ruler under whose care the arts flourish and whose beneficence is embodied in the embellishments of the city¹⁹⁷. In his poem on the statue, Gualtieri identifies the site of the *Sabine* group in the Loggia dei Lanzi as "d'Etruria in mezzo e la più altera parte", whereas Gaci's epic culminates with the appearance of Hercules himself to Francesco de' Medici. The god tells the duke where to erect the statue with the result that, thereafter, Rome must ever cede its glory to a Florence ruled by the illustrious Duke Francesco¹⁹⁸.

The statue by itself in no way contained these meanings. They were acquired by its location in the piazza. By placing the group on what was a modern version of the *David* pedestal, the sculpture acquired a still more explicit and augmented civic significance (Fig. 30). Medici rule, exemplified in its artistic patronage, is identified with the most valued traditions of Florentine self-government. The pedestal of Giambologna's statue makes no less a claim for the sculptor himself. It identifies the gifted foreigner—with the highest Florentine artistic tradition and proclaims him the rightful heir of the giant across the piazza.

194 Borghini, *il Riposo*, p. 75.

195 Lapini, *Diario*, p. 218.

196 Gaci, *Barocchi, Scritti*, pp. 1221; 1238–1241.

Romano, che sottopone il popolo Sabino
rappresentato nel vecchio, e parte di detto
popolo ne abbracci a finto per la Sabina rapita,
perche veramente di questi due popoli sene
fece un solo in Roma, che fù poi tanto potente.

197 Forster, "Metaphors", for other earlier examples of this theme.

198 Pier Paolo Gualtieri, *Barocchi, Scritti* II, p. 1223, Gaci, pp. 1238–1241.



30. Piazza della Signoria, Florence

Addendum to notes 100–105:

J. Penny Small, *Cacus and Marsyas in Etrusco-Roman Legend*, Princeton, N.J., 1982, pp. 16–34, however, situates the Cacus legend on the Palatine or, according to some sources, on the Aventine rather than directly in the Forum Boarium below. This location would also allow alterations to the Florentine piazza.