GIAMBOLOGNA'S BRONZE PICTURES: THE NARRATIVE RELIEFS FOR FERDINANDO I DE'MEDICI AND THE POST-TRIDENTINE *PARAGONE*

by

SHANNON N. PRITCHARD

(Under the Direction of SHELLEY E. ZURAW)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines two bronze narrative relief cycles executed by Giambologna for the third Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando I de'Medici. The reliefs destined for the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* and the Jerusalem *Ornamento* formed part of larger monuments, one secular and one sacred, both designed to convey specific messages about Ferdinando and the state of Tuscany under his rule. The two cycles are analyzed in terms of Giambologna as a relief sculptor, cinquecento art theory, in particular the *paragone*, and the influence of Counter-Reformation mandates on the depiction of religious imagery. As Giambologna's reliefs are closely connected to pre-existing two-dimensional precedents, the sculptor's knowledge and understanding of the *paragone* is evident. Ultimately, however, it is argued that Giambologna's reliefs re-defined the *paragone* debate, shifting the focus from the relative merits of painting and sculpture to the symbiotic relationship between the two media. Giambologna's reconciliation of the three-dimensionality of sculpture and the two-dimensionality of painting through relief is realized in these two outstanding cycles that are truly pictures in bronze.

INDEX WORDS: Giambologna, relief sculpture, bronze relief, Ferdinando I de'Medici, *paragone*, Counter-Reformation, *Cosimo I de'Medici Equestrian Monument*, Jerusalem Reliefs, *ornamento*, Holy Land

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to three people without whom this accomplishment would not have been possible: to my mother, whose unwavering support and belief in me kept me going in good and bad times; to my father who is always willing to lend an ear and a laugh; and to Shelley Zuraw, who first introduced me to GB – to her I owe a great debt of gratitude.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

INTRODUCTION

Giambologna (né Jean du Boulogne, 1529), was the leading sculptor of his time, and according to Grand Duke Ferdinando I de'Medici, "…the most famous sculptor in the world" (fig. 1).[1] Undisputedly a master in the art of three-dimensional sculpture, Giambologna worked with equal facility in both marble and bronze and on scales ranging from the handheld to the monumental. In his rendering of the human form, a subject inextricably tied to Michelangelo, Giambologna proved himself a worthy challenger to 'il Divino' in his observation of human anatomy and in the creation of male and female figures whose bodies were rendered both naturalistically as well as ideally. With his dynamic manipulation of marble that turned stone into pliable and tactile flesh, Giambologna foreshadowed the young Bernini; and the sixteenth-century sculptor's penchant for dramatic intensity would become the hallmark of the future master of Baroque sculpture. One need only think of the exemplary *Rape of the Sabine* (fig. 2) or the equally arresting *Hercules and the Centaur* (fig. 3), both under the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, as evidence of how his free-standing statuary articulated the ideal forms of the High Renaissance, while also embracing the Mannerist aesthetics of the period by pushing the boundaries of the *contrapposto* stance through sinuous lines and curvilinear

[1] Edward L. Goldberg, "Artistic Relations between the Medici and the Spanish Courts, 1587-1621: Part II," *The Burlington Magazine* 138, no. 1121 (August, 1996): 529-540, esp. 530 n. 11. Ferdinando made this statement about Giambologna in a letter dated May 8, 1604, to agents for the Duke of Lerma, who wanted a fountain from Giambologna for his newly enlarged palatine gardens which would serve as a pendant to the *Samson and Philistine* fountain, by Giambologna, already in place that had he received as a gift from the Grand Duke.

profiles, as exemplified by the *Apollo* for the Studiolo of Grand Duke Francesco I in 1573-75 (fig. 4). Adhering to tradition while simultaneously being on the cutting edge of innovation, Giambologna was able to free his statuary, literally letting it take flight in the elegantly elongated figure of the *Medici Mercury* (fig. 5), which not only defeats the laws of gravity through Giambologna's masterful compositional balance, but demands active engagement on the part of the viewer by presenting a multiplicity of viewpoints.

When Giambologna produced sculpture on a smaller scale, he maintained the same level of dynamic invention that he achieved in his larger works. His bronze table-top sculptures (fig. 6), whose surfaces were highly finished and at times gilded, were disseminated throughout Europe as diplomatic gifts *par excellence*, which in turn, brought Giambologna international fame and recognition. The elegant figurative style that was the identifying characteristic of Giambologna's sculpture became the standard for sculpture in the Italian and European courts from the second half of the sixteenth century and into the early decades of the seventeenth century.

Although Giambologna is known predominately for his free-standing statuary, throughout his career he also proved himself to be highly skilled in the format of relief. From 1560 to 1596 he executed thirty-six reliefs in alabaster, stucco, marble, and bronze- a number far greater than that produced by any of his Florentine contemporaries who, on average, produced anywhere from one to five reliefs during their careers.[2] Benvenuto

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[2] John Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture. Volume III: Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London: Phaidon Press, 1996; 2000), 473-474. The largest Florentine relief cycle of the sixteenth century was Baccio Bandinelli's plan for the choir of Santa Maria del Fiore, begun in 1547 and left incomplete at the time of the sculptor's death in 1560. In the end, the cycle included well over twenty reliefs depicting, among other subjects, Old Testament Prophets and Christ's Passion.

Cellini, for example, produced one major relief, *Perseus Freeing Andromeda*, for the base of his *Perseus and Medusa* (fig. 7), while Vincenzo Danti, an associate of Giambologna's, executed only three reliefs, all in bronze, including the *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* (fig. 8).[3] While a few of Giambologna's reliefs were autonomous works, most were part of larger cycles that decorated chapels, statue bases, a cabinet, and a unique railing known as the *ornamento*.

Giambologna's earliest known relief is the alabaster *Allegory of Prince Francesco* (fig. 9) from 1560-61, made just a few years after the artist's arrival in Florence.[4] The composition was clearly popular with the Medici Prince, as he had it cast twice in bronze, sending one as a diplomatic gift to Emperor Maximilian II. In 1565, Giambologna produced stucco reliefs, like the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, for the ephemeral decoration erected for Francesco's marriage to Joanna of Austria.[5] For the base of his marble *Ocean* fountain (1570-75) in the Boboli Gardens, he executed three reliefs of mythological subject matter appropriate for a water fountain: *The Birth of Venus* (fig. 10), *The Triumph of Neptune*, and *The Rape of Europa*. And in 1577 Giambologna carved the marble low

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[3] Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 206-07.

[4] Charles Avery and Anthony Radcliffe, eds., *Giambologna (1529-1608) Sculptor to the Medici* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 152-155 cat. nos. 118 – 121, esp. 121; Charles Avery, *Giambologna. The Complete Sculpture* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1987; 1993), 178-79; 270 nos. 145-147. Avery's provenance record for each version of the *Allegory of Prince Francesco* illustrates the confusion surrounding these reliefs. It appears that the alabaster version in the Prado Museum in Madrid may have been given as a gift to Philip II from Francesco. The bronze version in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna may have been given to Emperor Maximilian by Cosimo I de'Medici, although its exact provenance is unclear. The bronze version in the Bargello was apparently kept by the Medici. See also Beatrice Palazzo Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos, eds., *Giambologna gli dei, gli eroi* (Firenze-Milano: Giunti Editore S.p.A, 2006), 232 cat. 36.

[5] Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 270 cat. 148.

relief *Panorama of Lucca* as a predella panel for his marble *Altar of Liberty* in the church of San Martino in Lucca.[6]

The pace of Giambologna's work in relief accelerated beginning in the 1580s, as he executed several narrative cycles to decorate chapels and monuments in and out of Florence. By 1579 he had received commissions to design and decorate two private family burial chapels, the Salviati Chapel in Florence and the Grimaldi Chapel in Genoa. The decorative program for the Salviati Chapel required a bronze narrative relief cycle illustrating six episodes from the *Life of St. Antoninus* as well as six free-standing marble statues of saints.[7] The Grimaldi Chapel similarly called for a relief cycle of six bronze narrative reliefs, this time the subject being the *Passion of Christ*, along with six bronze

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[6] Michael P. Mezzatesta, "Giambologna's "Altar of Liberty" in Lucca: Civic Patriotism and the Counter-Reformation," *Antologia di Belle Arte*, no. 23-24 (1984): 5-19.

[7] Giambologna was the architect of the chapel as well as the sculptor of the chapel reliefs, statues, and bronze priant of St. Antoninus. Additional decoration included three painted altarpieces by Alessandro Allori, Giovan Battista Naldini, and Francesco Morandi (Il Poppi); a frescoed cupola by Alessandro Allori; and frescoes by Domenico Passignano on the lateral walls leading into the chapel space proper. In addition to the information provided on the chapel in the standard monographs (see footnotes 10, 23, and 25 below), see also: Michael Edwin Flack, *Giambologna's Cappella di Sant'Antonino for the Salviati Family: An Ensemble of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*. Ph.D. diss. (Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services, 1986); Augustin Bazuzi and Rosella Roselli, "La Cappella Salviati," in *La Chiesa e il Convento di San Marco a Firenze*, vol. 1 (Firenze: Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, 1989), 391-408; Bertrand Jestaz, *Le Livre-Journal de la fabrique de la chapelle Salviati à Saint-Marc de Florence, 1579-1594: édition selective*. (Paris: H. Champion, 1995); Ewa Karwacka Codini and Milletta Sbrilli, *Il quaderno della fabbrica della cappella di Sant'Antonio in San Marco a Firenze. Manoscritto sulla construzione di un'opera del Giambologna, Quaderni dell'archivo Salviati II*. (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 1996); Francesca de Luca, "La Cappella Salviati e gli altari laterali nella chiesa di San Marco a Firenze," in *Altari e Committenza. Episodi a Firenze nell'età della Controriforma*, ed. Cristina De Benedictis (Firenze: Angelo Pontecorboli Editore, 1996), 115-135; and Sally J. Cornelison, "Tales of Two Bishop Saints: Zenobius and Antoninus in Florentine Renaissance Art and History," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 38, no. 3 (2007): 627-656.

statues of the Theological and Cardinal Virtues.[8] Contemporaneous with the two chapels, Giambologna was also engaged by Francesco I de'Medici to produce a series of eight small gold *ajouré* reliefs (fig. 11), to adorn a small *studiolo* (cabinet), with subjects celebrating the achievements of the Grand Duke.[9] And in late 1587, the sculptor received two further Grand Ducal commissions, this time from the third Medici Grand Duke, Ferdinando I. The first project called for three large-scale bronze reliefs celebrating key events in the life of Cosimo I de'Medici, which are the focus of Chapter 3 of this dissertation; and the second, a series of six small-scale reliefs narrating the final events of Christ's Passion, which were part of a railing that was sent to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which are the subject of Chapter 4 of this dissertation. These two projects were completed by 1596, and were the last reliefs to be executed by Giambologna, even though he was approached in 1595 by the Opera del Duomo in Pisa for a set of three new bronze doors after a fire earlier in the year had destroyed the

[8] Michael Bury, "The Grimaldi Chapel of Giambologna in San Francesco di Castelletto, Genoa," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 26 (1982): 85-127; Silvana Macchioni, "Le sculture del Giambologna," in *Il Palazzo dell'Università di Genoa. Il Collegio dei Gesuiti nella strada dei Balbi* (Genoa: Università degli Studi di Genova, 1984), 359-387; Mary Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator of the Catholic Reformation* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1995); and Michael Kuhlemann, "Giambologna's Genueser Passionszyklus Zur Entwicklung des manieristischen Reliefstils," in *Zwischen den Welten. Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte für Jürg Meyer zur Capellen*, ed. Damian Dombrowski (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank [VDG], 2001), 146-172. The Grimaldi contract specifically called for six reliefs. However, a seventh relief, *The Entombment*, was executed at some point toward the end of the project and placed on the front of the chapel altar. Neither the chapel nor the church survived Napoleon's invasion of 1798, although the chapel's decorations were saved. By 1804 items from the church were sold off and by 1818, the Grimaldi chapel bronzes were placed in the University of Genoa, where they remain today in the Aula Magna and Chapel.

[9] Avery, *Sculptor to the Medici*, 157 cat. 128; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 189; Cristina Acidini Luchinat and Maria Sframeli, eds., *Magnificenza alla Corte dei Medici. Arte a Firenze alla fine del Cinquecento* (Milano: Electa, 1997), 74-77 cat. nos. 33-39; *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi*, 226-231 cat. nos. 33-35.

original set from the twelfth century.[10] Although Giambologna declined, the project nevertheless went forward with many of the sculptor's protégés, including Pietro Francavilla, Pietro Tacca (fig. 12), and Hans Reichle, involved in the execution of the bronze reliefs and decoration for the doors.

This brief review of Giambologna's relief sculpture vividly demonstrates their sheer variety in terms of material, size, subject matter, style and context. Giambologna's ease with alabaster, marble, and bronze is evident, as is his ability to work on both a large and small scale, just as he was able to do with free-standing sculpture. The smallest reliefs he produced were the gold *Acts of Francesco*, which measure on average 8 x 10 centimeters (3.15 x 3.9 inches), while the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* reliefs are truly monumental in scale, measuring 100 x 174 centimeters (39.5 x 68.5 inches). The iconography he was called upon to represent ranged from the allegorical to the mythological, from the hagiographic to the dynastic, as well as the Christological. His reliefs were destined for a number of diverse locations including chapels, a garden, a piazza, and the Holy Land. Just as important as Giambologna's ability to adapt to a wide variety of contexts was his deliberate manipulation of style as a means of complementing both subject matter and location. As an example, the *Life of St. Antoninus* reliefs (fig. 13) in the Salviati Chapel in San Marco have been compared stylistically to Quattrocento

[10] Elisabeth Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne – Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo, Douai 1529-Florence 1608*, Ph.D. diss. (Brussels: Palais der Academiën, 1956), 292-293; Hans Martin von Erffa, "Das Programm der Westportale des Pisaner Domes," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 12, no. 1/2 (December 1965): 55-106; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 225-233.

painting and relief sculpture.[11] Thus, because the cycle was to illustrate events from the life and posthumous miracles of the early fifteenth-century archbishop of Florence (1389 – 1459), Giambologna adopted a compositional style relevant to that time period, such as Ghirlandaio's Sassetti chapel frescoes (fig. 19). Similarly, the style of the six *Jerusalem Reliefs* (figs. 126, 132, 135, 140, 144, and 149), with the exception of one, is decidedly austere, reflective not only of Counter-Reformation mandates regarding the depiction of religious subjects, but also of a sensitivity to their final destination, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, one of the most hallowed edifices in Christianity. These reliefs are in stark contrast to the one produced for the base of the *Rape of the Sabine* sculpture (fig. 14), which was executed in very high relief, with some figures modeled completely in the round. Clearly for this mythological scene Giambologna meant to approximate the high relief sculpture of ancient Rome, the source of the story of the Sabine women. Given the richness and variety of Giambologna's work in relief, it is curious that so little scholarly attention has been devoted to this aspect of his career. Further research in this rich area of his sculptural production is necessary if a firm and comprehensive understanding of Giambologna's activities as a sculptor is to be achieved.

This dissertation examines two of Giambologna's relief cycles commissioned from the sculptor by Grand Duke Ferdinando I de'Medici in 1587, and which were executed during the last quarter of the sixteenth century: the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument Reliefs* (1587-1599) and the *Jerusalem Reliefs* (1587/8-1592). These two relief cycles were part of larger sculptural projects which can both be justifiably

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[11] James Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, Ph.D. diss. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983), 261; Cornelison, "Tales of Two Bishop Saints...," 644, 651.

described as functioning as visual statements of Ferdinando's dynastic heritage and legitimization of his rulership over the Tuscan state in his role as a Christian prince and protector of the Holy Land. The three *Cosimo I Reliefs* were inserted into the base of the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* and are monumental in their scale, providing visual narratives to complement the Grand Ducal portrait above. Their iconography, which celebrates Ferdinando's father and the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, was propagandistic in nature, serving as a permanent visual record, and reminder, of the success of Cosimo I in enlarging the Tuscan state and establishing the Medici Grand Duchy. By contrast, the *Jerusalem Reliefs* were designed to be part of a railing known as the *ornamento* and which was sent by Ferdinando as a gift to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as a personal reliquary to surround the Stone of Unction. The *ornamento* was a visual expression of the Grand Duke as a pious and generous patron of one of the most revered churches in all of Christendom, and the six small reliefs representing Christ's Passion would provide an intimate, meditative experience for the pilgrim venerating the holy relic of the Stone of Unction. By sending such a valuable gift as the *ornamento*, Ferdinando presented himself as the quintessential Christian prince and ruler.

That these two relief cycles could not be more different from one another is immediately apparent. Their size, iconography, style, and context place them at opposite ends of the relief sculpture spectrum. However, close examination of both cycles makes it possible to apprehend a truer sense of Giambologna as a relief sculptor. For in these reliefs Giambologna reveals himself to be an artist who was not only cognizant of, and had mastered, the Florentine tradition of relief sculpture, but was also an artist well versed in theoretical debates of the period, both secular and sacred. As will be shown, his

participation in the Accademia del Disegno for thirty-eight years put him at the heart of the theoretical debates taking place in the artistic community in Florence on issues such as the *paragone*. Several of his fellow artists wrote treatises during this time and it is a reasonable assumption that Giambologna would have taken part in conversations regarding the various theories then being developed.[12] And just as important, Giambologna was responsive to the Tridentine reforms on religious art mandating in the Twenty-Fifth Session of the Council of Trent. For, although it has been easy to characterize Giambologna as a sculptor concerned with form to the exclusion of its content, his work in relief disproves this fallacy.[13] It was precisely his concern for

[12] Upon his arrival in Florence, Giambologna surely would have met Giorgio Vasari, who very well could have discussed with the young sculptor the theoretical principles of *disegno* as well as the *paragone* debate. Karen Edis-Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State, The Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 167-172, summarizes the treatises written by artists in the mid to late-sixteenth century in Florence. Alessandro Allori, who collaborated with Giambologna on the Salviati Chapel, wrote a treatise entitled "*Il primo libro de' ragionamenti delle regole del disegno*," in the early 1560's. In the mid-1560's Vincenzo Danti, was in the process of writing a treatise on anatomy, entitled "*Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni di tutte le cose che imitare e ritrarre si possono con l'arte del disegno*." Danti collaborated with Giambologna on an ephemeral equestrian monument for the 1565 wedding of Prince Francesco I de'Medici, and he quarried the marble for Giambologna's *Florence Triumphant Over Pisa* statue while Giambologna was in Bologna working on the *Neptune* fountain (Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 78). And in the late sixteenth century, Giambologna's long-time workshop assistant and associate Pietro Francavilla wrote the first part of a three-part series entitled "*Il microcosmo*," which dealt with anatomy along with the bodily humors.

[13] Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna,* 166-167, says of Giambologna that he "...was less concerned with iconography, that is to say with learned subject matter, than any other artist of his century, could take the theme proposed [*Florence Triumphant over Pisa*] without giving it another thought as an allegory, and from the first direct his attention exclusively to its concrete realization in a work of art which for him was first and foremost the occasion of a deeply reverent homage to Michelangelo." Such a statement is a direct parallel with Raffaello Borghini's description of the *Rape of the Sabine* sculpture being only a means by which Giambologna could prove himself capable in marble carving (i.e., in the steps of Michelangelo), without giving a thought to subject

content that seems to have been the driving force behind the stylistic choices he made in his reliefs. The *Cosimo I Reliefs* and the *Jerusalem Reliefs* will be examined in light of the *paragone*, post-Tridentine expectations, and narrative style. These two highly significant, but regularly overlooked, relief cycles from the last two decades of the sixteenth century, will be considered anew. By presenting new interpretations on questions of patronage and style, as well as examining new documentary evidence, the truly creative genius of Giambologna as a relief sculptor will, perhaps for the first time, be recognized.

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matter. Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 9, describes Giambologna as being "...not deeply involved with the spiritual content of his work, nor even...with the narrative aspect of his subjects. He concentrated instead (and this was completely novel) on perfecting certain types of composition...Untouched by lofty philosophical concepts beyond his immediate vocation, Giambologna worked fast and methodically...."

CHAPTER 1:

THE *FORTUNA CRITICA* OF

GIAMBOLOGNA'S WORK IN RELIEF

Fortuna Critica

As a means of establishing how Giambologna's relief sculpture has been dealt with in the scholarly literature over the past four hundred years, a brief *fortuna critica* is warranted. For the purposes of this dissertation, the *critica* is specifically focused on the scholarship pertaining to Giambologna's reliefs, beginning with the earliest biographers and moving to the most recent studies. What will become evident is that interest in Giambologna has been on the rise in recent decades and that has generated an increasing number of specialized studies and exhibitions, all of which have added significantly to the general scholarship. However, much more remains to be done.

The author of the earliest biography on Giambologna is Giorgio Vasari, who briefly discusses the sculptor in the 1568 edition of his *Lives of the Artists*. Giambologna's *Vita* was included in the chapter entitled "The Academicians," which focused specifically on the members of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno.[14] In his brief account of the sculptor, Vasari relates that Giambologna was "...much in favor with

[14] Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1568), 2 vols., trans. Gaston du C. de Vere, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), Vol. II, 863, 866, 888-889. Vasari mentions Giambologna twice in his chapter "Divers Flemings," but alerts the reader that he will discuss Giambologna in the "Academicians" section.

our Princes," who had provided him with "rooms in the Palace," referring to the space in the Palazzo Vecchio allocated to Giambologna for his workshop.[15] Giambologna had been in Florence for slightly less than a decade at the time of the second edition of the *Lives*, and Vasari duly records his works up to that time, including the *Neptune Fountain* in Bologna, the *Bacchus* originally installed at the corner of the Via Guiccardini, and the bronze *Mercury* that was sent as a gift to Emperor Maximilian II. In addition to the several free-standing sculptures Giambologna had produced by this time, he had also executed the three versions of the *Allegory of Prince Francesco* relief, although they were not mentioned by Vasari in his summary of Giambologna's brief Florentine career at that point. Vasari's biography is unfortunately silent on Giambologna's early life and training and how exactly he came to be in Florence. This last point is an interesting detail as it has been suggested that it was Vasari himself, who after meeting Giambologna in Rome sometime between 1550 and 1552, suggested to the young sculptor that he go to Florence to see its artistic treasures.[16] If indeed the story is correct, then Vasari's suggestion would have been the one that ultimately led to the beginning of the Flemish sculptor's long and illustrious Florentine career.

The second contemporary biography comes from the Florentine writer Raffaello Borghini, whose book *Il Riposo*, published in 1584, provides slightly more information

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[15] Dimitrios Zikos, "Giambologna's Land, House, and Workshops in Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 46, no. 2/3 (2002), 357-408, esp. 357.

[16] Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 16, suggests that Giambologna may have met Bartolommeo Ammanati and Giorgio Vasari in Rome, and that it was on their advice that he went to Florence.

on Giambologna's life before Florence.[17] At the beginning of his biography, Borghini recounts, presumably after learning this from the sculptor himself, that Giambologna's father wanted him to become a notary, but instead, Giambologna entered the shop of "Jakob de Breuck."[18] Borghini also tells of Giambologna's time in Rome, and how, after his arrival in Florence, he met Bernardo Vecchietti, who in turn, introduced him to the Medici court. Like Vasari, Borghini provided no additional personal or anecdotal details about the sculptor. The biography details a few of Giambologna's early commissions through the Grimaldi Chapel in Genoa and ends with a relatively lengthy appraisal of the Salviati Chapel which was then still in the process of being completed. Borghini's treatment of Giambologna's sculpture is analyzed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, but it is important to note here that Borghini did not mention any of Giambologna's reliefs, even though by 1584 the sculptor had executed seven, not including the two relief cycles that were then in progress for the Grimaldi and Salviati Chapels.[19]

After Vasari and Borghini, the next substantial biography comes eighty years after the sculptor's death in 1608 from Filippo Baldinucci in his *Notizie dei Professori del*

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[17] Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Fiorenza: Appresso Giorgio Marescotti, 1584), original text reproduced and edited by Mario Rosci (Milano: Edizioni Labor S.p.A, 1967), 585-589; Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo* (publ. 1584), ed. and trans. Lloyd H. Ellis, Jr. (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 281-284.

[18] Borghini (Ellis), 281.

[19] See pages 58-61of this dissertation for a discussion of Borghini's treatment of sculpture in *Il Riposo*. By 1584, Giambologna had executed the three *Allegory of Francesco* reliefs, the three marble reliefs for the base of the *Oceanus* fountain, the predella relief in Lucca for the *Altar of Liberty*.

Disegno da Cimabue in Qua..., published in 1688.[20] Baldinucci based much of his information on Vasari and Borghini's biographies, even quoting Borghini at length, but he also provided some new information. From Baldinucci came the infamous story of Giambologna's meeting with Michelangelo in Rome, which is discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. In its general content, Baldinucci's biography follows, as did Borghini's, the biographic tradition established by Vasari's *Lives*, where the artist's works are enumerated and briefly described, along with any pertinent information on patron and context. In this biography, as in the two earlier ones, Giambologna's work in relief is all but ignored. Likewise, Baldinucci's information, much like Vasari's, must be read with the benefit of twenty-first century hindsight. For example, he gave Giambologna's birth date as 1524, while today it has been firmly established as being in 1529.[21] In another example, Baldinucci asserts Giambologna required help from two Florentine painters in the design of the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*.[22] As argued in Chapter 3, it may reasonably be suggested that in this instance Baldinucci had confused the details surrounding the *Cosimo I* monument with the later *Henry IV Equestrian Monument*. As Baldinucci wrote his biography well after Giambologna's death, he was able to survey the sculptor's career up through the beginning of the seventeenth century, ending with the *Ferdinando I Equestrian Monument* (1602-08), a brief account of the

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[20] Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua…* (orig. publ. 1688), 7 vols., ed. Paola Barocchi (Firenze: S.P.E.S., 1974-75), II, 555-586.

[21] Dhanens, 28-29. The primary evidence for 1529 as Giambologna's year of birth is his signature on the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, which he signed as: IHOAN BOLOG. BELGA ETA SUE A 65 AN 1594.

[22] Baldinucci, II, 569.

subsequent equestrian monuments that followed, and a brief mention of the sculptor's burial in 1608 in his chapel in Santissima Annunziata.

Following Baldinucci's 1688 publication, the next substantial biography of the sculptor appears in Conte Leopoldo Cicognara's *Storia della Scultura*, published in 1828.[23] Cicognara's biography is brief and contains much the same information as that in Baldinucci, although Cicognara discusses fewer works. Moreover, Giambologna is included in a chapter entitled "Contemporaries and Imitators of Michelangelo;" a title which immediately sets the framework for the author's approach to Giambologna's sculpture, which he describes as being "...formed in the style of Buonarroti's modern works."[24] Cicognara covers very few of Giambologna's works, staying within the territory of the *Rape of the Sabine*, the *Medici Mercury*, and the equestrian monuments. There is little that is especially new or insightful from this biography added to the corpus of early modern information on the sculptor's life and career.

As is apparent, the early biographies of Giambologna were all part of larger compilations of artists' lives, and were not autonomous studies of the sculptor. The earliest monograph on Giambologna was published in 1883, by fellow Fleming Abel Desjardins, which set the groundwork for future study. Desjardins was followed in 1905 by Patrizio Patrizi, and in 1936 Werner Gramberg's dissertation was published which

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[23] Conte Leopoldo Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura dal suo Risorgimento in Italia fino al secolo di Canova del Conte Leopoldo Cicognara per servire di continuazione all'opere di Winkelmann e di d'Agincourt*, 6 vols., 2nd ed. (Prato: I Frati Giachetti, 1824), vol. 5, 250-257.

[24] Ibid., 250.

focused on Giambologna's life until 1567.[25] Over the course of the next several decades, other monographs were published, with the seminal work on Giambologna's life and career being Elisabeth Dhanens's Ph.D. dissertation published in 1956, which continues to be the most complete and authoritative scholarship on Giambologna, albeit now outdated in part.[26] Dhanens's dissertation is an indispensible research tool as the appendix has transcribed innumerable documents pertaining to Giambologna, including his own correspondence. Two subsequent monographs followed Dhanens's, James Holderbaum's Ph.D. dissertation in 1959, and most recently Charles Avery's monograph published in 1993.[27] Both Holderbaum and Avery rely on Dhanens's text, and where Holderbaum focused his attention on stylistic analysis, Avery provided updated photographs and a brief catalog entry for each of Giambologna's known works.

These monographic works, taken *in toto*, have established a solid chronology for Giambologna's *oeuvre*, put forth credible analyses of style and influence, and published primary source documentation directly related to his career. With regard to their handling of Giambologna's relief sculpture, all of the monographs cited above, with the exception of Gramberg, mention the reliefs with varying degrees of analysis. Desjardins

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[25] Abel Desjardins, *La Vie et L'Oeuvre de Jean Boulogne*, (orig. pub. 1883) Nouvelle Édition (Paris: Librairie Nationale, 1901); Patrizio Patrizi, *Il Giambologna* (Milano: Tipografico Editrice L.F. Cogliati, 1905); and Werner Gramberg, *Giovanni Bologna. Eine Untersuchung über die Werke seiner Wanderjahre (bis 1567),* Ph.D. diss. 1928 (Berlin: 1936).

[26] See footnote 10 for the full citation.

[27] See footnotes 4 and 11 for Avery and Holderbaum citations; and Michael Cole, *Ambitious Form: Giambologna, Ammanati, and Danti in Florence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011) (forthcoming). Although I have not seen Cole's text, it seems likely given the advance summary of its contents that the section on Giambologna will be monographic in its scope.

mentions them, but without any stylistic or iconographic analysis. Similarly, Patrizi's discussion of Giambologna's relief is limited to those on the base of the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, with no mention of the Salviati chapel reliefs, and qualifying the Grimaldi Chapel reliefs as being "of little importance," as he believed them to be copies of the Pisa Cathedral bronze door reliefs.[28] It is with Dhanens that Giambologna's reliefs received their first substantive analysis in terms of both style and iconography. Holderbaum also dealt relatively extensively with the reliefs, although primarily in terms of their style, an approach followed by Avery who treated all of Giambologna's relief sculpture in one brief chapter. Both Holderbaum and Avery comment on the lack of scholarly attention that Giambologna's reliefs have received and that they deserve further study.[29]

As demonstrated by the preceding review of the monographic literature on Giambologna's career, the all-encompassing nature of such studies inevitably imposes limits on extensive analysis of individual works or specific types of works within an artist's *oeuvre*. In recent decades, however, numerous specialized studies have been published that have begun to expand the scholarship in certain areas. The Salviati and Grimaldi Chapels, including their reliefs, have received perhaps the most extended study, aside from the *Rape of the Sabine*, which itself has engendered several studies.[30] By

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[28] Patrizi, 112, wrote "I bassorilievi, al contrario, che dopo la demolizione del Castelletto vennero murati nella sala del consiglio dell'Università genovese, non hanno eccessiva importanza essendo riproduzioni di quelli dell'*Annunziata* e delle porte della cattedrale di Pisa."

[29] Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna,* 222; Avery, *Complete Sculpture,* 190.

[30] See footnotes 7 and 8 above for the relevant literature on the two chapels. For the *Rape of the Sabine* see Yael Even, "The Loggia dei Lanzi: a Showcase of Female

contrast, both the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* reliefs and the *Jerusalem Reliefs* have been largely neglected in the scholarship, with the former having no autonomous study and the latter having last been thoroughly examined in an article published forty years ago.[31]

In addition to the monographs and project specific books and articles, the other source of scholarship comes from exhibitions, and in this case, Giambologna's reliefs are oftentimes treated more along the lines of statuettes, rather than as a separate mode of his sculptural production. The last quarter of the twentieth century saw two major monographic exhibitions in 1978 and 1998, both under the direction of Charles Avery, which were no doubt instrumental in bringing Giambologna back to the attention of

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Subjugation," *Women's Art Journal* 12, no. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1991): 10-14; Tessa Baars, "The Rape of a Sabine and the Diavolino as Apotropeia: iconography, location, and function of two of Giambologna's sculptures," in *Giambologna tra Firenze e l'Europa: Atti del convegno internazionale, Firenze Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte* (Florence: Centro Di, 2000), 117-128; Timothy Richard Wutrich, "Narrative and Allegory in Giambologna's "Rape of a Sabine"," *Word & Image* 20, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 2004): 308-322; and Michael Cole, "Giambologna and the Sculpture with No Name," *Oxford Art Journal* 31, no. 3 (2008): 339-359.

[31] Dietrich Erben, "Reiterdenkmäler der Medici in Florenz und ihre politsche Bedeutung," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 40, no. 3 (1996): 287-361, and Mary Weitzel Gibbons, "Cosimo's *Cavallo*: A Study in Imperial Imagery," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de'Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Burlington, VA: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), 77-95, both discuss the *Cosimo I* reliefs within the larger context of the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, and Weitzel Gibbons comments on the need for the reliefs to be studied at greater length. The literature on the *Jerusalem Reliefs* is scant. The fullest analysis of the *ornamento* and the reliefs is in Kriegbaum, "Ein Bronzepaliotto von Giovanni da Bologna in Jerusalem," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 48 (1927): 43-52; Avraham Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze "Ornamento" in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes In Florenz* 4 (December, 1970): 415-442; and Avraham Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento' in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem – A Complementary Note," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 17, no. 1 (1973), 166.

scholars.[32] Broad ranging in their scope, these exhibitions offered a variety of Giambologna's works from hand-held statuettes to famous table-top groups as well as a few of his reliefs. In the 1978 exhibition, the number of reliefs included in the show was significant as it brought together the two versions of the *Allegory of Prince Francesco*, the Berlin copy of the Grimaldi Chapel Passion cycle, and the intaglios of the *Acts of Francesco*. Not since this exhibition has there been that number of Giambologna's reliefs in one place. In the twenty-first century, the year 2006 was transformative for Giambologna studies when no less than three exhibitions were held across Europe.[33] While these shows focused primarily on Giambologna's three-dimensional work, some of the smaller reliefs were included, which again was an important move toward bringing them to the attention of both scholars and the public at large. These exhibitions were also significant in generating new scholarship as well as producing extensive and updated bibliographies on the artist.

The "Painterly" and the "Pictorial" in Giambologna's Reliefs

An important aspect of Giambologna's reliefs that will be addressed in this dissertation is their relationship with painting, and particularly that which was contemporary with the *Cosimo I* and *Jerusalem Reliefs*. In the modern literature, two

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[32] Avery, *Sculptor to the Medici*; and Charles Avery, *Giambologna: An Exhibition of Sculpture by the Master and His Followers from the Collection of Michael Hall, Esq*. (New York: Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, 1998).

[33] *Giambologna gli dei, gli eroi;* Dirk Syndram, et al., eds., *Giambologna in Dresden: die Geschenke der Medici* (Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2006); and Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Giambologna: Triumph des Körpers* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2006).

characteristics of Giambologna's reliefs have been commented on: their "painterly" and "pictorial" quality.[34] In general, it seems that scholars have employed both terms to reference two points; first, that Giambologna's reliefs may have been influenced by paintings, and second, that paintings were influenced by his reliefs. Although both of these statements are indeed true, the problem that arises with the use of the terms "painterly" and "pictorial" has been their lack of definition. What exactly do the terms mean when applied to Giambologna's reliefs? While the term "pictorial" would most logically seem to reference Giambologna's ability to depict grand narratives in a manner akin to a two-dimensional image such as a painting or engraving, the term "painterly" is more problematic. In order to posit a definition of the two terms it is necessary to examine them independent of one another as well as in relation to one of Giambologna's reliefs.

With regard to the term "painterly," the fundamental problem that has arisen with this term used as a descriptor of the reliefs is its vagueness of meaning. Taking as an example *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry Into Siena* (fig. 80) on the base of the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, one scholar has described it as "painterly" due to the fact that painters were influenced by its composition.[35] The two primary examples given are

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[34] Dhanens, 283-84; Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 293-94, 299, 301, uses the term "pictorial," while Avery, *Complete Sculpture*,189, uses the term "painterly." See footnote 35 below for the discussion of their statements.

[35] Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 294; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*,189-190, following Holderbaum, cites Annibale Carracci's apparent interest in the *Triumph of Cosimo I Into Siena* relief as evidence of the relief's "painterliness," saying: "The painterly quality of this relief [*Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*] is demonstrated by the fact that it was used by Annibale Carracci as a prototype for his fresco of the *Triumph of Bacchus*...As great a painter as Rubens was impressed with Giambologna's masterly design...for he copied its layout in his painting of the *Triumph of Henry IV*

Annibale Carracci's *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* on the Farnese Gallery ceiling in Rome (fig. 15) and Peter Paul Rubens' *Triumphal Entry of Henry IV* (fig. 16). The question that must be answered in response to the suggestion that both painters were inspired by this relief, which indeed does seem likely, is: were the painters responding to the relief because of its "pictorial" qualities or its "painterly" qualities? That the relief is pictorial goes without saying. Giambologna expertly created a vast scene of a triumphal procession that moves across the compositional plane from right to left, includes a multitude of figures in a variety of actions and expressions, and lacks nothing in its representation of specific details. But what are its "painterly" qualities? Before suggesting a possible answer, another example of the "pictorial/painterly" issue may be helpful. Andrea Andreani's chiaroscuro woodcut prints after Giambologna's reliefs, and in particular his woodcut after the *Sabine* relief (fig. 17), has been mentioned in the scholarship as evidence of the relief's "similarity to painting."[36] Here again, the pictorial quality of the relief is undeniable, as Giambologna deftly created a perspectival cityscape against which the main action takes place. The figures, many modeled in high relief, are expressive and the composition is filled with frenetic energy. Thus, in both the *Triumph*

(Uffizi Gallery)." Avery also mentions the relationship between Giambologna's reliefs and the Roman paintings of Federico Zuccaro, stating that "Analogies between the organization of narratives are easy to find in their respective works...." For Avery, it seems, the "painterliness" of Giambologna's *Cosimo I Reliefs* is a result of the way in which he constructed the narrative space, similar to that of a painter.

[36] Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 190. Andreani translated the *Rape of the Sabine* relief as well as the free-standing monument into chiaroscuro woodcuts. He also reproduced the relief of *Christ before Pilate* in Giambologna's burial chapel in Santissima Annunziata. Hilliard T. Goldfarb, "Chiaroscuro Woodcut Technique and Andrea Andreani," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 67, no. 9 (November, 1981): 306-330. Jacopo Ligozzi also translated at least one of Giambologna's reliefs, *Christ Before Pilate*, into a chiaroscuro drawing, which is preserved in three sheets in the Louvre, which are available online at: http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/fo/visite?srv=mlo&paramAction =actionChangePage&numPageOeuvre=6&typeAffichage=true&sens=&colonne=0 .

and the *Sabine* reliefs, Giambologna depicted grand narratives on a pictorial scale equivalent to that achievable in painting. The "painterliness" of both the *Triumph* and the *Sabine* relief, however, is realized by the sculptor's handling of the materials of clay, wax, and bronze, which creates visual effects that approximate or equal those achieved by the painter's brush. Giambologna's manipulation of the modeling material, as well as the chasing and finishing of the bronze, allowed him to represent recessional depth, landscape, effects of atmosphere, light, and shade just as dexterously as those produced in paint. Therefore, it seems, painters responded to his reliefs for both of these qualities; and to categorize them as either "painterly" or "pictorial" merely on the grounds that painters found inspiration in them, misses an opportunity to understand more fully Giambologna's complete mastery of the medium.

Related to the discussion above regarding painters being influenced by the "pictorial" and "painterly" aspect of Giambologna's reliefs, is the fact that some of his reliefs were themselves influenced by painting or other two-dimensional sources. In this case, the same problem arises. Does the fact that Giambologna turned to two-dimensional precedents as compositional sources automatically make his reliefs either "pictorial" or "painterly"?[37] As an example, with both the Grimaldi and Salviati chapel reliefs, a wide variety of painted sources have been offered as evidence of Giambologna's adaptation of two-dimensional compositional methods in his relief sculpture. In connection with the Grimaldi Chapel reliefs illustrating Christ's Passion, it has been suggested that Giambologna was influenced by Andrea del Sarto's monochromatic

[37] Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 301, discusses the *Homage* relief (fig. 73) in terms of its "*malerisch"* lighting effects, and compares the barrel vaulted hallway to the left with the effects of Tintoretto's *Translation of the Body of St. Mark* in Venice.

frescoes (1521-26) in the Chiostro del Scalzo in Florence for their spatial constructs and figural movements (fig. 18).[38] Both the Grimaldi reliefs and Sarto's frescoes are economic in terms of illustrating their respective iconography, as neither the reliefs nor the frescoes are embellished with extraneous elements or details, focusing solely on the fundamental aspects of the narrative. Moreover, as monochromatic painting itself resembles sculpture, and in Sarto's case, relief sculpture, it may be said that Giambologna's Grimaldi reliefs were influenced by both the pictorial and painterly quality of Sarto's reliefs. Similarly, the pictorial and painterly quality of the Salviati Chapel reliefs (fig. 13) was most likely derived from their relationship to Florentine painting of the Quattrocento.[39] Their distinctly retardataire stylistic quality, seems to have been derived from such fifteenth-century painted hagiographic cycles as Ghirlandaio's St. Francis cycle in the Sassetti Chapel in the church of Santa Trinità (fig. 19). Both the frescoes and Giambologna's reliefs are bound by the rules of linear perspective to order and control their compositions, which themselves are formal,

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[38] Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator...*," 95-99.

[39] Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 232, states that Giambologna "...always tries to make what he thinks is an historical reconstruction of scene and clothing," and goes on to state that the clothing in the Salviati reliefs was "copied from fifteenth-century Florentine painting," although no specific examples are provided. Holderbaum, 254-261, also compares the composition and style of the reliefs to the works of Fra Filippo Lippi in Prato, the Trecento frescoes of Taddeo Gaddi, and Ghirlandaio. Cornelison, "Tales of Two Bishop Saints...," 644, 651, suggests Giambologna looked to Ghiberti's St. Zenobius shrine and Baptistery reliefs for guidance on how to construct a hagiographic narrative. Although they are reliefs and not paintings, the idea is similar in that Giambologna may have looked to fifteenth-century prototypes specifically for this series of reliefs. It is worth remembering that Ghiberti, in his *Commentarii*, stated that he alone was responsible for all of the paintings in Florence ("…and I have designed numerous things for painters…"), which further illustrates for the purposes of the example used here: the fluid nature of the relationship between painting and relief sculpture. Janice L Hurd, *Lorenzo Ghiberti's Treatise on Sculpture. The Second Commentary*. Ph.D. diss (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 1970), 112.

idealized representations of their respective subject matter. Moreover, Giambologna's reliefs have little salient projection, thus limiting any dramatic play of light and shadow across their surface but still allowing the sculptor to "record" the life of the saint, with all of the appropriate decorum, as well as quotidian details, in much the same manner as Ghirlandaio.

There is no doubt that painters responded to Giambologna's reliefs just as he responded to painted composition as either compositional suggestions or direct sources of compositional influence, as will be shown in this dissertation. However, the relationship between Giambologna's reliefs and contemporary paintings or other two-dimensional sources was a symbiotic one and should be examined in light of contemporary art theory and artistic practices in Florence. Giambologna was in constant contact with painters who were either associated with the Grand Ducal court or with the Accademia del Disegno. He collaborated with painters in the Salviati Chapel as well as in his own funeral chapel in Santissima Annunziata. And that Giambologna had an appreciation for painting may be evidenced by the inventory taken at the time of his death in 1608, which lists numerous paintings in almost every room of his house, with subject matters ranging from the secular to the sacred.[40] Giambologna's reliefs provide an opportunity for a re-evaluation of the painter/sculptor relationship during the last quarter of the sixteenth

[40] Gino Corti, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Inventories Involving Giambologna," *Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 882 (September, 1976): 629-634. The inventory lists paintings such as a *Resurrection*, a *Pietà*, a *veduta* of San Marco square in Venice, portraits of his female relatives, portraits of the Medici, a bacchanal scene, and landscapes that decorated his studio, which, according to Gondi, was frescoed, although that detail is not specified in the inventory.

century as they demonstrate how fluid the lines of influence were, with artists of both media actively engaged with, and responding to, the work of their peers.

In order to fully understand Giambologna's development as a bronze narrative relief sculptor, it is necessary to start at the beginning; how he came to Italy, how he first became involved with the Medici, and his association with the Accademia del Disegno and a central group of painters in the service of the Grand Ducal court. By laying this foundation, it will be possible to track the development of Giambologna's understanding of, and response to, contemporary art theory and contemporary painting, Grand Ducal expectations, and the post-Tridentine culture of Florence; and how it was made manifest in his *Cosimo I* and *Jerusalem* reliefs.

CHAPTER 2:

GIAMBOLOGNA AND FLORENCE

Giambologna's Early Training and Arrival in Florence

What little is known of Giambologna's life in Douai (which is today in the northern French region of Picardy), comes from Borghini's brief biography of the sculptor in *Il Riposo*, in which he related a story reminiscent of many Renaissance artists.[41] According to Borghini, who presumably received his information firsthand, Giambologna's father had wanted him to become a notary, but against his father's wishes, he instead began as an apprentice in the workshop of Jacques Dubroeucq (1505 – 1584).[42] Borghini's tale immediately brings to mind similar situations of other artists, such as Michelangelo, whose father had arranged for his young son to study grammar, or Baccio Bandinelli, who also went against his father's plans, becoming a sculptor rather than a goldsmith.[43]

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[41] Borghini (Ellis), 281.

[42] Robert Didier, *Jacques DuBroeucq. Sculpteur et Maître-Artiste de l'Empereur (1500/1510-1584)* (Belgium: Ars Libris, 2000), 13. For general information on Jacques Dubroeucq (also Du Broeucq), see: Robert Hedicke, *Jacques Dubroeucq de Mons*, translated from the German by Emile Dony (Brussels: Librairie Nationale d'Art & d'Histoire, 1911); Robert Wellens, *Jacques du Broeucq. Sculpteur et architecte de la Renaissance (1505-1584)* (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1962); *Jacques Du Broeucq, sculpteur et architecte de la Renaissance* (Mons: Fédération du Tourisme de la Province de Hainaut, 1985).

[43] Vasari (De Vere), II, 643; Howard Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1974), 16. Vasari, (De Vere), II, 265-266, also relates how Baccio Bandinelli's father had wanted him to become a goldsmith, like himself, although

Jacques Dubroeucq was the leading Flemish sculptor of his period, and was court artist to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and his family, having been given the title of "maître artiste de l'empereur" in 1555.[44] In Dubroeucq's busy studio Giambologna was trained in the methods of carving marble and alabaster, the two primary media in which Dubroeucq worked. As his master did not work in bronze, it is unclear where or when Giambologna received his training in that medium, although it seems reasonable to assume it was sometime after 1550 when he left Dubroeucq's shop for his Italian *wanderjahr*. As many young sculptors from the North trained in Italian workshops under such masters as Giacomo della Porta in Rome, this hypothesis seems quite likely.[45] Giambologna began his apprenticeship with Dubroeucq around 1545 when the master was at work on the rood-loft for the Cathedral of Sainte Waudru in Mons (fig. 20).[46] The

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Bandinelli pursued sculpture. Benvenuto Cellini, *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, trans. John Addington Symonds (New York: Quality Paperback Book Club, 1995), 8-11, tells a similar story in his autobiography about how his father wished for him to be a famous musician, while Cellini instead began apprenticing as a goldsmith.

[44] Didier, 13. Dubroeucq was also court sculptor to Charles V's sister, Queen Mary of Hungary. In a letter from Lambert Zutman to the Queen 1552, Zutman referred to Jacques Dubroeucq as "…your second Michelangelo…."

[45] Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna Narrator*..., 138, suggests Giambologna learned bronze casting in Rome in the studio of Guglielmo della Porta, although there are no known documents that support this. Frits Scholten, *Willem van Tetrode, Sculptor (c. 1525-1580) Guglielmo Fiammingo scultore* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; New York: Frick Collection; Zwolle: Wanders, 2003), 17-18. This hypothesis, however, may be plausible as della Porta's studio attracted several Flemings, including Willem van Tetrode and Jacob Cornelisz Cobaert. In della Porta's studio small reproductions of antique sculpture were produced, and it may have been in this environment during 1550-1552 that Giambologna learned bronze casting alongside fellow Flemings already employed by della Porta.

[46] The rood-loft is discussed in Wellens, 35-57; Didier, 25-26, 127-197; and Matt Kavaler, "The jubé of Mons and the Renaissance in the Netherlands," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 45 (1994): 349-381.

rood-loft (no longer intact) was decorated with a complex iconographic program combining alabaster narrative reliefs depicting scenes from the life of Christ (fig. 21) along with free-standing alabaster statues of the Theological and Cardinal Virtues.[47] Alabaster was a material used most frequently in northern Europe during the Renaissance, and it was in fact the material used by Giambologna for one of the first works he executed for the Medici court in Florence (fig. 9). In addition to his work on the roof-loft in Mons, Giambologna also assisted Dubroeucq with the ephemeral triumphal decorations erected for Prince Philip II of Spain's entry into Antwerp on August 31, 1549.[48] Listed as "Jehan de Boulogne" in the documents, he was one of twenty-five assistants working on the monumental project.[49]

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[47] Wellens, 37-38, provides a detailed account of the destruction of the rood-loft between 1794 and 1798. The sculptural decoration is today housed in the collegiate church of Sainte Waudru in Mons, Belgium.

[48] Didier, 17, provides a brief description of one of the triumphal arches for the Antwerp entry, which included a figure of Mercury, with the attributes of "*les ailes aux talons, le pétase en tête, tenant d'une main son caducei où s'enroulaient des serpents & de l'autre sa harpe ou faux*." Although Didier does not go so far as to suggest that Giambologna was influenced in his later production of bronze sculptures of Mercury in Florence by his early exposure to the theme on the decoration of this arch, it is nevertheless a tantalizing hypothesis. Giambologna's work on the 1549 triumphal entry decorations is not mentioned in any of the monographic studies on the artist.

[49] Didier, 16 n. 33, in which Didier cites Robert Wellens, "Joyeuse Entrée de Philippe, prince d'Espagne, à Mons en 1549," *Annales du Cercle archéologique de Mons du Canton de Soignies*, XXIV (1965): 33-44. I have been unable to obtain a copy of Wellens' article, and have therefore not seen the precise documents and language referring to Giambologna. No documents, as far I know, have been discovered which give the precise date of Giambologna's entry into Dubroeucq's studio. There have been attempts to identify Giambologna's hand in the rood-loft sculptures, although nothing definitive has been proven. Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 15, was therefore mistaken in his statement that "There is no specific record of Giambologna in the workshop...."

Shortly after his participation in the 1549 *entrata* for Philip II, Giambologna embarked on his *wanderjahr* to Italy, never to return again to his homeland.[50] Arriving in Rome sometime in 1550, the twenty-one year old Fleming spent the next two years in the Eternal City, studying works of antiquity along with those of Renaissance masters such as Michelangelo and Raphael, no doubt encountering other artists from the North there for the same purpose, such as Willem van Tetrode.[51] In a now legendary story recounted by Baldinucci in his biography of the sculptor, while Giambologna was in Rome he had the opportunity to visit Michelangelo's studio. The young Flemish sculptor brought with him a small work he had modeled in clay to present to the great master, only to be schooled by 'il Divino' on the proper way to sculpt a figure. According to the story, Michelangelo chastised Giambologna, telling him to "go off and learn to model properly before you try to give a finish to anything," proceeding then to destroy Giambologna's work in his hands and remodel it right before his eyes.[52] According to Baldinucci, this was a story Giambologna himself would tell others in his later years. Regardless of its veracity, not only has the encounter between the two artists become a legendary part of

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[50] Didier, 15. Dubroeucq himself had been on a *wanderjahr* to Rome from 1530 to 1534, and it is likely that he encouraged his young protégé to do the same.

[51] Borghini (Ellis), 282, stated during Giambologna's two years in Rome, "he studied industriously, portraying in clay and wax all the praised figures that are there."; Baldinucci, II, 556; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 281. Elisabeth Dhanens, "De Romeininse ervaring van Giovanni Bologna," *Institut historique Belge de Rome* 35 (1963): 159-190, published a large group of drawings that she attributed to Giambologna during the time of his two-year sojourn in Rome. However, her attribution of the collection of drawings to Giambologna has not been universally agreed upon. For Tetrode in Giacomo della Porta's workshop, see footnote 45 above.

[52] Baldinucci, II, 556.

Giambologna's *vita*, but it is also quite ironic as Giambologna was to become the supreme modeler of his generation.

Giambologna began his journey back to Flanders sometime between 1552 and 1553, departing Rome, and heading north. On his way, he made a sojourn in Florence, perhaps on the advice of Giorgio Vasari, to experience Florence's rich artistic heritage.[53] Once there, however, Giambologna was quickly taken in by Bernardo Vecchietti, a generous and astute patron, who not only introduced the young sculptor to the Medici court but also amassed a collection of Giambologna's *bozzetti* over the course of their decades-long friendship.[54] Giambologna's early contact with Vecchietti ultimately led to the establishment of his long and prosperous career in Florence. For the next fifty-five years (1553-1608) he was the primary sculptor to the Medici beginning with Cosimo I, then securing his place as court sculptor to Grand Dukes Francesco I and Ferdinando I.

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[53] Avery, *Complete Sculpture,* 16.

[54] Charles Avery, "Bernardo Vecchietti and the Wax Models of Giambologna," in *La ceroplastica nella scienza e nell'arte. Atti del I Congresso Internazionale Firenze, 3-7 giugno 1975. Vol 2 - La ceroplastica nell'arte-Wax Modeling in Art*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1977, 461-474; Charles Avery, "Bernardo Vecchietti: der erste Auftraggeber von Giambologna," *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 51, no.1 (2007): 16-24; and Francesca Carrara, "Il magnifico Bernardo Vecchietti, cortigiano e committente in un inedito epistolario privato," in *Giambologna gli dei, gli eroi,* 314. Giambologna was given room and board in Vecchietti's home from his arrival in Florence in 1552 until perhaps as late as 1566 when Francesco de'Medici gave him rooms in the Palazzo Vecchio. Giambologna's first work in Florence is believed to have been a now lost marble statue of *Venus* for Vecchietti. Throughout Giambologna's career, Vecchietti appears as an agent for the artist. Michael Bury, "Bernardo Vecchietti, Patron of Giambologna," in *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Florence: Villa I Tatti, 1985): 13-56, provides a synopsis of Vecchietti's involvement with Medici in roles ranging from procurer of gems to advisor on major artistic projects. On Vecchietti's collection, see Borghini (Ellis), 50, who wrote that in one room "Many wax, clay, and bronze figures by Giambologna in different poses represent different figures such as prisoners, women, goddesses, rivers, and famous men."

By the early 1560s, Giambologna was firmly ensconced within the Florentine artistic milieu. He was receiving a monthly stipend from the Medici court which had him working on numerous projects, including the *Allegory of Prince Francesco* reliefs as well as several large scale, free-standing sculptures such as the *Florence Triumphant over Pisa*, which was conceived of as a counterpart to Michelangelo's *Victory* in the Palazzo Vecchio.[55] From very early in his Florentine career, Giambologna's works were in such high demand that he quickly established and oversaw a large and highly productive workshop. He and his apprentices were able to turn out sculptures of all sizes at a rate commensurate with their endless demand. The shop, however, was more than just a production line. It became a mecca for Italian sculptors, as well as those coming to Italy from the North, operating as an academy of sorts, where apprentices learned the art of marble carving and bronze casting, many of whom went on to work as masters in their own right.[56] Among the many sculptors who spent time in Giambologna's shop were

[55] Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 276 cat. 192; The *Florence Triumphant over Pisa* sculpture was originally executed in terracotta and was part of the decoration of the 1565 *entrata* of Joanna of Austria, and it was translated into marble around 1575. On Giambologna's stipend, which started out at 13 *scudi* per month in 1566 and rose to 25 *scudi* per month by 1589, see Warren Kirkendale, *Emilio de'Cavalieri "Gentiluomo Romano." His Life and Letters, His Role as Superintendent of all the Arts at the Medici Court, and His Musical Compositions* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2001), 91-94.

[56] Zikos, "Giambologna's Land...," 366. The letter cited by Zikos was first published by Dhanens, 355-356. In a letter to Antonio Serguidi, secretary to Grand Duke Francesco I, dated June 1585, Giambologna complained that while he was barely able to make a living given his monthly salary from the court, his students, using the knowledge they gained in his shop along with his models, were rich and famous. He further lamented that he had given up the chance to work for courts all of Europe to stay in the service of the Grand Duke.

Pietro Francavilla, Pietro Tacca, Antonio Susini, and Adrien de Vries, all of who ultimately had successful careers of their own.[57]

Giambologna and the Accademia del Disegno

While Giambologna was establishing himself and his workshop during the early 1560s, a new academy for artists was founded to serve the needs of masters of painting, sculpture, and architecture, as well as providing instruction to young students.[58] The idea

[57] Given the demands of Giambologna's patrons, it was normal practice for him to have his assistants execute sculptures, particularly statuettes, using the models he prepared. In some cases, Giambologna and his assistants operated more as partners, as they would be involved almost equally in the execution of large sculptural projects like chapel decorations, in the case of Pietro Francavilla, or equestrian monuments, as in the case of Pietro Tacca. Katharine Watson, "Giambologna and his workshop: the later years," in Charles Avery and Anthony Radcliffe, eds., *Giambologna (1529-1608) Sculptor to the Medici* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 34-41; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 225-233; Charles Avery, "Pietro Francavilla's drawings of Giambologna's models," *Apollo* 152, no. 463 (Sept. 2000): 22-26; Scholten, *Adriaen de Vries 1556-1626*, 15; and Manfred Leithe-Jasper, "Il problema dell'autenticità nei bronzetti del Giambologna," in Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos, eds., *Giambologna gli dei, gli eroi* (Firenze-Milano: Giunti Editore S.p.A, 2006), 63-65. See also the bibliography for additional sources.

[58] Edis-Barzman's *The Florentine Academy* is an exhaustive study of the Accademia del Disegno and has an extensive bibliography (see footnote 12 for full citation). For the purposes of this dissertation, which does not seek to re-examine the foundation and workings of the Accademia, I have relied principally on Edis-Barzman's scholarship. Additional studies are: Ted Reynolds, *The Accademia del Disegno in Florence, Its Formation and Early Years*, Ph.D. diss. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 1974); Carl Goldstein, "Vasari and the Florentine Accademia del Disegno," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38, no. 2 (1975): 145-152; Mary Ann Jack, "The Accademia del Disegno in Late Renaissance Florence," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7, no. 2 (October 1976):3-20; Anthony Hughes, " 'An Academy for Doing' I: The Accademia del Disegno, the Guilds and the Principate in Sixteenth-Century Florence," *Oxford Art Journal* 9, no. 1 (1986): 3-10; Anthony Hughes, " 'An Academy for Doing' II: Academies, Status and Power in Early Modern Europe," *Oxford Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (1986): 50-62; and Karen Edis-Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia del Disegno: Liberal Education and the Renaissance Artist," in *Academies of Art Between Renaissance and Romanticism*, eds.

for such an academy came from Giorgio Vasari, who himself was motivated by Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli's donation of a burial chapel for artists in the cloister of Santissima Annunziata.[59] In late 1562 Vasari petitioned Duke Cosimo I for permission to found an *accademia*, and on January 13, 1563, Cosimo approved the preliminary statutes and the Accademia del Disegno became Florence's officially recognized academy for the study of the arts.[60] As it was originally structured, the Accademia was intended to function as a place of practical and theoretical education for artists while the local Compagnia di San Luca still operated as the artists' guild.[61] According to Vasari, the purpose of the Accademia was to promote painting, sculpture, and architecture through their unifying principle of *disegno*, that most Florentine of artistic theories. In Vasari's own definition, *disegno* was: "Father of our three arts (architecture, sculpture, and painting), *disegno* proceeds from the intellect, drawing from many things a universal judgment similar to a

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Anton W.A. Boschloo, et.al., (Leiden: Stichting Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 1989), 14-32.

[59] Edis-Barzman, *The Florentine Academy...*, 26-27. On the feast day of Santa Trinità a tomb designed by Montorsoli was unveiled in the chapel, an event which was attended by forty-eight artists, all of whom would become the first members of the Accademia. The tomb was meant for all artists and the first to be interred there was Pontormo. Although he had died in 1557, his body was exhumed and re-buried in the new chapel. For the chapel's decoration, see: David Summers, "The Sculptural Program of the Cappella di San Luca in the Santissima Annunziata," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 14, no. 1 (June 1969): 67-90; and Liana de Girolami Cheney, "La Cappella degli Artisti: Montorsoli's Marble Plaque," in *The Historian's Eye: Essays on Italian Art in Honor of Andrew Ladis*, eds. Hayden B.J. Maginnis and Shelley E. Zuraw (Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, 2009), 215-223.

[60] Edis-Barzman, *The Florentine Academy...*, 34-35.

[61] Ibid., 1, 181. In 1571 the Accademia absorbed the functions of the Guild of St. Luke, and operated as both an academy and a guild, combining the two functions under one corporate roof.

form or idea of all the things of nature...[and] from this cognition is born a certain concept...such that something is formed in the mind and then expressed with the hands, which is called *disegno*."[62] Thus, it was the intellect of the artist that conceived the work to be created (*concetto*) by the divinely guided hand of the artist which made (*fatto*) the work.[63]

The Accademia was governed by an elected board of officials, and the first presidents (*capi*) were Duke Cosimo I and Michelangelo.[64] Vincenzo Borghini, co-author of the academy's statutes, was elected as the Accademia's Lieutenant (*luogotenente*), a position which was literally referred to as being the "mouth" (*boca*) of the Grand Duke.[65] As such, most of the correspondence between members of the Accademia and the Duke went through Borghini. Cosimo's interest in the daily functioning of the Accademia seems to have been minimal at best, and Michelangelo was

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[62] Vasari's passage is quoted at length by Edis-Barzman, *The Florentine Academy...*, 149. See also, Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori* (1568), ed. Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols. (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1906), vol. 1, 168-169; Louisa S. Maclehose, *Vasari on Technique; Being the Introduction to the Three Arts of Design, Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, Prefixed to the Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, ed. Gerald Baldwin Brown (New York: Dover Publications, 1960), 205.

[63] Jack, 9.

[64] Edis-Barzman, *The Florentine Academy...*, 32-34, 46-47, suggests that the numerous references to Duke Cosimo in the Accademia's statutes are an illustration of the "close association" between the Grand Ducal court and the academy, and is representative of Cosimo's "…will and authority…" over the affairs of the Accademia del Disegno. However, he seems to have had little interest in the Accademia, as witnessed by his unenthusiastic response to the academy's first public showing, which was the design and execution of the decorations for Michelangelo's funeral in San Lorenzo. The officers of the Accademia had petitioned the Grand Duke for financial support, which he gave sparsely and hesitantly, and adding insult to injury, he was not even present at the obsequies.

[65] Ibid., 35.

never involved with the Accademia in any manner as he was living in Rome at the time of its founding and died the following year in 1564.[66] However, Michelangelo's association with the Accademia del Disegno, even if only symbolic, was an important means of validating the newly founded institution as he represented the greatness that had been achieved in Florentine art, and certainly conferred a sense of Florentine artistic tradition and heritage on the Accademia.[67]

Giambologna's participation in the Accademia has not received much attention in the scholarly literature, but it is an important aspect of his career in Florence, and one that would most certainly have brought him into contact with the most current art theoretical discussions of the period.[68] He was an active member of the Accademia from the time of its inception in 1563, where he is first mentioned as paying the academy's annual tax,

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[66] Zygmunt Waźbiński, "La Cappella dei Medici e l'Origine dell'Accademia del Disegno," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500. I Strumenti e veicoli della cultura Relazioni politiche ed economiche* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1983), 55-69; Reynolds, 132. One of the only tangible associations between the Accademia and Michelangelo occurred around the official opening of the Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo. The chapel, begun in 1519, had been left unfinished in 1534 when Michelangelo moved to Rome. On March 17, 1563, Vasari wrote to Michelangelo regarding the work that still needed to be completed in the Medici Chapel, and in the letter Vasari mentions several sculptors who would be available for the work, all of them members of the Accademia del Disegno, including "Gian Bologna Fiammingho." The other association between the Accademia and Michelangelo was his funeral, which was held by the Accademia in San Lorenzo in 1564.

[67] Edis-Barzman, *The Florentine Academy...*, 33, suggests that the re-burial of Pontormo in the Cappella di San Luca was of particular importance in the establishment of the Accademia, as the last works Pontormo executed, the frescoes in San Lorenzo, deliberately recalled Michelangelo, and thus the artistic heritage of Michelangelo was present in the burial chapel, at least through his Florentine works.

[68] Ibid., 103-104. It is interesting to note that in 1646 the Accademia planned to write biographies of its members, and Giambologna's biography was to be one of the first written. Unfortunately the project never went forward and the biographies were never begun.

until 1601, when his name no longer appears in the documents.[69] From 1565 onward, Giambologna's name was recorded according to the various positions he held in the Accademia. During his thirty-five year association with the academy Giambologna held the positions of *Console*, *Consigliere*, *Conservatore*, *Infermiere*, *Festaiuolo*, and *Accademico*.[70] The two most important roles within the academy were those of *Accademico* (Academician) and *Console* (Consul). Giambologna was elected *Accademico* in 1565, a position he presumably held until 1567 when he was elected *Consigliere* (Councilor). As an *Accademico*, he was one of the three artists elected by the members to serve as instructor to the younger artists in the Academy. In his position as *Console* Giambologna was one of three higher-ranking artists (one sculptor, one painter, and one architect), who were responsible for overseeing the governance of the Academy.[71] Additionally, *Consoli*, along with *Festauioli*, were the artists in charge of organizing the decorations for the Accademia's St. Luke and Trinity feast-day celebrations.[72]

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[69] Jack, 11, documents that the matriculation fees for entering the Accademia were 2 *lire* for established masters and 1 *lira* for those who were younger and less established. The fees were assessed each year on the feast day of St. Luke beginning in 1563. By 1584, the matriculation fee had been raised to 25 *lire* per year for all members. The monies collected from the annual fee were used as operating income for the Accademia.

[70] Luigi Zangheri, ed., *Gli Accademici del Disegno. Eleneco Alfabetico* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), 152. Giambologna was *Accademico* in 1565; *Console* in 1575, 1579, 1585, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1593 (twice), and 1595; *Consigliere* (Advisor) in 1567, 1570, and 1601; *Conservatore* in 1585 and 1594; *Infirmiere* (Care-taker) in 1575, 1578, 1579, and 1587; *Festaiuolo* (Feast-day organizer) in 1583, 1589, 1592, 1595 (he refused and was fined), and 1597 (he refused and was fined).

[71] Jack, 12 n. 48.

[72] Ibid., 14, describes some of the decorations for the 1578 Feast of St. Luke celebrations, which featured works by young artists such as Ludovico Cigoli, whose work was given

The curriculum at the Accademia included the study of mathematics, anatomy, and figure drawing.[73] Once a week the master artists were responsible for reviewing the work produced by the younger artists and to provide them with appropriate guidance. With regard to the study of anatomy, in addition to smaller-scale studies, the Accademia sponsored an annual anatomical dissection, which was organized by the artists serving as *Console*, which would have included Giambologna at various times.[74]

In addition to the hands-on practicum, the Accademia had access to the writings of both Leon Battista Alberti and Leonardo da Vinci.[75] The interest in Alberti's writings, as well as those of Leonardo, suggest that their theories on art were considered as relevant as more contemporary writings, including the infamous *paragone* debate that asked the question: "which art is more noble, painting or sculpture?" In fact, both Alberti and Leonardo dealt with issues of the *paragone* in their texts, and Leonardo's writings on

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as a gift to the superintendent of the Accademia del Disegno. For the feast days, the younger artists would be given specific themes around which to create paintings and sculptures, some of which were ephemeral in nature. There was a definite element of competition in these decorations as the work deemed to be the best was oftentimes given as a gift to an important official or patron.

[73] Edis-Barzman, *The Florentine Academy...*, 143-180, extensively examined the Accademia del Disegno's academic program; Edis-Barzman, "The Florentine Accademia…Liberal Education…."

[74] Reynolds, 140; Edis-Barzman, *The Florentine Academy...*, 163-172.

[75] Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni. Benedetto Varchi's* 'Due Lezzioni' *and Cinquecento Art Theory*. Ph.D. diss. (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), notes that in 1540 a translation of Alberti's Latin *De pictura* had been done by Cosimo Bartoli. Thus, it is possible to assume that the Accademia had access to a relatively recent republication of Alberti's text. Claire J. Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone. A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas* (Leiden; New York; København; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1992), 17-19 and 26-27, discusses artists who knew of, or had a copy of, the *Trattato* and on the number of manuscript copies of the *Trattato* in Florence, as well as there being a copy of it in the Accademia del Disegno's library.

the issue, as well as on relief sculpture, must be considered an important part of mid to late sixteenth-century Florentine art theory. The following analysis of selected texts of the sixteenth century focuses solely on sculptural theory, especially that related to relief sculpture, which was in a way a theoretical parallel to painting.[76]

Florentine Art Theory of the Cinquecento

Alberti's two seminal treatises on the arts of painting and sculpture, *De pictura* (1435) and *De statua* (ca. 1430-1444), were the foundation for future Florentine artistic theory.[77] Alberti firmly believed in the superiority of painting, stating in *De pictura*, "Is it not true that painting is the mistress of all the arts or their principal ornament?...The stonemason, the sculptor and all the workshops and crafts of artificers are guided by the rule and art of the painter…."[78] Later in his text he praised the nobility of painting as "…the finest and most ancient ornament of things, worthy of free men and pleasing to the learned and unlearned alike…."[79] In the third book of *De pictura*, Alberti advises that painters should study sculpture in order to learn how to give their paintings the illusion of relief. In one of his most famous statements in the text, Alberti warns young painters not

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[76] Although it is outside the scope of this dissertation to deal with theory related to painting, I refer the reader to all of the sources cited in this section as they address painting as well as sculpture theory.

[77] Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture*, ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson, (New York: Phaidon Publishers, Inc., 1972), 18, the precise date of *De Statua* is still unresolved with some scholars placing it before *De Pictura* with others dating it after Alberti returned to Florence from Rome in 1443.

[78] Ibid., 61.

[79] Alberti (Grayson), 67.

to copy from other painters, because this will only train them how to copy surfaces. Rather, Alberti counseled that they should "…take as your model a mediocre sculpture rather than an excellent painting…for from sculpture we learn to represent both likeness and correct incidence of light…It will probably help also to practice at sculpting rather than painting, for sculpture is easier and surer than painting. No one will ever be able to paint a thing correctly if he does not know its every relief, and relief is more easily found by sculpture than by painting…."[80] Thus, according to Alberti, it was through the study of sculpture that the painter would learn how to properly represent '*rilievo*' in a figure through the light and shadow that fall on a sculpted figure.[81] Furthermore, for Alberti, sculpture was the easier of the two arts, and thus, it was also the less noble.[82] In his treatise on sculpture, *De statua*, Alberti focused primarily on its technical aspects over theoretical concerns, advising the sculptor at length on how to achieve the proper proportions of the human figure.[83]

In contrast to Alberti's treatises, Leonardo da Vinci wrote one comprehensive text, the *Trattato della Pittura*, around 1498 when he was in residence at the Sforza court in Milan.[84] For Leonardo, painting was in no uncertain terms superior to sculpture as it

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[80] Alberti (Grayson), 101.

[81] Ibid., 87-89, 101; and Luba Freedman, " 'Rilievo' as an Artistic Term in Renaissance Art Theory," in *Rinascimento. Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento*, vol. XXIX (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1989): 217-247, esp. 223-225.

[82] Alberti (Grayson), 61-67, Alberti's focus on the fame achieved by painters, which is especially prevalent in Book Two, is one of the most overt means by which he elevates the painter over the sculptor.

[83] Ibid., 123-139.

[84] Farago, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone,* 257-85.

was not only far more intellectually challenging than sculpture, requiring "*ingegno*" on the part of the painter, but it was also less physically strenuous.[85] In a passage famous for the image it conjures, Leonardo equated the face of the sculptor, covered in marble dust and sweat, to that of a baker, covered in flour.[86] For Leonardo, the primacy of painting came from the painter's ability to recreate Nature illusionistically, a feat, he argued, that was much more difficult than merely sculpting after Nature as "sculpture in the round has nothing which nature does not produce."[87] Although the *Trattato* was not published as a cohesive text during his lifetime or even in the sixteenth century, there is evidence enough to suggest that sections of the text were at least known, and probably in limited circulation, by the early sixteenth century. That Leonardo's theories on art had become part of the everyday discourse on art theory shortly after he wrote them is evinced by their adaptation in Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier*, published in Venice in 1528.[88] In Book One of *The Courtier*, the discussants turned their attention to painting and sculpture, and which was nobler than the other. After debating the merits of each art, the palm of victory ultimately went to painting, just as it did, and for the same reasons, in Leonardo's *Trattato*.

The question of the greater nobility of painting and sculpture was formally codified in the middle of the sixteenth century when, in 1546, the historian and theorist

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[85] Farago, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*, 257, 265, 267, 273.

[86] Ibid., 257.

[87] Ibid., 263.

[88] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, translated and edited by George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1967; 1976), 96-101. On Castiglione's reliance on Leonardo's theories, see Farago, 17.

Benedetto Varchi wrote a letter to eight Florentine artists, all of them members of the Accademia Fiorentina, asking them to reflect on the respective merits of painting and sculpture, and to argue for the supremacy of one art over the other.[89] The ensuing debate, today known as the *paragone*, became a fundamental component of Renaissance art theory in the sixteenth century and continued to be a significant topic of discussion into the following century. The artists polled by Varchi were three painters, Giorgio Vasari, Agnolo Bronzino, and Jacopo Pontormo; three sculptors, Benvenuto Cellini, Francesco da Sangallo, and Niccolò Tribolo; and an architect, Battista del Tasso. The eighth artist was Michelangelo, a master in all three arts. The artists' responses were submitted to Varchi at the beginning of 1547, and were included in the 1550 publication of his book *Due lezzioni di M. Benedetto Varchi nella prima delle quali si dichiara un sonetto di M. Michelagnolo Buonarroti. Nella seconda si disputa quale sia più nobile arte la Scultura, o la Pittura, con una lettera d'esso Michelagnolo, & più altri Eccellentiss. Pittori, et Scultori, sopra la Quistione sopradetta*.[90] The text of *Due Lezzioni* was comprised of two lectures (*lezzioni*) Varchi gave in 1547 to the members of the Accademia Fiorentina (and

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[89] The *Accademia Fiorentina* was a literary academy that for a time allowed artists to become members, a policy that was rescinded in 1547. For selected studies, see: Alessandro Cecchi, "Il Bronzino, Benedetto Varchi e l'Accademia Fiorentina: ritratti di poeti, letterati e personaggi illustri della corte medicea," *Antichità Viva* 30, no. 1-2 (1991): 17-28; Rick A. Scorza, "Borghini and the Florentine Academies," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David Chambers (London: Warburg Institute, 1995), 137-163; and Michael Sherberg, "The Accademia Fiorentina and the Question of Language: The Politics of Theory in Ducal Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (Spring, 2003): 26-55.

[90] Benedetto Varchi, *Lezzione nella quale si disputa della maggioranza delle arti e qual sia più nobile, la Scultura o la Pittura*, in Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d'Arte del Cinquecento fra Manierismo e Controriforma, volume primo* (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1960), 5-82 (text), 335-336 on the publication history of the *Lezzione*. The text was published with slightly different titles, for example the one given in the text above differs slightly from the first 1546 title in Barocchi; for the Mendelsohn citation, see footnote 75.

open to the public) in the church of Santa Maria Novella.[91] The first lecture was delivered on March 7, 1547, and the second on the following Sunday, March 14, and it is in the second half of this lecture that the discussion of the *paragone* ensures. The question posed at the beginning of the *lezzione*, "*Qual sia più Nobile, o la Scultura o la Pittura*?" ("Which is more Noble, sculpture or painting?"), led into the dialogue on the *paragone*, which Varchi introduced with the following statement: "I do not think that anyone can be found these days of any intelligence who does not know how important the rivalry and the controversy concerning the nobility and precedence of painting and sculpture has always been and is today, more than ever…."[92] And in his lecture, Varchi argued the positions of both painting and sculpture, before ultimately siding with sculpture.[93]

At the beginning of his oration on the *paragone*, Varchi stated that painting and sculpture were equal, being unified by their common foundation in *disegno*:

> It holds as certain, that substantively sculpture and painting are one art only, and consequently equally noble in relation to each other. [In support of] this point I present the reason alleged above, that is, that the arts are recognized by their "ends" and all those arts that have the same ends are essentially one and the same, although in "accidentals" they may differ. Now, everyone confesses that not only the end is the same, that is the artificial imitation of nature, but also the principle, that is, *disengo*. I wonder that so many great men and such singular intellects have not discovered until now this truth known to me, because…in substance, or

[91] Mendelsohn, 89-102.

[92] Ibid., 117.

[93] Mendelsohn, 91. Varchi's bias toward sculpture has been interpreted as being reflective of his desire to follow Michelangelo's opinion in this debate.

> more exactly, essence…they [painting and sculpture] are,
> in effect, the same, because they have the same end….[94]

Vasari used similar language almost twenty years later, when in the second edition of the *Lives*, he declared the two arts to be "…in truth sisters, born from one father, that is, design, at one and the same birth and have no precedence one over the other, save insomuch as the worth and the strength of those who maintain them make one craftsman surpass another, and not by reason of any difference or degree of nobility that is in truth to be found between them."[95] The premise that *disegno*, as a theoretical concept, was the foundation for all of the arts was further advanced in 1563 when the Accademia del Disegno was founded under the auspices of Vasari himself. Not surprisingly Vasari used Michelangelo as the exemplar of an artist who embodied the perfection of both arts, being acclaimed by painters and sculptors alike for the way in which the two arts were "…so similar and so closely united…."[96]

In Varchi's *lezzione*, the arguments in support of painting and sculpture begin with those in favor of painting and are expounded on in a rational, procedural format, with each argument presented, discussed, and concluded. Among the criteria for determining the "nobility" of either art were issues such as simultaneity (*una subita vista*), which was the ability to represent something (a person, landscape, or a narrative,

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[94] Mendelsohn, 132. Vasari later further develops '*disegno*' as a principle theory of Florentine art in his 1568 edition of the *Lives*, see page 33 above.

[95] Vasari (De Vere), I, 22-23. Vasari continued, in somewhat fervent language, that "…I conclude that those do evil who strive to disunite and to separate the one from the other." The statement is interesting in that it implies that, by 1568, the fundamental premise of the paragone had changed to one that perceived the two arts as equal to one another and united, rather than divided based on their relative "nobility."

[96] Ibid., I, 23.

for example) in a manner which is immediately visible and comprehensible in its entirety; the difficulty of creating the work either through mental or physical exertion (*fatica d'ingegno* versus *fatico del corpo*), with the contrast made between a painter's use of intellect in the creation of his work versus the sculptor's use of brute force in the creation of his work; and the ability to represent more than one side of a figure, an ability which both painters and sculptors claimed for themselves; and technique, which was related to the materials used and how the artists manipulated those materials.[97]

Although all of the artists polled by Varchi submitted written responses, it is Michelangelo's reply that has received the most attention by scholars for what it might reveal about his engagement with contemporary art theory as well as his opinion on the *paragone* debate, and it is worth quoting at length:

> For me, then, painting may be considered better the more it approaches relief, and relief may be considered worse the more it approaches painting; and so I used to believe that sculpture is the lamp of painting, and the first related to the second as the sun to the moon. Now having read your treatise where you state that, in philosophical terms, things that have the same end are the same, I've changed my opinion, and I now say that if better judgment used to surmount greater difficulties, obstacles and toil, does not produce nobler results, then painting and sculpture are the same. And if this is so, every painter should do as much sculpture as painting and every sculptor as much painting as sculpture. I mean by sculpture work which is fashioned by dint of taking away; what is done by way of adding is similar to painting.[98]

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[97] Mendelsohn, 119-132.

[98] David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 270-272, summarizes and interprets Michelangelo's response in terms of its ironic content, Michelangelo's belief in *disegno* as the foundation of both arts, and Michelangelo's belief that the physical difficulty of carving marble was part of its nobility; *Michelangelo: Life, Letters and Poetry*, translated and edited by George Bull (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 33-34; Mendelsohn, 159. The ironic tone of

Michelangelo's comment addresses three important points. First, he makes clear his belief that sculpture was superior to painting. This he does by stating that painting is better "…the more it approaches relief…," by which he alludes to the painter's need to create volume and depth in his figures through the use of chiaroscuro modeling. It may be reasonable to assume that he felt the opposite was true for relief sculpture, in that if it was executed with little surface projection it would approach the two-dimensionality of painting, which would thus make it less sculptural. The second point Michelangelo raised, one discussed also by Vasari in his summary of the *paragone* in the *Lives*, was the difficulty of executing sculpture due to its physical demands (and here he is specifically referencing carving, not casting), and perhaps more importantly, the judgment required by the sculptor to conceive and execute a figure in an unforgiving material. For Michelangelo, the fact that the sculptor could not easily correct mistakes proved the medium's superiority over painting.[99] It is perhaps not surprising that Michelangelo's defense of sculpture on these grounds was the exact opposite of Leonardo's opinion of sculpture in his defense of painting. The final point Michelangelo made in his response became influential for subsequent Cinquecento Florentine art theory and practice, as he defined the art of sculpture. In his statement that sculpture is "…fashioned by dint of taking away…," he was obviously referring to marble carving, which he set it in clear distinction against sculpture "…that is done by way of adding…," meaning of course the clay modeling process necessary for bronze sculpture, which he stated "…is similar to

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Michelangelo's letter surely was not lost on Varchi, just as it has not been lost on modern scholars.

[99] Vasari (De Vere), I, 13-23.

painting."[100] Thus, according to Michelangelo, true sculpture was produced by the subtractive method of carving a piece of stone, while that done in bronze was akin to painting, and it may be reasonable to extrapolate that he would include relief sculpture in that definition. In later sixteenth-century writings, notably Raffaello Borghini's *Il Riposo*, which is discussed later in this chapter, Michelangelo's bias against both the medium of bronze and the format of relief continued to be disseminated.

While the *paragone* debate elucidated the artist's theoretical opinions on the relative merits of painting and sculpture, an equally important component was how the debate was manifested visually. One of the more common ways in which painting might be seen as being superior to sculpture was through portraits that included the sitter holding a sculpted object. The painter, through the use of color and chiaroscuro modeling, could show his skill at representing human flesh, hair, and physiognomy, while also capturing the texture of fabrics, wood, or marble, depending on whether the setting was interior or exterior, and illusionistically create a marble or bronze statue. One such example is Baccio Bandinelli's *Self-Portrait* of 1530, (fig. 22), which is itself a multi-layered *paragone* as it is a two-dimensional painting done by a sculptor who included a painted drawing for an identifiable sculptural project.[101]

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[100] See Mendelsohn 156-159, for analysis of Michelangelo's letter. Mendelsohn argues that Michelangelo's use of the word "*rilievo*" was not a reference to sculpture, but rather to the idea of representing figures three-dimensionally, either illusionistically in painting through *chiaroscuro* modeling or physically in sculpture. It was a term used to define aspects of both arts, Freedman, 217-247.

[101] Bandinelli's portrait was executed almost two decades prior to Varchi's *Due Lezzioni*; however, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the issue of the *paragone* was not born from Varchi, and had been a topic of discussion amongst artists since the middle of the Quattrocento. The drawing in the portrait is for the *Hercules and Cacus* sculpture in the Piazza della Signoria. On the self-portrait see David Greve, *Status und Statue. Studien zu*

Other ways in which the *paragone* was made visually manifest was through painters and sculptors representing the same or similar subject matter. This type of visual *paragone* was played out between Baccio Bandinelli's marble copy of the famous *Laocoön* group (fig. 23) which he executed in 1525, and Alessandro Allori's 1570 painting of Bandinelli's sculpted copy (fig. 24).[102] That Allori's painting was based on Bandinelli's copy of the ancient Hellenistic sculpture is evident in the raised right arm of Laocoön, which was broken in the original, but "repaired" by Bandinelli in his copy with the addition of Laocoön's upraised arm which was broken in the Hellenistic original.[103]

Leben und Werk des Florentiner Bildhauers Baccio Bandinelli (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2008), 338-341; and Nicole Hegener, *Divi Iacobi Eques. Selbstdarstellung im Werk des Florentiner Bildhauers Baccio Bandinelli* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2008), 315-316.

[102] On Bandinelli's work on the *Laocoön*, see Matthias Winner, "La collocazione degli dei fluviali nel Cortile delle Statue e il restauro del Laocoonte del Montorsoli," in *Il Cortile delle Statue. Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatkian*, ed. Matthias Winner (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 117-128; Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past. Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 273-280; and Greve, 91-99. Bandinelli's copy of the Laocoön was sent to Florence by Pope Clement VII de'Medici, thus, it would have been available to Allori for his painting. For Alessandro Allori's painting, see David Franklin, ed., *From Raphael to Carracci. The Art of Papal Rome* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2009), 302, cat. no. 92.

[103] Vasari (De Vere), II, "Life of Bandinelli," 273, states "He also restored the right arm of the ancient Laocoön, which had been broken off and never found, and Baccio made one of the full size in wax...and this model served him as a pattern for making the whole arm of his own Laocoön."; Vasari (De Vere), II, "Life of Montorsoli," 532, wrote that while Montorsoli was in the service of Clement VII, working in the Belvedere, he "restored the right arm of the Laocoön..."; Hans Henrik Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970), 87-89. In 1532, Giovanni Antonio Montorsoli made a terra cotta right arm for the ancient Hellenistic original group, which was removed circa 1540, and replaced by another later in the 1540s, which remained on the sculpture until the twentieth-century; Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture. A Handbook of Sources* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1986), 151-155, Bandinelli's copy was made at the request of Pope Leo X for the King of France who had asked for the original marble group as a gift.

What makes Allori's painting interesting was his decision to represent the figures as if they were made of flesh and not of stone. Allori's choice speaks to the *paragone* debate in the sense of the painter's ability not only to render the physical body three-dimensionally (or in "*rilievo*") but also, through the use of color, to represent it naturalistically.[104] In this case, as the primary viewpoint of the *Laocoön* is frontal, neither the sculptor nor the painter was concerned with representing multiple viewpoints.

The representation of multiple viewpoints was one of the arguments sculptors used in their defense of their art, and Cellini famously stated that a sculpture should have eight viewpoints.[105] However, painters also claimed the ability to represent all sides of a single figure in a painting. In the *Lives*, Vasari described how Giorgione achieved this by painting "…a figure with its back turned, having a mirror on either side, and a pool of water in at its feet, show[ing] its back in the painting, its front in the pool, and its sides in the mirror, which is something sculpture has never been able to do."[106] Another way in which a painter might endeavor to show all sides of a figure was with a double-sided painting, as exemplified by Daniele da Volterra's oil on slate painting of *David and Goliath* (fig. 25) from 1555.[107] Daniele represented the infamous struggle from the front

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Bandinelli finished his copy during the papacy of Clement VII. In his copy, Bandinelli created an upraised right arm for the Trojan priest, which may have been based on the wax arm he created for the original sculpture.

[104] Freedman, 224.

[105] Mendelsohn, 155, 289 n. 80, 290 n. 81.

[106] Vasari (De Vere), I, 21.

[107] Paul Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra, a catalog raisonné* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979), 91-93; Vittoria Romani, ed., *Daniele da Volterra amico di Michelangelo* (Firenze: Mandragora, 2003), 120-127, cat. nos. 32, 33, 34; Roberto Paolo Ciardi and Benedetta Moreschini, *Daniele Ricciarelli. Da Volterra a Roma* (Roma: CIRF

and back view, with one on either side of the panel, thus showing the battling figures from two discrete viewpoints. The use of the two-sided format to show both sides of a figure was also employed by Bronzino in a portrait of the Medici court dwarf Morgante from circa 1553 (fig. 26).[108] Scholars have suggested that Bronzino had intended his painting to be a visual response to the *paragone* debate, in addition to his (unfinished) letter to Varchi.[109] In actuality, however, both Bronzino and Daniele ultimately represented only two viewpoints, the front and the back, and not multiple, which was one of the painters' arguments in support of the nobility of painting. Ironically, the nature of a two-sided nature painting, showing a strict frontal and equally limited rear view of a figure, is exactly what Leonardo criticized about sculpture. He said that the sculptor only had to make "two reliefs," the front and the back, and put them together.[110] It has been suggested that Giambologna himself responded to the *paragone*, and in particular to Bronzino's *Morgante*, with his own bronze sculpture from 1582 (fig. 27).[111] In contrast to Bronzino's painting, Giambologna's *Morgante on a Sea-Dragon*, can be clearly viewed

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S.p.A. (Consorzio Interporto Roma-Fumicino), 2004), 224 cat. no. 21; and Barbara Agosti, *Michelangelo, amici e maestranze: Sebastiano del Piombo, Pontormo, Daniele da Volterra, Marcello Venusti, Ascanio Condivi*, catalogo di Marcella Marongiu e Roberta Scarpelli (Milano: Il sole 24 ore; Firenze: E-ducation.it, 2007), 332-341 cat. no. 19.

[108] James Holderbaum, "A Bronze by Giambologna and a Painting by Bronzino," *The Burlington Magazine* 98, no. 645 (December, 1956), 439-445.

[109] Mendelsohn, 151.

[110] Farago, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*, 263.

[111] Holderbaum, "A Bronze by Giambologna and a Painting by Bronzino," 442.

from an infinite number of viewpoints.[112] Similarly, one scholar has proposed that Pierino da Vinci responded directly to the *paragone* with his wax relief of the *Death of Count Ugolino and His Sons* (1548) (fig. 28).[113] In the relief, Pierino based his figures off of both painted sources such as Michelangelo's *ignudi*, and sculpted ones like Michelangelo's *Moses*.[114] In the relief, Pierino uses the same figure twice, showing him from the front and the back, a compositional choice that suggests perhaps he was responding to his uncle's (Leonardo da Vinci) claim that sculptors make "only two reliefs" for a sculpture.[115] By using both painted and sculpted precedents for his figures, Pierino may indeed have been trying to reconcile the two media of the *paragone* debate in one relief.

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[112] Holderbaum, "A Bronze by Giambologna and a Painting by Bronzino," 441. There is no direct evidence that Giambologna, in fact, had intended to respond to Bronzino's painting with his sculpted Morgante. Even so, the point is germane to the continued interest in the *paragone* throughout the sixteenth century.

[113] Mario Boudon, "Le relief D'*Ugolin* de Pierino da Vinci: une réponse sculptée au problème du *Paragone*," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 132 (1998): 1-18, as Pierino was the nephew of Leonardo, it may be possible to assume he had some knowledge of his uncle's thoughts on the primacy of painting over sculpture. As Michelangelo was Pierino's master, he was probably also in no doubt of the sculptor's position on painting versus sculpture. It is interesting that in his relief, Pierino drew from both painted and sculpted precedents to come down on the side of sculpture. Nicholas Penny, *Catalog of European Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum, 1540 to the present day, Volume I: Italian Sculpture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 95-100, records the various versions of the relief which survive in wax (Ashmolean), terracotta (Ashmolean and Bargello), marble (New York, private collection), and bronze (Chatsworth). Charles Avery, "Pierino da Vinci's "lost" bronze relief of "The Death by Starvation of Count Ugolino della Gherardesca and his Sons" rediscovered at Chatsworth," in *Pierino da Vinci: atti della giornata di studio*, ed. Marco Cianchi (Firenze: Becocci, 1995), 57-61.

[114] Boudon, 7-9.

[115] Farago, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*, 263.

Relief and the Florentine Concept of Sculpture

Adding to the complex place of relief within the theoretical discussion of the *paragone,* were the proclamations by both Michelangelo and Vasari on the nature of "true" sculpture, opinions which continued to resound throughout the sixteenth century. As discussed earlier, Michelangelo's response to Varchi's *inchiesta* made it clear that sculpture equaled marble carving.[116] Vasari, no doubt influenced by Michelangelo, stated similarly that: "Sculpture is an art which takes away the superfluous from the given material and reduces it to that shape of the body which is designed in the idea of the artist."[117] Michelangelo's rejection of bronze as not being "his art" by all accounts stemmed from the disastrous outcome of his one and only bronze sculpture, the *Julius II* monument in Bologna, which was completed by March 18, 1508, and destroyed in December 30, 1511.[118] And although Michelangelo had planned to incorporate relief sculpture on the façade of San Lorenzo, he had not actually executed a relief since the early years of the sixteenth century.[119] As the San Lorenzo façade was never begun, and

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[116] See pages 44-46 above for Michelangelo's response to Varchi.

[117] Vasari (Maclehose), 143.

[118] Charles de Tolnay, *The Youth of Michelangelo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), 38, in response to Julius' request for a bronze monument, Michelangelo responded that bronze "non era mia arte."

[119] Michelangelo's Florentine reliefs are the *Battle of the Centaurs* (ca. 1492), the *Madonna of the Stairs* (1490-92), the *Pitti Tondo* (1503-05), and the *Taddei Tondo* (1505-06). For the San Lorenzo facade see William Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: the genius as entrepreneur* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press); Pina Ragionieri, ed., *Michelangelo tra Firenze e Roma* (Firenze: Mandragora, 2003), 74 cat. no. 24, is a detailed drawing of the facade from a sheet in the Uffizi (45a) whose attribution to Michelangelo has not been universally accepted. Interesting however, and in need of further research, are the two small Alessandro Allori paintings that seem to have been derived from this drawing or a similar one by Bandinelli, which date to the 1560s-1570s.

given the fact that no relief had been produced by Michelangelo since 1506, it does seem possible to suggest, that for young sculptors in the second half of the sixteenth-century, a perception may have existed of Michelangelo's bias against the format. Thus, not only was "true" sculpture made from marble, but it was also a free-standing body. This bias against bronze in favor of marble, and freestanding sculpture over relief, prevailed long after Michelangelo, especially with the next generation of young sculptors. For if they endeavored to follow in the footsteps of 'Il Divino,' bronze relief sculpture would not have been seen as the most direct way to accomplish that goal.[120] For Giambologna, then, his choice of bronze as a primary sculptural material in both free-standing and relief statuary inherently set him apart from the sculptural tradition established by Michelangelo.

Although relief may not have been part of Varchi's *paragone,* and seems to have been almost completely eschewed by Michelangelo, there were a few seminal writings in the sixteenth century that provide important insight into contemporary thought on the format of relief, and importantly, its perceived relationship to painting. In the *Trattato,* Leonardo discussed relief sculpture in two sections; the first dealing with the level of projection in a relief:

> Now speculations of low relief (*basso rilievo*) are greater than of full relief (*tutto rilievo*), without any comparison, and ***low relief approaches the grandness of speculation in painting insofar as it is bound to perspective***. Full relief is not at all concerned with these cognitions because it adopts simple measures as it finds them in life. Since this is only

[120] John Addington Symonds, trans., *The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini* (New York: Quality Paperback Book Club, 1946; 1995), 354-355, Cellini describes his experiences trying to work a piece of marble for the statues of *Apollo* and *Hyacinth*, spurred on after an argument with Baccio Bandinelli.

> one part, the painter learns sculpture more quickly than the sculptor [does] painting…low relief…involves less physical fatigue than full relief, yet it is a much greater investigation, for the proportions interposed by distance between the parts of bodies, from the first part to the second, and from the second to the third in succession must be considered….[121] [emphasis added]

Although Leonardo's language makes it somewhat difficult to determine precisely whether he was referring to relief as a specific type of sculpture, or using the term 'relief' to denote the relative level of projection on the surface of a free-standing statue, the important point for him was the sculptor's use of proper perspective to achieve the correct relationships between parts of the body and the distances between those parts. In a second passage, Leonardo specifically related relief sculpture and painting due to their use of perspective:

> The sculptor says that ***low relief is a species of painting***. This could be accepted in part, as far as *disegno* [is concerned], because low relief participates in perspective, but as far as low relief participates in shadows and lights, it is false both as sculpture and as painting, because the shadows in low relief correspond to the nature of full relief, and so do the shadows of the foreshortenings, which do not have the depth of painting or sculpture in the round. Rather, ***this art is a mixing of painting and sculpture***.[122] [emphasis added]

This statement is perhaps the most cogent argument for the relationship between painting and sculpture in terms of how relief functions with both pictorial and sculptural characteristics. It is exactly this concept that Giambologna's reliefs embody, as they exploit the painterly possibilities of bronze through his manipulation of the material as if

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[121] Farago, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone*, 263-265. Leonardo's statement that "the painter learns sculpture more quickly" echoes Alberti's view, see page 39 above.

[122] Ibid., 275.

it were paint, while he also used the material as a means of creating projection and recession by varying the level of projection from the surface, thus exploiting its possibilities as sculpture.

Next to Leonardo's passages on relief in the *Trattato*, the most important sixteenth-century text on relief comes from Vasari in the 1568 edition of the *Lives*. In the *Introduzione alle tre arti del disegno*, which was appended to the *Lives*, Vasari included a short section dealing specifically with relief sculpture.[123] Vasari's text is significant as it is the only extended analysis of relief sculpture in this period.[124] The section is entitled "*De' bassi e de'mezzi rilievi; la difficultà del fargli; ed in che consist ail condurgli a perfezione*," and in it Vasari categorizes relief into three types based on their surface projection, provides an explanation as to what types of objects are best depicted in each category of relief, and discusses the relative difficulty of executing each type of relief. It

[123] Vasari (Maclehose), 1-4, 154-157; Michael Godby, "A Note on Schiacciato," *The Art Bulletin* 62, no. 4 (December 1980): 635-637; and Michael J. Liebmann, "Giorgio Vasari on Relief," *Acta Historiae Artium (Academiae Scientarium Hungaricae)* 27, no. 3-4 (1981): 281-286. For analysis of the historical development of the term '*rilievo*' in Florentine art theory, as well as a summary of the principal Florentine theorists, see Freedman, 239-241.

[124] Benvenuto Cellini also wrote a treatise on sculpture which was published in Florence in 1568. However, Cellini's treatise deals with the mechanics of sculpture, describing methods for creating gesso molds, building furnaces, and other technical issues, rather than discussing the various forms of sculpture, such as free-standing or relief. C.R. Ashbee, trans., *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldmsithing and Sculpture* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967), 111-145. Another important treatise on sculpture from the sixteenth century, again one that does not deal directly with the different modes of relief sculpture is Pomponius Guaricus (Pomponio Guarico), *De Sculptura (1504)*, ed. and trans. André Chastel and Robert Klein (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1969); Denise Allen, "Riccio's Bronze Narratives: Context and Development," in *Andrea Riccio Renaissance Master of Bronze*, eds. Denise Allen and Peta Motture (New York: The Frick Collection; London: Philip Wilson Publishers, Ltd., 2008), 15-40, esp. 20-24, for a discussion of Guaricus's theories and his relationship with Riccio.

is important to note that in his discussion, Vasari does not comment on whether relief sculpture should be made of bronze or marble, and he draws from both media in the examples he uses in the text.

According to Vasari, the three forms of relief sculpture are: *mezzi*, *bassi*, and *bassi e stiacciati*.[125] He begins his discussion with *mezzi rilievi* (half reliefs), a type he identifies as being "...invented by the ancients to make figure compositions with which to adorn flat walls, and they adopted this treatment in theaters and triumphal arches...."[126] Scholars have suggested that the type of relief Vasari was referring to was most likely Imperial period reliefs such as those on the *Arch of Titus* (fig. 84) or perhaps the *Column of Trajan*.[127] Vasari equated this type of relief to painting, stating: "In the manner of a picture this kind of relief sets forth first the whole of the principal figures, either in half round or even greater salience...the figures on the second plane partly hidden by the first, and those on the third by the second...for the sake of perspective they make the most distant figures low...." Thus, *mezzi rilievi* are similar to paintings by having a foreground, middle-ground and background, as well as having figures that diminish in size proportionately to their placement within the composition. Vasari gives an example of a modern *mezzo rilievo* that failed to achieve what the "ancients" had as the moderns placed foreground and middle-ground figures on the same plane and "...in such a position...that they do not rest the feet as firmly as is natural [but] the points of the feet of those figures that turn their backs actually touch the shins of their own legs, so violent is

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[125] Vasari (Maclehose), 154.

[126] Ibid., 154.

[127] Vasari (Maclehose),197; Liebmann, 281.

the foreshortening," in contrast to the "ancients," who placed their foreground figures on a "standing ground or an open place that was flat."[128] Perhaps surprisingly, the transgressor to whom Vasari referred was none other than Lorenzo Ghiberti and his Baptistery "gates" (fig. 29).[129] Vasari concluded his discussion of *mezzi rilievi* by emphasizing that proper perspective be used in these reliefs "as required by the eye and the rule in things painted," again associating this type of relief to painting.

In contrast to high level of projection in the *mezzo* relief, Vasari's second classification, the *bassi rilievi*, or low relief, is much lower than the *mezzo relievo*, with less than half the surface projecting from the ground. Vasari found this type of relief to be particularly well suited for the depiction of "... the ground, buildings, the prospects, the stairs and the landscapes...."[130] As an example, Vasari comments on Donatello's *Passion* and *Post-Passion* Pulpits (1466) in the nave of San Lorenzo (fig. 30), stating: "These reliefs present themselves easily to the eye and without errors or barbarisms, seeing that they do not project forward so much as to give occasion for errors or censure."[131] Thus, as the level of relief projection is less than that of a *mezzo rilievo*, the *basso rilievo* would not distort the perspective or representation of the human figure. Vasari's third classification of relief, *bassi e stiacciati rilievi*, are what he refers to as "low or flattened" reliefs, and he emphasizes their difficulty of execution by stating that

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[128] Vasari (Maclehose), 155.

[129] Ibid., 155, 196; and Liebmann, 282.

[130] Vasari (Maclehose), 156.

[131] Ibid., 156.

"…they demand great skill in design and invention, as all depends on the outlines."[132] He remarks that "modern artists" excel at this type of relief, and subsequently refers the reader to the *Lives* (although without providing specific exemplars). As noted by scholars previously, this type of relief is exemplified by works such as Donatello's *Assumption of the Virgin* and *The Giving of the Keys* (fig. 31), both from the fifteenth-century, and thus for Vasari, a modern development.[133] In Vasari's view, the significant characteristic of *bassi e stiacciati* reliefs is their illusion of volume, without actually having any three-dimensional sculptural volume, as do the *mezzo relievi.* In other words, it was a type of relief that achieved what painting could: the depiction of three-dimensional volume in two dimensions.[134] In this way, for both Leonardo and Vasari, low relief sculpture was much more closely aligned to painting than to sculpture as it required the use of perspective and had the capability of representing all of the elements necessary for the depiction of *istoria* (narrative).

In addition to the writings of Alberti, Leonardo, Varchi and Vasari on relief, two additional texts, both written by laymen, are of particular interest for understanding contemporary Florentine attitudes about sculpture: Raffaello Borghini's *Il Riposo* and Francesco Bocchi's *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza* published in 1591.[135] In both texts

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[132] Vasari (Maclehose), 156-157.

[133] Liebmann, 285.

[134] Ibid., 284.

[135] See footnote 17 for Borghini; Francesco Bocchi, *Le Bellezze della città Fiorenza* (1591), ed. Giovanni Cinelli 1677 with expanded text, (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 2004); and Francesco Bocchi, *The Beauties of the City of Florence. A Guidebook of 1581*, introduced, translated and edited by Thomas Fragenberg and Robert Williams (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006).

the authors discuss various works of painting and sculpture, and in the case of Bocchi, architecture, throughout Florence. Beginning first with *Il Riposo,* this is a text critical for understanding Giambologna's grounding in Cinquecento art theory as he was personally acquainted with the author as well as with Bernardo Vecchietti, one of the book's principal protagonists.[136] The title of the book was derived from Vecchietti's villa outside of Florence, "Il Riposo," which was the setting for the four-day discussion on art which takes place between four men, one of whom was Vecchietti. The three other participants in Borghini's dialogue are: Ridolfo Sirgatti, a Medici associate, dilettante of painting and sculpture, and the grandson of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, son of the painter Domenico Ghirlandaio; Baccio Valori, a lawyer and librarian of the Laurentian library; Girolamo Michelozzi, whose precise activities in Florence are at present unknown; and Bernardo Vecchietti, a close associate of the Medici court and Giambologna's first Florentine patron.[137]

The importance of Borghini's text for scholars of mid- to late sixteenth-century art is twofold. First, it provides an invaluable account of the works in Florence *in situ* at the time along with commentary on their stylistic value according to the parameters laid out by the four men in the beginning of the text. Second, it is a firsthand account of how Tridentine reforms were understood by people other than artists and theorists within the context of contemporary art criticism. The language employed by Borghini comes from a

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[136] For Bernardo Vecchietti and his relationship to Giambologna, see footnote 54 above. Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 27, 30, Giambologna was familiar with Vecchietti's villa as he carved the *Fata Morgana* for the villa's grotto, as well as designing an arcade for the villa proper.

[137] Borghini (Ellis), 41-42, provides brief biographies on each of the four men.

Counter-Reformation perspective, specifically when his four interlocutors discuss religious works that did not follow Tridentine mandates regarding the proper means of illustrating sacred subject matter.[138] Aside from Sirgatti, who was certainly not a practicing artist, the four men's understanding (or at least Raffaello's understanding) of art within this religious climate is revelatory for the modern art historian.

In this chapter, the four men's opinions on sculpture will be examined, while their commentary on painting will be addressed in Chapter 4. In his treatment of sculpture Borghini set up a hierarchy in which relief was located at the bottom of the hierarchical ladder, while free-standing statuary was at the top, indicative of it being the highest level of achievement a sculptor could realize.[139] This hierarchy was explicated by Ridolfo Sirgatti, when he addressed the issue of how young artists should proceed when learning their art. He stated: "Once you have had substantial experience in drawing … you can begin to make some heads or figures in profile in low relief in clay…Then, you will be able to pass further forward to making, also of clay, some narratives in low relief and then some heads in the round."[140] Clearly implied by this statement was relief's function as a means to an end; and that end was fully in the round statuary. A few passages later in the text Sirgatti discusses clay and wax models, praising the benefits of wax as being a malleable material always ready to be handled by the artist, and stating that these models

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[138] Borghini (Ellis), 3. Raffaello Borghini (1537-1588) was the great-nephew of Vincenzo Borghini, the first Luogotenente of the Accademia del Disegno, and one of Vasari's primary collaborators on many projects, including the decoration of the Sala del Cinquecento, several *entrate*, and obsequies.

[139] Ibid., 108-111.

[140] Borghini (Ellis), 108.

are used by "…whomever wants to cast them in bronze."[141] However, in the very next sentence, Sirgatti states: "Such things not really being sculpture, I will omit discussing them." Although it may seem at first that Sirgatti was referring specifically to clay and wax models as not being sculpture, his point becomes clear when the four men discuss the sculptures in the "Piazza del Duca" (Piazza della Signoria). In this conversation, Sirgatti asserts that "…since it is not our intention to speak of those [statues] in bronze, there is not another figure left for us to speak about in the piazza except for the beautiful group of Giambologna [the *Rape of the Sabine*]."[142] That marble was considered the true material of sculpture is made explicit at other points during their discussion, not the least of which is the story of Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabine* group, which, according to Bernardo Vecchietti, was made by the sculptor to prove that he would work marble "in which true sculpture consists…," otherwise he would not be taken seriously as a sculptor.[143] In the end, neither bronze nor relief sculpture form part of the discussant's conception of Florentine statuary. These two omissions reinforce the idea that, twenty years after Michelangelo's death, marble was the only medium for true sculpture, and relief was valuable for no more than being a study aid for young artists.[144]

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[141] Borghini (Ellis), 110.

[142] Ibid., 119. Giambologna's *Sabine* is the last sculpture they address having already commented on Michelangelo's *David*, Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* and Ammanati's *Neptune*. They did not discuss Cellini's bronze *Perseus*.

[143] Ibid., 69-72.

[144] Ibid., 108-109. In Borghini's brief biography of Donatello, he does mention some of the sculptor's works in relief, but provides no commentary on them as works in and of themselves, nor were they part of the four day discussion of art in Florence.

In contrast to the fictional dialogue structure of Borghini's text, Bocchi's *Le Bellezze* was written more in the form of a guidebook to the art and architecture of Florence in a single person narrative. Bocchi's text is also illustrative of contemporary views on painting and sculpture, and in it is found a few mentions of relief. The text is organized in prescribed itineraries through Florence, and was seemingly written with the layman in mind.[145]

Contrary to Borghini, Bocchi discusses several reliefs, at times provides strikingly detailed analysis. Interestingly, however, the reliefs he devotes most attention to are from previous generations of artists. For example, Donatello's *Passion Pulpits* in San Lorenzo are dealt with at some length, with Bocchi stating that they "...are regarded by everyone as most extraordinary objects on account of their design and execution."[146] Several individual scenes are described in detail, and it is here that Bocchi employs Tridentine

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[145] Bocchi (Fragenberg), *The Beauties...,* 111, 120. The *Bellezze* was not Bocchi's only text on Florentine art. In 1567 he wrote a treatise on Andrea del Sarto (*Discorso sopra l'eccellenza dell'opere d'Andrea del Sarto, pittore fiorentino*), which was never published, and in 1571 he wrote an essay on Donatello's *St. George* (*Eccellenza del San Giorgio di Donatello*) on the exterior of Orsanmichele, which was dedicated to the Accademia del Disegno, and published in 1584. For the *Eccellenza del San Giorgio di Donatello*, see Paola Barocchi, ed., *Trattati dell'arte del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1962), III, 125-94; and Moshe Barasch, "Character and Physiognomy: Bocchi on Donatello's St. George, a Renaissance Text on Expression in Art," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXXVI, (1975): 413-30. For Bocchi's other writings, see: Robert Williams, "A Treatise by Francesco Bocchi in Praise of Andrea del Sarto," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 52 (1989): 111-139, with Bocchi's *Discorso sopra l'eccellenza dell'opere d'Andrea del Sarto, pittore fiorentino* transcribed in the appendix; Claudia Hattendorf, "Francesco Bocchi on Disegno," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 55 (1992): 272-277; Thomas Fragenberg, "The Art of Talking about Sculpture: Vasari, Borghini and Bocchi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 58 (1995): 115-131; and Erin Campbell, "The Gendered Paragone in late Sixteenth-Century Art Theory: Francesco Bocchi and Jacopo Pontormo's S. Lorenzo Frescoes," *Word & Image* 16, no. 3 (July – September 2000): 227-38.

[146] Bocchi (Fragenberg), *The Beauties...,* 230.

language, although less rigorously than does Borghini. In his description of the *Christ before Caiaphas* panel on the *Passion Pulpit*, Bocchi wrote that "...the figures are made with such skill that one easily understands in them what is written in the Scriptures."[147] Clarity of religious narrative was one of the principle painting reforms set out in the Council of Trent's Twenty-Fifth Session, and as will be discussed in Chapter 4, it was one of Borghini's principal means of valuing a religious work.[148] Bocchi mentions several other reliefs by Donatello, a level of attention which echoes Vasari's singling out of the sculptor's works in his treatise on relief. Bocchi does look at sixteenth-century relief, and in his description of Michelangelo's *Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs* (ca. 1492), which is the longest passage on relief in the text, he is filled with abundant praise for the sculptor's representation of the human figure.[149] Surprisingly, given his appreciation of both Donatello and Michelangelo's reliefs, Bocchi does not mention those from more recent artists such as Cellini or Giambologna, both of whom had reliefs on the bases of their statues under the Loggia dei Lanzi (the *Perseus and Medusa* and the *Rape of the Sabine*, respectively). This omission is even more unexpected considering that Bocchi praised both of these free-standing sculptures.[150] And when Bocchi comments on

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[147] Bocchi (Fragenberg), *The Beauties...* 232.

[148] Rev. H. J. Schroeder, trans., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, Ill: Tan Books and Publishers, Inc. 1978), 216-217.

[149] Bocchi (Fragenberg), *The Beauties...*,162-163. Bocchi comments on the *non-finito* aspect of the work, but allows for it given Michelangelo's young age at the time he executed the relief.

[150] Ibid., 54-55. On Cellini's *Perseus*, Bocchi wrote: "The work is highly esteemed, since it is brought to perfection with amazing diligence, and it is praised by experts and artists alike....His lifelike features seem not to made of bronze...he truly appears to be entirely natural, rather than made by man...;" and on Giambologna's *Sabine*, he stated: "He has

Giambologna's Salviati Chapel, he lavishes it with praise, saying: "In this chapel one sees … statues of very fine marble and of bronze, and reliefs; the latter and the statues were executed by the most excellent sculptor Giambologna, who designed the entire work…This chapel is regarded as so beautiful…that the most accomplished experts and the finest artists consider it superior to all art works…."[151] Given such an enthusiastic description, it is curious that no further description of either the free-standing statuary or the reliefs was given. The only relief by Giambologna that Bocchi does mention is a small bronze *Deposition* seen by the author in the house of the Salviati family. Bocchi stated that the relief "…is much commended, valued and continually being admired by artists for its consummate workmanship."[152] This relief was most likely a copy of the one sent to Jerusalem as part of the *ornamento* (fig. 135).[153]

From this brief review of contemporary literature, there can be little doubt that relief sculpture proved to be something of a red herring in terms of its identity as sculpture. Aside from Vasari's text, relief is mentioned infrequently in the commentaries, and when it is, it is given relatively superficial treatment. Perhaps one

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achieved so much in art and draughtsmanship that this group of three figures is as much praised in verse...the abductor is beautiful, and the abducted admirable...he who uses force is natural and alive...."

[151] Bocchi (Fragenberg), *The Beauties*... 30. Bocchi's praise is very close to Borghini's assessment of the chapel, which at the time of Borghini's writing was far from complete, Borghini (Ellis), 284.

[152] Ibid., 176.

[153] The *Jerusalem Reliefs* were cast between 1590 and 1592. See Chapter 4 for a complete discussion of the reliefs and the circumstances of their commission. *The Deposition*, mentioned by Bocchi, is not recorded by Ronen, and thus, may either still be in a private collection, or is now lost. See footnote 310 below for a further discussion of the copies.

reason for this seeming lack of interest in the medium was due to an historical change, in that relief was ubiquitous in Florence of the fifteenth century, but was less so in the sixteenth. And in this context, it is important to acknowledge that tradition and Giambologna's awareness of it and response to it.

The Quattrocento Tradition of Relief in Florence

It is impossible to appreciate Giambologna's approach to relief and his understanding of Florentine narrative relief traditions without a discussion of Ghiberti and Donatello. As evidenced by the sixteenth-century literature reviewed above, Ghiberti's, and perhaps to a greater extent, Donatello's works, were still very much part of the Florentine sculptural milieu. To begin with Ghiberti, there could be no more conspicuous statement of the Florentine tradition of bronze narrative relief than his two sets of bronze doors for the Baptistery.[154] The first set, which were at first planned for the east portal, were begun in 1403 and completed in 1424. As originally intended, this set of doors was meant to be a visual complement to Andrea Pisano's early fourteenth-century set on the south side of the Baptistery illustrating the life of St. John the Baptist. As such, Ghiberti's doors were made up of fourteen small, individual panels set in quatrefoil frames (fig. 32). The iconographic program called for scenes from the life of Christ along with "portraits" of saints and Church doctors. When Ghiberti received the

[154] Kathryn Bloom, "Lorenzo Ghiberti's Space in Relief: Method and Theory," *The Art Bulletin* 51, no. 2 (June 1969): 164-169; Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), vol. 1, 157-226; Antonio Paolucci, *The origins of Renaissance art: the Baptistery doors, Florence* (New York: G. Braziller, 1996); and Pasquale Iacobone, "Più ornata, più ricca, più perfetta e più bella: la Porta del Paradiso di Lorenzo Ghiberti," *FMR* 32 (2009):109-128.

commission for a second set of doors, his approach to depicting the sacred narratives changed dramatically. Instead of small, square panels with one scene set in a quatrefoil frame, Ghiberti opened up his pictorial space in ten large square panels where extensive continuous narratives could be represented (fig. 29). The shift in Ghiberti's style reflected innovations taking place in Quattrocento Florentine painting, particularly the development of one-point linear perspective.[155] With the detail of a painter, Ghiberti was able to depict landscapes, cityscapes, complex architectural structures, and a wide variety of surface texture. His use of a range of different levels of relief projection not only enhanced visibility from below, but also physically reinforced the depiction of perspectival space, allowing the dramatic narratives to unfold throughout the compositional space. The beauty and sophistication of this second set of doors was such that Michelangelo declared them beautiful enough to be the "Gates of Paradise."[156]

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[155] Maurizio Ghelardi, "Lo sviluppo del pittorico nei rilievi di Ghiberti: Un seminario inedito di Aby Warbug," in *Opere e giorni: studi su mille anni di arte europea dedicata a Max Seidel*, eds. Klaus Bergdolt and Giorgio Bonsanti (Venezia: Marsilio, 2001), 741-748; Andrew Butterfield, "Art and Innovation in Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise," in *The Gates of Paradise: Lorenzo Ghiberti's Renaissance Masterpiece*, ed. Gary M. Radke (Atlanta: High Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press; Florence: in association with Opera di S. Maria del Fiore, 2007), 16-41; and Diane Cole Ahl, " "Captured by the sight of such wonders,": Renaissance Painters and the Gates of Paradise," in *The Historian's Eye: Essays on Italian Art in Honor of Andrew Ladis*, eds. Hayden B.J. Maginnis and Shelley E. Zuraw (Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, 2009), 113-121. For the critical role played by the Sienese baptistery reliefs see John T. Paoletti, *The Siena Baptistery Font: a study of an early Renaissance collaborative program, 1416-1434*, Ph.D. diss. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979). For the interwoven discoveries of Masaccio, Brunelleschi, and Ghiberti see Diane Cole Ahl, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Masaccio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[156] Vasari (De Vere), I, 304, wrote: "And right truly does Lorenzo deserve to be praised, seeing that one day Michelagnolo Buonarroti, having stopped to look at this work, and being asked what he thought of it, and whether these doors were beautiful, answered:

While Ghiberti's doors were visible on the Baptistery, Donatello's relief sculpture could be seen throughout the city in a wide variety of locations and contexts. There was the justifiably famous marble *St. George and the Dragon* (ca. 1417) at Orsanmichele (fig. 33), the polychromed stucco tondi of the life of St. John the Baptist (1428-43) in the Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo, the *pietra serena* and stucco *Cavalcanti Annunciation* (ca. 1435) in Santa Croce, and the marble *Cantoria* of 1433-39 in the Florence Duomo. With seeming ease Donatello worked in a variety of media producing an even wider variety of reliefs in terms of the level of relief, the subject matter, and the location. And for a sculptor like Giambologna, making his name in bronze relief during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the works by Donatello that most embodied the spiritual, as well as stylistic, profundity of the Ghiberti's Baptistery Doors, were Donatello's *Passion* and *Post-Passion* pulpits in San Lorenzo.

Indeed, the opening decades of the Cinquecento saw a "Donatello revival" of sorts taking place, apparently sparked by the preparations for Pope Leo X de' Medici's 1515 *entrata* into Florence, which involved the "rediscovery" of the San Lorenzo pulpits, thus making them the primary source of his sixteenth-century "revival."[157] These last works by Donatello (figs. 30 and 34), which had been commissioned by Cosimo il Vecchio in 1465 for the nave of San Lorenzo had been stored in the basement of the church. But, on this papal occasion, they were brought up from the basement, cleaned

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'They are so beautiful that they would do well for the gates of Paradise,' praise truly appropriate and given by an able judge."

[157] Christopher Fulton, "Present at the Inception: Donatello and the Origins of Sixteenth-Century Mannerism," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60, no. 2 (1997): 166-199.

and re-assembled.[158] The timing of the erection of Donatello's pulpits was fortuitous as the sculptor's final work was brought to light for a generation of young Mannerist artists who would see in the pulpits an expressiveness of human emotion that had been missing from the more classical, and perhaps staid, compositions of the Renaissance. Many of these artists were themselves involved in the *entrata* decoration, including Baccio Bandinelli, Jacopo Sansovino, Jacopo Pontormo, Rosso Fiorentino, and Andrea del Sarto.[159] It seems Bandinelli may have in fact supervised the assembly and erection of the pulpits, and surviving drawings by the artist of some of Donatello's relief panels gives credence to this hypothesis.[160] From this point forward, the pulpits would play a much more significant role for artists of the mid- to late-Cinquecento, as they were now

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[158] Vasari (De Vere), II, 377; Horst Waldemar Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello, Vol. II Critical Catalog* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), 209, 213-217. The iconography of the pulpits illustrates Passion and post-Passion events in the life of Christ, and it has been suggested that this particular arrangement of the pulpits may have been a revival of an early Christian tradition that involved the reading of the Gospels from a church's north pulpit and the Epistles from the south pulpit. As originally planned, the pulpits were to be placed at the crossing piers, although there is no evidence to suggest that they were ever installed in that location. A document from 1515 describes the condition of the pulpits when they were brought up from the basement, and reads: "In order to adorn the church with every possible decoration, the bronze pulpits have been brought into the church. It has cost 4 lire 4 soldi to fetch the lesser one, which was in separate pieces; and 4 florins to fetch the large bronze pulpit, to put it in order and place it on a wooden platform. Also 2 lire 4 soldi for making three sets of holes in the pilasters to support the pulpits, and 14 lire for cleaning and washing the pulpits. A wooden support has been built for the pulpit of the singers, as well as a wooden railing or screen, so that it will hold the singers. The lesser pulpit, too, has been given a wooden support – it is resting on pillars of wood – and stairs have been built for one of the pulpits." As there is discrepancy in size between the two pulpits (the *Passion* pulpit has dimensions of 137 cm x 280 cm and the *Post-Passion* pulpit has dimensions of 123 cm x 292 cm), it is believed that the *Passion* pulpit was the one in pieces as stated in this document. See also John Pope-Hennessy, *Donatello Sculptor* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), 299-303.

[159] Fulton, 171.

[160] Ibid, 174.

easily accessible. The attraction of Donatello's pulpit reliefs for the young Florentine artists was their extreme emotional expressiveness and compositional freedom. Donatello did not depict idealized images of Christ and his disciples, but rather, showed them in a manner that explored the full range of human emotions related to, and contained within, such narrative events. In his reliefs, Christ appears as a man who had endured unimaginable tribulations, not as an Apollonian Christ whose ideal beauty belies the pain and suffering He experienced. Moreover, Donatello's compositional freedom allowed his figures to break out of the pictorial frame and move out into the viewer's space, a device that Giambologna was to employ in several of his reliefs as well.

In addition to the 1515 *entrata*, Donatello's pulpits were again on display when they were used in the funeral obsequies for Michelangelo in San Lorenzo. The funeral was staged by the *Accademia del Disegno* in the church of San Lorenzo on July 14, 1564, with the participation of Benedetto Varchi who delivered the funeral oration. In his *Diario Fiorentino*, published in 1565, Agostino Lapini recorded the placement of both pulpits in the church, reporting that: "On Wednesday, March 15, 1558, the bronze pulpit with the Passion of Christ by Donatello was placed on the four porphyry columns towards the cloisters…and in December 1565 the other one, which is across from it, was [also] raised."[161] Thus, it appears that Varchi spoke from the *Passion* pulpit, while the *Post-Passion* pulpit remained on the ground (fig. 35). Of this event, Vasari states:

> On the pulpit from which Varchi delivered the funeral oration… there was no ornamentation, because, that work having been executed in bronze, with scenes in half-relief and low-relief, by the excellent Donatello, any adornment

[161] Agostino Lapini, *Diario Fiorentino di Agosto Lapini dal 265 al 1596*, ed. Giuseppe Odoardo Corazzini (Firenze: G.C. Sansoni, Editore, 1900), 123.

> that might have been added would have been by a great measure less beautiful. But on the other, which is opposite to the first, although it had not yet been raised on columns, there was a picture…by the hand of Vincenzo Danti, the sculptor of Perugia….[162]

Although Giambologna was not present at the event as he was completing the monumental bronze *Neptune* for the Piazza del Nettuno in Bologna, he certainly would have heard accounts of the ceremony, and presumably the pulpits would have still been on display upon his return to Florence in January of 1565.[163] Thus, Giambologna was no doubt well aware of Donatello's innovative style and approach to narrative relief. There are also two additional points of interest regarding Giambologna and the pulpits. The first is the fact that Giambologna had a model of one the *pergami* in his home, which is listed in the inventory of his estate drawn up at the time of his death. The document lists it as "Un modello del pergamo di Santo Lorenzo, con aua scale," without further elaboration as to whether it was the *Passion* or *Post-Passion* pulpit.[164] The second point is that the Genoa *Flagellation* panel was copied and inserted into the back of the *Passion*

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[162] Vasari (De Vere), II, 767.

[163] Naomi Miller, "Piazza Nettuno, Bologna: a paean to Pius IV?," *Architectura* 7, no. 1 (1977): 14-39; Avery, *Sculptor to the Medici*, 13; Irving Lavin, " 'Bologna è una grande intrecciatura di eresie': il Nettuno di Giambologna al crocevia," in *Il luogo ed il ruolo della città di Bologna tra Europa continentale e mediterranea: atti del colloquio C.I.H.A. (Bologna, 1990)*, ed. Giovanna Perini (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1992), 7-44; Richard Tuttle, "The genesis of the fountain of Neptune," in *Il luogo ed il ruolo della città di Bologna tra Europa continentale e mediterranea: atti del colloquio C.I.H.A. (Bologna, 1990)*, ed. Giovanna Perini (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1992), 227-243; Irving Lavin, "Giambologna's Neptune at the Crossroads," in *Past-Present: essays on historicism in art from Donatello to Picasso*, ed., Irving Lavin (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 63-83; and Sabine Eiche, "Giambologna's Neptune Fountain in Bologna: Newly-Discovered Letters from 1565," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 38, no. 2/3 (1994): 428-429.

[164] Corti, "Two Early Seventeenth-Century Inventories Involving Giambologna," 632.

pulpit in San Lorenzo, when the decision was made to close off the rear of the structure in the early seventeenth century.[165]

Whether one judges from his earliest works in Florence, from his association with the Accademia del Disegno, or from his relationship with the Medici, there is no doubt that Giambologna was fully aware of the Florentine relief tradition established by Ghiberti and Donatello, just as he was aware of the free-standing sculptural tradition established by Michelangelo. The commissioning and production of reliefs for the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* and the Jerusalem *ornamento* required him to define himself as a quintessential Florentine relief sculptor, and he did so by becoming a painter in bronze.

[165] Luisa Becherucci, *Donatello: I pergami di S. Lorenzo* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1979), 21 n. 15. A copy of Giambologna's *Flagellation* and *Crowning of Thorns* reliefs, originally for the Grimaldi chapel, but copied for use in Giambologna's chapel in Santissima Annunziata, were used to close the rear entry into Donatello's *Passion* pulpit in the early seventeenth century.

CHAPTER 3:

THE *COSIMO I EQUESTRIAN MONUMENT* AND ITS RELIEFS

Giambologna and Ferdinando I de'Medici

Giambologna worked as court sculptor to Grand Duke Francesco from 1564 until the Grand Duke's death on October 19, 1587. When Grand Duke Francesco I de'Medici died suddenly on October 19, 1587, from what was determined to be malarial fever, Giambologna had been in the service of the Medici for over twenty years.[166] Upon Francesco's death, his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando I de'Medici, immediately returned to Florence from Rome to take his place at the head of the family Grand Ducal dynasty. During the first year of his reign over the Tuscan state, Ferdinando maintained a unique status, wearing both the cardinal's hat and the Grand Ducal crown. He gave up the former one year later, in 1588, in order to marry Christine of Lorraine and produce a dynastic heir.[167] By all accounts, Ferdinando very quickly and clearly distanced himself

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[166] Francesco Mari, Aldo Polettini, Donatella Lippi, and Elisabetta Bertol, "The Mysterious Death of Francesco de'Medici and Bianca Cappello: an Arsenic Murder?," *British Medical Journal* 333 (Dec. 23-30, 2006): 1299-1301. The authors examined the remains of the Grand Duke and Duchess and suggest that they died from arsenic poisoning and not malarial fever.

[167] Ferdinando was the fifth son of Cosimo and Eleanor, born July 30, 1549. In 1563, at age 13, he was sent to Rome to become a cardinal. He remained in Rome until his brother's death when he returned to Florence on October 25, 1587 at the age of 37 to become the third Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany. He officially gave up his cardinal's hat on November 30, 1588. For general biographical information about Ferdinando and his time in Rome as cardinal, see Suzanne B. Butters, "Le cardinal Ferdinando de Médicis," in *La Villa Médicis*, eds. André Chastel (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 1991), vol.

from the relatively unpopular and unimpressive Francesco.[168] The immediacy with which he began commissioning works from the leading artists in Florence, as well as instituting or continuing various public works projects, may be seen as a conscientious effort to emulate the achievements and popularity of his father, Cosimo I de'Medici, the first Medici Grand Duke.

That this was the case is illustrated by the number of works Ferdinando commissioned, beginning in 1587. that either memorialized Cosimo in portraiture or celebrated key moments of his life, one of the most central being his elevation to the status of Grand Duke by Pope Pius V.[169] The foundation for such a propagandistic

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2, 170-196; Stefano Calonaci, "Ferdinando dei Medici: la formazione di un cardinal principe (1563-72)," *Archivio storico Italiano* IV, no. 570 (1996): 635-690; and Stefano Calonaci, " 'Accordar lo spirito col mondo.' Il cardinal Ferdinando de Medici a Roma durante i pontifici di Pio V e Gregorio XIII," *Rivista storica Italiana* 112, no. 1 (Aprile, 2000): 5-74. When Ferdinando abdicated his cardinalship, he assisted in elevating bishop Francesco Maria del Monte to cardinal, who had for a time lived in the Palazzo Medici in Rome, to ensure Medici representation in the College of Cardinals. Cardinal del Monte is today known as one of Caravaggio's great patrons.

[168] Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527 – 1800; a History of Florence and the Florentines in the Ages of the Grand Dukes* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1973), 95-102; Christopher Hibbert, *The House of the Medici: Its Rise and Fall* (New York: Morrow, 1975), 275-281; and John Rigby Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 144-152. By all accounts, Francesco was an apathetic leader of the Tuscan state, seemingly uninterested in matters of state, preferring to focus his time and energy on his alchemical pursuits and hobbies at the laboratory in the Palazzo Vecchio. Although Francesco began some very important public works projects, overall, his time as Grand Duke has not been marked by history as one that was especially notable. Samuel Berner, "Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 (1971): 203-246, deals extensively with the differences in the way Florence was managed between Francesco's reign and that of Ferdinando's.

[169] Suzanne Butters, "Ferdinando de'Medici and the Art of the Possible," in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 72, refers to the monumental statuary commissioned by Ferdinando as "public dynastic effigies," which supports the theory presented above that

iconographic scheme had already been laid by Ferdinando's own father in the Sala del Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio, decorated with frescoes by Giorgio Vasari and his workshop beginning in 1563.[170] In Vasari's extensive cycle, which included both the painted sectional wooden ceiling and the two lateral walls, key events of Cosimo's reign were depicted, some of which were to re-appear under Ferdinando's city-wide artistic program. The event that seems to have established much of the future iconography found in Ferdinando's Florence was his 1589 wedding to Christine of Lorraine. The ephemeral decorations for the wedding *apparato* were extensive, and included two triumphal arches dedicated to the Medicean family dynasty established under Cosimo I (fig. 36).[171] In

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the new Grand Duke has a very conscientious visual program in mind in commissioning works that celebrated his family lineage. James Harper, "The High Baroque Tapestries of the *Life of Cosimo I*: the Man and His Myth in the Service of Ferdinando II," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo I de'Medici*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot; Burlington USA; Singapore; Sydney: Ashgate, 2001), 223-252. In his discussion of the tapestry cycle of the *Life of Cosimo I* commissioned by Grand Duke Ferdinando II de'Medici in 1655, Harper summarizes the "propagandistic cycles" that were a feature of previous generations of Medici Grand Dukes, such as Ferdinando I de'Medici. The author, using as evidence the works by Giambologna that are the focus of this dissertation, suggests that Ferdinando had a very specific artistic program in mind to celebrate the Medici house with a particular emphasis on the first Medici Grand Duke, Cosimo I. See also Cristina Acidini Luchinat and Giorgio Galletti, *La villa e il giardino della Petraia a Firenze* (Firenze: Edifir, 1995), 83-95, for a discussion of Volteranno's seventeenth-century fresco cycle in Villa Petraia that celebrates the Medici family dynasty, including an image of Cosimo's triumph into Siena.

[170] Ugo Muccini, *Il Salone del Cinquecento in Palazzo Vecchio* (Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1990).

[171] Arthur R. Blumenthal, "Medici Patronage and the Festival of 1589," in *Il 60. Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (New York: Italica Press, 1990), 97-116; James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 89, 101, 195-197. On the Canto degli Antellesi arch were four paintings in celebration of Cosimo's reign: *Pius IV Approves the Order of Santo Stefano*; *Cosimo I Fortifies Tuscan Cities*; *Cosimo I Acclaimed as Duke*; and *Cosimo I Enthroned*. Represented on the arch in front of the Palazzo Vecchio façade were: *Pius V Crowns Cosimo I Grand Duke*; *Emperor Maximilian II Affirms the Rule of Francesco I*; and the allegorical *Apotheosis and*

1590, Ferdinando "completed" Vasari's *Cosimo I* cycle in the Sala del Cinquecento by commissioning two paintings on stone from Jacopo Ligozzi to replace two pre-existing ones at two corners of the grand meeting hall: *Boniface VIII Receives the Twelve Florentine Ambassadors Representing the Powers of Europe and Asia (1269),* (which replaced Vasari's *Cosimo I Drains the Pisan Swamps*), and *Cosimo de'Medici Crowned Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V (1570)* (fig. 37), (which replaced Vasari's *Cosimo I Fortifies Tuscany*).[172] The Sala was further embellished by Ferdinando in 1597-98 when he commissioned from Passignano (Domenico Cresti) two additional paintings for the opposite end of the room: *Pius IV Nominates Duke Cosimo de'Medici Grand Master of the Order of St. Stephen (1562),* which replaced Vasari's *Cosimo I Builds Cosmopoli on Elba;* and *Cosimo de'Medici Nominated Duke of Florence by the Florentine Senate in 1537* (fig. 38), which replaced Vasari's *French Return the Keys to Livorno*.[173] With the exception of the subject of *Boniface,* the iconography of the other three paintings was repeated from the 1589 wedding celebrations. In 1597 Ferdinando also commissioned from Passignano a small scale portrait of Cosimo I which was to be

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Crowning of Tuscany. Giambologna himself executed two monumental ("*6 braccia*" = 11'9" tall) ephemeral statues of Augustus and Charlemagne for the Ponte alla Carraia arch, the second arch in the triumphal entry procession. He was also engaged as a cost estimator, along with Bartolommeo Ammanati and Valerio Cioli, to determine the value of the sculptural works executed for the *entrata*.

[172] Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cecchi, *Guida Storica. Palazzo Vecchio e i Medici* (Firenze: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1980), 372-374; Muccini, 167-179.

[173] Allegri and Cecchi, 375-76; *Il Salone*, 179; Miles Chappell, "Una nota sul 'Cosimo de'Medici eletto duca di Toscana' del Passignano e una poscritto relative ad alcuni disegni di Agostino Melissi," *Antichità Viva* XVIII, no. 5/6 (1979): 26-29; and Miles L. Chappell, "Passignano in Palazzo Vecchio," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 142 (Dec. 2000): 233-252.

translated into *pietra dure*.[174] And in 1603, Cigoli executed a life-size portrait of Cosimo I for the *Cappella dei Principi*.[175]

In addition to the projects mentioned above, which Ferdinando commissioned in honor of his father, he also had an agenda to promote himself and his rule as Grand Duke. One of the principal means he employed to accomplish this was sculpture, and for that, he turned to Giambologna.[176] In December 1587 Giambologna received the commission for the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* (fig. 39), the subject of Chapter 3, which was immediately followed in early 1588 by a commission for six small bronze narrative reliefs to adorn the bronze *ornamento* (fig. 114) which was sent to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, the subject of Chapter 4. In 1594, Ferdinando commissioned from Giambologna two portrait statues for Pisa and Arezzo, which were prominently placed in each town.[177] In Pisa, the statue, which was originally located along the

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[174] Joan L. Nissman, *Domenico Cresti (Il Passignano), 1559-1638, a Tuscan Painter in Florence and Rome,* Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 1979), 99.

[175] Karla Langedijk, "A New Cigoli: The State Portrait of Cosimo I de'Medici, and a Suggestion Concerning the Cappella de'Principi," *The Burlington Magazine* 113, no. 823 (October 1971): 575-579.

[176] Erben (footnote 31), deals exclusively with Giambologna's projects for Ferdinando, and in particular, with the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*. While his article and this dissertation cover some of the same ground, including many of the same comparisons made with the *Cosimo I Reliefs*, Erben's focus is directed more on the details of the political events represented, rather than analyzing them within the context of the sixteenth-century Florentine artistic milieu.

[177] The statues were designed by Giambologna and executed by Francavilla, thus information on them comes from scholarship on both artists. Baldinucci, III, 64, 66; John Pope-Hennessy, "Giovanni Bologna and the Marble Statues for the Grand duke Ferdinand I," *The Burlington Magazine* 112, no. 806 (May 1970), 304-307; Mila Mastrorocco, "Lo scultore Pietro Francavilla: La sua attività alla corte dei Granduchi di Toscana Francesco I e Ferdinando I (1572-1606), *Commentari* 26, no. 1/2 (Jan. – June 1975), 112-113, states that the Cosimo I and Ferdinando I statues for Pisa were commissioned at the same time in 1594, and that the Pisa Ferdinando was "replicated"

Lungarno, shows the Grand Duke wearing full armor and standing in a slightly exaggerated contrapposto with his right hand originally positioned atop a commander's baton (no longer extant) that rested on his right thigh.[178] The subject of the portrait statue is *Ferdinando I Succoring the City of Pisa* (fig. 40), and on the Grand Duke's left, crouches a female personification of Pisa with two small children, one who is suckling her breast.[179] In a gesture symbolic of Ferdinando being the benefactor and protector of the city, his right arm intertwines with her upraised right arm.

In Arezzo, the portrait statue of Ferdinando was erected in the Piazza del Duomo (fig. 41) and represented the Grand Duke in a slightly different format from that in Pisa. Here, Ferdinando stands alone on the pedestal, again dressed in full armor, with the commander's cloak draped around his neck falling behind him to the ground. He holds

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for Arezzo. As the two statues vary in terms of the pose of the Grand Duke and the configuration, with Pisa having three additional figures, the Arezzo statue is not simply a copy of the one in Pisa; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 181-182, cat. nos. 18 and 19.

[178] Giuseppe Scalia, *Il Console Rodolfo e Ferdinando I de'Medici: per la storia di due statue pisane* (Roma: Quasar, 1987), discusses the possible motives for the placement of the Ferdinando statue, one of which may have been the consideration of a famous twelfth-century statue of Rodolfo Orlandi.

[179] As has been noted, the theme may have been inspired by one of the ephemeral decorations at Ferdinando's 1589 wedding, *Charlemagne Succoring Florence*. Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 181; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 255 cat. no. 19. Giambologna himself executed a stucco statue of Charlemagne for the wedding festivities, but it is not clear who sculpted the *Charlemagne Succoring Florence* group, and Saslow is silent on the issue, although Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 176, does attribute it to Giambologna. Charlemagne was a legendary figure in Florence's history as he was believed to have restored Florence after it was sacked by Attila in the mid-fifth century. That this belief was still alive in the sixteenth century is evinced by Benedetto Varchi's history of Florence, a text written in 1547, and commissioned by Cosimo I de'Medici. Lelio Arbib, ed., *La Storia Fiorentina di Benedetto Varchi* (Florence, 1839), vol. II, 63-67; Rubinstein, 65, states that in his rendition of Florentine history, Varchi essentially followed Villani's early fourteenth-century history of Florence.

onto the commander's baton with his right hand, with his left hand suspended just over the hilt of his prominently displayed sword. Looking out over the Aretine populace, Ferdinando's posture, as it is in Pisa, is one of a supremely confident ruler of the city. However, as the Aretine portrait is without the additional iconographic element of a fallen personification of the city, the visual message of the statue is focused on Ferdinando as dynastic ruler of his Tuscan principalities.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, Giambologna received several additional commissions from the Grand Duke, including the monumental marble sculptural group of *Hercules Slaying a Centaur* (fig. 3) for the corner of Canto dei Carnesecchi.[180] Herculean iconography had long been associated with the Medici, and Giambologna's dramatically Hellenistic representation of the subject was a continuation of that association.[181] Then in 1600 Giambologna was commissioned for a small bronze equestrian portrait of Ferdinando which was followed by the subsequent 1602 commission for the monumental bronze equestrian monument of Grand Duke Ferdinando

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[180] Avery, *Complete Sculpture,* 114-117.

[181] The literature on the Medici and Herculean iconography is extensive, and listed here are but a few of the most relevant sources: Anthony Radcliffe, "Giambologna's Twelve Labors of Hercules," *Connoisseur* CXCIX, no. 799 (September 1978), 12-19' "Virginia L. Bush, "Bandinelli's Hercules and Cacus and Florentine Traditions," in *Studies in Italian art and architecture, 15th through 18th centuries*, ed. Henry A. Millon (Roma: Edizione dell'Elefante, 1980), 163-206; Michael A. Jacobsen, "A note on the iconography of Hercules and Antaeus in Quattrocento Florence," *Source* I, no. 1 (Fall 1981), 16-20; Alison Wright, "The Myth of Hercules," in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo: Convegno internazionale di Studi, Firenze, 9-13 giugno 1992*, ed. Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994), 323-339.

I (fig. 165), which was completed and installed in the Piazza Santissima Annunziata in 1608.[182]

As is evident from this review of Giambologna's monumental sculptural projects for Ferdinando I de'Medici, it is clear that over the course of their twenty-one year relationship, the Grand Duke relied on the sculptor time and again as a principal means through which he could communicate his, and his family's, dynastic rule. One of the ways in which Ferdinando acknowledged Giambologna's importance within the Grand Ducal court was through his wages, as he was one of the most highly remunerated artists, earning a court salary of twenty-five ducats a month.[183] Moreover, he was given a special dispensation from having to operate his workshop in the Uffizi shops, an honor given only to two other artists – a jeweler and a weapons maker.[184] Giambologna's salary and relative freedom from the normal working arrangements of a grand ducal artist were no doubt significant, but in addition, the projects he was given were of the kind that allowed him to create a name for himself as the preeminent sculptor of Italy, and of Europe for that matter. And with the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument,* Ferdinando handed him the

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[182] In addition to his work for the Grand Ducal court, Giambologna and his workshop on the Borgo Pinti were also busy with commissions from outside the Florentine court, such as the *St. Matthew* for the Cathedral of Orvieto, the bronze priant statue of the Cardinal of Seville, and others. Additionally, both King Philip III of Spain and King Henry IV of France commissioned their own equestrian monuments after the success and popularity of the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*. Of course, as Giambologna was court sculptor, all outside requests for his work had to be approved by the Grand Duke. In the case of the Spanish court, Ferdinando seems to have been eager to curry the favor of important members of the court, and obliged with the requests for works by Giambologna. For Ferdinando's relationship with the Spanish court, see Goldberg, "Artistic Relations...I" and "Artistic Relations...II."

[183] Kirkendale, 91-94.

[184] Zikos, "Giambologna's Land...," 385.

opportunity to be the first sculptor in Italy to successfully cast a monumental bronze equestrian monument in over a century. The attention garnered by Giambologna with this commission ensured his fame beyond the boundaries of Florence, and sparked a pan-European courtly phenomenon which saw the production of several such monuments.

The Context of the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*

Giambologna received a commission from Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici for a monumental bronze equestrian monument in honor of his late father, Cosimo I de'Medici, on December 16, 1587.[185] The project, in its initial stage, consisted of an over life-size horse and rider ensemble which was to be elevated on a marble pedestal on the north side of the Piazza della Signoria (fig. 39).[186] This equestrian monument to the first

[185] For the circumstances of the commission, scholars have relied on secondary sources, as there are no contract documents between Ferdinando I and Giambologna that have come to light, see Baldinucci, II, 569-571; and Jacopo Riguccio Galuzzi, *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana sotto il governo della casa Medici*, 8 vols., 2nd ed. (Livorno: G.T. Masi, 1781), vol. 4, 287. The *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* is discussed in the following literature: Dhanens, 274-285; Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 184-194; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 157-164, 189-190, 257 cat. 38, 272 cat. 159; Weitzel Gibbons, "Cosimo's *Cavallo..."* (footnote 29); Charles Avery, "Giambologna's Horse and Rider," *Società Metallurgica Italiana: Review* (English Edition), no. 17 (July 1993), 19-27; Sarah Blake McHam, "Public Sculpture in Renaissance Florence," in *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Sarah Blake McHam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 177-178; Davide Gasparotto, "Cavalli e cavalieri. Il monumento equestre da Giambologna a Foggini," in Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos, eds., *Giambologna gli dei, gli eroi* (Firenze-Milano: Giunti Editore S.p.A, 2006), 89-105; and in an article I have not yet been able to consult, Sarah Blake McHam, "Giambologna's Equestrian Monument to Cosimo: the Monument makes the Memory," in *Patronage and Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. Kathleen Christian (England: Ashgate, forthcoming).

[186] On the history of the equestrian monument in the Renaissance in general, see: Horst Waldemar Janson, "The Equestrian Monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great," in *Aspects of the Renaissance: A Symposium*, ed. Archibald Lewis (University of Texas Press, 1967), 73-85; Walter Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting,*

Medici Grand Duke was a conspicuous statement of Medici hegemony over both the government and the artistic heritage of Florence; both of which were to be continued under the aegis of the third Medici Grand Duke, Ferdinando I. The choice of the Piazza della Signoria (fig. 42) was deliberate, as the piazza had always been the most important civic center in Florence. Dominating the piazza architecturally was the Palazzo Vecchio (originally known as the Palazzo della Signoria), the original seat of the Florentine government, and which had been the home of the Medici family who resided there under Cosimo I's reign from 1540 until their move across the Arno into the Pitti Palace in 1560.[187] Not only did the Palazzo Vecchio have Medicean associations, but so too did the piazza, which was a veritable outdoor showcase of generations of Florentine sculptural tradition from Donatello to Michelangelo to Giambologna. Each sculpture on display spoke, for better or worse, of the Medici family's history in Florence as each, with the exception of Michelangelo's *David*, had either been commissioned by the Medici directly or executed under the Medici court's direction. Donatello's *Judith and Holofernes*, Michelangelo's *David*, Cellini's *Perseus*, and Ammanati's *Neptune* were all interpreted as either pro- or anti-Medicean statements, depending upon the current state of Florentine politics and who was in control of the government.[188] With the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, Ferdinando not only added his own mark to this parade of

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Sculpture and Horsemanship 1500-1800 (New York: Abaris Books and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989); and Dario Covi, "The Italian Renaissance and the Equestrian Monument," in *Leonardo da Vinci's Sforza Monument Horse: The Art of Engineering*, ed. Diane Cole Ahl (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1995), 40-56.

[187] Hibbert, 269-271.

[188] Martha Alice Fader, *Sculpture in the Piazza della Signoria as Emblem of the Florentine Republic*, Ph.D. diss. (Michigan: University Microforms International, 1982); McHam, "Public Sculpture...," 149-188.

Medicean sculpture, but he also simultaneously promoted the enduring political power of the Medici family.[189] By the time of its completion, the iconography employed in the *Cosimo I* monument quite pointedly emphasized the accomplishments of the first Medici Grand Duke as a means of validating the continuation of the family dynasty as Ferdinando visually and symbolically aligned himself with his father.

That the Florentines had always had an interest in equestrian monuments, whether they be ephemeral, painted, or sculpted, is witnessed throughout the city's history. The first written histories of the city describe a sculpture of Mars seated on a rearing horse that once stood on top of the Baptistery.[190] This historical "fact" was included by Vasari in his painting *The Founding of Florence* (fig. 43), from 1565, on the ceiling of the *Sala del Cinquecento*. In it, located in the distant background, is a temple-like structure with a small horse and rider visible on its roof (fig. 44). This same motif, of the rearing horse and rider, was repeated by Giambologna on the rear left shoulder of Cosimo's armor on his equestrian monument (fig. 45).[191]

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[189] Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 176-179, 191.

[190] Nicolai Rubenstein, "Vasari's Painting of The Foundation of Florence in the Palazzo Vecchio," in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, eds. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard and Milton J. Lewine (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), 64-73; 70 and fig. 5. The Baptistery was long believed to have originally been a Roman temple dedicated to Mars dating from the time of Emperor Augustus. In Giovanni Villani's early fourteenth-century chronicle of the history of Florence, recounted by Rubenstein, Villani wrote that there was a marble equestrian monument of Mars on the temple, and remained there until the temple was dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

[191] Mary Bergstein, "Donatello's *Gattamelata* and its Humanist Audience," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 833-868. Donatello included small reliefs of horse and riders on the saddle, which were derived from the Parthenon frieze. Although the small reliefs cannot be seen from the ground, Bergstein argues that the inclusion of the Parthenon riders was meant to be seen by a select few cognoscenti who would have seen the equestrian monument in Donatello's studio prior to its erection on its base. The same may perhaps

By the mid-fifteenth century, Florence had two painted equestrian monuments of celebrated *condottieri* in the form of frescoed cenotaphs in Santa Maria Novella: Paolo Uccello's *Sir John Hawkwood* of 1436 (fig. 46) and Andrea del Castagno's *Niccolò da Tolentino* of 1455-56 (fig. 47).[192] Both frescoes were illusionistically painted to simulate marble and bronze, respectively, the traditional materials of free-standing statuary.[193] And while Florence boasted painted equestrian monuments, the city nevertheless remained devoid of a sculpted one. There is a certain irony in the sense that two of the city's most prominent sculptors executed such monuments for other cities: Donatello and the Paduan *Gattamelata* of 1445-53 (fig. 48) and Verrocchio's Venetian *Colleoni Monument* from 1481-96 (fig. 49). Similar to the Uccello and Castagno frescoes, Donatello and Verrocchio's bronze statues functioned as cenotaphs, erected in honor of celebrated military heroes. Significantly, these were the last successfully cast equestrian bronzes in Italy prior to Giambologna's *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*.[194] Moreover,

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be said for Giambologna's inclusion of small horse and riders on the shoulder plates of Cosimo's armor, as they certainly are not visible from the ground, but perhaps were decorations included for their symbolic meaning, which may only have been known to a few people involved with the commission, including Ferdinando himself.

[192] Elisabeth Oy-Marra, "Aspetti della rappresentazione del "Perfetto Capitano" nell'arte Italiana del Quattro-Cinquecento," in *Il "Perfetto Capitano": Immagini e realtà (secoli XV – XVII)*, ed. Marcello Fantoni (Roma: Bulzone Editore, 2001), 351-383.

[193] Eve Borsook, "L'Hawkwood d'Uccello et le Vie de Fabius Maximus de Plutarque," *Revue de l'Art* 55 (1982): 44-51; and Wendy J. Wegner, " 'That the practice of arms is most excellent declare the statues of valiant men': the Luccan War and Florentine political ideology in paintings by Uccello and Castagno," *Renaissance Studies* 7, no. 2 (June 1993), 129-167.

[194] See Dhanens, 276, on the casting timeline; Virginia Bush, *Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento*, Ph.D. diss. (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976), 164-178, 192-197. With regard to Giambologna's knowledge of the Donatello and Verrocchio monuments, it is unclear whether he would have seen them on his journey in

an important distinction between the *Cosimo I* and the two previous Quattrocento equestrian monuments is the *Cosimo I*'s sophisticated combination of the imagery of a traditional heroic military leader, as exemplified by the *Gattamelata* and *Colleoni* monuments, with the imagery of a political ruler, like that of the Imperial *Marcus Aurelius*.

In addition to painted or sculpted horse and rider groups which were permanent in nature, there was also a long, pan-European tradition of ephemeral equestrian monuments used as decoration in public ceremonies. These ephemeral monuments were *de rigueur* in a wide variety of public celebrations, especially weddings and royal *entratas*, and Florence was certainly no exception. In 1539, as part of the wedding decorations for Cosimo de'Medici and Eleanora of Toledo, Niccolò Tribolo executed an ephemeral monument of Cosimo's father, Giovanni delle Bande Nere, seated atop a horse rearing over two fallen enemies, all of which was painted to resemble bronze (fig. 50).[195] For the

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1550 from Belgium to Italy, as his precise itinerary is not known. Giambologna's only documented trip to Venice in 1593 was just one year prior to the erection of the *Cosimo I Monument*, and therefore too late to have been of influence as the horse and rider were cast by late 1592. The bronze *Niccolò d'Este Equestrian Monument* in Ferrara, commissioned by Leonello d'Este in honor of his father, and erected in 1451, was destroyed during the French Revolution. For the purposes of situating Giambologna's *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* within the context of the Florentine tradition, I did not mention this monument, although it was still extant at the time. See Charles M. Rosenberg, *The Este Monuments and Urban Development in Renaissance Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 50-82; and Charles M. Rosenberg, "In the Footsteps of the Prince: A Look at Renaissance Ferrara," *Nexus Network Journal* 1, nos. 1-2 (June 1999), 43-64.

[195] Giambullari, 17, (available online at the British Library: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0189); Vasari (De Vere), II, 246-67, Vasari's account of Tribolo's ephemeral monument gives a sense of the truly monumental nature of the horse and rider, stating that "…a vast pedestal ten braccia in height…Tribolo erected a horse of twelve braccia, with the fore-legs in the air, and upon

1549 *entrata* of Prince Philip II of Spain into Antwerp, the Florentine community there erected a "Florentine" arch which had an ephemeral equestrian portrait statue on each side: one of Duke Cosimo I and the other of his young son, Prince Francesco.[196] Giambologna himself was involved in the creation of this type of ephemeral statuary for the 1565 *entrata* of Joanna of Austria for her marriage to Prince Francesco de'Medici. For the attic story of the Arco della Prudenza Civile (fig. 51) Giambologna executed four life-size ephemeral horses for a quadriga which Vasari described as "…reviving the ancient use, was seen a most beautiful triumphal chariot drawn by four marvelous coursers, not inferior, perchance, to any of the ancient in beauty and grandeur."[197] Giambologna is also believed to have collaborated with Vincenzo Danti on a rearing horse and rider group for the Piazza Sant'Apollinaire, an account of which was given by Vasari in the *Lives*, where he stated "…the figure of an immense, very excellent, very

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it an armed figure, large in proportion…represented the most valorous Signor Giovanni de'Medici, the father of his Excellency."

[196] Cornelius Grapheus Scribonius, *Le triumphe d'Anuers, faict en la susception du Prince Philips, Prince d' Espaign; La tresadmirabile, tresmagnifique, [et] triumphante entrée, du treshault [et] trespuissant Prince Philipes, Prince d'Espaignes, filz de Lempereur Charles Ve…en la tresrenommee florissante ville d'Anuers. Anno 1549.* (Antwerp 1550), available online at the British Library: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0116, 21- 23; Bonner Mitchell, "Firenze Illustrissima: L'immagine della Patria negli Apparati delle Nazioni Fiorentine per le Feste di Lione del 1548 e di Anversa del 1549," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500 III: Relazioni artistiche; Il linguaggio architettonico* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1983), 995-1004, esp. 1002; and Jochen Becker, " 'Greater than Zeuxis and Apelles': Artists as Arguments in the Antwerp Entry of 1549," in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance. Art, Politics and Performance*, eds. J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002), 171-195; esp. 179.

[197] Vasari (De Vere), "The Academicians," II, 949-950. Although Vasari does not mention Giambologna as being the artist responsible for the horses, his name is clearly written next to the horses on Borghini's sketch of the arch (see fig. 51).

fiery and well-executed horse, more than nine braccia in height, which was rearing up on the hind-legs; and upon it was seen a young hero in full armor...."[198] The festival book published in conjunction with the 1565 *entrata* records that the horse alone was over thirteen *braccia* in length and eleven *braccia* in height (over twenty-five long and twenty feet tall), a truly monumental scale that would have rivaled only Leonardo's planned *Sforza Monument* and the *dioscuri* in Rome.[199]

Although the Medici had ephemeral equestrian monuments erected in their honor, as mentioned above, there had also been several permanent monuments planned prior to Giambologna's *Cosimo I*, although none were brought to completion. It appears that Cosimo I himself had an equestrian monument in mind in honor of his father, Giovanni delle Bande Nere, which is preserved in a drawing by Francesco da Sangallo dated to 1543-46 (fig. 52).[200] Elaborate in its conception, the base of Sangallo's planned

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[198] Vasari (De Vere), "The Academicians," II, 946, Vasari's full description reads: "…there was made with marvelous artistry and subtle invention the figure of an immense, very excellent, very fiery and well-executed horse, more than nine braccia in height, which was rearing up on the hind-legs; and upon it was seen a young hero in full armour and in all aspect all filled with valour, who had just wounded to death with his spear, the butt of which was seen at his feet, a vast monster that was stretched all limp beneath his horse…."; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 158, mentions the collaboration between Giambologna and Vincenzo Danti but does not provide a source for this information. Rick A. Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini and *Invenzione*: The Florentine Apparato of 1565," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981): 57-75, esp. 62, does not mention Giambologna's participation with this decoration; Erben, 322 fig. 25, illustrates a drawing by Giovanni Battista Naldini for a similar monument for the same piazza.

[199] Domenico Mellini, *Descrizione della entrata delle serenissima regina Giovanna d'Austria et dell'apparato, fatto in Firenze nella venuta, [et] per le felicissime nozze di sua altezza et dell'illustrissimo…Don Francesco de'Medici* (Florence, 1566), available online at the British Library: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0191, 86-87.

[200] Andrew Morrogh, ed., *Disegni di architetti Fiorentini, 1540-1640* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1985), 26-27, fig. n. 4. This project may have been inspired by an ephemeral

monument was to rise up in three tiers, with the bottom being decorated with two putti holding a plaque inscribed with Giovanni's name, the second filled with relief sculpture of war ornaments, and the third with a relief based on Imperial allocution scenes. The deceased condottiere is shown atop a striding horse and dressed in parade or jousting armor. Sangallo's drawing provides an interesting preface to the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* with its upper tier illustrating planned relief decoration, as well as the armor-clad rider and the horse in mid-stride, all of which re-appear in the *Cosimo I.* Another mid-sixteenth-century plan for a Florentine equestrian monument is illustrated in a drawing by Giovanni Antonio Dosio (fig. 53) that has been identified as being related to an elaborate mausoleum for Cosimo I that was designed by Vincenzo Borghini in 1554-63.[201] In contrast to Sangallo's design, Dosio's seems to have been based, at least in part, on Leonardo da Vinci's planned, although never executed, *Trivulzio Monument* (fig. 54). Although neither of these two projects were ever begun, the intended location of both was the Piazza della Signoria, the same as the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*.

The seeds for the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* first originated during the reign of Francesco, but had never moved past the initial discussion and preliminary sketch stage.[202] The project was perfect for Giambologna whose long-standing interest in horses and equestrian monuments was evident as early as 1563 when he began working on the

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equestrian monument that was part of the decoration for Cosimo and Eleanora's wedding *apparato* of 1539. Pier Francesco Giambullari, *Apparato et feste nelle nozze dello illustrissimo signor duca di Firenze [et] della duchessa sua consorte, son le sue stanze, madriali, comedia, [et intermedi], in quelle recitati* (Florence, 1539), 17, available online at the British Library: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0189.

[201] Morrogh, *Disegni*..., 80-81; 56-60.

[202] The history of the project under Francesco will be discussed later in this section.

design and model of a large-scale horse.[203] Giambologna described the model of the horse in a letter of January 15, 1563, written to the Prince, who was in Spain at the time. In the letter, Giambologna acknowledged his awareness that the Prince had been informed of the model's completion. Giambologna also mentioned the black wax sketch he had presented to Francesco prior to his departure for Spain. The letter reads in part:

> I am well aware that word has reached your Excellency about the two braccia high model of the Horse that I have produced based on the black wax sketch that you saw before your departure hence. I made it because I thought you would be pleased for me to turn my hand to making the big model of this horse. However, Your Excellency has been sent a little sketch on paper by Bernardo Vecchietti so that you may decide whether I should turn my hand to this or to something else. Still, this project of the Horse will be in my opinion one of the most distinguished ones ever seen, for the latest model has been produced by me with the greatest care, observation and study, so that one might say that the work is already largely done.[204]

Although it is unclear what the precise context of this horse was, whether it was intended for an equestrian monument to Cosimo I or not, two decades later another horse by the sculptor is discussed that does indeed seem to be related to the early stages of the *Cosimo I* monument. In a letter written on October 27, 1581 from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino, Fortuna describes a "Trajan horse that he [Giambologna] is casting in

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[203] Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 268-69; Charles Avery, "Giambologna's Horses: Questions and Hypothesis," in *Giambologna tra Firenze e l'Europa: Atti del convegno internazionale, Firenze Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte* (Florence: Centro Di, 2000), 11-28.

[204] Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 251, transcribes and translates the letter sent from Giambologna in Florence to Francesco, who was most likely still in Spain, although there is no indication of his location in the content of the letter. Letters to Francesco available online through the Medici Archive Project (www.medici.org), similarly suggest that the Prince was in Spain at this time.

bronze, twice as big as the one on the Capitoline Hill, to go opposite Michelangelo's *David*…" in the Piazza della Signoria.[205] The reference to the "one on the Capitoline Hill" is significant as it is the first clear indication that the famed *Marcus Aurelius* (fig. 55) was the prototype for, and the standard by which, the Florentine monument would be judged. It is also worth emphasizing that Giambologna's horse was understood to be "twice as big" as the *Marcus Aurelius*; a clear signal of Giambologna's ambitious goal. In a subsequent letter written by Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino, dated April 2, 1583, the equestrian project is again mentioned, this time with a more precise explanation of Francesco's wishes for the monument. In the letter, Fortuna stated that given Giambologna's great reputation (Fortuna had just described for the Duke the enthusiastic reception of Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabine* when it was unveiled in the Loggia dei Lanzi), the Grand Duke would have him "…make a bronze horse, which will be much greater than that of the Campidoglio in Rome and that of Danielle da Volterra to be sent to France, and placed above, the statue of Duke Cosimo…."[206] Now, not only was the Florentine monument to be greater than the ancient *Marcus Aurelius*, it was also to rival the more recent project of the *Henry II Equestrian Monument* (fig. 56), a commission originally given to Michelangelo in 1559, who in turn passed it on to Danielle da Volterra

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[205] Dhanens, 345; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 251.

[206] Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, *Collezionismo mediceo Cosimo I, Francesco I e il Cardinale Ferdinando – Documenti 1540-1587* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore S.p.A., 1993), 240 doc. 265: "*Onde ha egli preso grandissima riputazione et il Granduca s'è risoluto di dargli [al Giambologna] a far un cavallo di bronzo, che sarà assai maggiore di quello di Campidoglio di Roma e di quello di Danielle da Volterra che andò in Francia, per mettervia sopra la statua del Duca Cosimo, cosa ch'egli ha desiderato in estremo, come quello che sebbene è piccolo di persona, è però d'animo vastissimo e volto alla gloria più che uom ch'io abbi conosciuto*."

in 1560. And one year after Volterra's death in 1566, the project was offered to Giambologna.[207] Thus, had Giambologna actually received a commission from Grand Duke Francesco for an equestrian monument to Cosimo I, he would have been fully aware of the expectation to transcend these two equestrian monuments in terms of size, conception, and execution.

The affinity of Giambologna's horse and rider group to that of the *Marcus Aurelius* in Rome's Piazza Campidoglio has long been recognized. The renowned monument from antiquity was the standard prototype for any equestrian monument executed during the Renaissance.[208] The *Marcus Aurelius* represented not only an honored military leader, but also a portrait of the Imperial ruler of the vast Roman Empire; it represented the exempla of the ultimate statesman-warrior, a man who ruled his empire with keen political intelligence and protected it with his military acumen. For the Medici, the *Marcus Aurelius* was no doubt a potent emblem of Imperial rule, one they had long been interested in appropriating to further legitimize their own dynastic hegemony over Tuscany.[209] Ferdinando was certainly cognizant of the potent symbolism

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[207] *The Illustrated Bartsch 35 Commentary Part 2 – Antonio Tempesta*, ed. Eckhard Leuschner (New York: Abaris Books, 1978), vol. 35, 261. Tempesta's print of the *Henry II Monument* was published between 1600 and 1607, and thus, could not have been influential on Giambologna's final composition of the Cosimo I equestrian group. It is nevertheless important as it gives a sense of what the final monument may have looked like had it reached completion as originally planned.

[208] Lucilla de Lachenal, "Il Gruppo Equestre di Marco Aurelio e il Laterano. Richerche per una storia della fortuna del monument dall'età medieval sino al 1538, parte II," *Bollettino d'Arte* 62-63 (July-October, 1990): 1-56.

[209] Another connection for the Medici with the *Marcus Aurelius* was through Michelangelo, who designed the base for the equestrian monument (fig. 61) when it was moved from its long-standing home in front of the Lateran Palace to the center of the Piazza Campidoglio. Bober-Rubenstein, 206-208; Bush, 83-85, the base was designed

of the *Marcus Aurelius* as a portrait of the ultimate Christian ruler and soldier, and his, and Francesco's before him, desire for a Medicean equestrian monument adapted from this exemplar would be logical.[210] Giambologna himself had no doubt seen the famous ancient bronze group when he first arrived in Rome in 1550, or during any one of the subsequent trips he made to the Eternal City, as in 1572 with Vasari and Ammanati, in 1579 to inspect antiquities for Francesco, or again, in 1588 when Emperor Rudolph II awarded the sculptor a coat of arms.[211]

With regard to the *Henry II Equestrian Monument*, mentioned in Fortuna's 1583 letter, this was a project commissioned by Catherine de'Medici, Queen of France (fig. 56). Catherine was a distant cousin of Francesco I and Ferdinando I de'Medici, and grandmother to Christine of Lorraine, Ferdinando's wife. In 1559 Catherine commissioned from Michelangelo an equestrian monument in honor of her recently deceased husband, King Henry II of France.[212] The ageing Michelangelo had declined the project, but recommended Danielle da Volterra in his stead, and thus in 1560, the

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around 1539 and was slightly altered in the early 1560s. While Michelangelo and the Medici may no longer have been on friendly terms by this time, as Michelangelo had left Florence permanently in 1534, the sculptor's Florentine pedigree was still remembered.

[210] Weitzel Gibbons, "Cosimo's *Cavallo*...," 77-95; Michael P. Mezzatesta, "Marcus Aurelius, Fray Antonio de Guevara, and the Ideal of the Perfect Prince in the Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 66, no.4 (December 1984): 620-633.

[211] Dhanens, 39-41; Avery, Complete Sculpture, 280-281.

[212] Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo V. The Final Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), 228-229, figs. 265-266; Antonia Boström, "Daniele da Volterra and the Equestrian Monument to Henry II of France," *The Burlington Magazine* 137, no. 1113 (December 1995): 809-820; and Antonia Boström, "Daniele da Volterra, Roberto Strozzi and the Equestrian Monument to Henry II of France," in *The Sculpted Object 1400-1700*, eds. Stuart Currie and Peta Motture (Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1997), 201-220.

commission went to Danielle. However, by 1566, Danielle was dead, and the horse had been cast but remained without its rider. In her attempt to bring the project to completion, Catherine entreated Francesco in a letter of 1567 to temporarily release Giambologna from his court duties and allow him to come to Rome and finish the monument. The Grand Duke denied the Queen's request in a polite yet firm response, explaining that due to Giambologna's busy schedule and obligations to the Grand Ducal court, he was not free to assist her with the project.[213]

While Giambologna was not afforded the opportunity to work on the *Henry II Equestrian Monument*, twenty years later, when he received the commission for the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, he was finally able to fulfill his career-long desire of executing a monumental horse and rider and group. For Giambologna, the project was to be a professional statement of his domination of Florentine sculpture on two levels. First, the equestrian monument would be his second monumental sculpture erected in the Piazza della Signoria, a singular honor only he enjoyed. His *Rape of the Sabine* marble group was erected under the Loggia dei Lanzi in 1582 (fig. 2) and had been widely

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[213] Malcom Campbell and Gino Corti, "A Comment on Prince Francesco de'Medici's Refusal to Loan Giovanni Bologna to the Queen of France," *The Burlington Magazine* 115, no. 845 (August 1973): 507-512. Francesco's description of Giambologna's situation as court sculptor is interesting. In the prince's first response to Cardinal Ricci, who wrote initially on behalf of the Queen, Francesco states: "I have raised master Giovanni Bologna…In truth, I have made him my man for the purpose of serving my needs…I am not able to do without certain statues and works which are in the hands of the aforesaid master." Francesco's response to the Queen herself when she wrote the second letter asking for Giambologna to come to Rome was equally terse, again mentioning the sculptor's work at hand: "…Master Giovanni Bologna, my sculptor, [is] at work on some extremely beautiful and important figures for the ornamentation of the Sala Grande of this palace [the Sala dei Cinquecento]…." Boström, "Daniele da Volterra and the Equestrian Monument...," 809. In the end, the riderless horse was sent to France in 1622 where it became part of an equestrian monument of King Louis XIII. Unfortunately, the monument was completely destroyed during the French Revolution.

celebrated as a triumph of artistry and marble carving.[214] Second, and of equal if not greater importance, was the fact that the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* was not only Florence's first permanent equestrian monument, it would be the first one successfully cast in Italy in over one hundred years, the last being Verrocchio's *Colleoni Monument* begun in 1482.[215]

The initial administrator of the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* was Giambologna's long time friend, Bernardo Vecchietti.[216] The only textural source remotely contemporary with the *Cosimo* monument that provides substantive information regarding the project is Filippo Baldinucci's *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in Qua...*, published in 1688. In his biographies of Giambologna and Pietro Tacca, one of Giambologna's principle assistants at the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, Baldinucci discusses the circumstances of the *Cosimo I*

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[214] Detlef Heikamp, "A Rare Booklet of Poems on Giambologna's *Rape of a Sabine Woman*," *Paragone* 40, 477 (November 1989): 53-70; Cole, "Giambologna and the Sculpture with No Name...,"12 n. 22. Giambologna's *Hercules Slaying a Centaur* marble group that is currently under the Loggia dei Lanzi was not commissioned until 1594, and was installed at the corner of Canto dei Carnesecchi in 1599. It was only placed in the Loggia dei Lanzi in 1841.

[215] Although Leonardo da Vinci had been working on two bronze equestrian monument projects at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Sforza horse of 1490-99 and the Trivulzio horse of 1507-13, neither of these projects was brought to completion. On the *Sforza* monument see *Leonardo da Vinci's Sforza Monument Horse: The Art of Engineering*, ed. Diane Cole Ahl (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1995); Andrea Bernardoni, "Leonardo and the Equestrian Monument for Francesco Sforza. The Story of an Unrealized Monumental Sculpture," in Gary M. Radke, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci and the Art of Sculpture* (Atlanta; New Haven and London: The High Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2009), 95- 135; and Gary Radke and Darin J. Stine, "An Abiding Obsession. Leonardo's Equestrian Projects, 1507-1519," in Gary M. Radke, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci and the Art of Sculpture* (Atlanta; New Haven and London: The High Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2009), 137-159.

[216] Dhanens, 274 n. 2.

commission and briefly identifies the subjects of its three narrative reliefs. However, it is in the biography of another artist, the painter Ludovico Cardi (Il Cigoli), that additional information about the project is given. In this *vita*, Baldinucci asserts that Giambologna asked Cigoli, along with another painter, Goro [Gregorio] Pagani, for designs for the equestrian monument. He wrote:

> A questa nobilissima faccenda s'applicò a tutto suo poter l'artefice; e perch'egli è proprio di quei che sanno, il non fidarsi di loro stessi, ma dar volentieri orecchio all'altrui parere, egli comunicato suo pensiero col gran pittore Ludovico Cigoli, e con Goro [Gregorio] Pagani, fecene loro far disegni, de'quali più d'uno n'è in vari tempi pervenuto sotto lo'occhio nostro ….
>
> (The artist applied himself to this noble undertaking with all his powers; and because he is the sort of person who has no self-confidence, but willingly takes advice from others, he consulted the great painter Ludovico Cigoli and Goro [Gregorio] Pagani, and had them do designs for it. At various times I have seen several of these….)[217]

Although Baldinucci's has by and large been accepted as fact in modern scholarship, the passage must be read with a more critical eye as two distinct problems arise with this statement.[218] The first comes from Baldinucci's statement that Giambologna did not have faith in himself. The sculptor, although ageing (at the time of the commission he was fifty-eight years old), was at the height of his career in 1587, and, as discussed above, had long been interested in executing an equestrian monument. At this point in his career, there is nothing to suggest he would have felt himself incapable of such a project. The second problem with Baldinucci's account is that he does not identify

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[217] Baldinucci, II, 569. I have used Pope-Hennessey's translation from *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 493.

[218] Dhanens, 275; Avery, "Giambologna's Horse and Rider," 230-231.

the specific content of Cigoli and Pagani's designs, thus making it impossible to know to what part of the equestrian monument were the designs related.

Importantly, there are drawings by Cigoli for equestrian monuments, two of which are preserved in the Musée du Louvre in Paris. The first drawing is dated to 1604 (fig. 57) and has been associated with the *Henry IV Equestrian Monument*, a work that was commissioned from Giambologna by Marie de'Medici in 1604, and completed by Pietro Tacca and his son-in-law after Giambologna's death in 1608.[219] The second drawing (fig. 58), is of Henry IV on a horse without a pedestal, but is still presumably also related to the 1604 commission.[220] The overall design of both of Cigoli's drawings is indebted to the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, completed five years earlier. Thus, neither of the two Louvre drawings could have been designs for the *Cosimo I* monument. What is possible, and indeed seems likely, is that Cigoli's drawings, done seventeen years after the *Cosimo I* monument was begun, provided the then almost eighty-year old Giambologna with a design for the *Henry IV* monument. Furthermore, as these two

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[219] Katharine Watson, *Pietro Tacca. Successor to Giovanni Bologna*, Ph.D. diss. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983), 187-200; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 247, n. 13; Jessica Mack-Andrick, *Pietro Tacca. Hofbildhauer der Medici (1577-1640). Politische Funktion und Ikonographie des frühabsolutistischen Herrscherdenkmals unter den Großherzögen Ferdinando I., Cosimo II. und Ferdinando II.* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank [VDG], 2005), 41-42, 155-156; and Franca Falletti, ed., *Pietro Tacca. Carrara, La Toscana, Le Grandi Corti Europee* (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), 150-163. The monument was sent to Paris and erected on the Pont du Neuf in 1613, but was almost wholly destroyed during the French Revolution. The only remaining portions of the monument are the four bronze captives executed by Pietro Tacca, which are in the Louvre. The Musée du Louvre website has the drawing, as well as its provenance and bibliography, available for viewing online at: http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/fo/visite?srv=mfc&param Action=actionGetOeuvre&idFicheOeuvre=1472.

[220] The Musée du Louvre website has the drawing, as well as its provenance and bibliography, available for viewing online at: http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/fo/visite?srv=mipe&paramAction=actionGetImage&idImgPrinc=1&idFicheOeuvre=1471.

drawings were part of Baldinucci's personal collection, they may very well have been the drawings to which he was referring in his biography of Giambologna.[221] It is important to note here also that in addition to the two Louvre drawings discussed above, there exists also another drawing by Cigoli (fig. 59) that at first glance appears to be related to one of the *Cosimo I Reliefs.* The drawing is a loose sketch after Francesco Salviati's *Triumph of Camillus* fresco (fig. 94) in the Sala dell'Udienza in the Palazzo Vecchio, and seems to support Baldinucci's claim that the painter provided the sculptor with designs for the equestrian monument. However, based on a pen and ink sketch of *Christ and St. Peter* on its recto, which is related to a painting of the same subject from that year, the sheet has been dated to 1607, which would make it impossible as a compositional source for Giambologna's relief.[222] Until additional evidence more concretely substantiates Baldinucci's statement that Giambologna asked Cigoli and Pagani for help with the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, it seems quite possible that the author, writing almost a century later, had confused the early equestrian monument with the later *Henry IV* commission.[223]

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[221] Musée du Louvre, *Dessins Florentins de la Collection de Filippo Baldinucci (1625-1696)* (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1958), 24-25; Miles Chappell, ed., *Disegni di Ludovico Cigoli (1559-1613)* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1972), 158-162, esp. 161, also suggests that Baldinucci may in fact have been referring to the Louvre drawings for the *Henry IV* monument when he was writing about the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*.

[222] Miles Chappell, "On Some Drawings by Cigoli," *Master Drawings* 27, no. 3 (Autumn 1989): 195-214 + 245-265; esp. 203, 204 fig. 8, 213 n. 62.

[223] Chappell, *Disegni...*, 161. Chappell also suggests confusion on Baldinucci's part regarding the two equestrian monuments as a possibility.

The Casting of the Monument

In preparation for the considerable enterprise of casting bronze on this scale, Ferdinando paid for the construction and installation of a new bronze foundry and workshop behind Giambologna's house on the Borgo Pinti.[224] In response to the opportunity he had been given, Giambologna audaciously planned to cast the horse in one piece, a feat as dangerous as it was spectacular.[225] Both the horse and the rider were cast in the new foundry, with Giambologna successfully casting the horse in a single pour, and the figure of Cosimo in separate pieces.

Contemporary eyewitness accounts of the horse immediately before and after its installation in the Piazza della Signoria give a remarkable sense of its overwhelming size.[226] Fynes Moryson, a British traveler who visited Florence in 1594, apparently saw the monument just prior to its installation in the piazza, and described it thus:

> In the house of John Bolena a Flemming, and an excellent engraver, I did see yet unperfected a horseman statua of brasse, fifteen els high, the belly of the horse being capable of 24 men, whereof foure might lie in the throat; and this horse was made as going in the high way, putting forward the neere foot before, & the farre foot behind, & standing

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[224] Zikos, "Giambologna's Land...," 386-387; Emanuela Ferretti, "La casa-studio di Giambologna in Borgo Pinti," in Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos, eds., *Giambologna gli dei, gli eroi* (Firenze-Milano: Giunti Editore S.p.A, 2006), 315-320.

[225] Avery, "Giambologna's Horse and Rider," 233. The horse alone weighed 15,438 pounds and the figure of Cosimo 7,716 pounds.

[226] When looking at the monument today, elevated on its pedestal, it is difficult to get a sense of the truly massive size of the entire monument ensemble. Photographs taken by Deane Keller during World War II, and preserved in the Yale University archives, show the monument being dismantled and taken out of Florence for safekeeping, and give the viewer today an idea of the monumental scale of both the horse and rider, see http://images.library.yale.edu/madid/showThumb.aspx?qs=1&qm=15&q1=1685&qc1=contains&qf1=subject1&qx=1004.2.

> upon the other two, which statua was to be erected to Duke Cosimo, being valued at 18. thousand crownes.[227]

Using almost exactly the same wording is the account of Francesco Settimani, the eighteenth-century diarist, who wrote:

> The horse was raised on the 10th of May [1594] and the statue on Saturday 14th… and while the horse was standing without its rider, they experimented to see how many men could get inside, through the square hole in its back under the saddle, and up to 23 managed it, though some say 24. The horse was cast all in one piece in Borgo Pinti and is universally admired.[228]

Although there are no formal contractual documents, detailed foundry records, along with contemporary accounts, provide valuable information about the casting of the horse and rider, as well as the reliefs for its base a few years later. The foundation for the pedestal (fig. 60) was completed on December 5, 1591, and according to a document dated January 15, 1592 (=1593 n.d.), the marble pedestal was carved by Jacopo di Zanobi Piccardi based on Giambologna's design.[229] Scholars have noted that Giambologna seemed to have Michelangelo's *Marcus Aurelius* base (fig. 61) in mind when he designed

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[227] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeers Travell Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland & Ireland,* 4 vols. (John Beale, Alderstreet, 1617; New York: Macmillan Co., 1907), vol. 1, 327.

[228] Avery, "Giambologna's Horse and Rider," 234, quotes Francesco Settimanni, an eighteenth-century diarist who documented Grand Ducal Florence at the time of Ferdinando I. To the best of my knowledge, his *Diario del Settimani,* is only available in its original unpublished manuscript form in the Medici Archives in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

[229] Jacopo di Zanobi Piccardi was a stonemason who assisted on other Giambologna projects. Baldinucci, IV, 77; Dhanens, 68; Watson, *Pietro Tacca,* 34-37, provides a brief summary of Jacopo's presence in Giambologna's workshop; Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator...*, 27, documents Piccardi quarrying marble for Giambologna's St. Antoninus chapel.

the *Cosimo I* base, although he altered its dimensions to create a taller and narrower base, which effectively enhanced the perceived monumentality of the equestrian group.[230] The horse was erected on the base on May 10, 1594, and the figure of Cosimo I was placed on the horse four days later, on May 14. The official unveiling of the equestrian monument was held on June 10, 1594. At this point in the monument's history, the horse and rider stood on an unadorned marble base, and it would remain so for the next few years. The three bronze narrative reliefs, along with the dedicatory plaque, were cast between 1596 and 1598. They were installed on the base at some point between late 1598 and April 25, 1599, a *terminus ante quem* established by the fact that April 25, 1599 was the last payment date for the casting of the ducal coat of arms placed on either side the monument. Thus, the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* was brought to full completion a little over a decade after its inception.[231]

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[230] Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 188; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 189. For the issue of Renaissance pedestals for monumental sculpture see Kathleen Weil-Garris, "On Pedestals: Michelangelo's *David*, Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* and the Sculpture of the Piazza della Signoria," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983): 377-415, esp. 412-414, which deals with Giambologna's base for the *Rape of the Sabine* in the Loggia dei Lanzi.

[231] Although a decade to bring the project to completion might seem lengthy, especially in light of Giambologna's famously efficient workshop, there were reasons for the delay in execution, primarily due to Giambologna's other works in hand. Goldberg, "Artistic Relations…Part II," 532 n. 18 and n. 21, transcribes parts of two letters written in 1592 and 1598. In 1592 Grand Duke Ferdinando I wrote to Don Rodrigo de Castro, the Cardinal of Seville, that Giambologna had been taken off all other projects so that he could concentrate on finishing quickly the bronze *priant* statue of the Cardinal. While nothing suggests that Giambologna had in fact put aside all other works, given that the Cardinal only received his statue in 1598, the letter does give an indication of the many demands that were placed on Giambologna's time. For the Grand Duke, Giambologna was already busy with another commission he received concurrently with the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* for six bronze narrative reliefs that were part of a bronze enclosure (*ornamento*) that was sent to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem where it was

The *Cosimo I Reliefs*, their Iconography and their Relationship to Contemporary Two-Dimensional Sources

The modeling and casting of the reliefs began in 1596, two years after the horse and rider were installed in the Piazza della Signoria in 1594.[232] There is little substantive evidence that indicates the reliefs were an originally planned part of the monument, which may account for the passing of two years before they were begun. It seems possible that Ferdinando, after seeing the completed equestrian monument on its undecorated marble base for two years (fig. 62), decided that the addition of narrative reliefs was not only warranted from an aesthetic standpoint, but also perhaps from a political one. The subjects of the three narrative reliefs are episodes central to the establishment of the Medici ducal and grand ducal dynasty, achieved by Cosimo I during his thirty-year reign as Grand Duke of the Tuscan state. In chronological order of the events they represent, along with the *tituli* inscribed in bronze capital Roman letters at the top of each marble frame around the reliefs, the subjects are: *Florence Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany* (PLENIS LIBERIS SEN. FL. SVFFRAGIIS DVX PATRIAE RENVNTIATVR*)* (fig. 73) an event which took place in 1537; *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena* (PROFLIGATIS HOSTIB. IN DEDITIONEM ACCEPTIS SENENSIBVS) (1560) (fig. 80); and the *Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke by Pope Pius V* (OB ZELVM RELIG. PRÆCIPVVMQ. IVSTITÆ STVDIVM) (1570) (fig. 96). The addition of

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to be placed around the Stone of Unction. The full circumstances of the *Jerusalem Reliefs* commission will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[232] Dhanens, 277, argues that there were two distinctly separate periods in the planning of the monument; the first being the horse and rider, from 1588 to 1593, and the second the reliefs, from 1596 to 1599.

these reliefs purposefully complemented and expanded the meaning of the formal, iconic equestrian portrait of the first Medici Grand Duke above.[233]

The earliest evidence of plans for reliefs on the base comes from a model, attributed to Giambologna and dated to around 1590, which has a sketch relief on both of its long sides. The subjects of the sketch reliefs have been identified as *Cosimo's Patronage of the Arts* (fig. 63) and *The Signoria Offers Cosimo the Ducal Crown* (fig. 64).[234] If indeed the model is by Giambologna's hand, it may perhaps reflect the sculptor's *primi pensieri* for the reliefs, presumably based on subjects stipulated by an author who has yet to be identified. Stylistically, the three reliefs that were ultimately executed for the base bear no resemblance to those of the *modello*, and in terms of iconography, only the subject of *The Signoria Offers Cosimo the Ducal Crown* is represented on both the model and a final relief. The subject of *Cosimo's Patronage of the Arts* seems a rather insipid theme for a type of monument historically used to celebrate famous military and political leaders. Interestingly, however, both subjects shown in the sketch reliefs were represented in Vasari's *Cosimo I* cycle in the Sala del Cinquecento. For example, the *Apotheosis of Cosimo* tondo (fig. 65) shows the ruler

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[233] The addition of a narrative relief, or in this case multiple reliefs, as a supplement to a larger statue had its precedent in another work by Giambologna in the same piazza, that being the *Rape of the Sabine* from 1582. In this case the addition of the relief was seen as a necessary element to explain the figural group above. Borghini (Ellis), 69-72, According to Raffaello Borghini, Giambologna originally executed the sculptural group without a subject in mind as purely a means of demonstrating his ability to carve a multi-figure sculptural group, and it was Borghini himself who suggested the subject of the Sabines, although he makes no mention of the relief in the base. Cellini's earlier *Perseus and Medusa*, also in the Loggia dei Lanzi has a narrative relief in its base (*Perseus Freeing Andromeda*) explicating the Perseus narrative.

[234] Avery, *Sculptor to the Medici*, 229; Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 277 cat. 199.

being crowned, and although it differs from the *modello* relief in that it is an allegorical representation of Cosimo, it might nevertheless have provided an adequate precedent for *The Signoria Offers Cosimo the Ducal Crown*. Thus, the initial selection of these two subjects may have been suggested by the Sala's iconographic program. Ultimately, and clearly visible in a comparison of the *modello* sketch reliefs and the three final reliefs, significant changes in terms of both iconography and style were implemented after 1590.

Although the horse and rider had been cast in Giambologna's newly installed foundry, the reliefs, inscription plaque, and coat of arms were cast at the Grand Ducal foundry at San Marco by Giovanni Alberghetti and Fra Domenico Portigiani beginning in 1596.[235] The foundry documents reveal that there were problems with the casting of such large reliefs, as there was the need to "re-cook" ("*riquocere*") at least one of them. Unfortunately, the documents do not specify which relief had to be re-fired, although the hypothesis has been that the casting problems may have been related to their large size and complex compositions.[236] Two of the four bronze panels are vertically oriented, measuring 100 x 75 centimeters each (roughly 3'3" x 2'5"), and conforming to the convexity of the rounded ends of the base. The other two reliefs are horizontally oriented, measuring 100 x 174 centimeters each (roughly 3'3" x 5'7"), and rest flush against the longer flat sides of the base. Over each of the two horizontal reliefs is the Medici coat of arms surmounted by the Grand Ducal crown and intertwined with the chain of the Order

[235] Dhanens, 277; Zikos, "Giambologna's Land...," 387.

[236] Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 164; Gibbons and Corti, 508-509.

of the Golden Fleece (fig. 66).[237] The two coats of arms function almost as a visual "clip," folding over the top of the base, almost touching the top of the two horizontal reliefs.

Each of the *Cosimo I Reliefs* function as an autonomous visual manifestation of the history of Cosimo I's achievements, and significantly, each one can be directly related to pre-existing two-dimensional sources, a fact which speaks directly to the patron's purposeful use of repeated imagery for propagandistic purposes. This same iconography was conspicuous in the elaborate decorations for the 1589 *entrata* which featured two ephemeral arches decorated with images commemorating Cosimo I de'Medici, as well as the paintings Ferdinando commissioned from Ligozzi and Passignano for the Sala del Cinquecento.[238] Giambologna's deliberate use of two-dimensional sources for this project should not be interpreted as either a sign of the sculptor's lack of interest in narratives, or as a by-product of his age, requiring him to rely on the assistance from others for the relief compositions.[239] Rather, it should be understood as a demonstration of Giambologna's ability to respond to, and meet, his obligations as court sculptor in the manner expected by Ferdinando, which was no doubt, one of the qualities that made him indispensible to the Grand Duke.

Situated just to the side of the Palazzo Vecchio, the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* faces west in the Piazza della Signoria, with the three reliefs located on the

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[237] The characteristic sheep that is part of the Order's emblem, which normally is seen hanging down from the chain, has broken off.

[238] See page 74 above.

[239] For Giambologna's "lack of interest" in narrative, see footnote 13 above; on Baldinucci see pages 92-94 above.

north, south, and east ends of the base. It has been suggested in previous scholarship that the two larger reliefs, the *Triumph of Cosimo* and the *Coronation*, were conceived of as a fundamental component of the base, while the subject of the smaller relief, the *Homage*, was added only after the first two were installed.[240] However, this hypothesis seems untenable as each event illustrates a critical moment in the establishment and success of the Medici Duchy and Grand Duchy, and together they form a cogent iconographic program.

On the front, or west end of the base, directly under the feet of Cosimo's striding war steed, is the inscription plaque (fig. 67), which reads:

> COSMO MEDICI MAGNO ETRVRIÆ DVCI PRIMO. PIO. FELICI. INVICTO. IVSTO. CLEMENTI. SACRÆ MILITIÆ PACISQ. IN ETRVRIA. AVTHORI. PATRI ET PRINCIPI OPTIMO. FERDINANDVS F. MAG. DVX III. EREXIT AN MDLXXXXIIII
>
> TO COSIMO MEDICI, FIRST GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY, GOD-FEARING, JUST AND MERCIFUL, PROMOTER OF HOLY WAR AND OF PEACE IN TUSCANY: FERDINAND, HIS SON AND THIRD GRAND DUKE, ERECTED THIS TO HIS EXCELLENT PRINCE AND FATHER. 1594 [241]

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[240] Holderbaum, *The Sculptor Giovanni Bologna*, 296, refers to the *Homage* relief "an inspired afterthought" on the part of Giambologna for deciding to add a relief to the convex end of the base. Holderbaum bases his suggestion that this relief was an "afterthought" on a letter from Girolamo Seriacopi to the head of the works department at Orvieto Cathedral (May 26, 1596, published in Dhanens, 361) in which Seriacopi discusses the works Giambologna was currently working on, and that one of these is a relief for the base of the *Cosimo I* monument. Seriacopi states Giambologna was intent on completing it to go along with the two others already finished. However, in the letter, the relief is not identified by subject, and thus there is no evidence that it was one referred to by Seriacopi.

[241] Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 493.

The bronze plaque is set in an elaborate marble cartouche illusionistically carved to simulate fabric in the manner of a banner or tapestry. This cloth-like quality is expressed through the marble curling up at the bottom and folding over the back of the turtle which emerges from underneath (fig. 68). Above, the head and forelegs of a ram (the astrological sign of Capricorn) burst through the top of the fabric, creating a dramatic fold exactly in the center of what appears to be a separately attached "fabric" banner (fig. 69). This "fabric" banner is in turn attached to the pedestal at each of its ends by a bronze clasp. At the upper corners, behind the banner, are two "fabric" knots of marble which may be the ends of the garlands which hang down on either side. This entire decorative scheme is duplicated on the back of the base framing the *Florence Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany* relief (fig. 73), with the only additional element being the relief's titulus.

The inclusion of the ram's head and the turtle underneath were clear references to Cosimo I's association with (and appropriation of) the Emperor Augustus' *impress*.[242] Cosimo's adoption of Augustan imagery was well known to the Florentines, and was visible in several portraits on display in the city, such as Giorgio Vasari's portrait of *Cosimo I as Augustus* in the Room of Leo X (1560-65) in the Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 70), Vasari's portrait of *Cosimo I as Augustus* in the Sala del Cinquecento (1563-65), and Vincenzo Danti's marble statue of *Cosimo I as Augustus* (1568-72) (fig. 71), which was

[242] For Cosimo I's identification with Augustus, see Kurt W. Forster, "Metaphors of Rule. Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de'Medici," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15 (1971): 67-104; 73 n. 23; 85-88; Roger Crum, "Cosmos, the World of Cosimo": The Iconography of the Uffizi Façade," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 2 (June 1989): 237-253; and Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de'Medici and His Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 24, 67,79, 86, 136-139.

originally located on the exterior of the Uffizi *testata* façade. Both painted portraits feature the Augustan Capricorn, and in the case of the one in the Apartment of Leo X, the Augustan turtle. The Capricorn is also featured on the base of Cellini's *Perseus* monument in the Loggia dei Lanzi, a commission which came from Cosimo I himself.

Beginning with the relief that represents the earliest chronological event is the *Florentine Senate Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany* (figs. 72 and 73), located on the east side of the pedestal. The relief illustrates the monument when, on January 9, 1537, Cosimo was officially recognized by the Florentine senate (the *Senato dei Quarantotto*) as Duke of Tuscany. The ceremony was held in an office in the Palazzo Vecchio. Cosimo's elevation to Duke occurred two days after the murder of Duke Alessandro de'Medici by Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de'Medici on the night of January 7, 1537.[243] The senate held an emergency meeting at the Palazzo Vecchio on the morning of January 9, and their decision about who should fill the vacant seat was rendered by the end of the day.

The vertically oriented relief has an unusual convex profile due to its location on the back end of the pedestal, and compositionally, it may have been the most challenging for Giambologna, since he had to take this curvature into account when modeling the relief (fig. 74). Ultimately, he was able to create a relief that reads visually as if it were a flat relief on a flat surface, a sure and deft demonstration of his skills at manipulating perspectival illusionism. The level of relief projection is extremely low with very few figures or elements projecting off the bronze surface. As such, the relief fits well in

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[243] Hibbard, 256-257; Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana. I Medici*. *Storia d'Italia*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1976; 1982), vol. 13, 65-67.

Vasari's classification of "*bassi e stiacciati rilievi*," where the success of the relief depends on the "…skill in design and invention, and as all depends on the outlines."[244] Giambologna does indeed exploit the potential of the outline in this composition, incising sharp lines onto the bronze surface to delineate each figure from the next. For those few figures with greater projection, he modeled them with a sharp rebate around their edges, again to better define their spatial location and relationship to one another. In only two areas does the level of projection from the surface increase: the heads of the standing male figures at each corner and the window drape that waves freely in the breeze (fig. 75). And although most of the figures are defined by line more so than actual physical volume in this "*basso e stiacciato rilievo*," Giambologna was able to effectively suggest not only three-dimensional volume, but convincing spatial recession.

Giambologna, mindful of being historically accurate, located the event in an interior setting that most likely approximates an office in the Palazzo Vecchio. The composition is organized around the central vertical axis defined by the corner of the building prominently placed in the direct center of the background, and the orthogonals generated by the floor tiles, which recede off to the upper left, create a viable three-dimensional space. To the viewer's right, the building extends parallel to the picture plane, while on the left the wall recedes at a dramatic diagonal and abuts a long, vaulted corridor that continues the linear recession into the left distance. Located just to the right of the central axis is the seated Duke Cosimo (fig. 76), offering his hand to a member of the senate who kneels in reverence. Giambologna's figural arrangement is suggestive of an inverted "V" that recedes horizontally into space. The recession begins with the two

[244] Vasari (Maclehose), 156-157.

standing male figures at either corner at the front of the picture plane, effectively acting as repoussoirs; this inward diagonal is continued by the two figures seated just in front of them. Beyond the central plane, and arranged isocephalically, is a large group of the *Senato*.

In terms of an iconographical precedent for this subject, the episode had been depicted in an ephemeral painting by Jacopo da Empoli as part of the decorations for the 1589 wedding *apparato*.[245] The painting was located on the ephemeral Canto degli Antellesi triumphal arch that was decorated with images celebrating the Medici dynasty, with several honoring Cosimo I himself. The painting, which no longer survives, was engraved for inclusion in Raffaello Gualterotti's 1589 festival book of the wedding ceremonies (fig. 77).[246] While a general compositional correspondence exists with the painting as illustrated in the engraving, there is a more direct correlation between the relief and Empoli's squared drawing for the painting (fig. 78).[247] The relationship between the two images becomes even more strongly evident when the drawing is

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[245] Erben, 306-307, compares the relief with Vasari's painting of the event in the Sala del Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio. Aside from subject, however, the painting and the relief bear little in common with each other compositionally. The author also refers to Empoli's ephemeral painting, but not the squared drawing.

[246] Raffaello Gualterotti, *Della descrizione del regale apparato fatto nella nobile citta di Firenze per la venuta, e per le nozze della serenissima madama Christina di Loreno moglie del serenissimo don Ferdinando Medici terzo gran duca di Toscana* (Florence: Antonio Padovani, 1589). This text is available online through the British Library website at: http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0204.

[247] Saslow, 195-196; Rosanna Caterina Proto Pisani, *Jacopo da Empoli, 1551-1640: pittore d'eleganza e devozione* (Milano: Silvana, 2004), 224-225; and Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, "Contributi allo studio degli apparati e delle feste Medicee," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500, II: Musica e spettacolo, scienza dell'uomo e della natura*, ed. Giancarlo Garfagnini (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1983), 645-661, esp. 655-656 and figs. 12-15; *Ferdinando I de'Medici 1549-1609 Maiestate Tantum*, exh. cat., eds. Monica Bietti and Anna Maria Giusti. Firenze: Sillabe, 2009), 117-118 cat. 19.

reversed (fig. 79). In both, Cosimo is seated just slightly off-center with the genuflecting senator in front taking his hand. The background in Empoli's drawing is not set at such dramatically receding angles as in Giambologna's relief, but it does prominently feature a barrel vaulted room in the far distance that corresponds to that seen in the left of the relief. Both compositions also share the isocephalic arrangement of the assembled *Senato dei Quarantotto* in the center middle-ground. A few minor differences exist between the drawing and the relief, such as Empoli's inclusion of the two stairs in the foreground that lead into the composition, a seated, rather than standing repoussoir figure, and the two figures who look over their shoulders towards the viewer. Nevertheless, the relationship between the relief and the squared drawing strongly suggests that the drawing was the iconographical and compositional source for the relief.

The second chronological event depicted is *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena* (fig. 80), which is horizontally oriented and located on the south side of the pedestal facing into the Piazza della Signoria toward the Palazzo Vecchio and the Loggia dei Lanzi. The event shown in the relief occurred after Cosimo gained control of Siena, and entered the city in triumph on October 28, 1560. Cosimo's attacks on Siena began in 1554 and came to a final resolution in 1557 when he demanded from Philip II of Spain that Siena be granted to him as a feudal holding. Philip agreed on July 3, 1557, and the city was subsequently given to the Tuscan Duchy.[248] In terms of its composition and the

[248] Antonio Martellini, *La Solenne entrata del lo Illustrissimo, et Eccellentissimo Signore il Signor Duca di Fiorenza et Siena, fatta a XXVIII. d'Ottobre, MDLX, in Siena* (Firenze: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1560), ed. Charles Davis in *Fontes* 49 (February 25, 2010), http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltext/2010/1011/. See Diaz, 114-123; and Van Veen, *Cosimo I de'Medici and His Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*, 1-7, for a concise summary of Cosimo's reign. As Spain had given the Tuscan State the town of Siena, each time the Spanish court changed leadership, the new king

quality of its execution, this relief is undoubtedly the most visually dynamic of the three. The level of relief projection ranges from *schiacciato* (squeezed or flattened) to areas that are completely three dimensional (figs. 81 and 82), not being attached to the background surface whatsoever. The foreground figures were modeled in very high relief, with many parts fully in the round. The middle-ground figures were executed in slightly lower relief, and at times, flattened out with a sharp rebate around the edges, used to create a sense of depth and also to catch the movement of light and shadow across the surface (fig. 83). The background is defined by low relief palm trees and very low relief rendering of hills, trees, and the city wall. Whereas the *Homage* relief exemplifies Vasari's "*bassi e stiacciati rilievi*," the *Triumph* relief fully conforms with his description of a "*mezzo rilievo*...invented by the ancients to make figure compositions with which to adorn flat walls, and they adopted this treatment in theaters and triumphal arches...."[249]

It has been suggested that Giambologna turned to ancient reliefs of triumphal imagery for general thematic inspiration for this composition.[250] Such prototypes would certainly be logical both in terms of style and iconography. For example, Giambologna's *Triumph* can easily be compared with the *Triumph of Titus* relief (fig. 84) on the Arch of Titus, as well as the *Triumph of Marcus Aurelius* relief (fig. 85), which was located on

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would officially "re-give" Siena to Florence. Goldberg, "Artistic Relations...Part I," 108-109, records that when Philip III became King of Spain in 1598, he did not grant Siena to Ferdinando until 1605. In an effort to secure the investiture of Siena to his Grand Duchy, Ferdinando sent a variety of gifts to the Spanish court in the hopes of moving the discussions forward.

[249] Vasari (Maclehose), 154.

[250] Avery, *Complete Sculpture,* 189. The author does not provide a specific ancient Roman prototype, but suggests generally Giambologna's knowledge of ancient relief.

the Campidoglio by 1515.[251] In both, the triumphant emperor rides in quadriga, there is a clearly directional movement, and in the *Marcus Aurelius* relief, the emperor enters the city through a triumphal arch, not unlike Giambologna's *Triumph*, showing Cosimo approaching the arched portal that leads into Siena.

In contrast to the Imperial precedents, however, Giambologna devised a compositional space that included a clear foreground, middle-ground, and background, through which and in front of, the triumphal procession takes place. This expansion of pictorial space allowed him to create a sense of energy and movement that permeates every part of the composition. Moreover, the variation in the level of projection created viable spaces for the figures to inhabit; instead of being lined up in a row along the front of the picture plane, the figures are spread throughout the space in a convincing representation of a crowded procession. The Ducal triumph moves across the composition from the viewer's right to the viewer's left with Cosimo prominently located just right of center. He is seated victoriously atop a throne which itself seems to be carried on a four-wheeled cart known as a *carpentum*.[252] Surrounding Cosimo's seat are a shield and sword at the front and to the side, and what may be Cosimo's cuirass at the back; these objects are all traditional war paraphernalia normally seen accompanying a victorious ruler in triumph. It is important to note that by depicting Cosimo on what appears to be a *carpentum*, a specific type of triumphal procession was being illustrated,

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[251] Sergio Bertelli, *The King's Body. Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, trans. R. Burr Litchfield (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2001), 63. Bober-Rubinstein, 196, 199, state that the *Marcus Aurelius* relief was originally part of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, and in 1515, Pope Leo X had it, along with two other ancient reliefs, installed on the Campidoglio.

[252] Bertelli, 63.

that of a *progressio*.[253] A *progressio* entry was characterized by the throne being conveyed on a *carpentum* and at times, would also feature a baldacchino carried over the triumphator. Thus, the *progressio* differed from the commonly represented Imperial *triumphans*, in which the ruler would stand in a chariot pulled by either two or four horses (a biga or quadriga, respectively). In both the *Titus* and *Marcus Aurelius* reliefs, the emperors are shown in a *triumphans* as they are each riding in a quadriga. A third type of entry, known as an *ovatio*, will be discussed below.

The figure of Cosimo occupies the central middle-ground of the composition, with his head and torso modeled in the round, isolated against the sky, and rising above the small range of hills in the distance. Because the figure is almost fully three-dimensional (figs. 86 and 87), it creates an impressive play of light and shadow that moves across the surface of the very flat background. And although the portrait of Cosimo is diminutive, Giambologna went to great lengths to accurately represent both the physiognomy of the Duke as well as the objects of adornment that elucidate his reign and status. Cosimo's right arm thrusts forward holding a commander's baton, while his left arm, bent at the elbow, rests on his waist just behind the hilt of his sword. Around his neck is the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, just as it is shown in his portrait above (fig. 88) on the equestrian monument.[254] It is interesting to note that the seated

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[253] Bertelli, 63, 86-92.

[254] Jonathan Dacre Boulton D'Arcy, *The Knights of the Crown: the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Late Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge; Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1987), 356-396. The Order of the Golden Fleece was a prestigious military order overseen by the Spanish Habsburgs and conferred only on members of the ruling elite. Cosimo was granted entry into the Order in 1546. Ewa Karwacka Codini, "Pisa of the Knights," in *Pisa dei Cavalieri*, ed. Clara Baracchini, trans. Judith Landry (Milano: Franco Maria Ricci, 1997), 91-95. The Order of Santo Stefano was founded by Cosimo in

pose of Cosimo is remarkably similar to that of Bandinelli's seated marble portrait of Giovanni delle Bande Nere (fig. 89), an adaptation that may have been intended to draw comparisons between father and son and evoke the idea of inherited military prowess.[255]

Positioned at the left and right foreground corners are two allegorical repoussoir figures. At the bottom left, the partially nude female figure with her back to the viewer personifies Florence, as she is holding the Florentine emblem of the *fleur-de-lis*. Her pose is countered by the partially nude male figure on the right, facing out toward the viewer, who leans on water jug symbolizing the Arno River. Just above the metaphorical figure of the Arno is a man holding symbols of the two cities: the Marzocco lion of Florence, and the she-wolf of Siena (fig. 90). On either side of the composition are densely packed, teaming groups of figures comprised of war captives, soldiers, horses

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1561, one year after his triumphal entry into Siena, and therefore he is not shown wearing the Order's eight-pointed cross on his armor.

[255] Detlef Heikamp, "Scultura e politica. Le statue della Sala Grande di Palazzo Vecchio," *Le Arti del principato mediceo* (1980), 201-254; Malcolm Campbell, "Observations on the Salone dei Cinquecento in the time of Duke Cosimo I de'Medici," in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500, III Relazioni artistiche Il linguaggio architettonico* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 819-830; Henk Th. Van Veen, "A Note on Bandinelli's Giovanni delle Bande Nere in Piazza San Lorenzo," *Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 998 (1986): 346-347; and Louis Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court: A Corpus of Early Modern Sources* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 184-185, 188, 192 (the contract), 193, 208, 222, 239, 243-245, 249-250, 263-264, 268-269; and Greve, 207-220. The *Giovanni delle Bande Nere Monument* was originally commissioned by Cosimo I as part of a sepulchral monument for his father that was planned for the interior of the church of San Lorenzo, a church with long ties to the Medici family. By 1540, however, the plans for the project had changed and the over life-size seated portrait was erected on a pedestal outside the church in the Piazza San Lorenzo. The completed pedestal was installed in Piazza San Lorenzo while the *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* was placed in the *Sala del Cinquecento* where it became part of Bandinelli's series of sculpted Medicean portraits. The statue remained in the *Sala* until 1850 when it was re-united with its original base in the Piazza San Lorenzo.

and beggars. Those behind Cosimo's chariot are part of the Duke's regiment of soldiers, while the figures directly in front of the chariot, men whose hands are bound behind their backs and bent over at the waist, are prisoners of war taken during the siege. Gestures are individualized and expressive, with men shouting, gesticulating, crowding around the *carpentum*, and pushing their way through the city gate (fig. 91). The overall effect of this great mélange is synesthesia-like in its visually aural suggestiveness. The viewer is immediately able to imagine the sounds generated by this noisy, boisterous triumphal procession.

According to contemporary accounts of Cosimo's entry, Cosimo and the Grand Duchess Eleanora entered the city on horseback under a baldacchino, in an *ovatio* entry. In this type of triumphal procession, the ruler would ride in on horseback, not in a chariot or on a throne, and usually under a baldacchino carried by the male youth of the city.[256] Antonio Martellini's description of the event in his 1560 text recorded that Cosimo: "*…entrò sotto il baldacchino di broccato, portato dalli 24 giovani a vicenda, sei per volta. Era il cavallo sua baio guarnito di velluto e oro...*" ("...he entered under a brocaded baldachin carried by twenty four young men, six at a time. His bay horse was trimmed with velvet and gold..."). [257] Contemporary rulers routinely entered their territories in

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[256] Bertelli, 63, 92.

[257] Martellini, 14. A similar accounting of the Grand Duke's entry is given in the festival book written by Anton Francesco Cini, *La Reale Entrata dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Duca et Duchessa di Fiorenza, in Siena, con la signifatione delle Latine inscrittioni, e con alcuni Sonetti, scritta per Aton Francesco Cini Corso* (Roma: Antonio Blado Stampator Camerale, 1560), 11-12, in *Fontes* 48 (February 22, 2010), ed. Charles Davis, available online at: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltext/2010/983/; AnnaMaria Testaverde Matteini, "La decorazione festiva e l'itinerario di 'rifondazione' della città negli ingressi trionfali a Firenze tra XV e XVI Secolo (II)," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 34, no. 1/2 (1990): 164-198, esp. 165-173; and

triumph under a canopy as did, for example, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V when he entered Siena in 1536 in an *ovatio*. However, in Giambologna's relief, as well as other representations of the event, Cosimo is shown in a *progressio* triumph without the ceremonial canopy as well as without the Grand Duchess. In an engraved gem by Domenico de'Camei (fig. 92), which was once thought to represent Cosimo's Sienese triumph, the seated male figure enters the city walls in a *progressio*.[258] Overhead, a personification of Victory crowns the ruler with laurel as the procession enters the city through a triumphal arch. Similarly, on a Sienese *biccherna* depicting the triumphal *ovatio* of 1560 (fig. 93), Cosimo is represented riding on his horse, but again, without the baldacchino.

The reasons for the elimination of the baldacchino in the relief may have been twofold. As executed, the figure of Cosimo dominates the skyline, isolated against the smooth surface of the background plane. Were there the additional element of a baldacchino, the concentrated focus on the figure of the Tuscan leader would have been considerably diminished. The second reason for the omission may have been the desire to represent a triumphal entry more closely associated visually with the Imperial tradition, where rulers were not generally represented under a canopy in their triumphs.

Bertelli, 92, comments on the fact that although Cosimo entered Siena under a baldacchino, Giambologna's relief of the triumphal procession shows the Grand Duke without the canopy.

[258] *Palazzo Vecchio: Committenza e Collezionismo Medicei* (1980), 155 n. 289. The cameo was originally thought to represent Cosimo I's entry into Siena, but based on a document in the Medici archives the author refutes the earlier attribution of it representing Cosimo, although provides no further information as to what the scene represents. The medal was in Francesco I de'Medici's collection, and was received as a gift from the archbishop of Viterbo. Irrespective of whether the cameo actually represents Cosimo I's entry in Siena, it nevertheless would have provided an apt prototype for *ingresso* iconography.

It seems possible to argue that a conscientious choice was made in this relief to emulate not only visually, but also symbolically, the Roman Imperial tradition.

There can be no doubt that Giambologna was familiar with such Imperial prototypes, such as the *Triumph of Titus* relief mentioned above, if for no other reason than the several trips he made to Rome throughout his career. Imperial Roman precedents notwithstanding, there was a contemporary source in Florence that appears to have been a primary influence on the composition of the relief, and that was Francesco Salviati's fresco of the *Triumph of Camillus* (fig. 94). The fresco is part of *The Deeds of Camillus* cycle in the Sala dell'Udienza in the Palazzo Vecchio which was commissioned from Cosimo I in 1543.[259] In the fresco, the Roman general Camillus is shown in a *progressio* triumphal return to Rome after his victory at Veii. The general's *carpentum* is drawn by four white horses and surrounded by soldiers, captives of war, and hangers-on.[260] Staffs with symbols of the Roman Republic, along with war booty, including a statue of the goddess Juno carried on a litter toward the front of the procession, accompany the victorious Roman general. Toward the right of the composition, a small section of landscape is visible, with a city-topped hill rising prominently in the middle-ground, and purplish mountains that fade into hazy gray atmospheric perspective. Soldiers in retreat are just visible to the left and bottom of the hill. As the procession moves off to the right, it effectively disappears behind the illusionistically painted

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[259] Vasari (De Vere), II, 566-568; Iris H. Cheney, *Francesco Salviati (1510-1563)* 4 vols., Ph.D. diss. (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, Inc., 1963), vol. 1, 162; Luisa Mortari, *Francesco Salviati* (Roma: Leonardo-De Luca Editori s.r.l., 1992), 25-33.

[260] Cheney, vol. 1, 168, notes that the use of white horses in a triumph in antiquity was a sign that the person was a deity, and Camillus drew criticism for his use of white horses in his triumph at Veii as being reflective of his pride.

grisaille marble pier over the actual door in the room, which divides this scene from the next. Salviati captured the triumphant mood through vibrant colors and a highly decorative effect across the surface of the fresco.

Salviati's fresco simulates the effect of an ancient triumphal relief as all of the figures occupy and move primarily along the front of the picture plane, as in the *Triumph of Titus*, for example. The hill topped by the town of Veii rises to a height that further closes off the foreground from the background, which again emphasizes the sculpted relief-like nature of the composition. When compared with Giambologna's *Triumph*, the striking similarity between the two becomes apparent. To begin with, they both show a *progressio* triumph that moves purposefully across the pictorial plane, albeit in opposite directions. The seated poses of the two victors are quite similar, with one knee bent, one arm at the waist and the other extended in front; however, Cosimo's pose remains much closer to that of the seated Giovanni delle Bande Nere. Nevertheless, both rulers are located just off-center, and have framing devices behind them; the winged Victory behind Camillus and the tall, leafy trees behind Cosimo. In the *Camillus* fresco, a hillock with a spindly tree isolated against the sky is seen just in front of the general; and similarly, in front of Cosimo (but visually meant to be read as being in the distance), a hillock also rises with a small cluster of trees isolated against the background plane. Both triumphal processions feature crowds of boisterous participants, along with war captives walking beside the *carpentum* with their hands tied behind their backs and bent over at the waist. Compositionally it was necessary for Giambologna to include the two reclining allegorical figures of Florence at the bottom left and right corners, while Salviati was able to relegate his allegorical figures to the fictive piers that divide each scene.

That Giambologna's composition was most likely based on Salviati's fresco seems a viable suggestion. Not only did the *Triumph of Camillus* provide Giambologna with the general compositional structure for his relief, but importantly, it was also directly related to Cosimo through historical analogy. Marcus Furius Camillus, a Roman soldier who died in 365BCE, was a well-known figure in Florence, and was a popular subject in historical literature.[261] And indeed a portrait of Camillus appears in another location in the Palazzo Vecchio as part of the *uomini famosi* who flank the central image of *St. Zenobius with SS. Eugenius and Crecentius* in the Sala dei Gigli (fig. 95), painted by Ghirlandaio and his workshop in 1479.[262] Camillus, along with Brutus and Mucius Scaevola, are depicted in the lunette over the left door of the audience hall. The Camillus frescoes in the Sala dell'Udienza have been interpreted as being *exempla* for the newly founded principate under Cosimo I de'Medici.[263] As Cosimo I identified himself with

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[261] Melinda Schlitt, "The Patronage of Style: Francesco Salviati's Frescoes of "Camillus" and Cosimo I de'Medici," in *The Search for a Patron in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. David G. Wilkins and Rebecca L. Wilkins (Lewiston; Queenston; Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 157-231, esp. 163-171 for an overview of the history of Florentine literature on the life and deeds of Camillus.

[262] Melinda Hegarty, "Laurentian Patronage in the Palazzo Vecchio: The Frescoes of the Sala dei Gigli," *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 2 (June 1996): 265-285.

[263] Cheney, vol. 1, 161-182, esp. 163; vol. 2, 359-374, believes Salviati's Camillus frescoes were intentional references to the reign of Cosimo I de'Medici suggesting that specific parallels were intended between Camillus and Cosimo, for example Camillus' victory at Veii would correspond analogically to Cosimo's victory over Montemurlo, and Cosimo's expansion of territory under Tuscan control would have been analogous to Camillus' Roman territorial expansion; Forster, 73-74, 73 n. 23, believes that Cosimo intentionally "had himself represented in the guise of Camillus in the old Sala dell'Udienza…."; Melinda Wilcox Schlitt, *Francesco Salviati and the Rhetoric of Style*, Ph.D. diss. (Johns Hopkins University, 1991), 142-44, refutes Cheney's analysis and argues that the frescoes were indeed meant to be seen as models of behavior for the new Duke of Florence, but without specific parallels being intentionally made between Cosimo and Camillus.

Augustus, and Camillus was seen as Augustus' forerunner, Salviati's fresco cycle symbolically aligns Cosimo with both Republican and Imperial Rome, two political phases paralleled in Florence history, which moved from the Republic to the Grand Duchy, effectively a period of quasi-Imperial rule.

A further association can be made between the interior space of the Palazzo Vecchio, where the *Camillus* cycle is located, and the exterior space of the Piazza della Signora, where the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* is located. Both were, by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, potent symbols of the Medici family's domination of Florence which began with the first *pater patriae*, Cosimo il'Vecchio, and which had continued through Ferdinando. The Palazzo had been both the seat of the Florentine government as well as a Medici residence, and the Piazza was filled with Medici commissioned sculptures over the past century. Thus, Salviati's *Triumph of Camillus* and Giambologna's *Triumph of Cosimo* visually bound the two spaces together. And for Ferdinando, it was perhaps a means of further aligning himself with his father's legacy as well as being his own restatement of that legacy. It is also worth recalling that Salviati's *Camillus* frescoes were recently back in the spotlight, as Giambologna would have been aware, as Alessandro Allori began their restoration in 1589, most likely in conjunction with Ferdinando's wedding celebrations.[264]

The final episode illustrated on the base, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke by Pope Pius V* (fig. 96), is located on the north side of the pedestal. The relief depicts the key moment when the Medici Grand Ducal dynasty was established. Cosimo received the designation as Grand Duke of Tuscany in a papal bull issued from Pope Pius

[264] Cheney, vol. 2, 364.

V on August 27, 1569, formally published on December 12, 1569 in Florence, with the formal coronation taking place on March 4, 1570.[265] The initial honorary ceremony took place in the Sala Regia in the Vatican Palace in Rome while the coronation was in the Sistine Chapel.[266] In contrast to the relief styles of both the *Homage* and *Triumph* reliefs, where the first has almost no relief projection and the second is dominated by high relief projection, this relief was modeled in a manner that reconciled the two extremes, which is most easily seen in an oblique view (fig. 97) where the shallow volume of the figures is most evident. While it is not quite as low as the *Homage* relief, it has nowhere near the three-dimensionality seen in the *Triumph* relief, and thus, Giambologna brought together the "*bassi e stiacciati*" characteristics of the *Homage* relief with the "*mezzo rilievo*" of the *Triumph* relief, into what could be described by Vasari, as a "*basso rilievo*."

The foreground architectural elements on either side of the composition, Doric columns raised on plinths with architraves draped in fabric, serve as a transitional device, marking the entrance into the ceremonial space of the Sistine Chapel. At each side, two soldiers, perhaps members of the Papal Swiss Guard, function as repoussoir figures in much the same way as the Arno and Florence figures in the *Triumph* relief, with the left

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[265] Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571) Volume IV The Sixteenth Century from Julius III to Pius V* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), 956.

[266] *Delle solenne incoronazione del Duca Cosimo Medici in Gran Duca di Toscana fatta dal sommo Pontefice S. Pio V ragguaglio di Cornelio Firmano cerimoniere pontifico*, reproduced by Domenico Moreni (Firenze: Magheri, 1819), 38, 280-296; Giovanna Lazzi, "Un'eccezionale occasione di lusso: l'incoronazione di Cosimo I de'Medici (1569)," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 1 (Jan-Mar, 1989): 99-119. Some of the relevant documents are available through The Medici Archive Project's website at: http://documents.medici.org/document_details.cfm?entryid=21955&returnstr=orderby=SendName@is_search=1@result_id=0; and http://documents.medici.org/document_details.cfm?entryid=5139&returnstr=orderby=SendName@is_search=1@result_id=0.

hand figure looking out over his shoulder into the viewer's space while the other is turned slightly more inward (fig. 98). The pictorial space opens up into the central portion of the room which is filled with a variety of spectators ranging from the College of Cardinals and other high dignitaries, to Morgante, the Medici court dwarf, visible in the right middle-ground in conversation with a man who bends down toward him (fig. 99).[267] The middle-ground figures are modeled flatly, giving the effect of several "layers" of figures occupying the ceremonial space. Giambologna's inclusion of casual elements, such as the young boy on the right who stands on a plinth while grasping a column with both arms, provides a whimsical contrast with the formal ceremony taking place.

As he did with the *Triumph* relief, Giambologna organized the space here into a clearly defined tripartite recessional space, which moves easily from the foreground to the middle-ground to the background.[268] Pope Pius V, seated under a royal canopy, places the Grand Ducal crown onto the head of the kneeling Cosimo (fig. 100), who wears the Grand Ducal robes that are commonly seen in other portraits of the first Grand Duke of Tuscany (fig. 101). In the relief, the altar wall of the back of the Sistine Chapel (fig. 102) is defined by a central altar flanked on either side by two barrel vaulted halls that recede into the distance. A crucifix sits on top of the altar, flanked by candles on either side (fig. 103). The altar is surmounted by an architectural niche that, although it

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[267] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato* 3080, fol. 702. Morgante's presence at the ceremony is documented in the Medici correspondence, including an avviso dated February 25, 1570, which describes the coronation, including Morgante's presence in Cosimo's retinue. This documented in available online through the Medici Archive Project at http://documents.medici.org/document_details.cfm?entryid=22041&returnstr=orderby=SendName@is_search=1@result_id=0.

[268] Avery, *Complete Sculpture,* 190, characterized the setting as "imaginary," although it is clear that Giambologna was relying on a pre-existing representation of the event.

seems classical in its vocabulary, actually reflects Giambologna's own architectural language through the broken pediment at top that supports two reclining angels, much like that seen in the architecture of his Salviati Chapel (fig. 104). Running along top of the back wall, over the barrel vaulted hallways, Giambologna including a gallery space filled with papal musicians (fig. 105).

Numerous other representations of the coronation were produced from 1570 onward as well as the subject being represented in the 1589 wedding celebrations with Bernardino Poccetti executing an ephemeral painting of the event for triumphal arch at the Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 106). And in 1590, Ferdinando I commissioned an oil on slate painting of the event from Passignano (fig. 38) to hang in one of the upper corners of the Sala del Cinquecento.[269] More specifically of interest with regard to Giambologna's relief, however, are the prints and drawing produced which depict the coronation and other associated events that occurred during the festivities. An engraving by Etienne Duperac from 1570 (fig. 107) is just one of several examples that may have been known by Giambologna. However, in the engraving, Cosimo is shown being received by Pius V in the Sala Regia; it is not an illustration of the actual coronation. In the relief, Giambologna has clearly indicated the location, setting the event to the left side of the Sistine Chapel, an arrangement that is still used today and is seen in modern photographs (fig. 108). There are other drawings and engravings, however, in addition to Duperac's that are quite closely related to the relief. Two drawings by Cesare Nebbia (figs. 109 (Albertina) and 110 (RISD)), have been dated to 1588-89, and share much in common

[269] Gualterotti, 173; Allegri and Cecchi, 372-376.

with Giambologna's relief.[270] While Nebbia is not known to have worked in Florence, the drawings themselves may have been known in Florence, as one scholar has suggested that it may have been commissioned by someone closely associated with the Medici family.[271] In the drawings and the relief the space is very similarly laid out, with the coronation taking place at center left, with a large number and wide variety of people in attendance. In all three, the foreground architecture is defined by columns, although Nebbia used spiral columns in contrast to Giambologna's use of Doric columns in the relief. The drawings and the relief also include the young men hanging off of the foreground columns, as well as illustrating the altar with a crucifix and candles in the center of the back wall, and the doorway on the right side. However, only in the Albertina drawing does the doorway open into a vaulted hallway, similar to that in the relief. An important point of departure between the relief and the drawings comes in the decoration of the back wall, where clearly represented in both drawings is the lower portion of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (fig. 111). Although Giambologna does not include this

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[270] Heinrich Schwarz, "Two Drawings Attributed to Domenico Passignano," *Art Quarterly* 16 (1953), 337-340; and Deborah J. Johnson, *Old Master Drawings from the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence, R.I.: Rhode Island School of Design, 1983), 21-25. The two drawings in the Albertina and the Rhode Island School of Design were originally attributed to Passignano, but were re-attributed to Cesare Nebbia by Vertura Salimbeni in 1968 (21 n. 1). The two drawings are almost identical, but the RISD drawing is considered the most finished, and thus, dates slightly later than the Albertina.

[271] Rhoda Eitel-Porter, "Catalog No. 28, Pope Pius V Crowns Cosimo I de'Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany" in David Franklin, ed., *From Raphael to Carracci. The Art of Papal Rome* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2009), 390-391. The precise function of the Albertina and RISD drawings is not know, although Eitel-Porter suggests that perhaps they were in preparation for a tapestry or engraving, possibly commissioned by someone associated with the Medici family or the papal court of Sixtus V.

element, it is clear from his compositional arrangement that the location represented is the Sistine Chapel.

Another compelling graphic source that Giambologna most likely would have had access to was Philips Galle's engraving of the coronation after designs by Giovanni Stradano (Jan van der Straet), in 1582. Galle engraved the events of Cosimo's entry into Rome, his entry into the College of Cardinals, and his Coronation (fig. 112) as part of a series on the Medici family. In the engraving, and similar to the Nebbia drawings and the relief, the coronation takes place under a canopy at the far center left. The room is again filled with a variety of onlookers, including Morgante, who is also shown in Giambologna's relief. Members of the Swiss Guard stand at right, and the crowded space, filled with cardinals and dignitaries, leads the viewer to the back wall. Standing in the right background, just to the side of the altar on the back wall, are several men holding salvers. This same detail is seen in Giambologna's relief, although the men are shown walking past the altar rather than standing. Galle's print includes an altar with a crucifix and candles in the central background, and like Nebbia, the decoration of the wall is Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. And again, although Giambologna omits this detail in the relief, a close comparison between the relief and the engraving seem to demonstrate that Galle's print had a strong influence on Giambologna's composition.

An interesting detail that Giambologna included, and which does appear in any of in the drawings and engraving mentioned above, is the gallery level filled with papal musicians. As there is no such gallery in the Sistine Chapel, Giambologna's inclusion of it seems somewhat inexplicable. Galle does show musicians, but they are situated behind the pope, poking through the columns in what must appears to be a window frame. There

is one possible influence for this detail, and certainly one Giambologna would have been familiar with, and that is Giorgio Vasari's painting of *Clement VII Crowning Charles V* (fig. 113) on the ceiling of the Apartment of Leo X in the Palazzo Vecchio. In the upper portion of the scene, a gallery level supported on barrel vaulted hallways below is crowded with onlookers, a general scheme that is quite close to that represented in Giambologna's relief. There is, however, little else that the painting and relief share in terms of composition, further supporting the argument that the sculptor may have used one or more of the graphic sources discussed above.

In each of the three *Cosimo I* reliefs, Giambologna adeptly created compositions that were not only reflective of their two-dimensional sources, but were also insistently demonstrating the sculptural potentiality of relief, literally creating paintings in bronze. But Giambologna did not merely copy the two-dimensional source; he purposefully and astutely correlated content with form. And rather than adopting one consistent set of parameters for all three reliefs, for example utilizing the same level of relief projection, he altered the form of each relief, manipulating the surface projection in a way that visually reinforced the event represented. Thus, in the *Florence Paying Homage to Cosimo I de'Medici* relief, although the curvature of the base imposed certain challenges, through his mastery of his materials, as well as one point linear perspective, Giambologna transformed the convex bronze surface into an image that functioned, just as an engraving or painting would have, as a visual record of the event. Although in this case, he created a much more permanent record through the medium of bronze. And just as the form and content of the first relief reinforce each other, the same can be said for the *Triumph* relief. Giambologna was acutely aware that nothing other than high relief

would have been appropriate for a scene recollective of the Imperial tradition. Low or medium relief would not, nor could not, produce the same visual result and effectively draw the implicit associations with the past that were clearly implied. And while the form of the relief recalls antique marbles, the composition conscientiously recalls a Florentine fresco, and as a result Giambologna mitigated the tension between the two forms of representation. And in the final scene of the *Coronation*, Giambologna managed a relatively low-relief bronze that approximated visually the graphic prototypes of this subject, creating a vast interior space filled with an abundance of historical details, recording for all of Florence the singular event that ensured continued Medici governance of the Tuscan State.

While the *Cosimo I Reliefs* are secular in nature and were influenced by a relatively narrow field of compositional sources, with the *Jerusalem Reliefs*, Giambologna's talents as a relief sculptor would be pushed even further. In the six diminutive Passion scenes, Giambologna was dealing with a visual tradition that went back centuries, thus, offering a multitude of readily available pictorial sources. And although he readily adapted the level of relief projection and style of representation in the *Cosimo I Reliefs*, with the *Jerusalem Reliefs*, he appears to have operated within a more tightly controlled set of parameters, ensuring that the compositions complied with the expected rules of decorum, while also trying to create emotionally powerful images of Christ's last moments for the pilgrims who would be re-visiting those very moments in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

CHAPTER 4:

THE *JERUSALEM RELIEFS*, THE *ORNAMENTO*, AND THE HOLY LAND

The Context of the Commission and the *Ornamento*

Contemporary with the project for the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, was another commission Giambologna received from Grand Duke Ferdinando I. This project, begun in late 1587 or early 1588, called for a series of six small bronze narrative reliefs illustrating the last events of Christ's Passion (fig. 114).[272] The *Jerusalem Reliefs*, as the cycle is commonly known, were part of the decoration of a rectangular bronze railing, approximately twenty inches in height and seven feet in length, known as the *ornamento*, which was sent by the Grand Duke as a gift to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem to surround the Stone of Unction.[273] This *Jerusalem Reliefs* are one of Giambologna's least known projects, no doubt due in part to its location *in situ* in the church (fig. 115).[274] In contrast to the large-scale *Cosimo I Reliefs*, the *Jerusalem Reliefs*

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[272] The primary literature on the *Jerusalem Reliefs* is cited in footnote 29.

[273] The word "*ornamento*" literally translates as "ornament, decoration, adornment." Its use in the sixteenth century is wide-ranging, describing various types of framing devices. For example, in Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*, the term is used repeatedly in reference to door frames, frames for paintings, and any other type of ornamental surround. The term is also frequently found in the Grand Ducal correspondence in reference to objects that were intended as decoration. A general search performed at the Medici Archive Project (www.documents.medici.org) online yields many such examples.

[274] In addition to the problem of the relative inaccessibility of the *ornamento* is the lack of high quality photographs of the reliefs available for study.

measure only eleven inches square, and thus, they are some of the smallest reliefs produced by Giambologna and his workshop with only the gold *ajouré Acts of Francesco I* (fig. 11) reliefs from 1585 being smaller. The reliefs *Jerusalem Reliefs* may originally have been gilded, but the documentation is silent on this aspect of their production, and any evidence of gilding has long since disappeared due to the annual cleaning the reliefs receive by the custodians of the church.[275] Although Giambologna's name does not appear on either of the inscriptions that are included on the *ornamento* itself, his name is mentioned in some of the documents related to the transportation of the *ornamento*.[276]

The *ornamento* was cast by Fra Domenico Portigiani, the same founder who would ultimately cast the *Cosimo I* reliefs starting in 1596. It has been proposed that in addition to casting the *ornamento,* Portigiani was also responsible for much, if not all, of the overall design of the object.[277] However, the initial design of the *ornamento* seems to have come from Bernardo Buontalenti, the Grand Duke's chief architect.[278] A sketch attributed to Buontalenti (fig. 116), which has been dated to late 1587 or early 1588, shows a four-sided rectangular surround with the words "*Lapida del Nostro Signore*"

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[275] Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'…," 416 n. 4, cites the annual cleaning as the reason for the disappearance of the gilded surface. The assumption that the original reliefs were gilded may perhaps be based on the copy of the *Entombment* relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is gilded. See Avery, *Complete Sculpture*, 183 fig. 197.

[276] These documents are discussed below.

[277] Kriegbaum, 43-52; Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...,"415-442. Kriegbaum and Ronen both believe Portigiani to be the designer of the *ornamento*. Avery, *Sculptor to the Medici*, 159, does not address the issue of who designed the *ornamento*, but he does suggest that Portigiani, and not Giambologna or Francavilla, was responsible for the "crude afterworking" of the reliefs.

[278] On Buontalenti's activities as court architect, including his involvement with the designs for the Cappella dei Principi, see footnote 396.

("The Stone of Our Lord") in the center, indicating that the structure was meant to be placed around the Stone of Unction without covering the Stone.[279] In other words, both the bottom and top of the *ornamento* were left open to ensure that pilgrims would have access to the Stone. The drawing documents the intended inclusion of narrative reliefs, with two shown on the front of the *ornamento* and two on the left side, with each pair of reliefs divided by a decorative element. The two reliefs on the front of the *ornamento* in Buontalenti's drawing appear to depict *Christ Carrying the Cross* on the left and *The Flagellation* on the right, neither of which was included in the final relief cycle. From the drawing it also appears that the total number of reliefs initially planned was eight, which is in contrast to the six that were ultimately executed. The change in the number of reliefs may have been necessitated when the final dimensions of the *ornamento* were determined. The top of the *ornamento*, as indicated in the drawing, was to have a shallow ledge for the placement of candles. On the front left corner is an inscription with the Grand Duke's name (FERDI. M.M.), and at each corner, the Medici coat of arms.

Buontalenti's drawing was done to scale with 260 millimeters equal to four *braccia*.[280] A Florentine *braccio* is approximately twenty-three inches, and based on Buontalenti's notations, a general idea of the *ornamento*'s dimensions can be calculated.[281] If the notation for the length of the *ornamento* is read as "3 5/6 *braccia*,"

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[279] Morrogh, *Disegni...*, 151-152, cat. 78; and Elena Fumagalli, et al., eds., *L'arme e gli amori. La poesia di Ariosto, Tasso e Guarini nell'arte Fiorentina del Seicento* (Firenze: Sillabe, 2001), 144-146, cat. 24.

[280] Morrogh, *Disegni...*,151.

[281] Ronald Edward Zupko, *Italian Weights and Measures from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), 1981, 40-49 (*braccio*), 187-188 (*passo*).

this would produce a dimension of approximately eighty-eight inches (7'3"). Similarly, as the notation for both the height and interior width seems to indicate "3/4 *braccia*," resulting in a height and interior width (measured from the inner edge of the ledge) of seventeen and one-quarter inches each (1'5 ¼"). The general dimensions and appearance of the Stone of Unction that the *ornamento* was intended to frame would have been accessible to Buontalenti through the various travelogues written and illustrated by pilgrims to the Holy Land, including several Florentines, who traveled to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. For example, in the 1348 travelogue written by the Florentine Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi, the general dimensions of the Stone are given, as Frescobaldi stated that it was "…a black stone on the floor about three Florentine *braccia* in length, on which Christ was placed and anointed…."[282] Based on Frescobaldi's account, the dimensions of the Stone of Unction would be approximately sixty eight inches in length (5'8"). In an anonymous travelogue published in Venice in 1533, a slightly different set of dimensions for the Stone was recorded, giving the length as "eight steps" ("*otto passi"*), which would yield

[282] Friar Bellarmino Bagatti, O.F.M., ed., *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384 by Frescobaldi, Gucci & Simone*, trans. by Friar Theophilus Bellorini O.F.M. and Friar Eugene Hoade O.F.M. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1948), 77. This book transcribes the accounts of three Tuscan pilgrims (Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi, Giorgio Gucci, and Simone Sigoli) who travelled to the Holy Land in 1348 and documented their experiences there in 1349. All three of the men describe the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, noting the placement of the Stone of Unction just inside the entrance door. Importantly, the author of the preface, Fra Bellarmino Bagatti, notes that Sigoli's account was in the collection of the Accademia della Crusca in Florence by 1583, confirming that information about the Holy Land was available in the late sixteenth century.

a length of approximately eighty inches, using the measure of ten inches for a "step."[283] In both examples, the dimensions given in the travelogues are very close to those in Buontalenti's drawing, and are in line with the dimensions of the *ornamento* as it was cast with a length of eighty-six inches (7'2"), a width of twenty-seven inches wide (2'5"), and a height of twenty-one inches (1'9").[284]

The casting of the entire structure of the *ornamento*, including the reliefs, was carried out by Fra Domenico Portigiani. Portigiani was in charge of the Grand Ducal foundry at San Marco, and had cast bronzes for Giambologna previously, including the narrative reliefs for the Grimaldi chapel in Genoa as well as the Salviati relief cycle of the life of St. Antoninus in the Dominican church of San Marco in Florence.[285] Thus, his participation in this important commission was entirely in line with the working relationship he had already established with both Giambologna and the Medici ducal court. In its final form, the *ornamento* was decorated with eight bronze squares of open interlace design that alternated with the six small Passion reliefs. The arrangement of

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[283] Jean-Luc Nardone, *La Représentation de Jérusalem et de la Terre Sainte dans les Récits de Pélerins Européens au XVIe Siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2007), 69, n.25. "*Come si entra la porta della chiesa lo dritto circa sei passi (steps) in piana terra si vi è una pietra di porfido di colore verde,* ***laqual pietra é lōga otto passi & piu tre dita, & è larga una spana & piu un dito*** *in fu ǭsta pietra fu drizzato il nostro Signore cō la santa croce, & qui vi fu unto con lo unguento che si chiama Aromatico….*" (Emphasis added).

[284] Kriegbaum, 44 n. 4; Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...,"416 n. 2. These dimensions are given by Ronen who states he measured the *ornamento* when he visited the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and saw the object in person. Ronen's dimensions differ slightly from those given by Kriegbaum, a difference Ronen explains as being due to Kriegbaum not measuring the *ornamento* in person. In its final form the dimensions of the *ornamento* do not differ markedly from those based on Buontalenti's drawing.

[285] On Portigiani, see Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...,"430-431.

these decorative elements was three interlace panels and two reliefs on either of the long sides, and presumably (although not visible in photographs) one interlace panel and one relief on each of the short ends. Conspicuous at each corner is the Medici coat of arms bearing the famous *palle* and surmounted by the Grand Ducal Crown and a cardinal's hat (fig. 117) signifying Ferdinando's unique dual status at this time. Running across the top and bottom edges of the *ornamento* are two Latin inscriptions, one identifying the donor of the gift and the other the bronze caster.

That the project for the *ornamento* was conceived by 1588 is proved by its two inscriptions. The first, (fig. 118) along the top cornice, and repeated on the front pilaster, identifies Ferdinando I as the donor of the gift; it reads in translation: "Ferdinando de'Medici, Grand Duke of Etruria, a sign of piety, donated the gift 1588." The second inscription, which runs along the bottom edge of the *ornamento*, is unusual in that it identifies the bronze caster of the *ornamento*, Fra Domenico Portigiani, rather than the sculptor of the work: "Fra Domenico Portigiani from the convent of San Marco of Florence, the Preacher Order, of the Roman province, a "frater professus," made [the work in] 1588 A.D."[286] Portigiani's shop records provide important details regarding the

[286] Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...," 428-429. I have used Ronen's translation of the Latin inscriptions. The first inscription reads: FERD / MEDICES / MAG^{S} / DUX / ETR^{AE} / PIETATIS / SIGNUM / .D.D / MDLXX / XVIII and the second: FRATER / DOMINICUS / PORTISIANUS / CONVENTUS / SANCTI / MARCI / DE FLORENTINA / ORD / PRAED / ROM / PROV / PROFESSUS / FECIT / ANNO DOMINI / NOSTRI / MDLXX / XVIII. Although the circumstances are somewhat different, another example of a bronze caster signing a work that was designed by another is Verrocchio's *Colleoni Monument*, which, after the sculptor's death, was cast by Alessandro Leopardi, who signed his name on the saddle strap under the horse's belly. As noted by John Pope-Hennessy, *Introduction to Italian Sculpture. Volume II: Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (London: Phaidon Press, 1996; 2000), 387-388, the monument, in the sixteenth century, was subsequently known as being a work of Leopardi's and not Verrocchio's.

casting of the *ornamento* which took place between 1590 and 1592. A document from 1590 records Portigiani's expenses in preparing the six *graticole di ferro* (iron grates) for the casting of the reliefs, and the general assumption has been that the casting must have followed shortly thereafter.[287] A record dated February 10, 1592 documents additional expenses incurred by Portigiani when he cast the reliefs and the rest of the *ornamento*.[288] This same document also lists each individual part of the *ornamento* that was cast, "…*sei storie di basso relievo, scolpitovi drento la passion del Nostro Signore, otto traforati, con quatro pilastri di canto et quatro di faccia, con basamento et corniciame di componimento dorico et compost, con quatro arme di S.A.S. nelle quatro cantonate…"* ("…six low-relief histories carved inside [with] the passion of our Lord, eight openwork (grilles), with four pilasters on the back and four on the front, with a basement and cornice of Doric and composite components, with four arms of His Highness on the four corners…").[289]

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[287] Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...," 431 n. 24.

[288] This document was originally published by Fritz Kriegbaum and re-published by Robert De Francqueville, *Pierre de Francqueville, Sculpteur des Médicis et du roi Henry IV (1548-1615)*, (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Co., 1968), 165-66 n. 4. The document reads: "*Et ad detto (10 Febr. 1591), lire 4357, 10 piccioli, tanti mi debbe per fattura d'un ornamento di bronzo fatto per mandare al Sancto Sepolcro in Jerusalem, fatto a tutte mia spese, pesô libre mille dugentoventi, nel quale vi era drento sei storie di basso relieve, scolpitovi drento la passion del Nostro Signore, otto traforati, con quatro pilastri di canto et quatro di faccia, con basamento et corniciame di componimento dorico et compost, con quatro arme di S.A.S. nelle quatro cantonate, valutato d'acordo con messer Girolamo Seriacopi, e a detto consegniato a guadagni, et magazzino in questo lire 4357.10*."

[289] After casting the reliefs, Portigiani held on to at least four of the six molds. He mentions having them in his possession in 1596 when discussions were underway for casting three new sets of bronze doors for the cathedral of Pisa to replace the twelfth-century doors lost in the conflagration of 1595. See de Francqueville, 167, n.8.

Located just inside the main entry door into the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (figs. 119 and 120), the holy Stone of Unction was (and still is today) one of the most precious relics in Christendom. It is believed to be the stone on which Christ's body was laid after He was taken off of the Cross, and His body anointed with ointments and wrapped in a burial shroud by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus just prior to His entombment.[290] The location of the Stone in the basilica makes it one of the first of many sacred sites related to Christ's Passion that pilgrims encounter upon entering the holy edifice. The traditional ritual associated with the site was for pilgrims to kneel down and touch and kiss the stone (fig. 121). In addition to being in the presence of the stone which had once supported the dead body of Christ, pilgrims who visited the site earned a plenary indulgence of "remissione de' peccati" (remission of all sins).[291]

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[290] John 19:38-40. Mary Ann Graeve, "The Stone of Unction in Caravaggio's Painting for the Chiesa Nuova," *The Art Bulletin* 40, no. 3 (September 1958): 223-238; esp.227-228. The history of the Stone of Unction is long and complicated. The stone was in Constantinople by the twelfth century before its transfer to Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 309, 313, writes of Niccolò Poggibonsi seeing the Stone of Unction during his pilgrimage to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1346, which may be the earliest account of its being in Jerusalem. Jerome Murphy O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archeological Guide From Earliest Times to 1700* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56, The current Stone of Unction was put in place in 1810 after the fire of 1808.

[291] *Visit to the Holy Places...*, 186. Both Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi and Simone Sigoli listed the sites within the church where plenary indulgences could be earned, one of which was the Stone of Unction. Frescobaldi states, "First, as you enter the doors at the Holy Sepulchre, that is in the church, a black stone on the floor about three Florentine braccia in length, on which Christ was placed and anointed, when taken down from the cross, and there is a plenary indulgence there." Paolo Pirillo, ed., *Mariano da Siena – Viaggio fatto al Santo Sepolcro 1431* (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1991), 110. Mariano's description of the Stone of Unction cites the plenary indulgence as a "remissione de' peccati." Morris, 314-315, states that the tradition of pilgrims identifying the sites where plenary indulgences were offered became increasingly common in the accounts of their travels.

In terms of its function, Ferdinando's *ornamento* should be understood as being a type of open reliquary, providing a suitably precious "container" for the holy relic of the Stone of Unction, while still allowing pilgrims access to the stone. Although the idea of a large reliquary for an immovable object may at first seem contrary to the general function of a reliquary as a vessel containing a small fragment of a holy person or an object related to a holy person, there was an important precedent on an even larger scale, and that was the marble *ornamento* constructed for the Santa Casa in Loreto, Italy (fig. 122). The Virgin's house had been miraculously transferred from its original site in Bethlehem, first to Tersatto, Yugoslavia, then to Recanati, Italy, and finally in December, 1295 to Loreto, Italy, in order to escape destruction by the Muslims who then occupied the Holy Land.[292] The project was begun by Pope Julius II in 1510-11 and carried to its final completion by his papal successors in 1580. It is a monumental marble structure with relief decoration on its exterior, and was designed to enclose and protect the house of the Virgin Mary. During the course of its construction, the marble structure at Loreto was interchangeably referred to in the documents as either a *rivestimento* or *ornamento.*[293] Ferdinando's *ornamento* is very similar in its conception as being an enclosure decorated with reliefs

[292] Kathleen Weil-Garris, *The Santa Casa di Loreto: Problems in Italian Sixteenth Sculpture*, Ph.D. diss., 2 vols. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), vol. 1, 3-18.

[293] Weil-Garris, vol. 1, 6-22, uses the terms *rivestimento* and *ornamento* interchangeably when discussing this object, but as she points out, *ornamento* was the term used consistently in the project documents. As just one example, Weil-Garris, vol. 2 (unpaginated), transcribes a document from a book of payments dating to 1517-18, which records "Marmj fatti uenire per **lornamento** della chapella della Madonna…," (doc. f.101a n. 144). The practice of referring to the marble structure of the Madonna's house as an "*ornamento*" continued through the third quarter of the sixteenth century, as evidenced by a document dated from May 20, 1578 in reference to Giovanni Battista della Porta's work on the enclosure, records "…al Cav.r Gio. Battista dalla Porta scultore fiorini Ottantadui a buon conto de profeti che fa in **ornamento** di Sta. Cappella et fate fare di ricevere." (doc. n. 1199) [Emphasis added]

that was designed to surround and protect an immovable holy relic. Although the Holy House miraculously escaped Muslim control, the Stone of Unction was literally in the hands of the Infidel as Jerusalem was under the rule of the Ottoman Turks and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was overseen by the Greek Orthodox patriarch. Thus, both of these *ornamenti* served a dual function: to protect a sacred site as well as to proclaim special political ownership of that site.[294]

The planning for the transport of the *ornamento* and other gifts to the Holy Land began in June of 1590, and from that date on there was a steady stream of correspondence (preserved in the Medici Archives) between the Florentine court and their agents in Venice well in advance of the *ornamento*'s completion.[295] On December 6, 1591, Fra Matteo di Salerno, the Franciscan Commissioner and Procurator General of the Holy Land, wrote to Ferdinando I, confirming the gifts the Grand Duke was sending to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which included "*…un ornamento di bronzo historiato …. l'adorno de la Santa Pietra de la oncione de la guarnicione de bronzo di Bolognia et la pittura del Broncino per il Santo Sepulcro….*" ("…a bronze historiated

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[294] Weil-Garris, vol. 1, 3-9. The Holy House immediately became a famous site of pilgrimage, and Pope Gregory XII instituted the first indulgences to be granted at the site, which were subsequently expanded by Julius II and his successors.

[295] De Francqueville, 137, A letter from Girolamo Soranzo in Venice, dated June 20, 1590 and addressed to Belissario Vinta, secretary to Ferdinando I de'Medici, discusses the plans already then underway for securing the transport of the *ornamento* to Venice and on to Jerusalem, and reads in part: "*Ho havuto longo raggionamento con il Sr Residente Tolomei conforme a quanto V.S. [vostro signore] mi scrive per poter mandar sicuramente questo ornamento di bronzo et pittura in Gierusalem*." At least one concern Soranzo had for sending the gifts, was to avoid the "*…occhi di quelli ministri turcheschi*" ("…the eyes of the Turkish ministers (governors))." And therefore, the items were going to be sent when a new "*fameglia*" of Franciscan friars were going to Jerusalem, as they would be bringing many things for their own needs, and thus, could help hide the gifts amongst their own belongings.

ornamento… to adorn the Holy Stone of unction …. by Bologna [Giambologna] and the painting by Bronzino for the Holy Sepulcher…").[296] In order to secure safe passage of the gifts from Florence to Venice where the crates would be shipped to the Holy Land, the Grand Duke was obligated to issue a passport listing the contents of the crates. By May 17, 1592, the passport was in order and the items were on their way.[297] The crates arrived in Bologna in May, and on May 22 were sent on to Venice, where they arrived on May 30, 1592.[298] Upon their arrival in Venice, the crates were opened, their contents inspected, and they were sent to a Franciscan monastery to await shipment.[299] Over the

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[296] Goldberg, "Artistic Relations...Part II," 532 n. 22; P. Girolamo Golubovich O.F.M., ed., *Chroniche ovvero Annali di Terra Santa del P. Pietro Verniero di Montepeloso de'Frati Minori, Tomo I*, (Quaracchi presso Firenze: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1929), 230. In an entry from 1588, Fra Matteo di Salerno is listed as bringing gifts to the Holy City (Jerusalem) on behalf of Emperor Rudolf II and King Philip II of Spain. The entry lists him as a Friar Minor "salernitano" from the province of San Giocomo in Campostella. Goldberg, "Artistic Relations...Part II," 532 n. 22, identified Salerno (whose full name in the correspondence is given as Fra Matteo di Salerno da Zoccolante) as a Spanish friar and part of the Spanish court. However, Fra Salerno was an Italian from Salerno, Italy, and the designation "Zoccolante" was an indication of his status as Franciscan friar. The term was also used to designate those friars who wore wooden clogs (A "zoccolo" is a specific wooden shoe typically worn by ecclesiastic orders). Moreover, in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato* 1212, fol. 149, http://documents.medici.org/ document_details.cfm?entryid= 4229 &returnstr=orderby=SendName@is_search=1@ result_id=0, there is a suggestion that he was part of the Medici court. In his position as "Commissario e Procuratore Generale di Terra Santa," Salerno helped facilitate the giving of gifts to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by the European courts.

[297] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato* 280, f. 135, a portion of which is available online through the Medici Archive Project: http://documents.medici.org/document_details.cfm?entryid=400&returnstr=orderby=SendName@is_search=1@result_id=10.

[298] De Francqueville, 138-139.

[299] De Francqueville, 137, in a letter dates June 20, 1590, Girolamo Soranzo wrote from Venice to Belissario Vinta in Florence, stating that he had procured a room in the "...*Monastere di S. Francesco*...." Although Venice had two Franciscan monasteries at

course of the next two years, several letters were sent between Florence and Venice discussing the timing of the shipment and concerns of Turkish piracy.[300] The crates remained in Venice for almost three years from their time of arrival in 1592 until the time of their departure on March 26, 1595 (the day after the Feast Day of the Annunciation), when they were finally loaded onto the galley *Torniella*, and made the passage under the watchful eyes of a group of Franciscan friars.[301]

Upon the *ornamento*'s arrival in Jerusalem and assembly at the site, it was reported back to the Grand Duke that the Stone of Unction proved to be longer than the length of the *ornamento*. The Franciscan monks suggested to Ferdinando that it might be possible to cut the length of the Stone down if a certain amount of money was given to

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this time, San Francesco della Vigna and San Francesco il Deserto (the island), the specific monastery where the *ornamento* would eventually be kept is still unknown. As the island of San Francesco il Deserto was associated with Saint Francis and his return from the Holy Land in the early thirteenth century, it would seem to be a good candidate for the place to hold items going to the Holy Land.

[300] De Francqueville, 139-140. In a letter of June 6 1592, Girolamo Tolomei in Venice wrote to Belissario Vinta in Florence, advising him of the problem of the Turks. He wrote: "*Il Sig.r Girolamo Soranzo mi dice hora che ogni cosa andarà sicuramente fino a marino; ma perchè quivi potrebbeo corer qualche burasche per l'impietà et avaritia di quei Turchi che le vedranno, ha pensato mandarci qualche padre pratico di quell paese, acciochè con la destrezza sua le salvi da tutti pericoli in che potesseno incorrere*." Alberto Tennenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice 1580-1615*, trans. by Janet and Brian Pullan (Berkley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1961; 1967), 32-55, Venetian ships had to worry not only about the Turks, but also about the corsairing activities of various religious military orders, such as the Knights of Malta, and even the Grand Duke's own Knights of Santo Stefano.

[301] De Francqueville, 144 n. 22 (carte 375v.), this information was provided to the Grand Duke by Giovanni Uguccioni in Venice in a letter dated March 26, 1595. Rhonen, 432, mentions that the *ornamento* was sent on the *Torniella*, but does not provide any references for the information. Morris, 304, states that in general, galleys left Venice for Jerusalem once a year around the Feast of the Ascension (traditionally celebrated forty days after Easter, the date would change each year, but broadly speaking, sometime in April or May). The timing was due not only to sailing conditions, as early spring began the sailing season after winter, but also to the propitious nature of the feast day.

the *Cadi*, the Ottoman mayor of the district of Jerusalem where the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is located.[302] This rather bold plan was not implemented and the subsequent fate of the *ornamento* is known through a chronicle of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher written by Fra Francesco Quaresmi in 1634, who was the Franciscan custodian of the church.[303] In his account of the event, Quaresmi makes it quite clear that there were obstacles other than the length of the Stone that prevented the installation of the *ornamento* in its intended location. According to Quaresmi, the Greek Orthodox custodians protested the installation of the *ornamento* around the Stone of Unction on the grounds that it would prevent people from kissing the stone. This act of piety had long been a tradition for those visiting the site and the *ornamento* would thus surely impede what was, by that time, a centuries old tradition. However, tradition was not the only concern of the Greeks. The other issue cited by Quaresmi was one of a financial nature, as the Greek custodians had also argued that impeding access to the Stone of Unction would negatively affect the income of the church.[304] That pilgrims were required to pay an entry fee into the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is documented in the numerous travelogues from the Renaissance. However, this was not the income that would be

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[302] De Francqueville, 145, The letter from Giovanni Uguccioni in Venice to Grand Duke Ferdinando I in Florence, December 23, 1595 advises the Grand Duke: "*Dicemi detto frate che quella cassa di bronzo [the ornamento] che V.A.S. mandò là, non è tanto lunga che dentro vi possa entrare la pietra per la quale quella cassa fu fabbricata. E però, a volervela accommodare, bisogna tagliare la pietra: che non si può fare senza licenza di quel Cadì e Sangiacco, ai quali bisognerà dare una mancia di 4 o 5 centinaia di zecchini*…"

[303] Frate Francesco Quaresmi O.F.M., *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae* (orig. pub. 1639), trans. Sabino De Sandoli O.F.M. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1989).

[304] Ibid., 271.

negatively affected by the placement of the *ornamento* around the Stone. Rather, the concern of the Greeks was that if pregnant women should have to bend over the structure of the *ornamento* to reach the holy relic, they would risk losing their unborn child, which in turn, would have the potential to affect the number of men in the populace. And as all males who reached the age of fourteen were required to pay tax each year to the city's governor, a decrease in the male population would ultimately affect the income of the city.[305]

In the end, Ferdinando's *ornamento* was never placed around the Stone of Unction. After its arrival at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and the ensuing discussions regarding the disparity in length between the stone and the *ornamento*, along with the financial concerns mentioned above, the structure was held for safekeeping under a vaulted arch next to the Chapel of the Crucifixion, a part of the church under control of the Franciscan Friars.[306] It remained there until sometime in 1736 when it was

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[305] Quaresmi, 271. "*I Greci si opposerò ai frati che cercavano di eseguire la pia volontà del Duca, e andarono prima dal giudice, e insistettero che niente si cambiasse riguardo alla Pietre dell'Unzione; specialamente affermavano che la collocazione di quell'altare avrebbe recato grave danno alla città e al medesimo governatore, dicendo… **che le donne pregnante… volendo secondo la vecchia consuetudine, baciare quella pietra, chinandosi su quell'altare, avrebbero patito l'aborto e conseguentemente sarebbero mancati uomini e tasse**, perchè i bambini che saberebbero nati, guinti al 14 anno sono tenuti a pagare ogni anno la tassi di quattro monete d'argento al governatore della città*." (Emphasis added)

[306] Oded Peri, *Christianity Under Islam in Jerusalem. The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 36, 43-44, 107. Until the early seventeenth century, the Franciscans controlled numerous sites within the church, including the Anastasis Rotunda and the Holy Sepulcher (i.e., Christ's tomb), the north and south transepts including the Stone of Unction, part of Mount Calvary, the chapel of the True Cross, and the Chapel of the Apparition and their own monastic quarters. The remaining areas were divided amongst the Orthodox Greeks, the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Copts.

used as the altar of Mary Magdalene in the Chapel of the Magdalene. And in 1856, the *ornamento* was put to yet another use, when it was reconfigured as part of the Altar of the Crucifixion in the Chapel of the Crucifixion on Mount Calvary (fig. 116).[307] Thus, the *ornamento* is visible today, albeit in a location far removed from the one originally intended, with the two reliefs of the *Anointing* and the *Entombment* removed from the side placed against the wall of the chapel and inserted into the wrought iron base below.

The *Jerusalem Reliefs*, Counter-Reformation Florence, and their Relationship to Contemporary Two-Dimensional Sources

Of the six *Jerusalem Reliefs*, scholars are in general agreement that only two were modeled by the hand of Giambologna, the *Anointment* (fig. 140) and the *Entombment* (fig. 144).[308] The other four, *The Elevation of the Cross* (fig. 126), *The Crucifixion* (fig. 132), *The Deposition* (fig. 135), and *The Resurrection* (fig. 149), were modeled by

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[307] De Francqueville, 99.

[308] Zygmunt Waźbiński, "Adriano de Vries e Domenico Portigiani: un contributo alla collaborazione fra scultore e fonditore intorno al 1588," in *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Roberto Salvini*, ed. Cristina de Benedictis (Firenze: Sansoni Editore, 1984), 449-453, Tav. CXXXVI-CXL. The author suggests that Adrien de Vries, and not Giambologna, modeled the two reliefs of the *Anointment* and the *Entombment*. Waźbiński acknowledges the fact that there is no physical or documentary evidence that de Vries was working in Florence during this time, and nor is he listed in any documentation related to the production of the *ornamento*, such as Portigiani's casting records, and thus the author relies on stylistic comparisons between the two reliefs and de Vries' later works as indirect evidence of his authorship of the reliefs. Frits Scholten, "Adriaen de Vries, imperial sculptor," in *Adriaen de Vries 1556-1626*, ed. Frits Scholten (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum; Stockholm: Nationalmuseum; Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum; Zwolle: Wanders, 1998), 13-45, esp. 15, places de Vries in Giambologna's workshop from 1581 until 1586, when he went to Milan. There is strong visual evidence that de Vries assisted Giambologna on both the Salviati and Grimaldi chapels, as well as casting small sculptures after Giambologna's designs.

Francavilla, a fact attested to by a document in Fra Domenico Portigiani's account book in 1596, which states that he still had in his possession the "…models of the stories of the Passion that Francavilla made for me…."[309] Although Francavilla may have been given responsibility of four of the six reliefs, Giambologna was no doubt in charge of the design and layout of the compositions.[310] In the discussion of the reliefs that follows, they are treated as a single series (the *Jerusalem Reliefs*) even though they will alternatively be identified by the sculptor who modeled them, either Giambologna or

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[309] De Francqueville, 167, n.8. The document dated March 2, 1596, reads "*...I modelli da farsi delle storie di bassorilievo sono 18 servendoci di che sono apresso di me quail tuttavia tiro inanzi... pero non solo mi contentero ma me lo rifutero a favore doppo al pagamento* ***che il Francavilla me facci*** *2 o 4 grandi et altrettanta delle piccole havendone altre 4 di sua mano, 3 della Passione et una della Resurretione di Nostro Signor*." (Emphasis added).

[310] Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'…,"441 n. 54, takes exception with Pope-Hennessey's description of the project, and does not believe that the commission was given to Giambologna. See John Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: H.M. Stationery Office: 1964), vol. 1, 476, stated that *The Entombment* relief in the museum was a copy of "...one of the four bronze reliefs commissioned by Cardinal Ferdinando de'Medici from Giovanni Bologna in 1588 for the back of the altar...." On the issue of copies of the Jerusalem Reliefs see, Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...," 440-441; Avraham Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento' in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem – A Complementary Note," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 17, no. 1 (1973): 166, for a copy of *The Entombment* in the collection of Michael Hall in New York. A full set of the entire relief cycle is located in the Staatliche Museen Skulpturensammlungen in Berlin. There is a copy of *The Anointment* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (John Goldsmith Philips, "Recent Accessions of European Sculpture," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* XV (1956-57): 150, 153); a copy of *The Entombment* in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture, vol. II*, 476); a copy of The Resurrection in the Vassar College Museum (John Pope-Hennessey, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress collection: reliefs, plaquettes, statuettes, utensils and mortars* (London: Phaidon Press, 1965), 24 cat. 70, fig. 416). Unfortunately, there is no clear indication when the copies were cast or for whom. The assumption would be that there were cast before the reliefs were sent to Jerusalem, but they may also have been cast by the molds, as the four modeled by Francavilla were still in the possession of Portigiani at the end of the sixteenth century.

Francavilla. Giambologna's division of labor, as witnessed in this commission, was a common practice in his workshop, and for many projects, Giambologna left the actual facture of his sculptures to his mature workshop assistants, such as Francavilla, Susini, and Pietro Tacca, having them produce marbles and bronzes after his designs.[311] And as Francavilla has been a member of the sculptor's workshop since 1570, it is no surprise that he would be trusted to model, based on an established set of designs, the majority of these reliefs. Francavilla had assisted Giambologna with the Grimaldi Chapel decorations in the 1580s which included both bronze statues and reliefs. Thus, his ability to work with bronze had already been proven.

The *Jerusalem Reliefs* were a unique project for the sculptor as they were not large in scale, as would be the *Cosimo I Reliefs*, nor were they part of larger chapel contexts, as were the Grimaldi and Salviati reliefs. As part of the decoration for the *ornamento* (fig. 114), which was sent to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher to surround the Stone of Unction (fig. 119), these small reliefs were designed with the knowledge they would be viewed in a much more personal and contemplative context.

Significantly, the *Jerusalem Reliefs* was not the first series of Passion reliefs for the sculptor. The first was commissioned by Luca Grimaldi in 1579 for his family burial chapel in the church of San Francesco di Castelletto in Genoa (fig. 122).[312] The challenge that faced Giambologna for the Grimaldi commission, much as it did for the *Jerusalem Reliefs*, was to devise a Passion cycle that adhered to the dictates of the Council of Trent, which meant creating compositions that exhibited the appropriate level

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[311] For Giambologna's workshop, see footnote 57.

[312] See footnote 8 for the relevant Grimaldi Chapel bibliography.

of historical truth in narrative and setting, along with the requisite sense of decorum. In contrast to the very discernable relationship the *Jerusalem Reliefs* have with painting of the sixteenth century, as will be shown below, the Grimaldi reliefs were definitely more reliant on sculpted examples.[313] One precedent that may have been foremost in Giambologna's memory was the monumental rood-loft in Mons, Belgium (fig. 20), on which he assisted his master Jacques Dubroeucq with the execution of alabaster reliefs of Christ's Passion, along with other subject matter, including full size free-standing statuary. As just one example, Dubroeucq's relief of the *Resurrection* (fig. 21) has a dynamic quality with figures carved fully in the round in some places, most notably those figures that project out of the pictorial plane and into the viewer's space. Giambologna's Genoa reliefs, with the exception of the *Entombment*, all have the same dynamic quality with large, fully rounded figures occupying the compositional space, and in many cases, moving beyond the confines of the pictorial plane. These characteristics are in stark contrast to Giambologna's consistent use of low-relief for the *Jerusalem Reliefs*, which have little salient projection from the bronze surface.

In addition to Dubroeucq, Giambologna was no doubt also influenced by the reliefs that were available to him in Florence, and in particular, Donatello's *Passion* and *Post-Passion* pulpits in San Lorenzo (fig. 30), which set the precedent for Passion relief cycles in Florence. In Donatello's reliefs, the modeling of the figures ranges from very

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[313] Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator*..., 87-245, puts forth numerous possibilities in terms of sculpted precedents that may have been influential for Giambologna's designs for the Grimaldi reliefs, from Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise, to Donatello's Passion pulpits, to the silver Corpus Domini casket in the San Lorenzo treasury in Genoa, to reliefs by Giacomo della Porta. The author also makes numerous comparisons between the Genoa reliefs and Renaissance painting.

low to areas where parts of the figures project freely from the background. At times, the figures break the framing boundaries of the picture plane, moving into the adjacent reliefs, creating an almost continuous narrative effect as each scene fluidly passes into the next. In addition to the variety of levels of relief employed by both Dubroeucq and Donatello, another important lesson for Giambologna with the Grimaldi reliefs from both sculptors would have been their taking into account the viewer's vantage point, ensuring that the figures in the reliefs were legible from the calculated height and distance from the viewer. Thus, in Dubroeucq's *Resurrection*, the head and torso of Christ break free from the back surface of the alabaster and project forward over the heads of the viewers in the cathedral below, ensuring that the image of the Resurrected Savior would be easily visible. As Donatello's pulpits are four sided and free-standing, they offered a different viewing point, being slightly above the head of the viewer in the church of San Lorenzo, and the viewer would presumably walk around them.[314] In this case, Donatello's figures move from one episode to the next, into and out of the pictorial plane with the efficacy of a moving image, creating, in other words, a continuously looping narrative that drives the viewer around the pulpits. In the Grimaldi Reliefs, which were originally positioned below carved niches, at just slightly above eye-level, Giambologna's spatial construction and depth of modeling allowed for compositional clarity.[315] One of the characteristics of Giambologna's success in the Grimaldi Passion cycle was his decision to approach each scene not as an iconic representation of a sacred event, but as an evolving narrative that demands the active participation and contemplation of the viewer not only in the

[314] See footnote 158.

[315] Weitzel Gibbons, 43.

comprehension of each scene but also in the mental completion of the entire narrative cycle, just as he ultimately accomplished in the *Jerusalem Reliefs*.

In their iconography, the *Jerusalem Reliefs* are very specifically focused on the last moments of Christ's Passion, from the Crucifixion through the Resurrection three days later. This iconographic program was clearly dictated by their intended location, not only in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the ground on which the actual events took place, but also specifically around the Stone of Unction, where the anointing of Christ's dead body was carried out. It has been suggested that the reliefs were arranged in a counter-clockwise direction around the *ornamento*, which would allow the narrative to unfold from left to right as if reading a text.[316] By using a plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher showing the Stone of Unction (fig. 124), along with a modern photograph showing the two reliefs on the front face of the *ornamento* (fig. 114), it is possible to trace the original arrangement of the reliefs. The cycle began with the *Raising of Christ's Cross* on the left front of the *ornamento* (the side facing the entry door of the church), followed by *The Crucifixion* to the right. Turning the corner of the *ornamento* to the short side facing Mount Calvary would be *The Deposition*. Around on the back side of the *ornamento*, facing into the main body of the church, would have been the *Anointing of Christ's Body* on the left with the *Entombment* on the right. And with one last turn around the *ornamento* to face the other short side, located directly opposite that of *The Deposition*, the cycle would end with the *Resurrection*. Arranged in this manner the sacred mysteries of the Passion would unfold, moment by moment, before the viewer's

[316] Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'…," 416.

eyes as they made their way around the Stone of Unction.[317] As the viewer reached the final scene of the *Resurrection*, he or she would have been directly in line with the Anastasis Rotunda, the structure which houses the aedicule which in turn houses Christ's tomb, the site of the Resurrection.

It should be remembered that at the time of this commission, Ferdinando had just left Rome where he had been a cardinal for over twenty years to take the secular reigns as Grand Duke of the Tuscan state. Taking into consideration Ferdinando's own piety in conjunction with their destination, it must be assumed that careful consideration on the part of the patron and sculptor ensured that not only was the iconography of the reliefs appropriate for the location, but also the style employed to depict the sacred subject matter.

The era of reform that resulted from the Council of Trent, which was instituted in 1545 by Pope Paul III and concluded in 1563 under Pope Pius IV, re-emphasized several central tenants of the Catholic faith in response to the growing threat of the Protestant Reformation which had begun under the impetus of Martin Luther in Wittenberg, Germany in 1517.[318] Key to the Catholic Church's message was the re-establishment of the importance of good works as a way to salvation, the validity and truth of Transubstantiation and the sanctity of the Eucharist, and the veneration of relics and the use of religious imagery as aids in spiritual teaching and meditation. Included among the

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[317] The idea that the pilgrim would move around the Stone of Unction to view each specific scene is only a hypothesis as the *ornamento* was never installed around the Stone. Similarly, as pilgrims to the site would normally kneel down to touch the Stone, it may have been that they would have moved around the *ornamento* on their knees, but again, the suggestion is purely hypothetical.

[318] Schroeder, trans., *Canons and Decrees*, 5.

mandates issued during the eighteen years of council sessions was a decree on the appropriate use of religious imagery and the manner in which sacred events should be represented. The famous (at least to art historians) Twenty-Fifth Session of the Council of Trent, which was held December 3 and 4, 1563, during the papacy of Pius IV, is a brief but clear paragraph on the use of sacred images as a means by which the laity would be educated in the religious messages of the church. The session's passage reads in part:

> … that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them …that, by means of the histories of the mysteries of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people is instructed, and confirmed in (the habit of) remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith…in such wise that no images, (suggestive) of false doctrine, and furnishing occasion of dangerous error to the uneducated, be set up. And if at times, when expedient for the unlettered people; it happen that the facts and narratives of sacred Scripture are portrayed and represented; the people shall be taught, that not thereby is the Divinity represented, as though it could be seen by the eyes of the body, or be portrayed by colours or figures. Moreover, in the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, every superstition shall be removed, all filthy lucre be abolished; finally, all lasciviousness be avoided; in such wise that figures shall not be painted or adorned with a beauty exciting to lust; nor the celebration of the saints, and the visitation of relics be by any perverted into revellings and drunkenness; as if festivals are celebrated to the honour of the saints by luxury and wantonness... that there be nothing seen that is disorderly, or that is unbecomingly or confusedly arranged, nothing that is profane, nothing indecorous, seeing that holiness becometh the house of God.[319]

[319] Schroeder, trans., *Canons and Decrees*, 216-217.

The mandate is unambiguous with regard to the function of religious imagery as an aid to meditation and a didactic tool for the illiterate. It also importantly sets the standards for the decorum necessary in works that would be seen by the (illiterate) masses, specifically censuring any element that deviated from the historical accuracy of the sacred text. While implementing such reform was not immediate and was not always consistent, there was in general, a spirit of compliance throughout the Italian peninsula.

Counter-Reformatory initiatives had been implemented by Duke Cosimo I by 1563, beginning with the his refurbishment of the two great medieval mendicant churches of Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce under the direction of Giorgio Vasari.[320] The interiors of the churches were "updated" with the removal of the choir screens and the addition of new altars and altarpieces that were designed to conform to the Council's mandates on the representation of sacred subjects. The new altarpieces for both churches were executed by Vasari, along with leading members of the *Accademia del Disegno*, including Agnolo Bronzino, Alessandro Allori, and up and coming younger members such as Santi di Tito. While the new altarpieces were stylistically quite diverse, they were unified by their adherence to Tridentine mandates in the representation of such traditional iconography as the Crucifixion and the Resurrection with the appropriate decorum and historical accuracy.

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[320] Marcia B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta. Maria Novella and Sta. Croce* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979), 7-8, suggests Cosimo's participation in some Counter-Reformation activities, the burning of books on List of Prohibited Books (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*), for example, was out of his desire to elevate himself and his family politically, especially with an eye toward a Grand Ducal crown.

Scholars have commented on the fact that many of the compositional elements of Giambologna's *Jerusalem Reliefs* have their source in contemporary painting of the period. While this observation has merit, few substantively relevant correlations have been offered.[321] However, there are many interesting connections to be found between Giambologna's reliefs, contemporary paintings, and even contemporary writings, all of which attest to the fluid interaction between painters and a sculptor like Giambologna, whose ability to draw from a variety of pictorial sources when necessary, allowed him the freedom to create reliefs, just as he had with the *Cosimo I Reliefs*, which functioned literally as paintings in bronze. A brief passage from Raffaello Borghini's *Il Riposo* of 1584 highlights this artistic fluidity in Florence during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In one passage where the four protagonists are discussing the altarpieces in Santa Croce, Ridolfo Sirgatti mentions Andrea del Minga's *Agony in the Garden*, (fig. 125) painted for the Pazzi altar in the church.[322] In the ensuing discussion, Del Minga is taken to task for the assistance he apparently received in the execution of the painting: "They say he was helped by Stefano Pieri in the color, in the landscape by the Fleming Giovanni

[321] Rhonen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...," 419; 422; 427, makes the general comparison between the reliefs and contemporary painting, he provides few concrete examples, and those that are provided, aside from the Tintoretto reference, are equally problematic in that they were located in Rome. Although Giambologna did return to Rome on several occasions, it makes more sense that he would be influenced by those works he would have daily access to, rather than one he may have seen in passing several years prior. Avery, *Sculptor to the Medici*, 159, follows Ronen's suggestion that the reliefs are related to contemporary painting, but provides no further elaboration.

[322] Hall, 129-131; Alessandro Nessi, "Un disegno di Andrea del Minga per "L'Orazione nell'Orto" in Santa Croce a Firenze," *Bollettino d'Arte* 133-134 (July-December, 2005): 103-114.

Ponsi, and that the drawing is by Giambologna."[323] Regardless of whether Giambologna actually provided the compositional design for the altarpiece, this passage demonstrates two things. First, that it was the belief at the time that Giambologna did provide the design for the painting. Second, no one in this group of laymen considered it out of the ordinary that a sculptor provided a design for a painter. What they did seem to have a problem with was the amount of help Minga received, not so much that he received it.

With the *Jerusalem Reliefs*, Giambologna approached the narrative design of each composition as if it were a painted, rather than sculpted, image. The reliefs, although small in scale, are perfect counterparts to the Counter-Reformation altarpieces produced from the time of Cosimo's refurbishment program twenty years earlier through the 1580's. The Jerusalem compositions are concretely of a type and style that not only corresponded to the demands of Tridentine reform found in contemporary painting in Florence, but were stylistically appropriate for the sanctity of the site for which they were intended.

Because the reliefs were meant to be seen from the viewpoint of the kneeling pilgrim, their small scale and low level of relief projection would have made for an intimate and personal viewing experience. Using Vasari's categorization of relief sculpture, all of the Jerusalem reliefs can be classified as the "*bassi e stiacciati*" type, the lowest level of relief which produces the effect of volume and depth without the relief actually having much volume or depth at all.[324] According to Vasari, this type of relief was the most difficult as it was reliant on outline, and required "...great skill in design and

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[323] Borghini (Ellis), 94.

[324] See pages 56-57 for the discussion of Vasari's description of the "*bassi e stiacciati*" relief.

invention..." on the part of the sculptor. Within the small-scale format, the compositions themselves were designed with regard for the spiritual solemnity of their location and in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation.

The first episode of the narrative relief series is *The Raising of the Cross* (fig. 126), modeled by Francavilla, and located on the left side of the front face of the *ornamento* (fig. 124). Dominating the center of the composition and placed at a dramatic diagonal rising from the lower left to the upper right is Christ's partially raised cross which is being pulled fully upright. A striking characteristic of all of the reliefs is the attention to small, but pertinent, details that add much to the dramatic impact of the scene. For example, the weight of the cross is emphasized not only by the soldiers who pull the ropes attached to the crossbar, but also by depicting the soldier at the foot of the cross who uses a stone and rod to wrench the cross into place. The man's full weight is put into his task, and he balances himself on his knees while pulling back on the rod in his hands. As the soldiers struggle with the weight of the cross, a group of mourners in the left middle ground stand witness to the tragedy taking place before them. The composition, while focused around the strong diagonal in the center, remains balanced through the placement of the figural groupings, which occupy the left and right foreground: the unconscious Virgin Mary supported by an attendant on the left, and a cluster of Roman soldiers on horseback on the right, identifiable by the ubiquitous S.P.Q.R. visible on their banner. In the background, a few curving lines incised into the bronze indicate the hillside around Golgotha, where the peripheral episode of one of the two thieves being nailed to a cross is seen. Further into the left distance, a multitude of figures, including a small cluster of Roman soldiers, populate the hillside. Although the

foliage and clouds are stylized, the overall modeling of the figures and the landscape is uniformly naturalistic.

The subject of the raising of Christ's cross was not frequently represented in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Occasional examples appear in the North, as in Hans Baldung Grien's engraving of 1507 (fig. 127), which was most likely based on Dürer's lost Green Passion drawing of the same subject, or with what is certainly the most famous example of the representation of the subject, Peter Paul Rubens's early seventeenth-century monumental altarpiece (fig. 128).[325] In contemporary sixteenth-century Italian painting and graphic works, however, there exist very few precedents. Moreover, as it is not an event mentioned in the Gospels, it also has no precedent. For Giambologna, the closest and most relevant Italian example available to him in terms of composition was most likely Tintoretto's monumental *Crucifixion* canvas from 1564-67 (fig. 129) in the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice.[326] On the left side of the painting, the raising of the cross of the good thief is shown (fig. 130), and in comparison with the Jerusalem relief, the correspondence between the two becomes evident. The general arrangement of

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[325] Matthias Mende, *Hans Baldung Grien, das graphische Werk : vollständiger Bildkatalog der Einzelholzschnitte, Buchillustrationen und Kupferstiche* (Unterschneidheim, Uhl, 1978); *Dürer, Baldung Grien, Cranach l'Ancien*, exh. cat., ed. Anny-Claire Haus (Strasbourg: Éditions des Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg, 2008); on Rubens see, John Rupert Martin, *Rubens, the Antwerp altarpieces: The Raising of the Cross, The Descent from the Cross: illustrations, introductory essays, documents, commentary, criticism* (New York: Norton, 1968); Cynthia Lawrence, "Rubens's Raising of the cross in context: the "early Christian" past and the evocation of the sacred in post-Tridentine Antwerp," in *Defining the Holy: sacred space in medieval and early modern Europe*, eds. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 251-275.

[326] Rodolfo Pallucchini and Paola Rossi, *Tintoretto Le opere sacre e profane* (Milano: Electa Editrice, 1982), vol. 1, 82-88, 100-01; Giandomenico Romanelli, *Tintoretto La Scuola Grande di San Rocco* (Milano: Electa, 1994).

elements in the relief, such as the hilly landscape rising to the left and the two groups of figures who occupy the left and right foreground are similar to Tintoretto's arrangement of these same elements. Importantly, also are details in the relief which have their exact correspondence in the painting. In the relief, the figure in the central foreground struggling to pull the rope to lift the Cross off of the ground is the same figure found in the left foreground of Tintoretto's canvas, who is also shown pulling the rope to lift the cross of the good thief. Likewise, the grouping of Romans soldiers on horseback in the right foreground of the relief echo those found in the left foreground of the painting. Even the grouping of figures around the Virgin, who faints into the arms of her attendants on the left in the relief, bears striking resemblance to Tintoretto's grouping around the Virgin at the foot of the Cross in the center of the painting.

Given the strong visual correspondence between the two works, it seems highly likely that the Venetian canvas was the compositional source for the relief, which has in fact been suggested in the previous scholarship.[327] However, as Giambologna's only documented trip to Venice was in 1593, one year after the Jerusalem reliefs were cast and the *ornamento* was already in Venice awaiting transport to the Holy Land, the question that must be addressed is how Giambologna would have seen Tintoretto's canvas prior to 1592.[328] The answer is found in a 1588 engraving of Tintoretto's *Crucifixion* by the

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[327] Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...," 419.

[328] Desjardins, 46, documents that the Grand Duke sent letters of recommendation to the "vice-legate of Bologna, the Duke of Ferrara, the Duke of Parma, the Duke of Mantua, the Count J.B. Serbelloni in Milan, and to Uguccioni who was the Florentine resident ambassador." On the details of Giambologna's trip see: Clifford M. Brown, "Giambologna Documents in the Correspondence Files of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in the Mantuan State Archives," *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 946 (January 1982): 29-31. Giambologna undertook this trip in part to escort his sister on her way back to

Bolognese artist Agostino Carracci (fig. 131). Of significance is the fact that Agostino dedicated the engraving to Grand Duke Ferdinando I de'Medici, and presumably either sent it to Florence, or presented it to the Grand Duke himself on the occasion of his wedding to Christine of Lorraine in 1589.[329] Agostino's physical presence at the marriage festivities in Florence seems highly likely given his numerous drawings and engravings of the ephemeral decorations, particularly those of the musical *intermedi*.[330] It is reasonable to assume that Giambologna would have had access to the engraving

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Flanders. It is highly unlikely, and no evidence exists, that Giambologna travelled to Flanders at this time, but during this trip north he did visit Milan, Mantua, and Venice, and possibly Padua. Giambologna's presence in Mantua is confirmed by a letter from Gonzaga to Ferdinando dated October 4, 1593, in which the Mantuan duke states that he had in fact received Giambologna at his court without Ferdinando's letter of introduction, as it had just arrived in Mantua (a portion of this letter, *Mediceo del Principato* 2942, fol. 4923, is available online through the Medici Archive Project: http:// documents. medici.org). From Mantua Giambologna must have continued his journey north, ultimately ending in Venice. Giambologna's presence in Venice in 1593 is documented by a letter he wrote to Girolamo Seriacopi, who was a member of the Grand Duke's household staff, on October 7, 1593, when he assures Seriacopi he will be returning to Florence soon to complete "la gran Cosimo a cavallo."

[329] Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family. A Catalog Raisonné* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1979), 254-257, 264-65, 266-68. Agostino also executed engraved portraits of Ferdinando and Christine around this same time in addition to the print after Tintoretto and the engravings of the *intermedi* decorations. Bohlin dates the *intermedi* prints to the time of the wedding (1589) to 1592/95; Maria Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel, "La fortuna dell'opera di Jacopo Tintoretto nelle stampe di traduzione dal Cinquecento all'Ottocento," in *Jacopo Tintoretto e i suoi incisori*, ed. Maria Agnese Chiari Moretto Wiel (Milan: Electa, 1994), 11-17; 22-24. The dedication to the Grand Duke reads in part: "*AVGV.CAR.FE. – Iacobus Tinctorectus Inuentor –cum priuiligio Senatus Veneti per annos. 15. – Venetijs Donati Rascichotti formis / 1589… Ill.mo et R.mo Card. ac Ser.mo Magno / AEthruriae Duci. DD. FERDINANDO / MEDICI….;"* and Roberta Cristofori, *Agostino, Annibale e Ludovico Carracci Le stampe della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma* (Bologna: Editrice Compositori, 2005), 202-206. To my knowledge, this is the first time the connection between Agostino's engraving and Giambologna's relief has been noted.

[330] Alois Maria Nagler, *Theater Festivals of the Medici 1539-1637* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), figs. 43 and 54.

given his position at court, as well as the fact that he was one of the principal artists involved with the wedding *apparato*.[331]

The second relief on the *ornamento*, immediately to the right of the *Raising of the Cross* is *The Crucifixion* (fig. 132), was modeled by Francavilla. In contrast to the dramatic diagonal employed in the preceding relief, a compositional device that was perhaps intended to move the viewer to the right. This relief strongly emphasizes its verticality with the three crosses in the center of the composition and the standing figures arranged in a loose arc around the base of the Cross. Mary Magdalene wraps her arms around the cross just below Christ's feet, looking up toward the crucified Savior. Two women behind her on the left, and one to the right, echo her posture with their heads turned upward toward Christ as well. Standing directly opposite the Magdalene on the right is John the Evangelist who dramatically throws his head and arms back as he too looks upward. And standing to the left, at a slight diagonal opposite John, is the Virgin Mary, whose actions are the exact reverse of the Evangelist's. Mary turns away from the sight of her crucified son, toward the viewer, with her head lowered in sorrow and her arms wrapped around her chest. Through the placement of these key figures, a small triangular foreground space was opened up in front of the cross. Small bits of foliage and the evidence of cut trees are visible as well as the bones of Adam that traditionally litter the space immediately in front of the Cross.

According to the Gospel of John (19:17), Christ was crucified along with "two others – one on each side and Jesus in the middle." Giambologna included both thieves, with the positioning of the good thief's body echoing that of Christ's, while the body of

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[331] Saslow, 89-90.

the bad thief is shown horribly twisted and mangled as evidence of his evil nature. By including the two thieves Giambologna was clearly adhering to the Counter-Reformation mandate of representing the story in a textually accurate manner. In the right foreground, three Roman soldiers draw lots for Christ's clothes, while in the distant background the masses of onlookers, mourners and soldiers, at the Crucifixion make their departure through the hillside. The rolling hills of the background landscape are simply defined with a few lines indicating their general shape. The stylized clouds are reminiscent of those in *The Raising of the Cross*, but here they presumably signify the blocking of the sun that occurred at the time of Christ's death.

Although images of the *Elevation of the Cross* were relatively uncommon, those of the *Crucifixion*, both painted and sculpted, were ubiquitous throughout the Renaissance in both painted and relief formats. Two Florentine altarpieces of the *Crucifixion* from the mid to late sixteenth century by Giovanni Stradano and Santi di Tito, both of which were commissioned as part of Cosimo and Vasari's Counter-Reformation inspired renovations of church naves, provide useful points of comparison as they demonstrate how astutely Giambologna was able to represent the sacred narrative with all of the requisite Counter-Reformatory weight even on a diminutive scale. The Crucifixion of Christ is fully recounted in the Gospel of John over twelve verses (John 19:18-30), describing the crucifixion along with the two thieves, the casting of lots by Roman soldiers for His clothes, and the words Christ spoke to the Virgin and John the Baptist before He died.

A comparable comprehensive narrative is found in Stradano's *Crucifixion* altarpiece (fig. 133) in Santissima Annunziata. In the center of the composition, Stradano

depicted Christ on the Cross with the two thieves at either side.[332] The Virgin, John the Evangelist and other mourners quietly look up from the left, while the Roman soldiers busy themselves with Christ's clothes on the right. Stradano's compositional expansiveness was praised by Bernardo Vecchietti in a passage in Borghini's *Il Riposo*, who said of the panel, "I see there well explained all that the sacred narrative says. And it is very copious in suitably presented inventions."[333] This statement could just as easily be applied to Giambologna's relief, where the same expansiveness in the representation of the "sacred narrative" is present. An equally compelling comparison can be found with Santi di Tito's altarpiece for the Alamanneschi Chapel in Santa Croce (fig. 134), particularly in terms of the very traditional figural arrangement. In both the altarpiece and the relief, the Virgin and John the Evangelist bear witness to the event unfolding before them, while Mary Magdalene kneels at the base of the cross, hugging it with her arms. The Roman soldiers on the right provide a compositional counterpart to the figures on the left in the same way as in both Stradano's altarpiece and Giambologna's relief, although in Santi's painting, they are engaged in conversation, not dividing Christ's clothes. The landscape in both the relief and Santi's altarpiece is comprised of gently rolling hills that rise in the background just slightly more than halfway behind the central crucifix. And both the painter and the sculptor avoided the inclusion of any extraneous

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[332] Hall, 64, characterizes Stradano's two thieves as being characteristically Flemish due to their "unrestrained contortion." This is an interesting comment, as both Giambologna and Francavilla were Flemish, and the two thieves in the Jerusalem relief are similarly contorted.

[333] Borghini (Ellis), 98. The only complaint leveled at the painting was the fact that Christ's body was not shown "more blood-stained," which was easily countered by the fact that Christ is here shown alive rather than dead.

details that might otherwise have taken focus away from the stark representation of the somber event at center.

The *Deposition of Christ from the Cross* (fig. 135) is the subject of the third relief in the series, which was also modeled by Francavilla. This relief would have been located on the short side of the *ornamento* that faced toward Mount Calvary (fig. 124). In what can justifiably be characterized as a traditional arrangement, Christ's cross is again placed in the center of the composition, as Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus and others work to lower the dead body of Christ down from the cross. Christ's limp body is placed at a diagonal across the picture plane, hanging suspended between heaven and earth; a pictorial device long used to emphasize the sacrificial nature of Christ's crucifixion and heighten the viewer's sense of grief and despair when contemplating the lifeless body of the Savior. In the Gospel of John (John 19:18-38), at the time Christ is taken off the cross by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, the two crucified thieves are not specifically mentioned, although they are referred to when the Jews ask Pilate to break their legs in order to hasten their death so all of the bodies could be removed from the crosses. As Giambologna had followed the biblical text in the composition of the *Crucifixion* relief by including the two thieves, their continued presence in this scene preserves the logical and sequential nature of the narrative.

The relief is filled with activity generated by the figures who move up and down the right and left sides of the cross. In addition to the frenetic action centered on the deposition of Christ, the exceptional attention paid to representing small details, emphasize the very human aspect of the event. On the right side of the cross, two ladders lean up against the crossbar, being steadied by two young boys at the bottom; one who

sits between the two ladders holding a basket, and the other who hangs onto the ladder, bracing it with his left foot. About half-way up the front ladder a man helps to lower Christ's body. As he hangs onto the sheet around Christ's waist, he steadies himself by placing his own foot on the cross where Christ's feet had been nailed, a posture which also serves to support Christ's legs. At the very top of the ladder, a young boy leans over from the back side of the crossbar holding a pair of pliers in his left hand, along with one of the nails, which he places into a shallow dish held aloft by a fourth figure almost entirely hidden behind the boy who steadies the ladder. To the left of this figure, another man leans over the back of the crossbar, holding onto Christ's left arm as either Nicodemus or Joseph, balanced on a ladder, supports the upper portion of Christ's body. At bottom left, a group of waiting mourners stand as if ready to receive the body, effectively ending the downward motion of this side of the composition. By far the most dramatic detail in the scene is the Virgin Mary on the left, whose knees literally give way underneath her, falling to the ground with her arms outstretched and watching as her son is brought down from the cross. John the Evangelist grasps his cloak with his right hand and simultaneously gestures towards the Virgin with his left, while looking over his shoulder in response to her reaction. In the background, the hill of Golgotha fills the greater part of the left and central space of the composition. And at right a group of Roman soldiers disappear into the distance, heading to the city that rises just above the hills in the distant right, no doubt a representation of Jerusalem, which is dominated by a central domed structure, the Church of the Holy Sepulcher itself.

As with the *Elevation of the Cross*, the *Deposition* is also a subject that has no corresponding biblical text, although it did have a long established pictorial tradition. By

and large the Jerusalem relief follows established prototypes from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as Fra Angelico's 1425 *Deposition* altarpiece (fig. 136) and Filippino Lippi's *Deposition* altarpiece of 1506 (fig. 137). In both, Christ's body is being gently lowered to the ground, and the Virgin Mary, John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene mourn at the foot of the cross. Giambologna's relief, however, departs from this conventional type in one significant way, and that is with the inclusion of the two thieves who are still hanging on their crosses. As two points of comparison, the altarpieces of the *Deposition/Lamentation* by Giovanni Battista Naldini (fig. 138) and Alessandro Allori, both for Santa Maria Novella are useful.[334] Both artists were members of the Accademia del Disegno, both worked with Giambologna on the Salviati Chapel in San Marco during the 1580's. In their discussion of the panels in Santa Maria Novella, the discussants of *Il Riposo* had much to say when comparing these two works, and in terms of the culture of Counter-Reformation Florence, their commentary is elucidating. With regard to Naldini's *Deposition* for the Minerbetti Chapel, Vecchietti compliments the panel, but finds it distressing that the body of Christ "…appears to be a body coming out of the bath rather than one taken down from the Cross."[335] Obviously making reference to the inviolate body of Christ, Vecchietti's complaint is countered by Michelozzi who points out that the body has been anointed and readied for entombment, and thus, the wounds would be no longer visible.[336] The men's conversation then turns to

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[334] On Naldini, see Hall 68-69,100-102; On Allori, see Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, *Alessandro Allori* (Torino: U. Allemandi, 1991); Jack Spalding, "Alessandro Allori's altarpieces in S. Maria Novella," *Storia dell'arte* 97 (1999), 311-316).

[335] Borghini (Ellis), 89.

[336] Ibid., 89.

Allori's altarpiece, which is criticized its depiction of Christ being taken down from the cross by angels rather than Joseph and Nicodemus. As part of their appraisal, the men discuss at length the exact sequence of events surrounding the Deposition according to the Gospel, including the passage of the thieves' legs being broken by the Jews.[337] Of significance to both the altarpiece and the Jerusalem relief is that Borghini's text concretely illustrates how the Tridentine mandates on religious art were part of the discourse on painting in Florence, and that the lack of judgment on the part of the artist or the patron did not go unnoticed.

In Naldini's altarpiece, which collapses the iconography of the Anointment and the Entombment, the two crucified thieves are seen in the background, while the laying out of Christ's body in preparation for burial takes place in the center of the composition. This telescoping of subject matter is also seen in such an altarpiece such as Bronzino's *Deposition* from 1565 (fig. 139) where, in a continuous narrative format, Christ is shown being taken from the cross in the background (flanked by the two thieves), while His body is presented to the viewer in the foreground. The sacrificial body of Christ, displayed at the front of the picture plane, invites the viewer to meditate on the Passion and their own salvation. This telescoping of narrative was of course not necessary in Giambologna's relief as the *Entombment* was a discrete subject that followed the *Deposition* sequentially on the *ornamento*.

The Passion narrative was continued on the back of the *ornamento*, facing into the church, with the *Anointing of Christ's Body* (fig. 140) on the left and the *Entombment* (fig. 144) on the right. As these reliefs were modeled by Giambologna himself, they

[337] Borghini (Ellis), 89-90.

differ markedly in terms of execution from the four reliefs modeled by Francavilla, possessing a more refined representation of the human figure and landscape elements, as well as demonstrating a much more assured handling of the forms and composition.[338] The *Anointing of Christ's Body* relief is significant in terms of its symbolic relationship with the Stone of Unction, as it is the site where the actual anointing took place. The event was rarely represented as an autonomous subject in Western art, and oftentimes when the event was implied, it was usually conflated with the iconography of the Pietà or Entombment.[339] In the relief, no doubt precisely related to the location, the two episodes of the *Anointment* and the *Entombment*, although closely related, were kept distinctly separate. In the *Anointing*, the body of Christ is laid out across the front of the picture plane on a piece of cloth, surely meant to be the linen shroud mentioned in the Gospels, on top of the Stone of Unction.[340] Christ's head and torso are supported by Mary Magdalene on the viewer's right, which immediately distinguishes the scene iconographically from that of a Pietà, while the Virgin kneels at her son's feet, covering her face in grief.

That this is indeed an representation of the anointing is further supported by the inclusion of the unguent jar (fig. 141), the traditional attribute of both Mary Magdalene and this subject. The male figure behind Christ applying the scented oils to His body is either Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus. Both men are mentioned in the Gospel of

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[338] These are the only two *Jerusalem Reliefs* with which any of the Giambologna literature deals.

[339] Graeve, 223-224.

[340] Matthew 27:58-60; Mark 15:42-47; Luke 24:50-58; John 19:38-42. Only the Gospel of John mentions the anointing of Christ's body; however all four mention the linen cloth used to wrap Christ's body before his burial.

John (19:38-42): "…And there came also Nicodemus…and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes… Then took they [Joseph and Nicodemus] the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices…." This central group of figures is flanked by two additional figural groups who are arranged in loose arcs to either side. Standing on the right are three male figures, one of whom is almost entirely hidden behind the foreground figure. This group is balanced on the left side by a crowd of mourners, both male and female, with the male closest to the picture plane, presumably the figure of John the Evangelist. Each figure's gesture represents an individual response to the event he or she is witnessing, thus imbuing the scene with a solemn, reverential quality. The figures have been effectively bound to the front of the picture plane by the two rolling hills behind, delineated by only a few lines incised into the clay model. In the left distance, the walled city of Jerusalem rises behind the hill, and on the right, the hill of Golgotha, with three barren crosses, starkly silhouetted against the background. Even though the anointing stone was the lid of the tomb, the tomb itself is nowhere to be seen in this relief, which effectively focuses the viewer's attention on the anointing of Christ's body in preparation for His entombment.

Perhaps due to a lack of available precedents showing the Anointment independently of the Entombment, Giambologna has more generally followed Byzantine *epitaphioi* which illustrate the Lamentation and burial of Christ, with specific reference to the anointing of the body on the Stone of Unction. The *epitaphios* type was usually in the form of a woven textile, but it is also found in other media as well, such as mosaic and ivory. Two examples dating from the mid- to late-sixteenth century (figs. 142 and 143),

provide a general sense of the compositional arrangement of this type of imagery.[341] In both, the Virgin holds the head of Christ in her lap, which is evocative of Lamentation iconography, while His feet are supported by either Nicodemus or Joseph. Christ's body is laid out on a white cloth on top of a stone slab, and in both *epitaphioi*, the Stone of Unction is red and white in coloration, colors that were symbolic of the blood of Christ mixing with the tears of the Virgin.[342] In the *epitaphios* from Mt. Athos, however, it is clearly illustrated that the Stone of Unction is the lid of the tomb which is being carved in the right background. The Jerusalem relief sets the anointing in a landscape in which the three crosses and the city of Jerusalem are visible, and a similar setting is seen in the Theophanes *epitaphios* (fig. 142), with two rocky crags rising on the right and left sides with a building, perhaps the monastery on Mt. Athos, visible in the central background.[343] The Jerusalem *Anointing* also seems to follow, in a general sense, the *epitaphios* prototype in the solemn display of Christ's body and the mourners who group around the Stone.[344] As the *ornamento*'s was intended to surround the Stone of Unction in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, it may very well have been a conscientious

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[341] Hans Belting, "An image and its function in the liturgy: the Man of Sorrows in Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34-35 (1980-1981): 1-16; and Sarah T. Brooks, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557): Perspectives on late Byzantine Art and Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006).

[342] Graeve, 228, summarizes the history of the red and white coloration associated with the Stone.

[343] Viktor N. Lazarev, *Theophanes der Grieche und seine Schule* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1968); M. Alpatov, *Theophanes the Greek* (Moscow: Izobrazitelnoye iskusstvo, 1984).

[344] Further research into the presence of Byzantine *epitaphioi* in the west, especially in Florence, is necessary to determine precisely if, and how, Giambologna would have had access to this type of imagery.

decision to follow a more Eastern mode of representing the scene as the Byzantine *epitaphios* would have been ubiquitous in that region.

To the right of the relief of the *Anointing* is the representation of *The Entombment* (fig. 144). In this scene, the locus of action takes place just to the left of center in the pictorial space. The tomb is set within an opening in the side of the hill, its lid seen just behind the figure of Christ. The body of Christ is lowered into the sepulcher by three male figures, presumably John the Evangelist, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus. Three female figures stand at the left, the foremost of whom may be the Virgin with her hands clasped in front of her chest. Two male figures stand at the edge of the cave opening on the right, providing visual balance to the three female figures at left, as well as serving as a visual bookend of sorts, focusing the viewer's attention on the action of the burial. The arrangement of several standing figures enclosing Christ's limp body on either side is a compositional device that helps to draw attention to the lifeless body of the Savior. The burial cave occupies most of the pictorial space, and here Giambologna has given the viewer an interesting viewpoint in terms of geographical location. In the upper right, the cross of the good thief is visible on Golgotha as well as a small portion of the crossbar of Christ's cross. Just discernible in the cleft between the cave and Golgotha, the city of Jerusalem can again be seen. By this point in the cycle, Giambologna has moved the viewer visually from the site of the Crucifixion on Golgotha, to the site of the Anointing on the Stone of Unction, and then further on to the site of the burial cave. Important to bear in mind is that all of the events represented in the *Jerusalem Reliefs* had a direct link to sites within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher where the events actually took place. Golgotha, or Mount Calvary, is located just to the

right of the Stone of Unction in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The Stone itself is located just inside the entry doors, and Christ's tomb is located just beyond in the Anastasis Rotunda. Thus, the pilgrim who would have been looking at these reliefs would be witnessing, in a sense, all of the events of Christ's Passion that surrounded them in the Church.

In terms of pictorial precedents for the representation of the Christ's *Entombment*, there was certainly no shortage, with examples readily available from the Trecento onward. Two early examples that are comparable to Giambologna's relief in terms of the austerity of the representation of the iconography, where the narrative has been reduced to only those aspects that are fundamental to illustrating the story, are Giotto's *Entombment* (1320-25) (fig. 145) or Duccio's *Entombment* from the back of the *Maestà* altarpiece (1308-11) in Siena (fig. 146). In both panels, Christ is laid in the sepulcher, with the burial cave surrounding the figures, much in the same way as in Giambologna's relief. The motion of the figures is reserved and the emotional focus is on the dead body of the Savior. Although these early prototypes are interesting comparisons with Giambologna's relief, there is no evidence that suggests he would have had access to either image. Many other examples were readily available in Tuscany, with perhaps one of the most famous being Raphael's *Entombment* altarpiece for Atalanta Baglione in Perugia (fig. 147).[345] In Raphael's composition, the burial cave is barely visible on the left, while the center foreground of the composition illustrates the transporting of Christ's body to the sepulcher. The figures strain against the weight of the dead body, creating a

[345] Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 44-47; and Nigel Spivey, "Pathos by formula: the story of Raphael's "Entombment"," *Apollo* 150 no. 449 (1999), 46-51.

striking series of diagonals through their gestures. Raphael's Christ is highlighted in the foreground in a manner similar to that which Giambologna adopted, although the sculptor set the entire scene further into the middle-ground space. In the center of the hilly landscape in Raphael's background, just above the Magdalene's head, a town rises in the far distance, much as Jerusalem is barely visible in the right side of the relief. Also comparable is the inclusion of the three crosses in the upper right background in the altarpiece, although only one cross is shown in the relief.

A more contemporary example available to Giambologna would have been Giovanni Battista Naldini's *Entombment* (fig. 148) for the Da Verrazzano chapel in Santa Croce.[346] Here Christ's body is again displayed at the foreground of the picture plane, while figures surround the body in preparation for carrying it to the tomb, which is just visible in the background. The two thieves still hang on their crosses and the slightly agitated mood is expressed through the exaggerated gestures of the figures. In contrast, one of the most compelling aspects of Giambologna's *Entombment* relief is its stark and reserved solemnity as his figures stand almost motionless, isolated in front of the burial cave. The gestures are restrained and the emotional expressiveness is subdued.

The final event of Christ's Passion represented in the Jerusalem Reliefs is the *Resurrection of Christ* (fig. 149), located on the short side of the *ornamento* directly opposite *The Deposition*. The *Resurrection* is the most overtly emotional and animated of the *Jerusalem Reliefs*, as Christ is shown rising triumphantly from His tomb, just slightly

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[346] Hall, 70-71, 149-150; Stuart Currie, "Invenzione, disegno e fatica: two drawing by Giovambattista Naldini for an altarpiece in post-Tridentine Florence," in *Drawing 1400-1600: Invention and Innovation*, ed. Stuart Currie (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 150-171; and Christel Thiem, " "Invenzione" e "practica": zur Entwurfspraxis des Florentiners Giovanni Battista Naldini," in *Festschrift für Eberhard W. Kornfeld zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Christine E. Stauffer (Bern: Kornfeld, 2003), 49-55.

right of center, surrounded by the radiating mandorla that isolates Christ's body as it hovers in the sky above the now empty tomb. On the left, the landscape rises dramatically with the trees bending toward the ascendant savior, as if in response to the spectacular moment. And indeed, the scene is charged with a frenetic energy that not only emanates from the body of Christ, but is further emphasized by the exaggerated and dramatic movements of the soldiers below. In the foreground, the soldiers guarding the tomb are seen falling backwards with arms outstretched, running in different directions, and crouching down with their arms up as protection. The entire surface of this relief is activated, and as the last scene in a cycle that has been focused on the quiet contemplation of Christ's sacrifice, it provides an ending fitting for the location, directly across from the actual tomb of the Resurrection.

The *Resurrection* relief is the only one of the *Jerusalem Reliefs* that was clearly based on specifically identifiable altarpieces of the same subject. The twisting, turning, and contorted figures that populate the bottom portion of the relief are directly related to those in Bronzino's *Resurrection* altarpiece (fig. 150) from 1552 in the Guadagni chapel in the church of Santissima Annunziata.[347] Although Bronzino surrounded Christ with angels rather than a landscape in his ecstatic vision of Christ's Resurrection, the correspondence between the relief and the altarpiece is especially evident when

[347] Alessandro Chiapelli, "Contratto d'allogagione ad Agnolo detto il Bronzino della tavola della Ressurezione nella chiesa dei Servi in Firenze," *Rivista d'arte* 12 (1930), 291-296; Hall, 43-45; Graham Smith, "Bronzino's 'Resurrection' in the SS. Annunziata: an addendum," *The Burlington Magazine* 129 (1987), 519-520; Maruice Brock, *Bronzino*, trans. David Poole Radzinowicz and Christine Schultz-Touge (Paris: Flammarion, 2002), 268-285; and Stephen J. Campbell, "Counter-Reformation polemic and Mannerist counter-aesthetics: Bronzino's "Martyrdom of St. Lawrence" in San Lorenzo," *Res* 46 (2004), 98-119.

considering the soldiers in the foreground of the altarpiece who are the direct progenitors of those in the relief. Bronzino's central foreground figure who bends inhumanly backwards has been appropriated in the relief, as have the figures on both the right and left who flee the scene with arms outstretched. The primary difference between the altarpiece and relief is the setting; whereas the relief is set in a landscape, Bronzino's takes place in a more overtly supernatural environment.

For the interlocutors of *Il Riposo*, Bronzino's altarpiece provided something of a conundrum, as they found the angel on the left to be particularly lascivious. However, while the angel's pose and clothing may have lacked the decorum necessary for a Counter-Reformation altarpiece, they were able to praise the same figure for its stylistic beauty.[348] The conflict between decorum and style no doubt reflected the current climate in Florence, and its sophisticated Florentine audience, which strove to be appropriately decorous in its religious imagery while simultaneously being desirous of the beautiful and sensual. One artist of the period who was able to mediate the two realms was Santi di Tito, who was trained in Bronzino's studio but followed Counter-Reformation rules of decorum. And it is with Santi's *Resurrection* altarpiece for the Medici Chapel in Santa Croce (fig. 151) that an even stronger comparison can be made with the Jerusalem relief.[349] While Santi's composition was clearly derived from Bronzino's, he managed to

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[348] Borghini (Ellis), 98.

[349] Jack Spalding, "Observations on Santi di Tito's Resurrection," *Storia dell'arte* 32/34 (1978), 41-43; Hall, 148-149; Jack Spalding, "Santi di Tito and the Reform of Florentine Mannerism," *Storia dell'arte* 47/49 (1983), 41-52; *Disegni di Santi di Tito (1536-1603)*, eds. Simona Lecchini Giovannoni and Marco Collareta (Firenze: Olschki Editore, 1985); and Antonio Natali, "Il 'divoto' e il pittore di 'sacra historia': Bernardo Vecchietti e Santi di Tito," in *L'uomo in cielo: il programma pittorico della cupola di Santa Maria del Fiore*, ed. Timothy Verdon (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna, 1996), 119-128.

avoid the "lasciviousness" evident in the elder painter's work by reducing the number of nude figures and by placing a stronger emphasis on the Risen Christ in the upper center. In his altarpiece, Christ is located higher up in the pictorial plane, and rather than having a multitude of various sized angels crowded closely around the Savior as Bronzino had, Santi opened up the ring of angels who seem to be behind Christ, rather than directly beside and in front of Him. And in contrast to Bronzino, Santi also included, slightly off to the right side, the three Maries who first approached Christ's tomb and realized it was empty, thus incorporating more of the biblical account of the event into the scene in comparison with his predecessor.[350] In the Jerusalem relief, in contrast to both Bronzino and Santi, the resurrected Christ is isolated against the mandorla and surrounded only by the hill of the landscape on the left. This divergent aspect of the relief, with the strong presence of the landscape, manages in part, to keep the miraculous event grounded in reality, which is where the relief is located: in the real space of the church which houses Christ's tomb in the Anastasis Rotunda.

The general mood of the *Jerusalem Reliefs*, with the sole exception of *The Resurrection*, is one of quiet contemplation and grief. The figures occupy and move through each compositional space without exaggerated movement or emotion; there is no waving of arms or pulling of hair. Instead, a quiet dignity pervades each scene. The gradual buildup of grief the viewer was surely expected to feel while contemplating Christ's sacrifice was given release in the exuberance of the final scene of *The Resurrection*. As the narrative slowly unfolds beginning with *The Raising of the Cross*,

[350] Matthew 28:1-2; Mark 16: 1-8; Luke 24: 1-8; John 20:1-9 (John's account of the event is quite different from that of the other three gospels).

Giambologna took care to tie the scenes together visually through the landscape in each episode. And although it was not designed as a seamless landscape running uninterruptedly from one scene to the next, the subtly changing viewpoints within each relief convey a sense of continuity of location. The rolling hills in the left background of *The Raising of the Cross* are the same as those in *The Crucifixion*, although now they are on the right side of the composition, moving, so it might seem, with the direction of the unfolding narrative. In *The Deposition* the same rolling hills are again shown, this time situated on the left side of the composition, while in the distant right background, a city tucked amongst the hills rises ever so slightly into view. In the two scenes of *The Anointing* and *The Entombment*, the view of the landscape changes as it is here presented extremely close to the front of the picture plane, a device that forcefully emphasizes each event, closing off the recessional distance in the scene and providing a backdrop against which the main event is silhouetted. The city of Jerusalem is seen in both of these scenes, but due to the deliberate shifting of the viewpoint within each of these compositions, the city sits on top of the leftmost hill in *The Anointing*, while it peeks out from behind the central background in *The Entombment*. In the final scene of *The Resurrection*, the alignment of the landscape to the left of the compositional space remains the same, as in the *Deposition*, as does the location of Jerusalem in the right background. And even though the relief differs stylistically from the previous two, it is clear that the intention was to suggest the tomb of Christ as a continuation from the cave of the *Entombment*. This visual unification adds to the continuous narrative aspect of the cycle, keeping the viewer's sense of place and time firmly locked as he or she moves

from one scene to the next, contemplating Christ's Passion, directly over the stone on which He was anointed and in the physical space where the events occurred.

The Larger Context of the *Ornamento*

Ferdinando's *ornamento* was one of several gifts sent to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at or around the same time in 1592.[351] The passport issued in 1592 listed, in addition to the *ornamento*, a "*…tavola di pittura con l'immagine del nostro Redentore resucitante con due Angioli… con alcuni candelieri….*"[352] The candelabra (*candelieri*) are certainly almost impossible to trace at this point, especially after the destruction of interior decorations by the Orthodox Greeks in 1757. In Fra Matteo di Salerno's 1591 letter to Ferdinando, the friar identified the painting as "*… la pittura del Broncino per il Santo Sepulcro….*"[353] As Bronzino had been dead since 1572, it seems equally possible that the Grand Duke employed a living Florentine painter in service to his court for this commission. It has been convincingly argued that Bronzino's name had, by this time, become synonymous with those of his students, such as Alessandro Allori.[354] Therefore,

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[351] For the culture of gift giving during the reign of Ferdinando I, see: Edward L. Goldberg, "Circa 1600: Spanish Tastes and Tuscan Painting," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1998): 912-933; Suzanne B. Butters, "The Uses and Abuses of Gifts in the World of Ferdinando de' Medici (1549-1609)," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance*, vol. 11 (2007), 243-354.

[352] See footnote 297.

[353] The letter was published in part by Goldberg, "Artistic Relations…Part II," 532 n. 22.

[354] The use of Bronzino's ("Broncino") name as being interchangeable with Alessandro Allori is argued in Goldberg, "Artistic Relations…I,"537-538. As Allori, a disciple of Bronzino's, signed his name ""; Elizabeth Pilliod, *Pontormo, Bronzino, Allori. A Genealogy of Florentine Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 159, mentions that Allori frequently signed his name with reference to the fact he was Bronzino's student. For example, his signature oftentimes reads: "ALEXANDER

when Salerno identified "Broncino" as the painter in his letter, he may most likely have been referring to a painting by Allori. At present, neither the painting nor its precise location has been definitively identified, but if the painting is still extant, its identification may yet be possible.[355] With regard to its intended location within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the wall over Christ's tomb would certainly be the most logical place for an image of the Resurrection (fig. 152). This suggestion is supported by a letter of May 22, 1592, written by Girolamo Seriacopi, who was acting as the Grand Duke's agent in Venice. According to Seriacopi, the painting was "…to be put at the altar in that place…."[356] As the wall over Christ's tomb effectively functioned as an altar, it seems the most likely intended location.[357] Although many questions regarding the painting remain unanswered, there are, however, two tantalizing possibilities for both the identification of the painting and its placement. A painting over the tomb of Christ was

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ALLORIS CIVIS FLOR. BRONZINI ALUMNUS..." as it does in the Montuato chapel in Florence.

[355] I have searched the listed *oeuvres* of both Bronzino and Alessandro Allori in an effort to find a recorded painting that bears some resemblance to the description of the painting given in the 1592 Tuscan passport. However, as of now, I have been unable to locate one that fits the description, which may mean that the painting, after being sent to Jerusalem, was then lost.

[356] De Francqueville, 138-139. The letter is addressed to Ferdinando's secretary in Florence, Belissario Vinta, and he writes: "La settimana passata ***si mandò a Bologna l'ornamento di bronzo fatto fare S.A.S. a posta per donare al Santissimo Sepolcro. Ancora si mandò la tavola di pittura per mettere a l'altare in detto luogo***, e tutto fu indritto a messer Fabritio Buontempi, quale avisa la ricevuta." (emphasis added)

[357] That the area over Christ's tomb was used an altar is know through the various descriptions of the Holy Sepulcher in several different travelogues, for example in Giovanni Zuallardo, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme fatto & descritto in sei libri dal Sig. Giovanni Zuallardo, Cavaliero del Santissimo Sepolcro di. N.S. l'anno 1586* (Rome, 1587), 209, "Sopra l'altare verso Tramontana, vi è un quadro, a tavola ben'antica, dove è dipinta la rapresentatione della glorie la Resurrettione del Salvatore."

recorded in 1431 by the pilgrim Mariano da Siena. In his travelogue, Mariano described the painting as "…*è depento Iesu, che esce del monimento con Giuderi [Giudei] intorno, e Santo Francesco in ginocchini*" (…a painting of Christ coming out of the sepulcher with the Jews around, and St. Francis kneeling).[358] The whereabouts of this work is unknown, and by 1586 a different painting was recorded in this location. In Giovanni Zuallardo's travelogue of that year, he described the interior of the chamber that houses Christ's tomb, writing: "Over the altar toward the north, there is a painting, a very old tablet, where painted is a representation of the glory of the Resurrection of the Savior."[359] Unfortunately, Zuallardo does not elaborate on what he meant when qualifying the painting as "very old" ("ben'antica"). In an engraving accompanying his text, an image of the *Resurrection* is visible on the back wall of the tomb chamber (fig. 153). The painting's continued presence in this location is recorded in subsequent travelogues. In 1610, the Englishman George Sandys noted the painting in the same location, writing: "…and having on the far side an antique and excellent Picture demonstrating the Resurrection."[360] Again, Sandys provides no indication what he meant by "antique." Interestingly, in an engraving from Friar Elzear Horn's *Ichnographiae Monumentorum*

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[358] Domenico Moreni, ed., *Del Viaggo in Terra Santa fatto e descritto da Ser Mariano da Siena nel secolo XV (1431)* (Firenze: Stamperia Magheri, 1822), 85.

[359] Zuallardo, 209, "Sopra l'altare verso Tramontana, vi è un quadro, a tavola ben'antica, dove è dipinta la rapresentatione della glorie la Resurrettione del Salvatore."

[360] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom: 1610. Foure Bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and ilands adioyning, The third edition* (London: Ro. Allot, 1627), 167, like Zuallardo, mentions the painting being "antique," but without further elaboration, it is impossible to know precisely what he meant. Sandys uses many of Zuallardo's engravings as his illustrations in his travelogue.

Terrae Sanctae, 1724-1744, the interior of the aedicule is shown with a rendering very similar to the *Resurrection* illustrated in Zuallardo's text (fig.154).[361]

The painting of the *Resurrection* over Christ's tomb, had, by the seventeenth century, taken on the status of a miraculous image. Two legends, differing slightly in their details, regarding the image are recounted in two travelogues from the seventeenth century. In the first, dated 1639, Friar Francesco da Secli recounts: "There is a picture of the Resurrection of Our Lord, painted by a certain Flemish, who desired to make it as true as possible: and one morning, having prepared the day before the canvas, he found it finished; and it is believed that is was done by the hands of angels and by divine virtue. And he donated it to the Duke of Florence, who sent it to Jerusalem…."[362] It is not known who the painter was, nor if the image referred to by Secli was the same one illustrated by Zuallardo a few decades earlier. In any event, by the seventeenth century, the painting was famous for being completed by "the hands of angels," not unlike the icon in the Lateran, or perhaps more germane, the legendary *Annunziata* in the church of Santissima Annunziata in Florence, which was believed to have been completed by an angel.[363] The legend of the Holy Sepulcher painting was continued in the travelogue of

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[361] Fr. Elzear Horn O.F.M., *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae (1724-1744)*, 2nd ed., translation by Fr. E. Hoade O.F.M. and preface by Fr. B. Bagatti O.F.M. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1962), pl. IV.

[362] Amico, 91 n. 6. The passage quoted above is taken from Fr. Francesco da Secli's travelogue of 1639 (a copy of which I have yet to obtain).

[363] Zygmunt Waźbiński, "L'Annunciazione della Virgine nella chiesa della SS. Annunziata a Firenze: un contributo al moderno culto dei quadri," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, ed. Andrew Morrogh et al., Villa I Tatti Series 7 (Florence: Giunta Barbera, 1985), 533-552; Marcello Fantoni, "Il culto dell'Annunziata e la sacralità del potere mediceo," *Archivio Storico Italiano* CXLVII (1989): 771-793; Goldberg, "Artistic Relations...II," 537.

Fra Domenico Laffi in 1683. In his account, Laffi recounts a story told to him by a Franciscan friar of a painter who came from Italy to visit the Holy Land. Having seen the painting of the Resurrection *in situ* over Christ's tomb, the painter wanted to make a copy of it. He began his copy, but stopped to rest for the evening. When he returned to it the next morning, he found that the head of Christ had been finished by angels.[364] Laffi's description of the event is interesting, as it suggests the idea that since the painting over the tomb had been finished by "the hands of angels," copies of the miraculous painting would similarly be finished by angels.

Unfortunately, the paintings that are today located over Christ's tomb (fig. 152) bear little resemblance to either Zuallardo's or Horn's engravings, and it is impossible, without further detailed information, to ascertain where the paintings referred to in both of these travelogues came from and when.[365] What is clear based on the documentary and visual evidence so far, is that prior to Ferdinando's 1592 shipment of gifts to the Holy Sepulcher, there was a painting of the Resurrection over the tomb of Christ, suggesting

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[364] Domenico Laffi, *Viaggio in Levante al Santo Sepolcro di N.S.G. Christo, et altri Luoghi di Terra Santa di D. Domenico Laffi Bolognese* (Bologna, 1683), 292-293. In his account, Laffi records: "…che al tempo di questo buon Religiolo [priest] era venuto d'Italia un Pittore che visitare questo Santi Luochi, e frà tutte le Pitture che vidde in diverse Chiese, li piacque molto questo Christo resuscitato, e volle copiarlo digiunando trè giorni in pane, & acqua avanti che principiasse l'opera, facendo fare oration ancora…***havendo questo fatta l'imagine restandovi solo la testa delineate, che il di seguente voleva colorire con somma diligenza, andò al riposo, la mattina fatte le sue devotioni in questi S. Luochi, andò per terminare il quadro, e retrovo la testa fatta per mano delli Angioli***, e così alcuno non si maravigli se questa pittura sia tanta bella, e devote, come ho detto." (emphasis added).

[365] According to Biddle, 135, the painting on the left side of the altar belongs to the Latins, the one on the right to the Armenians, and the central marble icon belongs to the Greeks and dates to 1809-10.

that Ferdinando might have intended to replace whatever painting was already there with his own gift.

A second possible location for the painting sent by the Grand Duke would be over the entrance of the aedicule (fig. 155). A painting of the *Resurrected Christ* (fig. 156) is present in this location today, and although this hypothesis is based solely on modern photographs, it appears that the current painting may be from the sixteenth century. The figurative style of the body of Christ is not unlike that of late century Florentine paintings, such as Cigoli's *Resurrection* from 1590 (fig. 157). Similarly, the frame of the painting also seems comparable to a typical Tuscan frames of the period (fig. 158). That the painting may date from the late-sixteenth century is given some support by the fact that it was reproduced in an engraving (figs. 159 and 160) from Horn's *Ichnographiae* of 1724-44. Although Horn's description of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was written over one hundred years later, the engraving definitively provides a *terminus ante quem* for the painting, with a date no later than the early eighteenth century. Although the questions surrounding Ferdinando's painting remain to be answered, the suggestion that the painting over the door of the aedicule may be the one sent by the Grand Duke is within the realm of possibility.

In addition to the *ornamento*, candelabra, and painting, Ferdinando sent another impressive gift to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at this same time, perhaps in the crates containing the other gifts.[366] Documents dating from 1591 to 1595 detail the Grand Duke's gift of a large brass lamp, that was apparently intended to hang in front of

[366] This lamp may have been part of the 1592 shipment, but until further documentation is uncovered, that remains only a hypothesis.

Christ's tomb ("*davanti il S.to Sepolcro*").[367] From the existing pilgrims' accounts and engravings of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher it is clear that there were lamps both inside the structure of the Anastasis Rotunda as well as inside the aedicule which encloses Christ's tomb.[368] The first document that has thus far been discovered that mentions the lamp is Fra Matteo di Salerno's 1591 letter to Ferdinando, the same letter in which he mentions the *ornamento* and the other gifts being sent to the church.[369] The lamp is referred to again in a post-script in a letter from Salerno to the Grand Duke on January 29, 1593.[370] And in a letter of March 30, 1595, written to the Grand Duke by Napoleone di Girolamo Cambi, Depositore Generale for Ferdinando, Cambi summarizes the Grand Duke's wishes about how the lamp was to be used, according to what he had been told by Salerno. Attached to the letter is a copy of the Grand Duke's official

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[367] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato* 5031, fol. 321. Salerno mentions the placement of the lamp as "devanti el S.to Sepolcro in memoria de questa ser.ma [serenissima] casa de v.a. [vostra altezza]…."The placement of the lamp in front of the Holy Sepulcher is again mentioned in Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato* 6081, fol. 897, dated October 14, 1622, in a letter to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany when a Medici agent was going to try and move the lamp inside the sepulcher, over the tomb. A portion of this document is available online through the Medici Archive Project at http://documents.medici.org/ document_details.cfm? entryid=16022&returnstr=orderby=SendName@is_search=1@result_id=0.

[368] Moryson, vol. 2, 27, recorded: "And in the very Sepulcher, the burning Lampes give light....; Sandys, 167, similarly recorded: "Over it [the Sepulcher] perpetually burneth a number of lamps, which have sullied the roof like the inside of a chimney."

[369] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato* 5031, fol. 321. I came across this document, along with *MdP* 5031 fol. 169 noted below, while conducting archival research in the spring of 2009. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time either documents has been mentioned in the scholarship on Ferdinando's gifts to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

[370] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato* 5031 fol. 169 (clarify this number), dated January 24, 1593.

donation of money in order to keep the lamp continuously lit.[371] The donation document states that Ferdinando had given the lamp to the Holy Sepulcher along with 500 ducats, deposited in the Monte di Pietà, which were to be allotted annually at a rate of twenty five ducats per year.[372] This rate of dispersal would keep Ferdinando's lamp lit for twenty five years. The gift of the lamp was given in the name of the "Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem and His Highness Ferdinando de'Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany." And the document also outlined the terms of this donation, specifically stating that changes to this arrangement could not be made without the express consent of Ferdinando or members of his family. A few decades later, in a letter of 14 October 1622, Ferdinando's lamp is again mentioned when Fra Bernardino Bandini wrote to Maria Magdalena d'Austria, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, informing her of his plans to try and have Ferdinand's lamp moved to its originally intended location inside the aedicule (i.e., directly over the tomb of Christ). Apparently due to its large size, it had been hanging outside the aedicule up to this time. Bandini also asked the Grand Duchess to send him a silver label with the donor's name (Ferdinando I de'Medici) so it could be attached to the lamp.[373]

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[371] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Miscellanea Medicea* 137 fol. 22, dated March 30, 1595. Attached to this letter is a copy of the official transfer of funds.

[372] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Miscellanea Medicea* 137 fol. 23. The text reads in part: "*Io deposita sul monte di pieta 500 ducati stare perpetuamente a nome del Santissimo Sepolcro di Hierusalem di terra Sancta, et di [ ]essere stati messi ordine del Ser.mo Ferdinando Medici Gran Duca terzo di Toscana et che questo capitale non si possa a modo alcuno dispone sensa la volanta di S.A. o tua successori, et con condizione che li V.S. che il monte deve pagare ...ogni anno al Comm.no o procuatore che li tempi saranno di detto Santissimo Sepolcro a effetto di fare tenere perpetuante accessa una lampana d'avanti il Santissimo Sepolcro a nome di S. Alt.a et di tutta la sua famiglia, come la veda la copia il detto deposito che li mandero*...."

[373]Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo Principato* 6081, fol. 897. Portions of this document are available online via the Medici Archive Project at

As can be seen in an engraving from Horn's *Ichnographiae* of the interior of the structure (fig. 161), lamps were hung in the Chapel of the Angel, the small antechamber just outside the tomb chamber, as well as over Christ's tomb itself.[374] As lamps were regularly given to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by laypeople as well as state rulers, it seems likely that the closer one's lamp was to the tomb, the more prominent the gift and the sender. For example, number 55 in the Chapel of the Angel on Horn's engraving indicates the "…17 silver lamps always alight, of which 5 belong to the Friars Minor, and the bigger one before the door [number 56] is furnished with oil from the singular generosity of the Master of the Knights of Malta of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem…."[375] Inside the second chamber in the aedicule, marked 67 on the engraving, "…hang 44 silver lamps, of various Emperors, Kings, Princes, etc.; of these the 13 heavier ones are in the care of the Friars Minor: the 1st (is the gift) of the Roman

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http://documents.medici.org/document_details.cfm?entryid=16022&returnstr=orderby=SendName@is_search=1@result_id=0.

[374] P. Pietro Verniero di Montepeloso, *Croniche Ovvero Annali di Terra Santa*, (1646), vol. IV, preface by P. Girolamo Golubovich O.F.M. (Quaracchi presso Firenze: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1936), 72-76. Veniero di Montepeloso documents several years' worth of gifts to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, many of which were lamps. In1609 he records a gift and monetary donation by the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II "…*di tenere una lampada sempre accesa nel Santissima Sepolcro per sempre*…," in 1615 he records a gift from King Philip III of Spain "…*una grossissima lampada d'argento con un parato ricchissimo di broccato bianco*…," in 1626 he records Ferdinando's lamp (this entry post-dates the 1622 letter from Bandini to the Grand Duchess regarding this gift), "*Il Gran Duca di Toscana, per una lampada che arde in suo nome del Santissimo Sepolchro, dona ogn'anno alli Santi Luoghi ducati 25*," and in 1634 he lists all of the lamps "*devono stare accese nel Santo Sepolchro*" ("must be lit in the Holy Sepulcher"), which included the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II (Habsburg), the Sacred College of Cardinals, the Spanish King, the French King, the Republic of Venice, the Grand Duke of Florence, and others. Included in this list is the amount of money each donated to ensure the continual lighting of their lamps.

[375] Horn, 44.

Emperor, the 2nd of the King of France, the 3rd of the King of Spain…the 7th of the Republic of Venice…."[376] Thus, over the tomb were the lamps given in the name of numerous European rulers and states. The presence of Franciscan lamps in both chambers is to be expected as the aedicule was controlled by the Franciscans (i.e., the Latins) at this time. Although Horn does not identify the lamp given by Ferdinando, the lamp was referred to in a chronicle of 1626 itemizing the "Annui lasciti di vari Principi (Legacies left by various Princes)," and it lists: "*Il Gran Duca di Toscana, per una lampada che arde in suo nome nel Santissimo Sepolchro dona ogn'anno alli Santi Luoghi ducati 25*" ("The Grand Duke of Tuscany, for a lamp lit in his name in the Holy Sepulcher, gives each year to the Holy Place 25 ducats").[377]

The gift of a lamp was a symbolic means by which the donor could be eternally present at that particular holy site, be it a local church altar or Christ's tomb. And the light from the lamp would make manifest the presence of Christ as the Light of the World. However, lamps given to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher also had specific Imperial resonance, as Constantine famously donated hundreds of chandeliers, lamps, and candlesticks to both the Lateran and St. Peter's in Rome. Constantine's biographer Eusebius tells us that the Church of the Holy Sepulcher was "…embellished…

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[376] Horn, 46.

[377] *Chroniche ovvero Annali di Terra Santa del P. Pietro Verniero di Montepeloso de'Frati Minori*, ed. P. Girolamo Golubovich O.F.M. (Quaracchi presso Firenze: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1936), 75-76. Ferdinando's monetary donation to keep his lamp lit is again mentioned in 1634 under the section entitled: "*Numero delle lampade che devono stare accese nel Santo Sepolchro, et in nome di chi*," and the entry reads: "*Per il Gran Duca di Fiorenze una, dona ducati 25 annui*."

throughout on an imperial scale of magnificence."[378] Thus, in addition to the spiritual significance of the light from the lamps, those who gave such a gift were surely acting in emulation of the first Christian emperor and founder of the very Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

Although the lamp itself is no longer extant as its destruction at the hands of the Turks in 1757 was recorded, it may be possible to gain a sense of what it may have looked like from both existing lamps of the period and through engravings in travelogues.[379] In 1734, an Italian traveler to the Holy Land recorded seeing many Medici gifts, including the *ornamento* in the Franciscan convent, already being used an as altar, and "at the Holy Sepulcher...a ...massive silver chandelier...worth many thousands...."[380] This may in fact have been the lamp sent by Ferdinando. However, another lamp sent by Cosimo III de'Medici was described in 1694 as "...a chandelier adorned with many lamps, which were supported by several cherubs... rests on other

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[378] Gregory T. Armstrong, "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and Structure," *Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no. 1 (March 1974): 16.

[379] Moreni, ed., *Del Viaggio...*, 86; Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: the Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 215. On April 2, 1757, the Orthodox Greeks mounted an attack on the Franciscans in order to gain complete control of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. It is presumably during this attack, that many of the Latin objects were destroyed, including many lamps in and around the aedicule. This event brought about the edict known as the "Status Quo," still in existence today, which divided up ownership rights of various parts of the church amongst the different Christian sects who had traditionally used the church for worship. In effect, the Status Quo made it impossible for one group to have complete dominance over the church as had been the tradition for centuries as the Orthodox Greeks and the Latins continuously struggled to control the church in its entirety.

[380] Moreni, *Del Viaggio...*, 87.

figures that stand to a height of half a *braccio*."[381] Although this lamp was much later, it still may give some sense of the size and decoration of lamps of this nature given as gifts to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. In the travelogue of Jean de Thévenot, published in 1665, there is an illustration of a bronze lamp hanging in the center of the Rotunda (fig. 162).[382] Thévenot identifies the lamp as having been given to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by Philip III of Spain and it may be that the lamp given by Ferdinando would have been of similar design.

Ferdinando I de'Medici and the Holy Land

In addition to the *ornamento*, lamp and painting, Ferdinando also sent a variety of ecclesiastical gifts to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher for the Franciscan friars.[383] In a document dated March 12, 1589, a list was made of items sent by the Grand Duke to

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[381] Moreni, *Del Viaggio...*, 86-87. The description reads in part: "*Era essa la più grande di tutte, e rammentata da ognuno per lo stupendo lavoro. Era piuttosto un Lampadario ornate da molte altre Lampane, che venivano sostenute da diversi puttini, che con leggiadrìa scherzavano sul corpo del lampadario, risposandosi sopra altre statuette ritte in piedi dell'altezza di mezzo braccio per ciascheduna…ella era stata fatta da Principi…una portando essa l'Arme Medicea, è stata sempre appellata la Lampada di casa Medici….*"

[382] Jean de Thévenot, *Relation un Voyage fait au Levant dans Laquelle il est Curieusement Traite des Etats sujets au Grand Seigneur, des Mœurs, Religions, Forces, Gouvernemens, Politiques, Langues & coustumes des Habitans de ce grande Empire* (Paris, 1665), 376. Thévenot's description of Philip III's lamp reads: "*Devant la porte du Sainte Supulchre, en egale distance de ladite porte du Sainte Sepulchre & de celle du chœur, est une lampe d'argent d'une telle grandeur… En huit endroits d'icelle les armes d'Espagne sont gravées, & au bas tout à l'entour sont ecrits ces paroles Philip III. Rex Hispa. Niraum me donsuit*." The full text of this book is available online through the Bibliothéque Nationale de France website: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k85317c.

[383] Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'Ornamento'...," 430 n. 15, lists several objects Ferdinando sent to the church.

"*Santissima Sepolcro*" in care of Fra Matteo (di Salerno).[384] Listed in this unpublished 1589 document from the Medici Archives are numerous liturgical gifts being sent to the Friar's monastery, including items such as chalices and vestments, clearly for use by the Franciscans in their performing of the daily Mass.[385] A large shipment of items such as these could certainly be seen as Ferdinando's desire to be regarded as one of the Franciscans' principal benefactors, ensuring that those who were responsible for the maintenance of the church and the daily delivery of the Mass were appropriately equipped.

The gifts Ferdinando sent to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher were not the only means by which he expressed his interest in the Holy Land. In 1589 in preparation for his wedding to Christine of Lorraine, the Grand Duke staged an elaborate *entrata* for his new bride including two triumphal arches decorated with ephemeral paintings and statues celebrating Christine and the noble house of Lorraine.[386] On the Canto dei Carnesecchi

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[384] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Guardaroba Medicea*, 122 fols. 125-126, dated March 12, 1589. To my knowledge, this is the first time this document has been transcribed and noted.

[385] Veniero di Montepeloso, 309-310, records the ecclesiastical gifts sent by the "Princes and faithful of Europe" which were in the Holy Sepulcher by 1615. He mentions three gifts sent by Grand Duke Ferdinando I: a gold chalice and patens; the bronze *ornamento* (*una cassa grande di bronzo mandata dal Gran Duca di Fiorenze con l'arme sue et impronte della Passione del nostro Redentore, per metter su la Pietra dell'Ontione*); and a red vestment with gold brocade. The chalice, patens, and vestment are all listed in the 1589 document, along with many other gifts to the church. Sandys, 170, recorded in his travelogue "The whole Chappell [aedicule] covered on the out-side with cloth of tissue: the gift (as appeareth by the Arms imbroydered thereon) of the Florentine." Apparently, this cloth, or cloths, was used to cover the Holy Sepulcher during Easter celebrations. This was most likely one of the many ecclesiastical gifts sent by Ferdinando to the Franciscan Friars at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.

[386] Saslow, 190-191, the Ponte alle Carraia arch had paintings illustrating episodes from the lives of Catherine de'Medici, Queen of France, along with Christine of Lorraine's departure from France to Italy as well allegories of the Lorraine and Arno rivers. Monica

arch (fig. 163) a series of paintings illustrated the military heroism of the Lorraine family during the First Crusade, with five of the eight ephemeral paintings depicting episodes from the life of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine and the first King of Jerusalem.[387] Godfrey's heroism in the battle to reclaim the Holy Land was legendary, particularly during the Siege of Jerusalem in July of 1099 (fig. 164), when the Christians defeated the Muslim Fatimids and victoriously took back the most holy city in Christendom, along with the most holy church, that of the Holy Sepulcher.[388] Godfrey declined the crown as King of Jerusalem, but even so, he and his brother Baldwin were from that point forward referred

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Bietti, "Le tele, manifesti di propaganda dinastica," in Monica Bietti and Anna Maria Giusti, eds., *Ferdinando I de'Medici 1549-1609 Maiestate Tantum* (Firenze: Sillabe, 2009), 88-99; Roberta Menicucci, "Politica estera e strategia matrimoniale di Ferdinando I nei primi anni del suo principato," in Monica Bietti and Anna Maria Giusti, eds., *Ferdinando I de'Medici 1549-1609 Maiestate Tantum* (Firenze: Sillabe, 2009), 34-47.

[387] Gualterotti, 79-98; Saslow, 191-192, the subjects represented were: *Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, at Constantinople*; the *Siege of Nicea*; *Corbana, general of the Persians, Defeated by Godfrey of Bouillon at Antioch*; *Godfrey of Bouillon Leading Crusaders in battle in Jerusalem*; *Godfrey of Bouillon Refuses the Crown of Jerusalem*; *François de Guise at the Battle of Dreux*; *The Duke of Guise Attacks Calais in 1558*; and *René of Lorraine Defeats the Duke of Burgandy at Morat*.

[388] Martin Biddle, et. al., *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre* (New York, NY: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2000); Jürgen Krüger, *Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem. Geschichte – Gestalt – Bedeutung* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2000); Morris, footnote 288. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem is one of the most venerated sites for Christians. Founded in 325 by Constantine, the site included a basilica, a courtyard which encompassed the Rock of Golgotha and a rotunda which houses the tomb of Christ. Throughout its history, the church suffered a series of disasters and renovations which drastically altered the size and shape of the building. The building was destroyed in 641 by a fire started by the Persians and rebuilt later in the century. It was again destroyed in 1009 by Caliph al-Hakim Bi-Amr Allah, and restored later in the century by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Monomachus. During the twelfth-century Christian Crusades, the crusaders refurbished part of the Church. And in 1555 the church was again restored, this time by the Catholic community with funds provided by Charles V of Spain. In 1808 fire again destroyed most of the building, and the church as it stands now is reflective of the repairs and renovations that took place post-1808.

to as the Latin Kings of Jerusalem.[389] Of no small significance for Ferdinando was the fact that Christine was a distant relation of Godfrey, and thus by his marriage to her, the house of the Medici was symbolically aligned with the hero of the First Crusade.

Related to the theme of the First Crusade, and perhaps also to the pictorial cycle on the Canto dei Carnesecchi, was Torquato Tasso's famous poem, *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Written in 1580, the poem enjoyed great popularity, and Tasso was in Florence at the time of the wedding at the invitation of the Grand Duke.[390] The poem celebrates the victory of the First Crusade in reclaiming the Holy Land from the "infidels," and Godfrey is featured throughout as an exemplar of Christian valor and heroism. Ferdinando's connection with Godfrey was further borne out in two ways at the turn of the seventeenth century. The first was through a small detail on Giambologna's monumental equestrian portrait of Ferdinando I (fig. 165), erected in the Piazza Santissima Annunziata in 1608. While the general pose and posture of the Grand Duke and his horse was clearly derived from the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* (fig. 39), erected in the Piazza Signoria in 1596, there are some notable differences that emphasize Ferdinando's deeds in the continuous battle between the Muslim east and the Christian west. In Cosimo's portrait, he was depicted in a suit of armor with the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece clearly visible around his collar. In contrast, Ferdinando, also shown in a full suit of armor, has the Maltese eight-pointed cross of the Order of Santo Stefano (fig. 166), hanging prominently around his neck. The Order of Santo Stefano was

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[389] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: a History*, 2nd ed. (Great Britain, Continuum, 2005), 29-48.

[390] Charles H. Carman, "An Early Interpretation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1978), 30-38.

a religious military order founded by Cosimo I in 1561 and ratified by Popes Pius IV and V.[391] Each new Medici Grand Duke automatically became Grand Master of the Order of Santo Stefano for so long as their lineage endured, and much like the Knights of Malta (officially the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem), the order was autonomous in its administration, being accountable only to the Holy See. Moreover, the knights of Santo Stefano, just like those of Malta, swore an oath to defend Christianity against any outside threat, which, at that time, meant none other than the Ottoman Empire. Ferdinando's role as Grand Master of the galleys of the Knights of Santo Stefano was revealed in an interesting detail on the on the saddle strap under the horse's belly. The strap bears an inscription which reads: "DE METALLI RUBATI AL FIERO TRACE," (fig. 167) which translates as "metals taken from the savage Thracians," a reference to the fact that the monument was cast, at least in part, from bronze cannons that had been seized by the Tuscan galleys from Muslim corsairs in the ports of Tunisia and Algiers.[392] Of some consequence is also the fact that the inscription is strikingly similar to a passage in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, which reads:

> "É ben ragion, s'egli averrà ch'in pace il buon popol di
> Cristo unqua si veda, con navi e cavalli **al fero Trace**
> cerchi ritòr la grande ingiusta preda, ch'a te lo scettro in

[391] Clara Baracchini, ed., *Pisa dei Cavalieri* (Milano: Franco Maria Ricci, 1997), 91-95; Franco Angiolini, "I principi e le armi: I Medici Granduchi di Toscana e Gran Maestri dell'Ordine di S. Stefano," in *Il "Perfetto Capitano": Immagini e realtà (secoli XV – XVII)*, ed. Marcello Fantoni (Roma: Bulzone Editore, 2001), 183-218.

[392] Bocchi-Cinelli, 415; Rossi, 34. The Tuscan fleet had long been active in military engagements against the Muslims, most notably at the 1565 siege of Malta and the 1571 Battle of Lepanto. Although these two naval battles were decisive victories for the joint Christian forces, the Turks continued to assault the Mediterranean throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century. In 1607, Ferdinando sent the galleys of Santo Stefano to fight the Turks in Hungary as well as along the coast of Africa.

> terra, o se ti piace, l'alto imperio de' mari a te conceda. Emulo di Goffredo, i nostri carmi intanto ascolta, e t'apparecchia l'armi." (emphasis added)
>
> (For it were just, if ever that day dawns when the good Christian people are at peace, and with their ships and horses seek to cleanse Palestine from those pillagers from Thrace, that you be given the scepter over land, or, if you wish, admiralty of the seas. Now strive with Godfrey as your exemplar, heed my song well, and gird yourself for war).[393]

The passage, read in light of the equestrian monument, reveals a very clever play between poem and portrait, as it references the taking back of the Holy Land from the Infidel ("...the pillagers of Thrace") with ships and horses. And of course it was the Grand Duke's ships that captured the bronze to make the horse. The passage then refers to the "...scepter over land...or admiralty of the seas..." for the victorious defender of Christianity. As Ferdinando was the leader of the Tuscan State as well as the admiral of the Santo Stefano galleys, he could indeed be celebrated as following in the footsteps of Godfrey. The significance of the Florentine victories in Algiers and Bona is testified to by the fresco cycle Ferdinando commissioned from Bernardino Poccetti to decorate a reception room in the Palazzo Pitti, known as the Sala di Bona (fig. 168).[394]

Ferdinando's symbolic association with Godfrey was not limited to Florence. The Grand Duke's gift of the *ornamento* to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, was, as

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[393] Rossi, 34. The translated portion of the passage is quoted from, Torquato Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered (Gerusalemme Liberata)*, ed. and trans. Anthony M. Esolen (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 18.

[394] Serena Padovani, "Il Quartiere dei Cardinali e Principi forestieri," in *Palazzo Pitta L'arte e la Storia*, ed. Marco Chiarni (Florence: Nardini Editore, 2000), 43-53; Stefania Vasetti, "I fasti granducali della Sala di Bona: sintesi politica e culturale del principato di Ferdinando" in Gabriella Capecchi, ed., *Palazzo Pitti La Reggia Rivelata* (Florence: Giunti, 2003), 229-239.

mentioned, designed as a low railing to surround the Stone of Unction. The presence of the Medici coat of arms, along with the cardinal's hat, at each corner of the railing made emphatically clear who the donor was of this elaborate gift. Just to the right of the Stone are the tombs of the First Latin King of Jerusalem, Godfrey, and that of his brother, Baldwin (fig. 169). Thus, Ferdinando's *ornamento*, by proximate association, linked him to Godfrey in the very space of the church once liberated by the famous hero of the First Crusade.

The Grand Duke's interest in the holy relics of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher came to what may described as its ultimate and fantastic conclusion in the early years of the seventeenth century. Just over a decade into his reign as Grand Duke of Tuscany, rumors of an incredible plan were making their way through the Florentine populace. According to various sources Ferdinando was working on a plan to have the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, in other words, the actual tomb of Christ, dismantled, transported to Florence, and installed in the newly begun *Cappella dei Principi* (Chapel of the Princes). The *Cappella* (fig. 170) was the ostentatious Medici family mausoleum initially conceived by Cosimo I sometime between 1562 and 1568. According to Giorgio Vasari, Cosimo has described the *Cappella* as being a "*terza sacristia,*" a reference to the two famous Medicean sacristies of San Lorenzo, the *Sacristia Vecchia* by Brunelleschi and the *Sacristia Nuova* by Michelangelo.[395] Construction of the chapel, attached to the west

[395] Vasari (De Vere), II, 1064-65. Vasari, in his own autobiography in the *Lives*, states: "And this will be seen clearly in a third sacristy that he [Duke Cosimo] wishes to build beside S. Lorenzo, large and similar to that which Michelangelo built in the past, but all of variegated marbles and mosaics, in order to deposit there, in tombs most honorable and worthy of his power and grandeur, the remains of his dead children, of his father and mother, of the magnanimous Duchess Leonora, his consort, and of himself; for which I have already made a model after his taste and according to the orders received from him

end of the church of San Lorenzo (fig. 171), began in 1604 and reached completion only in 1648.[396] The *Cappella*'s design was based, at least in part, on that of the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem (fig. 172), a building which had been a model for numerous churches and mausolea throughout Europe. The Anastasis is a circular, centrally planned structure, with a domed roof with an ambulatory articulated by an arcade of twenty columns and eight piers, a pattern that was repeated up in the gallery. At its center stands the aedicule, inside of which is the Chapel of the Angel and the Tomb of Christ. While the *Cappella dei Principi*'s plan is octagonal (fig. 173) rather than circular, it too is a multi-storied centrally planned mausoleum crowned by a cupola (fig. 174). The second story of the *Cappella* is implied rather than being an actual gallery, and the center of the chapel is free of tombs as the Medici sarcophagi were installed along its walls.

The tradition of associating circular or octagonal funerary buildings with the Anastasis Rotunda and the tomb of Christ had a long history, and although the *Cappella* was not an exact copy of the Anastasis, its symbolic representation of the sacred prototype would have been immediately understood.[397] Moreover, the two pre-existing

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by me, which, when carried into execution, will cause it to be a novel, most magnificent, and truly regal mausoleum."

[396] For general scholarship on the design and construction of the Cappella dei Principi, see: Annamaria Giusti, *La Cappella dei principi e le pietre dure a Firenze* (Milano: Electa, 1979), esp. 317- 336; Fara, *Bernardo Buontalenti...,* documents Buontalenti's participation in the design of the Cappella in several chapters in the text; and Vincenzo Vaccaro, "La Cappella dei principi: un sogno incompiuto," in Monica Bietti and Annamaria Giusti, eds., *Ferdinando I de'Medici 1549-1609 Maiestate Tantum* (Firenze: Sillabe, 2009), 126-133.

[397] Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1-33; Morris, 230-245; Rossi, 36, presents a credible argument, using Krautheimer's seminal article as a foundation, that given the history of copying / reproducing the Anastasis Rotunda in locations

sacristies in San Lorenzo had similar associations with the Anastasis Rotunda. Brunelleschi's *Sacristia Vecchia* (fig. 175), commissioned in 1422 by Giovanni di Bicci de'Medici, was designed as a funerary monument to house his sarcophagus along with that of his wife. The patron's tomb was placed in the center of the sacristy, over which was a white marble vestment table with a circular disk made of porphyry in its center. This tomb/table was directly under the dome, and it is in this arrangement where the comparison with Christ's tomb is made. As Christ's tomb is located directly under the dome of the Anastasis Rotunda, so too is Giovanni di Bicci's. And just as Christ resurrected from His tomb, so too would Giovanni di Bicci, with the dome above being symbolic of resurrection.[398] In Michelangelo's *Sacristia Nuova* (today known as the Medici Chapel) (fig. 176), there were similar associations, as the centrally planned square chapel, meant to serve as a sepulcher for the Medici family, is also surmounted by a dome.[399] And, as has been previously shown, Michelangelo had at first intended to build

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throughout Europe and Italy, by the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, any building constructed with funerary associations and with a circular or octagonal plan would automatically imply the Anastasis Rotunda. In the case of the Medici, there is no reason to believe this association would not have been intentional.

[398] Pietro Ruschi, "La Sagrestia Vecchia di San Lorenzo: per un disegno delle vicende construttive," in *Donatello e la Sagrestia Vecchia di San Lorenzo* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1986): 15-23; Caroline Elam, "Brunelleschi and Donatello in the Old Sacristy," *The Burlington Magazine (Donatello at Close Range. An Initial View of the Restoration of the Stuccoes in the Old Sacristy, S. Lorenzo, Florence)* 129, no. 1008 (March, 1987): 1-52, esp. 9; Pietro Ruschi, "La Sagrestia Vecchia," in *San Lorenzo 393-1993 L'Architettura: Le vicende della fabbrica*, eds. Gabriele Morolli and Pietro Ruschi (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 1993),41-46; 42; Roger Crum, "Donatello's "Ascension of St. John the Evangelist" and the Old Sacristy as Sepulchre," *Artibus et Historiae* 16, no. 32 (1995): 141-161; 150; and Ludwig H. Heydenreich, *Architecture in Italy 1400-1500* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974; 1996), 154 n. 29.

[399] Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo. Volume III: The Medici Chapel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1948), 61-63.

a tomb in the center of the chapel akin to the layout in the Old Sacristy.[400] Moreover, the chapel itself was dedicated to the Resurrection of Christ, and therefore, the symbolic association with the Anastasis Rotunda would have been immediately apparent. Thus, in its intentional reference to the Anastasis, the *Cappella dei Principi* was fully in line with established Medici tradition.

The plan to move Christ's tomb to Florence was recorded by Francesco Settimanni in two entries in his *Memorie fiorentine* from the early eighteenth century; one dated August 6, 1604 and the other January 10, 1605.[401] In Settimanni's August entry, he cites a discussion Ferdinando had with the Lebanese emir Fakhr-al-Din II (identified as "Faccardino" in the Italian diplomatic correspondence), in which the Grand Duke promised Fakhr-al-Din many gifts ("*grandissimi donativi*") should the plan be successful. Settimanni's January 1605 entry, written at the time of the laying of the first foundation stone for the Cappella dei Principi, again mentions Ferdinando's hope to transport the "*preziosissimo Sepolcro*" ("the most precious Sepulcher") to Florence.[402]

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[400] Leopold D. Ettlinger, "The Liturgical Function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 22, no. 3 (1978): 287-304; Andrew Morrogh, "The Medici Chapel: the designs for the central tomb," *Studies in the History of Art* 33 (1992), 142-161.

[401] Rossi, 32-42; 41 n. 31. For more on the plan to transfer Christ's tomb to Florence, see Padre Damiano Neri, "La leggenda di trasferire il Santo Sepolcro a Firenze," in *Custodia di Terra Santa 1342-1942* (Gerusalemme: Tipografia dei Padri Francescani, 1951), 75-78; and Alessandro Rinaldi, "La Cappella dei Principi e le retrovie del Barocco," in *Barocco Romano e l'Europa*, eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Roma: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1992), 321-355; 336.

[402] See note 78. The *avviso* dated August 6, 1604 reads in part "*Avendo il Ser.mo Granduca format un pensiero di poter far trasportare da Gerusalemme il Santo Sepolcro di N.ro Sig. Gesù Cristo Firenze, per le promesse fatteli da uno de' principali Bassà dell'Impero Turco, chiamato Usmir Ficcardino, a cui il Granduca aveva parlato in Livorno, e fattili grandissimi donativi, e maggior promessili se l'impresa fosse*

Ferdinando and Fakhr-al-Din had formed a mutually beneficial alliance in 1608 which ultimately resulted in the emir residing in Florence in 1613 after fleeing persecution by the Ottoman Turks in his homeland. Later documentary sources, drawing from Settimanni's accounts, also mention this incredible plan. According to Baldinucci, the reason for transferring this most sacred of edifices was to save Christ's sepulcher from the "tyranny of the Turks," through the generosity of the "most noble prince."[403]

Ferdinando I was not, however, the first Florentine interested in bringing the stones of the most holy tomb to Florence. By the fourteenth century there were legendary tales of Florentine heroism during the Crusades, which included the infamous Pazzo de' Pazzi, who reputedly brought three small pieces of stone from the Sepulcher back to Florence after the First Crusade.[404] According to the legend, the three small pieces of

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riuscita…." The *avviso* from January 10, 1604 (1605) reads in part: "*Il Granduca Ferdinando primo avendo concepito buone speranze di poter far trasportare il prezioissimo Sepolcro del Sig.r N.ro Gesù Cristo in Firenze, fece in tal giorno gettare la prima pietra della muraglia per la costruzione di una suntuossimo Cappella dietro il Coro della Chiesa di S. Lorenzo, per ivi collocarvi detto Santuario*."

[403] Baldinucci, III, 671. Baldinucci's comments regarding the Cappella dei Principi are from his biography of the Florentine architect Matteo Nigetti: "*Che poi fosse pensiero di quell magnanimo principe, come fu scritto, preparare con questo luogo alquanto degno di contenere in sè il Sacrosancto Sepolcro del Signore, il quale egli si ingegnasse per ogni modo di sottrarre alla Turchesca Tirannide, non apparirà inverosimile a chi ridurrà a memoria a qual segno giungesse la generosità dei pensieri di questo magnanimo principe*."

[404] Franco Cardini, "Crusade and 'Presence of Jerusalem' in Medieval Florence," in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, Presented to Joshua Prawer*, eds. B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, and R.C. Smail (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), 332-346, esp. 336-338, states that a discernable Florentine presence in the crusades arose with the Third Crusade beginning the later part of the twelfth century; Sergio Raveggi, "Storia di una leggenda: Pazzo dei Pazzi e le pietre del Santo Sepolcro," in *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. Franco Cardini (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 1982), 299-315; and Morris, 227-228.

stone were placed in the family's church of Santa Maria sopra Porta.[405] Stories such as these must have enflamed the already strongly held belief that Florence had been divinely sanctioned as the "New Jerusalem."[406] The connections between Florence and the Holy Land were both literally and figuratively very strong, as several accounts of the Holy Land were written by intrepid Florentine pilgrims who made the arduously long journey to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[407] In these travelogues the pilgrims recorded the holy sites of the city, and provided practical information such as the distances between the sites, the amount of time it took to travel to and from the sites, the costs associated with the journey, even the manner and costume of the Turks. In most cases the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and its interior received the most attention, oftentimes being described in a fair amount of detail. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century, the

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[405] Raveggi, 300.

[406] Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970), 138-158; and Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Movement in Florence 1494-1545* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1994), 314-386.

[407] Eve Borsook, "The Travels of Bernardo Michelozzi and Bonsignore Bonsignori in the Levant (1497-98), *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 145-197; and Lucia Gai, "La "Dimostrazione dell'andata del Santo Sepolcro" di Marco di Bartolommeo Rustici Fiorentino (1441-42)," in *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. Franco Cardini (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 1982), 189-233. In Rustici's manuscript, he carefully documents the interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, including dimensions of the Stone of Unction, and the distance between each holy site within the church (recorded in paces ("*passi*")). Importantly he also records the Anastasis Rotunda (which he compares to Santa Maria del Rotunda (Pantheon) in Rome in terms of the dome) in significant detail, including the location of Christ's tomb in the center. Rustici also then provides an account of Christ's tomb (S. Sepolcro) providing dimensions of "*otto palmi*" for its length and "*tre palmi*" for its width. Andrea Calamai, "Il Viaggio in Terrasanta di Alessandro Rinuccini nel 1474," in *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo*, ed. Franco Cardini (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 1982), 235-256; Franco Cardini, "La Toscana e la Custodia di Terra Santa," in *La Custodia di Terra Santa e L'Europa. I rapport politici e l'attività cultural dei Francescani in Medio Oriento*, ed. Michele Piccirillo (Roma: Il Veltro Editrice, 1983), 117-129.

Florentines were well acquainted, even if only vicariously, with Jerusalem and her sites, as well as her past and present political situation.

While the plan to move Christ's tomb out of the Holy Land was obviously never implemented, what it demonstrates is the very real desire to free the Levant from the hands of the Muslims; a crusade-like desire which had existed well into the sixteenth century.[408] In the early seventeenth century however, realizing that the Holy Land would not be liberated from Muslim control, the only other option that seemed viable was to physically bring certain holy sites and artifacts to the West, and without doubt, the tomb of Christ was the most sacred of these.[409] Ferdinando's desire to liberate, as well as possess, such a precious Christian relic from the hands of the infidels was, of course, not unique to him. Throughout history, the possession of significant relics had long been associated with legitimate kingly rule. In 1239, Louis IX of France purchased the Crown of Thorns from Baldwin II in Constantinople. Enshrined in the reliquary chapel of Ste. Chapelle the relic immediately became associated with the French crown.[410] Similarly,

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[408] Although major sea encounters between the Christians and Muslims had somewhat abated by the end of the sixteenth-century, there were still small skirmishes in which either side captured enemy ships, returning home with their cargo as booty. In 1605, the galleys of Ferdinando I were involved in such activities as recounted in 1646 by di Montepeloso, IX, 269, which states: "*Havendo in quest'anno [1605] le galere del Gran Duca di Toscana spianata la Provesa [Prevesa] scorrendo poi per quei mari, incontrarono molti vascelli turcheschi che portavano in Constantanopoli gran ricchezze, e scacciate le guardie di Rodi che li facevano la scrota, li presero tutti a man salva, e ricchi di preda, si condussero a salvamento in Toscana.*"

[409] Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture as Relic and the Construction of Sanctity: The Stones of the Holy Sepulchre," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (March 2003): 4-23.

[410] Alyce A. Jordan, "Stained Glass and the Liturgy: Performing Sacral Kingship in Capetian France," in *Objects, Images, and the Word. Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed.

Philip II Spain, renowned for his untiring quest to possess not only Passion relics, but any associated with his family or Spain, received in 1571 a piece of the True Cross from the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The relic was a symbol for Philip being able to overcome any trial of his kingship.[411] Possessing sacred relics from the Holy Land was a means of validating a church or a city's claim as a "New Jerusalem." The Constantinian basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, a site equal in importance with two other early Christian churches founded by Constantine, the basilica of St. Peter in Rome and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, was an especially important monument as the first church built by the first Christian emperor, Constantine.[412] The bronze columns that supported the altar ciborium were believed to have come from the Temple of Solomon in

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Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ: Department of Art and Archeology, Princeton University, 2003), 274-297.

[411] Guy Lazure, "Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection as the Escorial," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 66 n. 23. Both Charles V and Philip II provided funds for the mid sixteenth-century restoration of the Anastasis Rotunda, see Michele Piccirillo O.F.M. "In the Service of the Holy Sepulchre. The Documentary Work of Three Franciscans of the 16th and 17th Centuries," in *Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future. The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, eds. Thomas Hummel, et al., (London: Melisende, 1999), 171 n. 10.

[412] Jack Freiberg, *The Lateran and Clement VIII*, Ph.D. diss. (Michigan: University Microforms International, 1989), 257; Jack Freiberg, *The Lateran in 1600. Christian Concord in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 134. In Rome, three principal churches were associated with three principal moments of Christ's Passion. The church of Santa Maria Maggiore was symbolically associated with the Birth of Christ and thus the city of Bethlehem; Santa Croce in Gerusalemme was associated with Christ's crucifixion and thus the site of Golgotha in Jerusalem; and San Giovanni in Laterano was associated with Christ's Resurrection, and thus the site of the resurrection which was contained within the Constantinian site of the Anastasis Rotunda. See Freiberg, 476 n. 9. See Kent, *Cosimo de Medici…*, 305, this tradition was established in Florence, as there were similar symbolic associations with the Holy Land. During the feast of the celebration of the Journey of the Magi, for example, the citizens would process from Jerusalem, represented by the Baptistery to Bethlehem, which was embodied by the church of San Marco.

Jerusalem. Possession of such Holy Land relics conferred on any church or city a measure of Christian authority, and in the case of Rome, the seat of the Christian world, provided a direct link to the Holy Land.

Ferdinando's *ornamento* was certainly meant to be seen as an act of possession of this relic for the Latin Church, and by implication, the Christian west. It is important to note that prior to Ferdinand's gift of the *ornamento*, there was already present an iron railing around the Stone (fig. 177), apparently of relatively simple construction that is documented in various travelogues written by pilgrims to the Holy Land in the sixteenth century.[413] The accounts are relatively consistent, stating that the Stone was enclosed by "tall iron bars," "an iron gate with a high span," "encompassed with gates of iron," and "an iron rod one palm high from the ground."[414] Given that there was a railing already present, along with the very prominent location of the Stone within the church, it is

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[413] Fra Bernardino Amico, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*, translated by Fr. Theopilus Bellorini O.F.M. and Fr. Eugene Hoade O.F.M. with a preface by Fr. Bellarmino Bagatti O.F.M. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1953), 91. Amico's text was written in 1609 after he returned to Italy from Jerusalem where from 1593 to 1597 he was in different regions of Palestine, and in 1596 acted as President of the Holy Sepulcher. The second edition of his text was dedicated in 1619 to Ferdinando I's son, the Grand Duke Cosimo II de'Medici. Amico's text was important for the practical information it contained about the interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and also for its renderings of the site, which were drawn by Amico himself and engraved in Rome by Antonio Tempesta for the first edition and by Jacques Callot in Florence for the second edition. See also Fr. Bellarmino Baggati O.F.M., "Fra Bernardino Amico disegnatore dei santuari palestinesi alla fine del '500," *Studi Francescani* X (35?), no. 4 (1938): 307-325; and Piccirillo O.F.M, 167-178.

[414] Nardone, 258, transcribes the 1580 travelogue of Melchior von Seydlitz who wrote that the Stone was enclosed by "tall iron bars;" Nardone, 381, transcribes the travelogue of Francesco Guerrero, who wrote in his 1592 account of the Holy Land, that the Stone was surrounded by an "iron gate of a tall span;" Fynes Moryson, vol. 2, 24, stated that the Stone was "compassed with grates of iron;" and Horn, 123, in his 1724 text described the railing around the Stone as being "3 ½ palms high, 9 feet 1 palm 1 inch long, and 3 feet and 3 palms wide."

reasonable to suggest that Ferdinando's gift of the *ornamento* was intended to serve a dual function. The first and foremost purpose being a religious gift to the most sacred building in Christendom, an act by Ferdinando that was in keeping with his history of gift giving to the Franciscan friars in Jerusalem. The *ornamento* would have thus acted as a sign of Ferdinando's piety visually expressed through the richness of the *ornamento* and the solemn nature of its Passion reliefs. The second function can be understood as a very public gift to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which was, it must be remembered, ultimately in control of the Muslim Ottoman Empire, and overseen in part by the Greek Orthodox custodians of the Church. It may be suggested that in order to counter this seeming imbalance of power at the Christian site, Ferdinando's two very prominent gifts of the large bronze lamp for the Anastasis Rotunda and the *ornamento* for the Stone of Unction were a statement of not only the Grand Ducal presence in the Holy Land, but also, perhaps, of Latin control of these two fundamental Christian sites.

Ferdinando I de'Medici, the third Grand Duke of Tuscany, died on February 17, 1609. After twenty-two years as the leader of the Tuscan state, Ferdinando was buried in the family sepulcher of the Cappella dei Principi.[415] As was traditional, funeral orations were given which recounted the life and achievements of the Grand Duke, a type of oration known as a *laudationes funebres*. One of the funeral orations given in honor of Ferdinando I, was by Carlo Boccherini, who celebrated two of Ferdinando's projects directly related to the Grand Duke's devotion to the Holy Land. His text reads in part:

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[415] Carmen Menchini, "Funeral Oratory at the Medici Court: the Representation of the First Grand Dukes," *European University Institute Working Paper* (Florence, Italy: European University Institute, 2008): 1-14.

> Non contenta la sua immensa pieta de'termini dell'Italia, o d'Europa, nell'Asia ancore aperse l'ali a maggior volo, portando in Palestina al Santo Sepolcro qual nobil Guscio di bronzo, figurato di sacri misteri per mano di Giovan Bologna, per fasciar la Venerabil Pietra, ove di Croce deposito fu d'aromati imbalsamato il Redentor del mondo. Ma con più sonoro rimbombo ci si fa sentire la stupenda fabbrica della Cappella di S. Lorenzo, che quando che sia all'ultimo fine condotta, contendendo con le Greche, e le Romane maraviglie, scoprirà quant'oltra possa distendersi Magnificenza Reale.[416]
>
> (Not happy for his immense piety to end in Italy, or Europe, also in Asia he opened the most wings in flight, sent to the Holy Sepulcher in Palestine that noble bronze "shell" with images of the sacred mysteries by the hand of Giovan Bologna, in order to cover the Venerable Stone, when the Redeemer of the World was taken from the cross and embalmed with aromatics. But with louder echoes one hears of the wonderful building of the Chapel of St. Lorenzo [Cappella dei Principi], that when it is completed, it will compete with Greek and Roman wonders, unveiling how much farther the Royal Magnificence.)

Not only did Boccherini reference Giambologna's *ornamento* that was sent to Jerusalem, as well as Ferdinando's plans to bring Christ's tomb to Florence, he contextualized it in terms of Ferdinando's emulation of Godfrey. Boccherini mentions Ferdinando's attempt to "recover" with his galleys, the "…holy Sepulcher of Christ from the hands of the Infidels…," and cites the Grand Duke's emulation of the pious Godfrey.[417] When considered in conjunction with the Grand Duke's role as Grand Master of the Order of Santo Stefano, the reference to Godfrey speaks to Ferdinando's

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[416] Rossi, 34.

[417] Boccherini's text is quoted in Rossi, 34, and reads: *Fu pensiero degno di te, e del tuo coraggio, più d'una volta a' tuo' domestici conferito, di recuperar con le tue ardite galere il Santo Sepolcro di Cristo dale mani de gli Infideli, e condurlo ne' tuo' Stati, per arricchirne la tua Cappella di S. Lorenzo. O emulo del pietoso Goffredo! E tu solo bastavi a quel che l'università Cristiana non può bastare, o non vuole.*

perception of his role in the seemingly interminable conflict with the Muslim east; that of liberator and protector.[418]

[418] Suzanne B. Butters, "Contrasting Priorities: Ferdinando I de'Medici, Cardinal and Grand Duke," in The *Possessions of a Cardinal. Politics, Piety, and Art 1450-1700*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol M. Richardson (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 185-225. Butters' essay was published just a few days prior to the submission of this dissertation. Although the material in her article covers much of the same ground as in this last dissertation section, I came to these conclusions independent of her article.

CONCLUSION

Giambologna was court sculptor to Grand Duke Ferdinando I de'Medici for twenty-one years, beginning on October 25, 1587 and ending with the sculptor's death on August 13, 1608. During this time, Giambologna produced bronze and marble sculpture for the Tuscan court in a variety of sizes and media and with subject matter spanning both the secular and the sacred. As a cardinal in Rome, Ferdinando had established himself as an astute patron of the arts; a skill that also served him well in his role as Grand Duke.[419] Ferdinando commissioned works of art as diplomatic gifts destined for the principal courts of Europe as well as works for the more local Florentine purpose of legitimizing his dynastic inheritance as ruler of the Tuscan state.[420] In both aspects of the Grand Duke's patronage, Giambologna was a principal asset. His works were highly sought

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[419] As much has been written on Ferdinando's patronage of the arts, listed here is a brief bibliography: *Collezionismo mediceo: Cosimo I, Francesco I e il Cardinale Ferdinando; documenti 1540-1587*, eds. Paola Barrochi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà (Modena: Panini, 1993); Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, La Tribuna di Ferdinando I de'Medici: inventari 1589-1631 (Modena: Panini, 1997); *Villa Medici: il sogno di un cardinale; collezioni e artisti di Ferdinando de'Medici*, ed. Michel Hochmann (Roma: DeLuca, 1999); Michel Hochmann, "Roma e un cardinale: storia e collezioni di Ferdinando de'Medici, uno dei maggiori mecenanti del '500," *Quadri & scultore* 37 (August 2001), 30-33; Butters, "Ferdinando de'Medici and the Art of the Possible;" Butters, "The Uses and Abuses...;" Eike D. Schmidt, "Cardinal Ferdinando, Maria Maddalena of Austria, and the early history of ivory sculptures at the Medici Court," in *Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Nicholas Penny and Eike D. Schmidt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 159-183; Butters, "Contrasting Priorities…," 185-225.

[420] See pages 69-73 above for a brief discussion of the Florentine projects. For a complete list of Ferdinando's projects, see Maria Letizia Strocchi, "Ferdinando I e le arti figurative: regesto cronologico (1587-1609)," in *Ferdinando I de'Medici 1549-1609 Maiestate Tantum*, eds. Monica Bietti and Annamaria Giusti (Livorno: Sillabe, 2009), 28-33.

after throughout Europe and he was the principal sculptor in Florence, having long set the standard for both contemporary style and production of sculpture.

What becomes clear through an examination of the sculptural projects Ferdinando commissioned beginning in 1587, was his conscientious desire to bring both Rome and the Holy Land to Florence, ultimately transforming the Tuscan city into the center of the western Christian world. With the impressive *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* (fig. 39), ordered in 1587 in honor of his father, Ferdinando proclaimed his inherited legitimate rule over the Tuscan state while reminding the Florentines of the popular and productive reign of his father. It should be remembered that in Imperial Rome, when an emperor wanted to ensure his presence would be known in even the most remote of outposts, a portrait statue of some type would be sent.[421] Even the example of Constantine's monumental marble seated portrait in the Basilica Nova would have served as an exemplar. However, with the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, Giambologna resurrected a different Imperial tradition, recalled earlier in fifteenth-century examples of the bronze equestrian monuments, most notably preserved in the monument to *Marcus Aurelius* in Rome. Like the *Marcus Aurelius*, the *Cosimo I* represents a combination of Imperial ruler and military hero: Cosimo as the "imperial" leader of Tuscany in his role as Grand Duke, and Cosimo as military leader, dressed in his battle armor, sword at his side and commander's cape over his shoulders, appears ready to protect and defend the citizens and territory of Florence. Ferdinando continued this connection with Imperial

[421] With the Pisa (fig. 40) and Arezzo (fig. 41) monuments, Ferdinando made specific choices in terms of iconography and medium. By having himself, and his father, portrayed in over life-size marble sculptures, wearing armor and dominating select public spaces, the evocation of ancient Roman monuments of this type must have been deliberate. Thus, in these two Tuscan territories, the Medici Grand Dukes were always present, if not in body, then by proxy in their sculpted images.

Rome with his own equestrian monument erected in Piazza Santissima Annunziata in 1608.

The grand dynastic bronze equestrian monument to Cosimo, however, did not consist solely of a horse and rider. The addition of Giambologna's three reliefs (figs. 73, 80, and 96) at its base transformed the single figure of a ruler on a horse into a complex visual narrative illustrating the strength of the Tuscan state which was made manifest from the moment the young Cosimo I de'Medici was elected to the Ducal throne of Florence on January 9, 1537, to the moment the mature Cosimo received the Grand Ducal crown on March 4, 1570, a royal elevation that ensured the continuation of Medici hegemony over Florence and the Tuscan state. And although the reliefs specifically illustrate Cosimo's achievements, it seems possible to suggest that these reliefs may also have functioned as allegorical representations of Ferdinando's experiences as the third Medici Grand Duke. The relief of *Florence Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany* could be seen as a parallel to Ferdinando's elevation to Cardinal in Rome. Although Ferdinando did not have a papal coronation, as had his father, and it does not seem that he had an elaborate Florentine coronation, the relief illustrating Cosimo's coronation would easily be seen not only as a prefiguration of Ferdinando's 1587 coronation, but also as its metaphorical parallel. And with the relief of *Cosimo's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, which recorded the symbolic moment of Florence gaining control over another territory, even thought it was officially ceded to Cosimo by Spain, it nevertheless expanded the territories under Tuscan control and Ferdinando's continued control over these territories would be implied.

As presented in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, there is little doubt that whoever was in charge of devising the iconographic program for the three reliefs clearly had pictorial precedents in mind that Giambologna was meant to follow. In contrast to Baldinucci's statement that it was Giambologna's "lack of self-confidence," that led him to ask for designs from painters, it has been argued in this dissertation that the sculptor's use of two-dimensional precedents was generated in large part by the demands of his patron, the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[422] With a dynastic monument of this type, one modeled on Imperial prototypes and laden with a powerful political message, the reliefs were part of a larger program of imagery throughout Florence celebrating these same episodes, and thus the conveyance of the desired message, that of the virtuous and heroic Medici in service of the Tuscan state, would have been tightly controlled.

Important also for Giambologna studies is that with the *Cosimo I Reliefs,* Giambologna demonstrated his thorough understanding of the Florentine tradition of relief as exemplified in the works of Ghiberti and Donatello. By using the medium of bronze rather than marble, he emphasized his allegiance to Florentine tradition. At the same time his bronze reliefs imply the artist's own triumph since they both recall and supersede their ultimate Roman marble models. Thus, through these reliefs, Giambologna stands on top of, and moves beyond, both the Florentine and the Roman tradition. By effortlessly varying the depth of each relief, he achieved different pictorial results, which, in effect, both answered and re-defined the *paragone*. He demonstrated that the original question posed by the *paragone* debate, which art was nobler, was no longer relevant, as painting and sculpture were mutually, and naturally, respondent to one

[422] See pages 92-95 for the discussion of Baldinucci's statement.

another. By re-making relief sculpture as if it were painting, he seamlessly brought the two arts together, exploiting the pictorial possibilities of both.

The significance of Giambologna's *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* for Florence in particular, and Italy in general, should not be underestimated. It was not only the first monumental bronze equestrian statue erected in Florentine history, but it was the first one successfully cast in over one hundred years in Italy. Giambologna's horse and rider group also effectively re-established the equestrian monument as the quintessential symbol of rulership and power. By the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, three additional equestrian monuments had been commissioned from the Fleming and his workshop: the *Ferdinando I de'Medici Equestrian Monument* of 1602 (fig. 165), the *Henry IV Equestrian Monument* of 1604, and the *Philip III Equestrian Monument* of 1606, and the taste to such monuments would continue throughout Europe over the next two centuries.

Contemporary with the very public statement he wished to make with the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, but in stark contrast to it, was the *ornamento* (fig. 114), Ferdinando's gift to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. In this case, Ferdinando was engaged with cultivating and establishing his image as the exemplary Christian Prince as both the ruler of the Tuscan State as well as being the defender of Christianity against the threat of the Muslim Infidel. As both a cardinal and Grand Duke, Ferdinando would have been well aware of the tradition of emperors and kings who sent gifts to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher as evidence of their pious generosity. And as he was determined to see the Tuscan state on a par with the larger European courts, such as the Spanish and the French, he too sent elaborate gifts, the most magnificent of which

was the *ornamento*, with Giambologna's Passion reliefs. The *ornamento*, however, was more than a symbol of his piety; it was also a symbol of his control over the Stone of Unction. Thus, Ferdinando went one step further than his contemporaries by actually laying claim, on behalf of Tuscany, to one of the most precious relics in Christendom. Given its sacred history, location within the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and the substantial plenary indulgence associated with it, the Stone of Unction was, in the sixteenth century, a powerfully efficacious object for the faithful. And Ferdinando's *ornamento*, with its six reliefs illustrating Passion events that happened on the very site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, was to be one of the most opulent gifts of devotional piety and political propaganda sent to the church by any European court in the Renaissance.

With the *Jerusalem Reliefs*, it is clear, as in the analysis of the *Cosimo I* reliefs, that Giambologna was able to respond to the demands of the commission, as dictated in both cases by the patron and their sites of installation, by uniting form and content, while also demonstrating his thorough understanding of the tradition of Florentine relief sculpture. Donatello's San Lorenzo pulpits were without doubt the progenitors for all subsequent Passion relief cycles in Florence. And important for Giambologna and the *ornamento*, they provided an apt example of a continuous Passion narrative unfolding around a rectangular structure. However, as has been demonstrated in this dissertation, Giambologna approached the *Jerusalem Reliefs* more from the standpoint of a painter rather than that of a sculptor, creating diminutive paintings in bronze illustrating the prescribed narratives in a comprehensible and comprehensive manner, demonstrating his mastery of the format of relief and compositional design.

While in the end Ferdinando was unable to bring either the Stone of Unction or the Holy Sepulcher to Florence, his physical possession of the Stone, along with the formulation of a plan, aided by his alliance with the Lebanese emir Fakhr-al-Din II for dismantling and transporting Christ's tomb, leaves no doubt that he was serious in his intentions. Under Ferdinando's leadership, Florence would become both the new Rome and the new Jerusalem – bringing together Imperial Roman tradition and the foundation of Christianity in the heart of Tuscany. And it is of no small significance that Giambologna was a key part of this plan, as it was from his workshop that these dynastic images issued according to the demands of his patron, the third Medici Grand Duke.

With Giambologna's death on August 13, 1608 and Ferdinando's less than a year later on February 17, 1609, came the end of a two decade long relationship which brought about some of the most important works of sixteenth-century Italian sculpture by one of Italy's most important non-Italian sculptors. Over the course of his long career in Florence, Giambologna the Fleming, was able to establish himself as Giambologna the Italian. Although he never gave up signing his works with his country of origin, he had proved himself a worthy heir to the Italian traditions he lived with in the city that saw the birth of the Renaissance. With a patron like Ferdinando, who carefully crafted his public image as Grand Duke and Christian Prince, Giambologna realized sculptural monuments that helped disseminate Ferdinando's conscientious iconographic program in celebration of the house of the Medici. Giambologna's extraordinary reliefs on the *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument* and for the Jerusalem *ornamento* were designed to function as part of larger contexts, both illustrating site-specific narratives. And in these, Giambologna successfully fulfilled the demands of his patron.

Important in this context, and paramount to the argument presented in this dissertation, is that Giambologna's reliefs can be seen as very direct examples of the symbiotic relationship between painting and sculpture. And as painting and sculpture are united in his reliefs, it is possible to see a significant change in the *paragone* debate in the last three decades of the sixteenth century. The two arts are not set in opposition to one another, but rather work together reciprocally. And as the majority of Giambologna's reliefs were executed in bronze, a material considered to be the most "painterly" of sculptural media, he was able to represent figures, landscape, narrative, and even effects of lighting, by manipulating both the modeling wax and the finished bronze surface in a manner similar to the painter's ability to manipulate pigment with his brushes. And while some artists and theorists argued that relief was more closely related to painting (Leonardo), and others would argue the exact opposite, that it was most closely aligned with sculpture (Michelangelo), it is here in the middle-ground between the two that Giambologna's reliefs fulfill the nobility of both arts.[423]

When removed from their larger contexts, the two sets of bronze narrative reliefs examined in this dissertation are powerful representations of Giambologna's unequalled skill in the medium of relief. Fluidly handling both large and small scale formats, secular and sacred subjects, and a diversity of styles, these two cycles stand as exemplars of Giambologna's technical ability. Perhaps more importantly, they are also illustrative of how he was able to re-define one of the most persistent art theoretical debates of the sixteenth century, the *paragone*. His intellectual capacity for not only understanding, but being able to translate visually, political iconography that was intimately tied to the

[423] Mendelsohn, 127.

Tuscan state into these "bronze pictures" is yet further evidence of the genius of "Gian Bolognia Fiammingho."[424]

[424] Dhanens, 27, documents the various ways that Giambologna signed his name, as well as how other people referred to him, including Giorgio Vasari's 1563 designation of him as "Gian Bolognia Fiammingho," in the list of *Accademici* in the Accademia del Disegno.

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1. Giambologna, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1600, bronze, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/collectie/zoeken/asset.jsp?id=BK-15117&lang=en; accessed 6.28.10).

2. Giambologna, *Rape of the Sabine*, 1582, marble, Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence (author's photograph).

3. Giambologna, *Hercules Slaying a Centaur*, 1595-1600, marble, Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Florence_statue_hercules_killing_the_centaur.jpg; accessed 6.28.10).

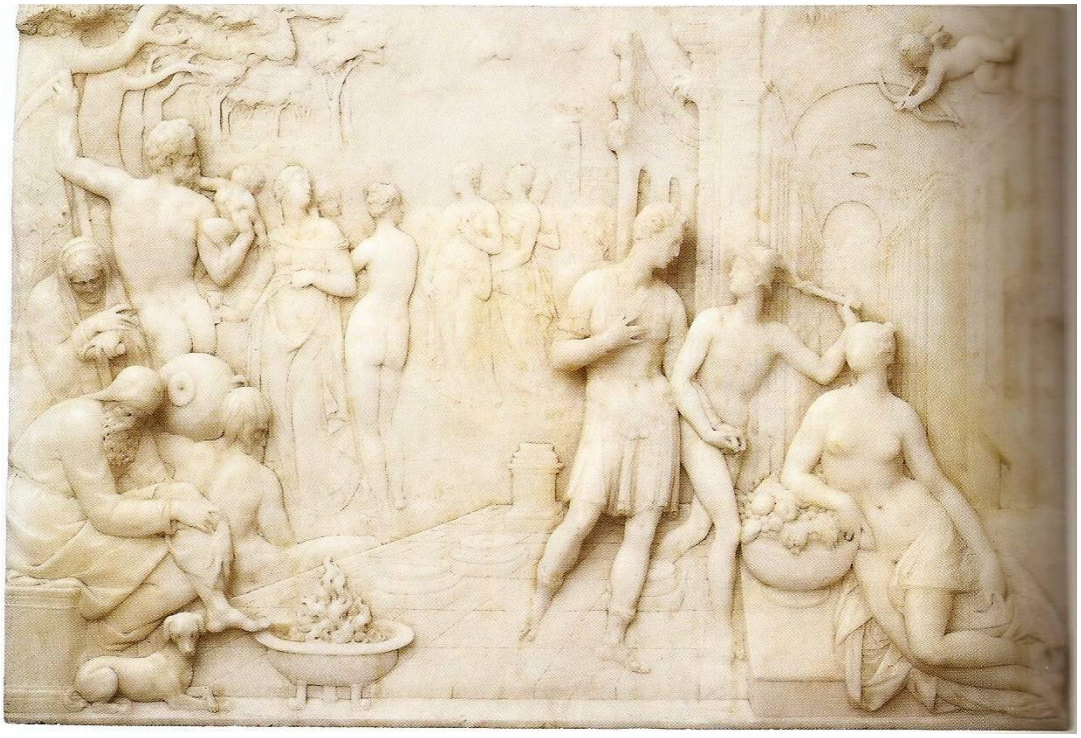
4. Giambologna, *Apollo*, 1573-75, bronze, Studiolo of Francesco I de'Medici, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (http://www.scultura-italiana.com/Galleria/Giambologna/imagepages/image1.html; accessed 6.28.10).

5. Giambologna, *The Medici Mercury*, 1580, bronze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

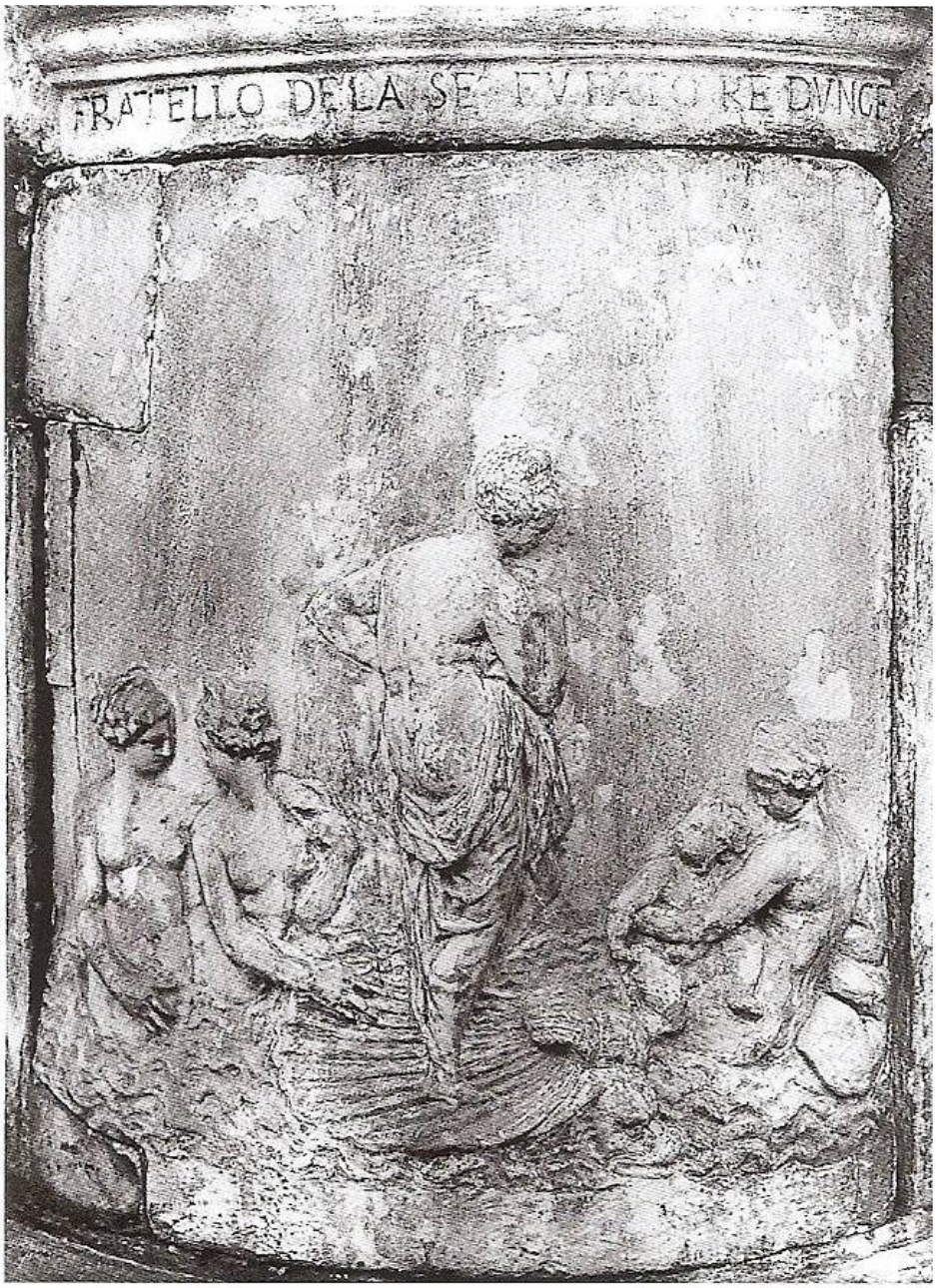
6. Giambologna, *Rape of a Sabine*, ca. 1580, bronze, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (http://www.khm.at/de/khm/sammlungen/kunstkammer/bronze/?aid=9&cHash=f1951f9b41; accessed 6.28.10).

7. Benvenuto Cellini, *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda* (copy), base of *Perseus and Medusa*, 1545-54, bronze, Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence (author's photograph).

8. Vincenzo Danti, *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, 1559, bronze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (http://www.thearttribune.com/I-grandi-bronzi-del-Battistero-L.html; accessed 6.10.10).



9. Giambologna, *Allegory of Prince Francesco I*, 1560-61, alabaster, Museo del Prado, Madrid (*Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi*, 232 cat. 36).



10. Giambologna, *The Birth of Venus*, base of *Ocean Fountain*, 1574-75 marble, Boboli Gardens, Florence (*Giambologna tra Firenze e l'Europa*, 79 fig. 12).

11. Giambologna, *Giambologna Presents His Design for a Fountain to Francesco at the Villa of Pratolino*, 1586, gold on ground of semiprecious stones, Museo degli Argenti, Florence (*Magnificenza alla Corte dei Medici*, 77 cat. 38)

12. Pietro Tacca, *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1596, bronze, Pisa Duomo, Pisa (Falletti, *Pietro Tacca*..., 35 fig. 11).

13. Giambologna, *Antoninus Preaching to the Florentine People*, 1581-87, bronze, Salviati Chapel, San Marco, Florence (from Karwacka Codini, *Il quaderno della fabbrica*, fig. 7).

14. Giambologna, *The Rape of the Sabines*, 1582, bronze, base of the *Rape of the Sabine* monument, Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence (author's photograph).

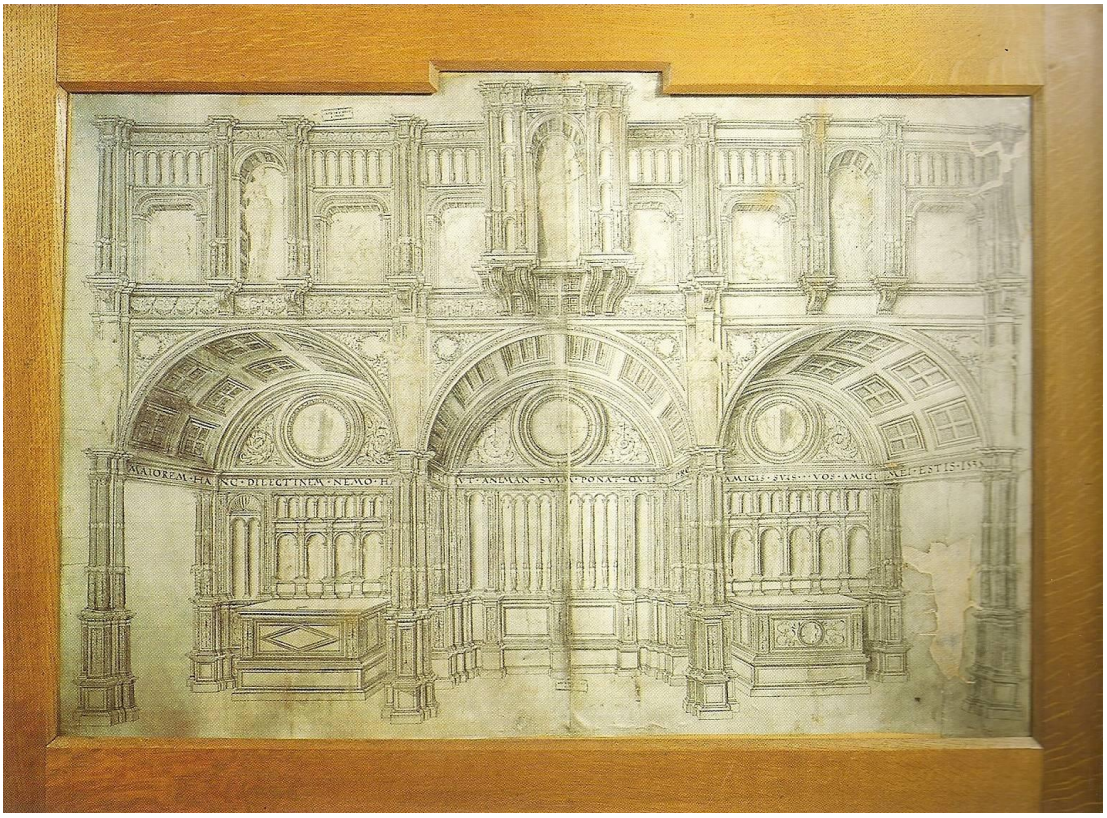
15. Annibale Carracci, *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1599-1600, fresco, Farnese Palace, Rome (http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/c/carracci/annibale/farnese/farnese1.html; accessed 6.29.10).

16. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Triumph of Henry IV*, (sketch model), 1627-31, oil on canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/r/rubens/40histor/10triump.html; accessed 6.29.10).

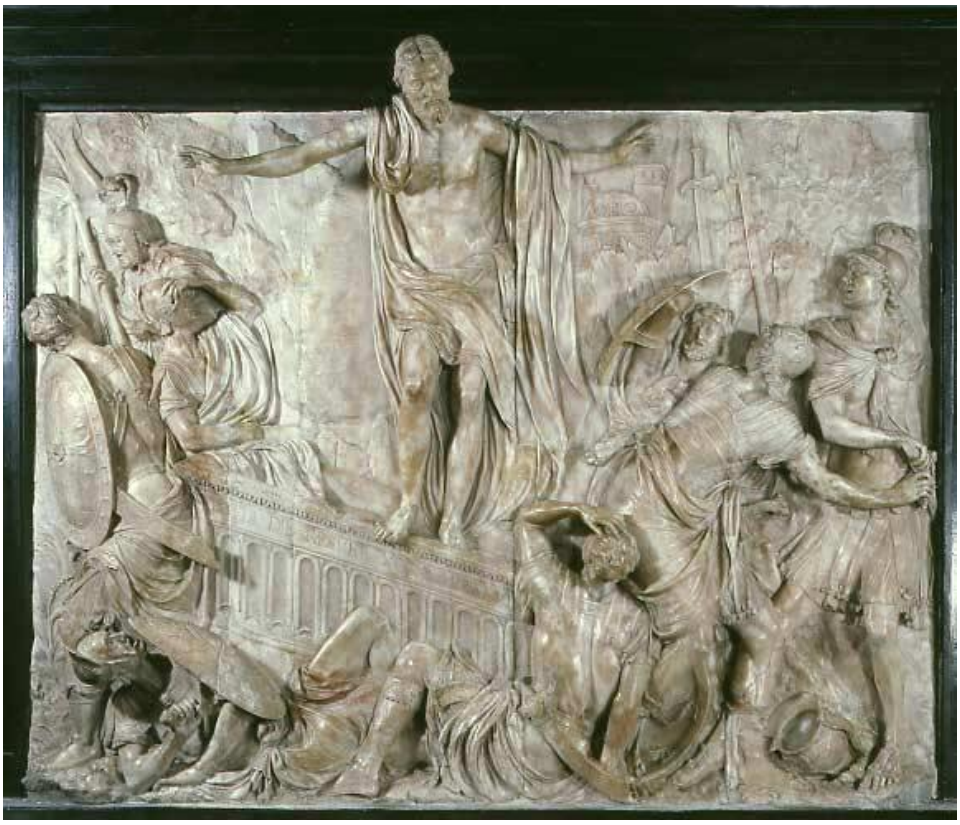
17. Andrea Andreani, *The Rape of the Sabines* (after Giambologna), 1585, chiaroscuro woodcut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/22.73.3%5B73-75%5D, accessed 6.28.10).

18. Andrea del Sarto, *The Baptism of Christ*, 1515-17, fresco, Chiostro dello Scalzo, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/a/andrea/sarto/1/baptism.html; accessed 6.28.10).

19. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Miracle of the Spini Child*, ca. 1485, fresco, Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinità, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/g/ghirland/domenico/5sassett /frescoes/6resurr.html; accessed 6.29.10).

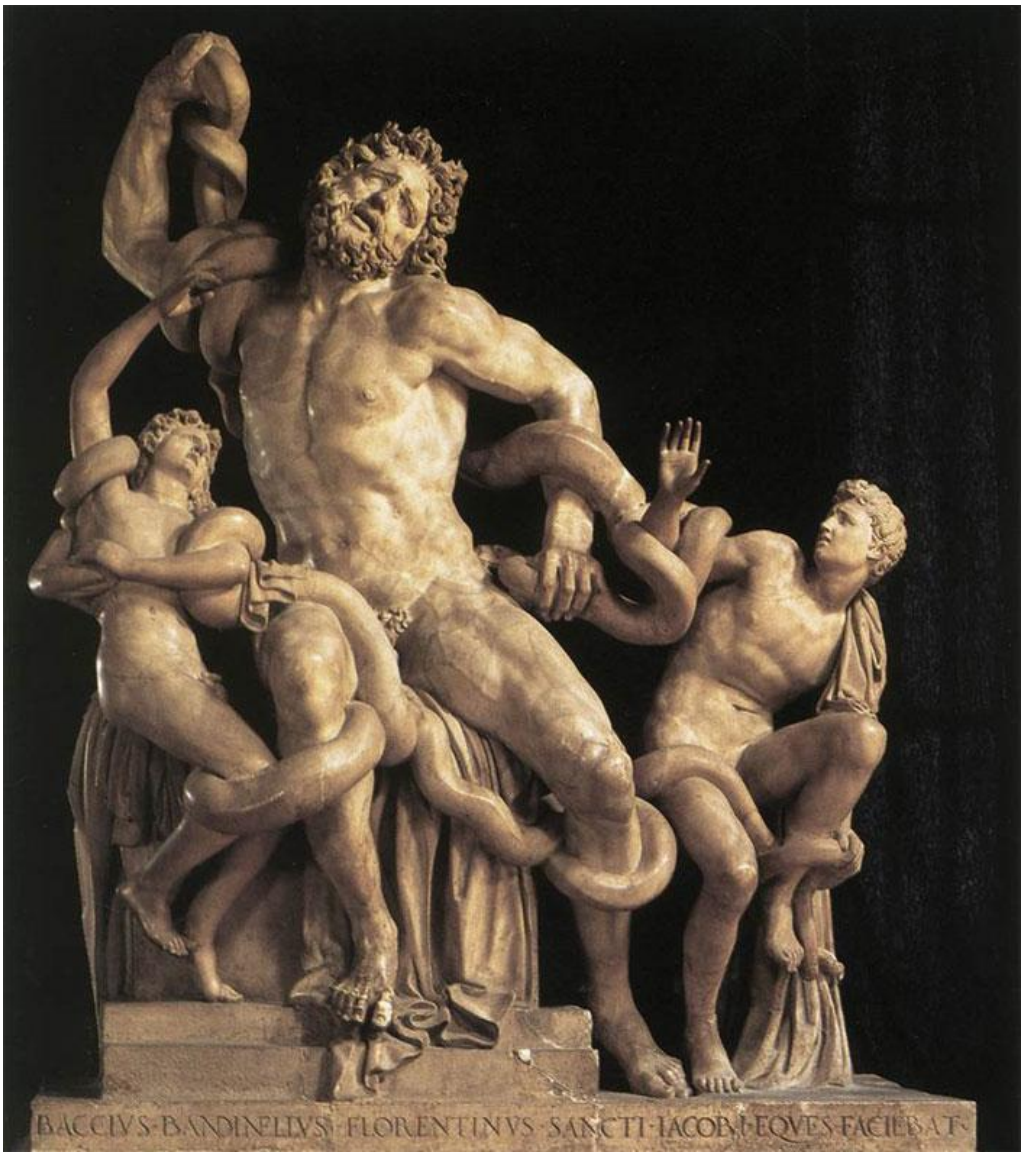


20. Jacques Dubroeucq, *Design for the Sainte Waudru rood-loft*, 1534-40, Mons, Belgium (Didier, *Jacques DuBroeucq*, plate 6).



21. Jacques Dubroeucq, *Resurrection* (originally part of the Mons rood-loft), ca. 1535, alabaster, Sainte Waudru, Mons, Belgium (http://www.lefrancq.be/du-broeucq/resurrection_b.htm; accessed 6.28.10).

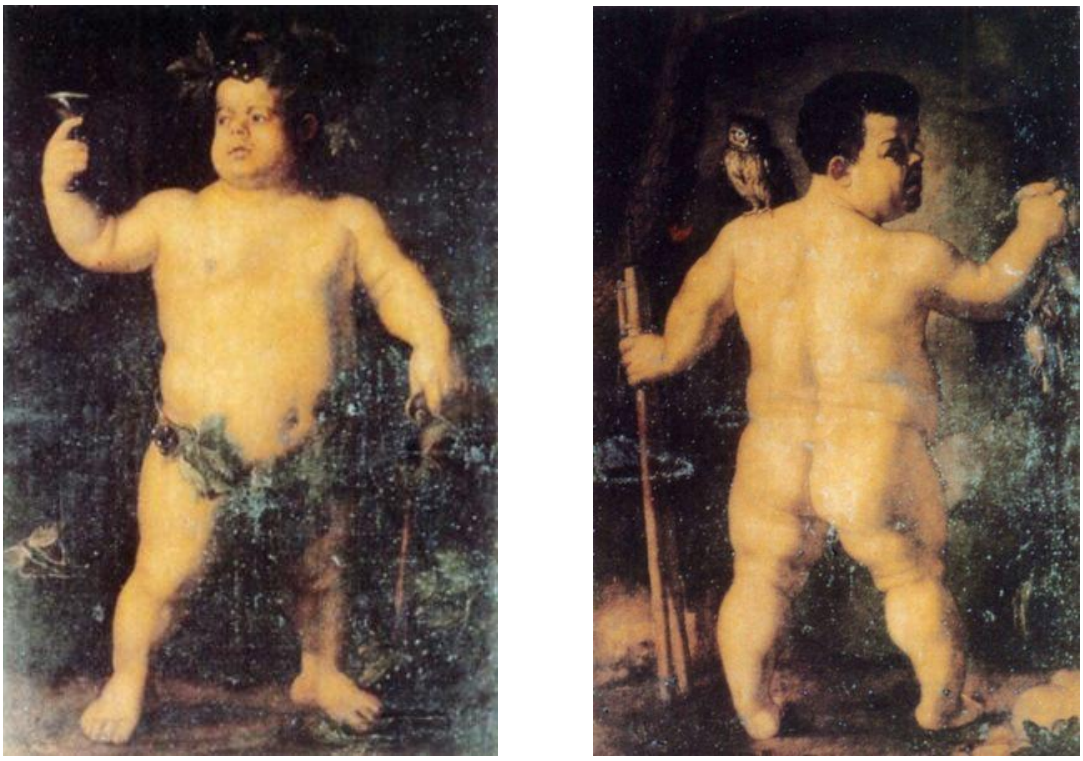
22. Baccio Bandinelli, *Self-Portrait*, 1530, oil on canvas, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston (http://www.gardnermuseum.org/collection; accessed 6.28.10).



23. Baccio Bandinelli, *Laocoön* (copy after the original), 1525, marble, Uffizi Gallery, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/b/bandinel/laocoon.html; accessed 6.28.10).

24. Alessandro Allori, *Laocoön*, after Bandinelli, 1570, oil on panel, Private Collection, United States (from Franklin, *From Raphael to Carracci...*, cat. 92).

25. Danielle da Volterra, *David and Goliath*, double-sided painting, ca. 1555, oil on panel, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France (http://www.thearttribune.com/A-Daniele-da-Volterra-redisplayed.html; accessed 6.28.10).



26. Agnolo Bronzino, *Morgante as Bacchus*, double-sided painting, ca. 1553, oil on panel, Uffizi Gallery, Florence (http://www.opificiodellepietredure.it/index.php?it/440/a-bronzino-il-nano-morgante-firenze-galleria-palatina; accessed 6.28.10)

27. Giambologna, *Morgante on a Sea-Dragon*, ca. 1580, bronze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (http://www.scultura-italiana.com/Galleria/Giambologna /imagepages/image43.html; accessed 6.28.10).

28. Pierino da Vinci, *The Death of Count Ugolino and His Sons*, 1548, terracotta, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (http://www.scultura-italiana.com/Galleria/Da%20Vinci%20Pierino/imagepages/image4.html; accessed 6.28.10).

29. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Jacob and Esau*, ca. 1425-50, gilded bronze, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence (http://www.artic.edu/aic/exhibitions/exhibition/ghiberti; accessed 6.28.10).

30. Donatello, *Post-Passion Pulpit*, 1466, bronze, San Lorenzo, Florence (http://www.music.iastate.edu/courses/471/images/s_lorenzo13.jpg; 6.29.10).

31. Donatello, *Christ Giving the Keys of the Kingdom to Peter*, 1428-30, marble, Victoria & Albert Museum, London (http://www.vam.ac.uk/images/image/20694-popup.html; accessed 6.29.10).

32. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *The Flagellation*, ca. 1403-24, gilded bronze, North Doors, Baptistery, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/g/ghiberti/2n_door5.html; accessed 6.29.10).

33. Donatello, *St. George and the Dragon*, ca. 1416, marble, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/d/donatell/1_early/orsanmic/1georg_4.html; accessed 6.29.10).

34. Donatello, *The Entombment*, from the *Passion Pulpit*, 1466, bronze, San Lorenzo, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/http://www.wga.hu/html/d/ donatell/3_late /lorenzo/pulpit21.htmltml/d/donatell/3_late/lorenzo/pulpit21.html; accessed 6.29.10).

35. Agostino Ciampelli, *Benedetto Varchi delivering Michelangelo's Funeral Oration in S. Lorenzo*, ca. 1620, oil on canvas, Casa Buonarroti, Florence (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Casa_buonarroti,_galleria,_soffitto,_agostino_ciampelli,_esequie_di_michelangelo_in_san_lorenzo,_1617.JPG; accessed 6.29.10).

36. Bernardino Poccetti, *Pius V Crowning Cosimo I de'Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany*, 1589, engraving (Gualterotti, *Della descrizione del regale apparato...*; http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0204&strPage=1; accessed 6.29.10).

37. Jacopo Ligozzi, *Pope Pius V Crowning Cosimo I de'Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany*, 1590, oil on slate, Sala del Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio (http://upload.wikimedia.org /wikipedia/commons/0/04/Jacopo_Ligozzi,_incoronazione_di_cosimo_I.JPG; accessed 7.13.10).

38. Domenico Passignano, *Cosimo de'Medici Nominated Duke of Florence by the Florentine Senate*, 1597-98, oil on slate, Sala del Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio (http://www.palazzovecchio-museoragazzi.it/wp-content/uploads/image/Cosimo%20elezione.jpg; accessed 6.30.10).

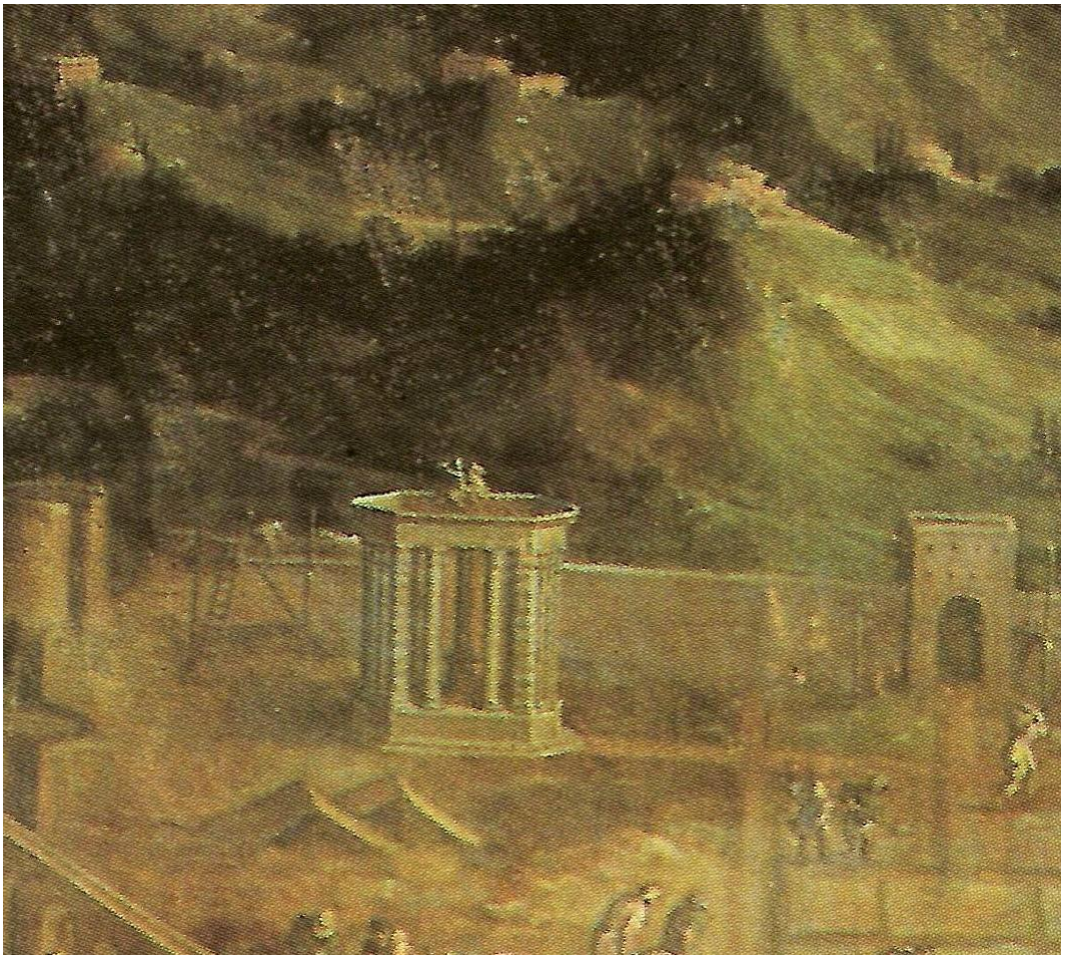
39. Giambologna, *Cosimo I de'Medici Equestrian Monument*, bronze with a marble base, 1587-1599, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

40. Giambologna (and Francavilla), *Ferdinando I Succoring the City of Pisa*, 1594, marble, Piazza San Nicola, Pisa (Erben, fig. 28).

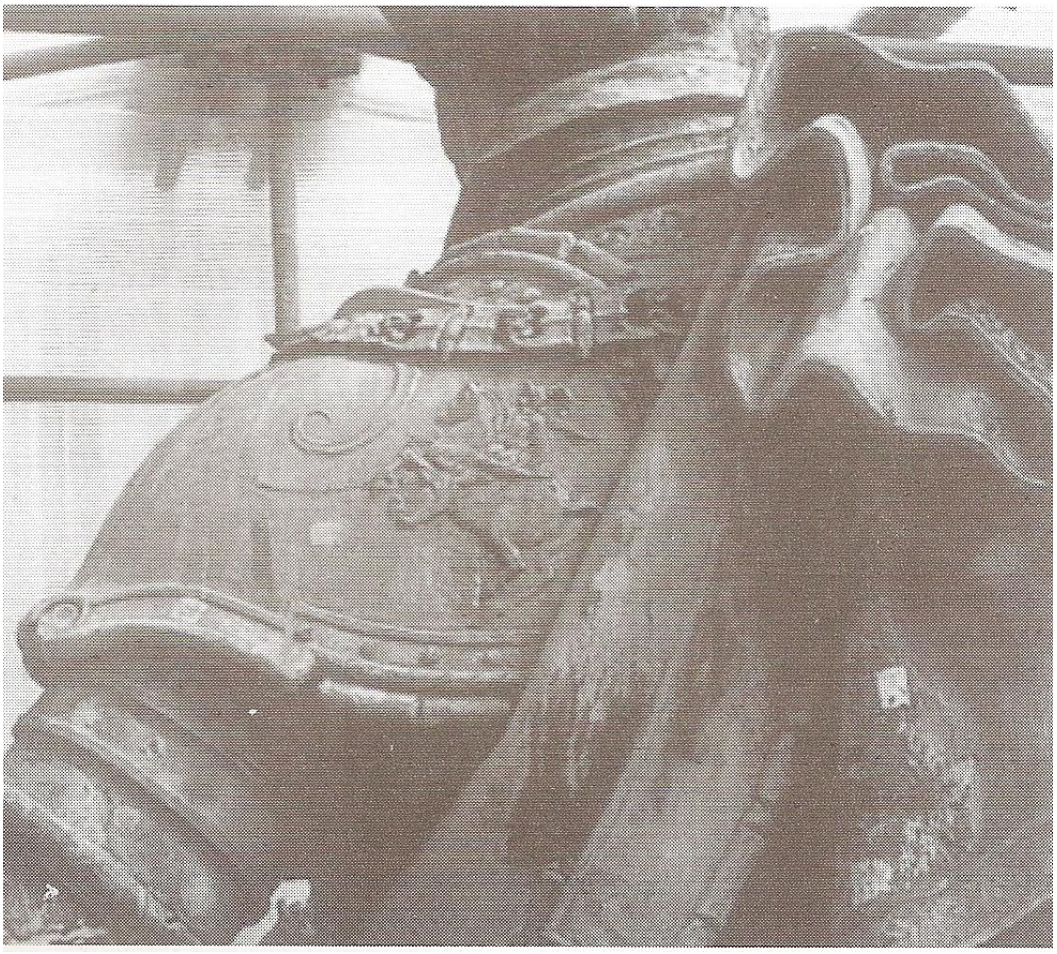
41. Giambologna (and Francavilla), *Ferdinando I de'Medici*, 1594, marble, Piazza del Duomo, Arezzo (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arezzo-Cattedrale-2.JPG; accessed 7.14.10).

42. Piazza della Signoria, Florence (http://www.comune.firenze.it/viverefirenze/foto/foto1/1-07.jpg; accessed 7.13.10).

43. Giorgio Vasari, *The Founding of Florence,* 1565, oil, Sala del Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (*Il Salone del Cinquecento,* p. 108).



44. Giorgio Vasari, *The Founding of Florence*, detail, 1565, oil, Sala del Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (*Il Salone del Cinquecento*, p. 108).



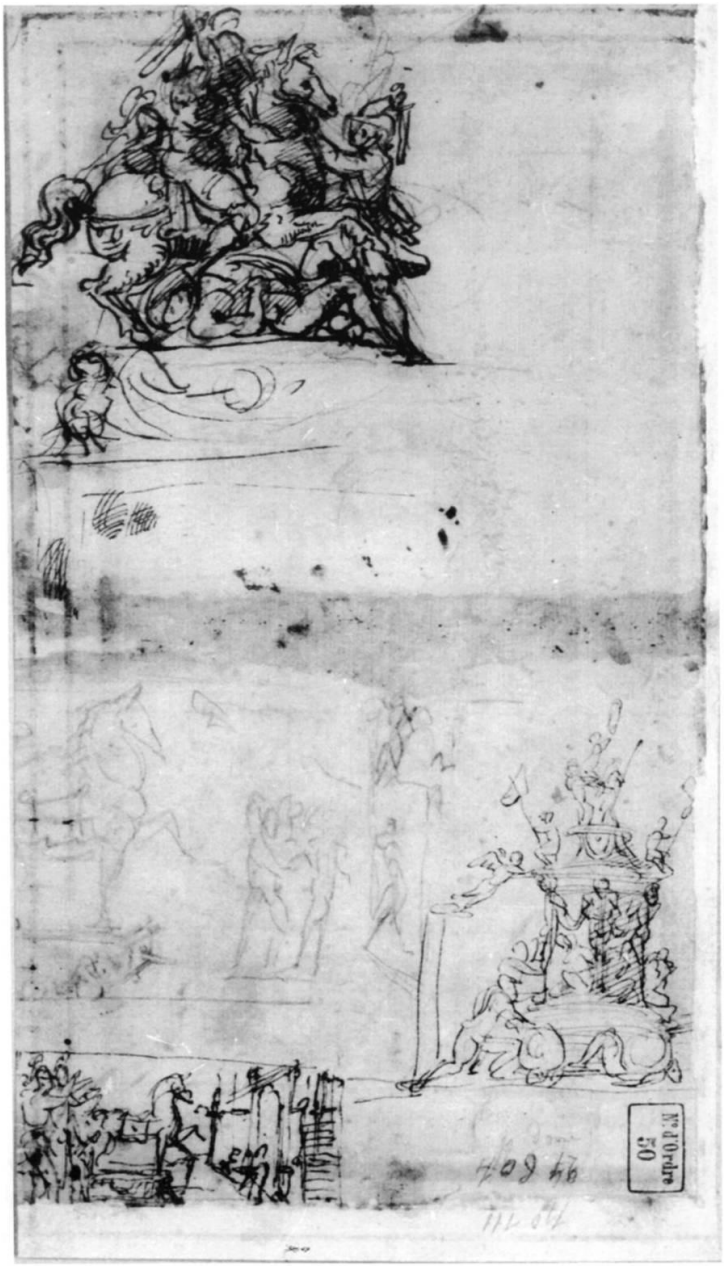
45. Giambologna, *Cosimo I de'Medici Equestrian Monument*, detail, 1587-1599, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (Avery, "Giambologna's Horses," fig. 6).

46. Paolo Uccello, *Sir John Hawkwood*, 1436, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/u/uccello/3florenc/1hawkwoo.html; accessed 6.28.10).

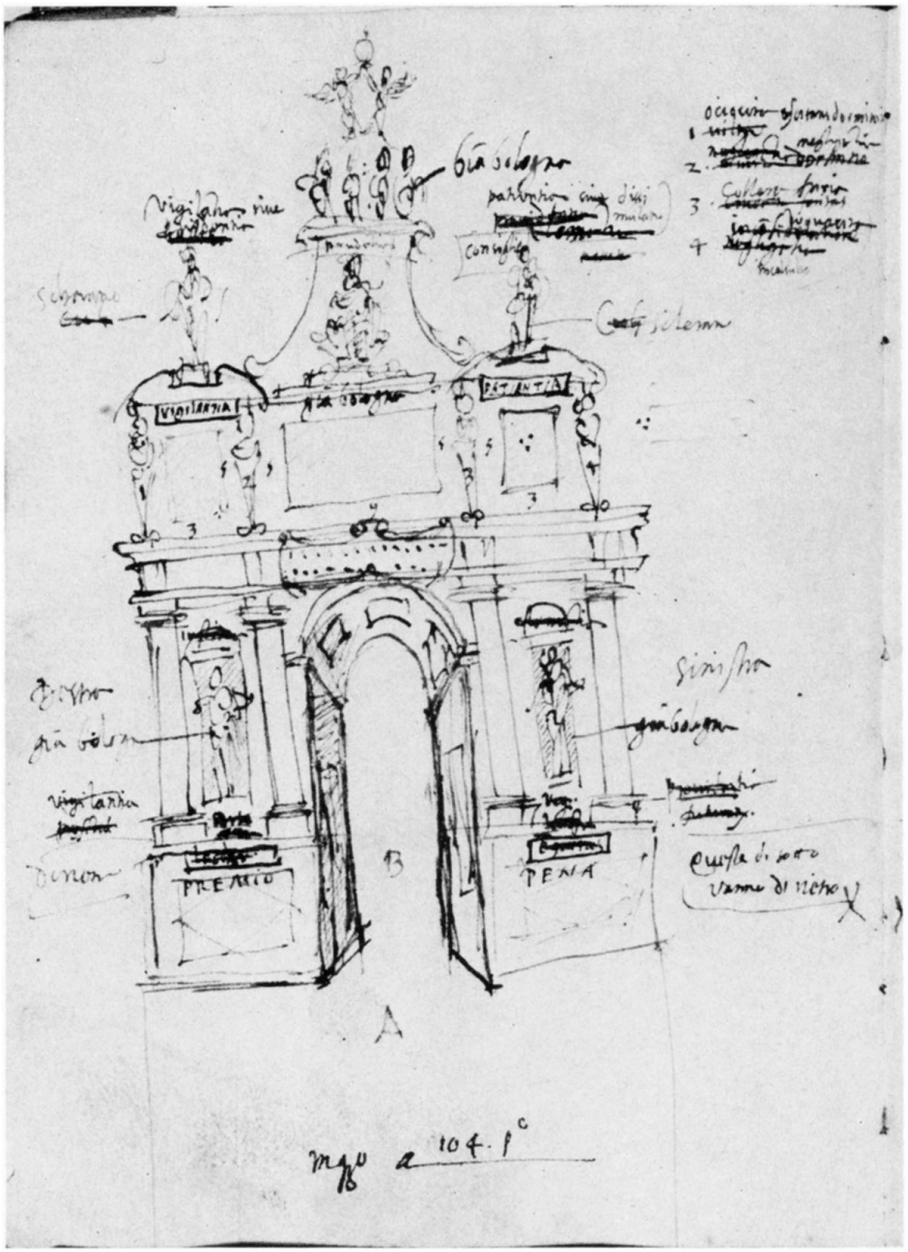
47. Andrea del Castagno, *Niccolò da Tolentino*, 1455-56, fresco, Santa Maria Novella, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/a/andrea/castagno/3_1450s/09tolent.html; accessed 6.28.10).

48. Donatello, *Gattamelata*, 1445-53, bronze, Piazza del Santo, Padua (http://www.wga.hu/html/d/donatell/2_mature/padova/3gatta_1.html; accessed 6.28.10).

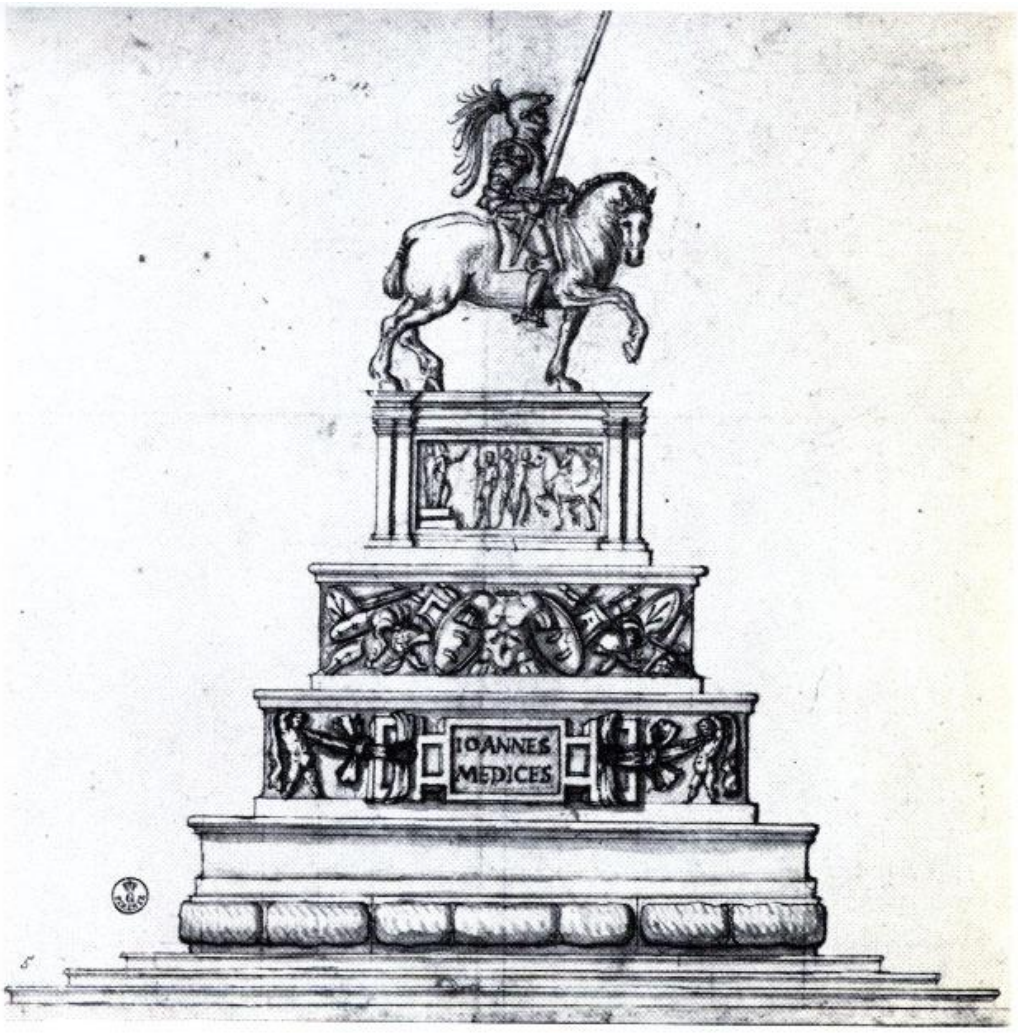
49. Andrea del Verrocchio, *Colleoni Monument*, 1481-96, bronze, Campo di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (http://www.wga.hu/html/v/verocchi/sculptur/colleoni.html; accessed 6.28.10).



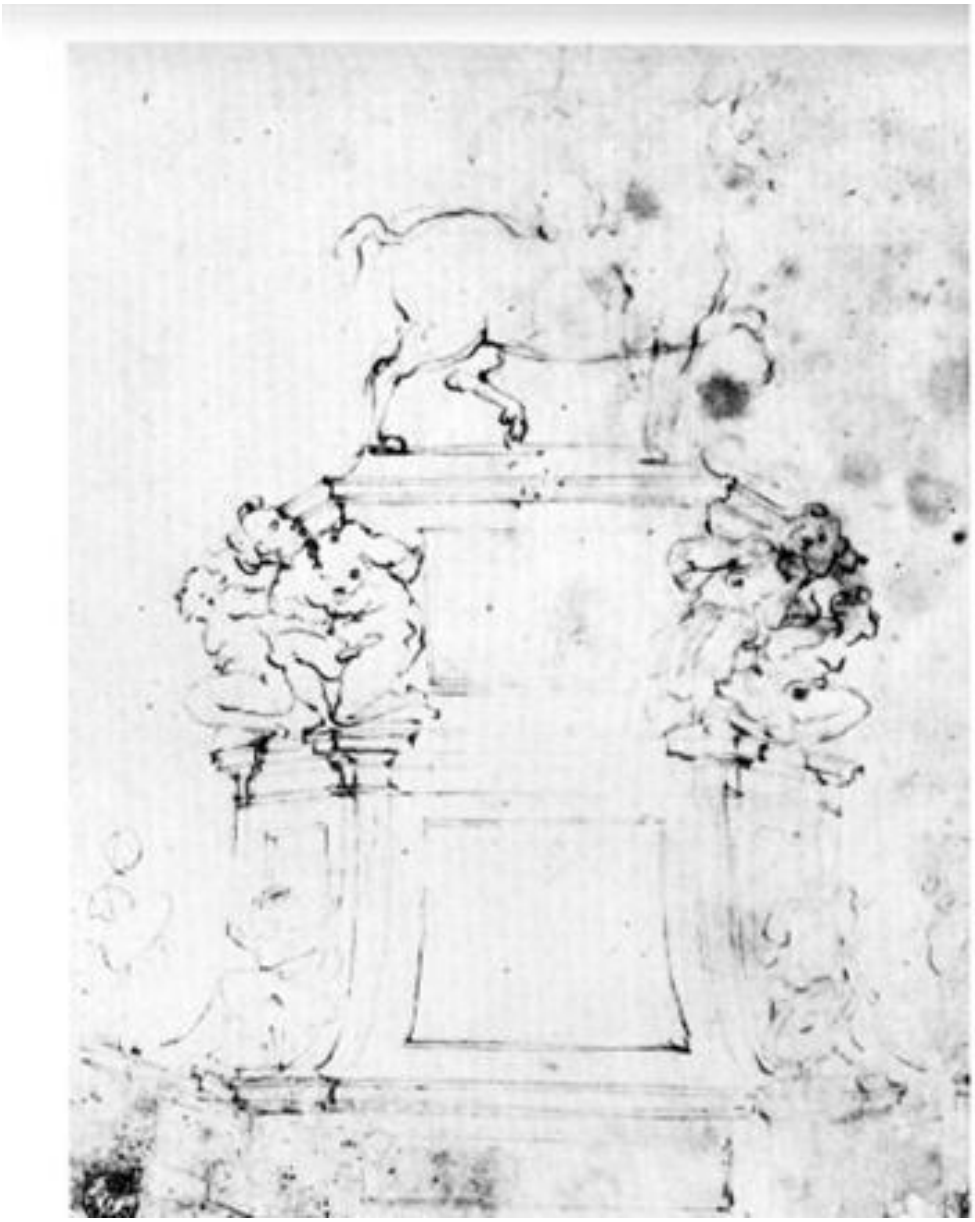
50. Niccolò Tribolo, *Study for the Giovanni delle Bande Nere ephemeral monument*, ca. 1539, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Erben, fig. 24).



51. Vincenzo Borghini, *Sketch for the Arco della Prudenza Civile*, 1564-65, *Libretto* fol. 53v. (Scorza, "Vincenzo Borghini," fig. 8b.).



52. Francesco da Sangallo, *Design for Giovanni delle Bande Nere Equestrian Monument,* 1543-46, pen, wash and black pencil, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (Morrogh, *Disegni di Architetti*, fig. 4).



53. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Design for a Cosimo I de'Medici Equestrian Monument*, 1554-63, pen and black pencil, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (Morrogh, *Disegni di Architetti*, fig. 34).

54. Leonardo da Vinci, *Drawing for Trivulzio Equestrian Monument*, ca. 1508-11, pen and ink, black chalk, Royal Library, Windsor Castle (http://www.ciids.org/arthistory/mainmenu.cfm?mediano=27051&cc=261&sc=1746; accessed 7.13.10).

55. *Marcus Aurelius Equestrian Monument*, ca. 176, bronze, Campidoglio, Rome (author's photograph).

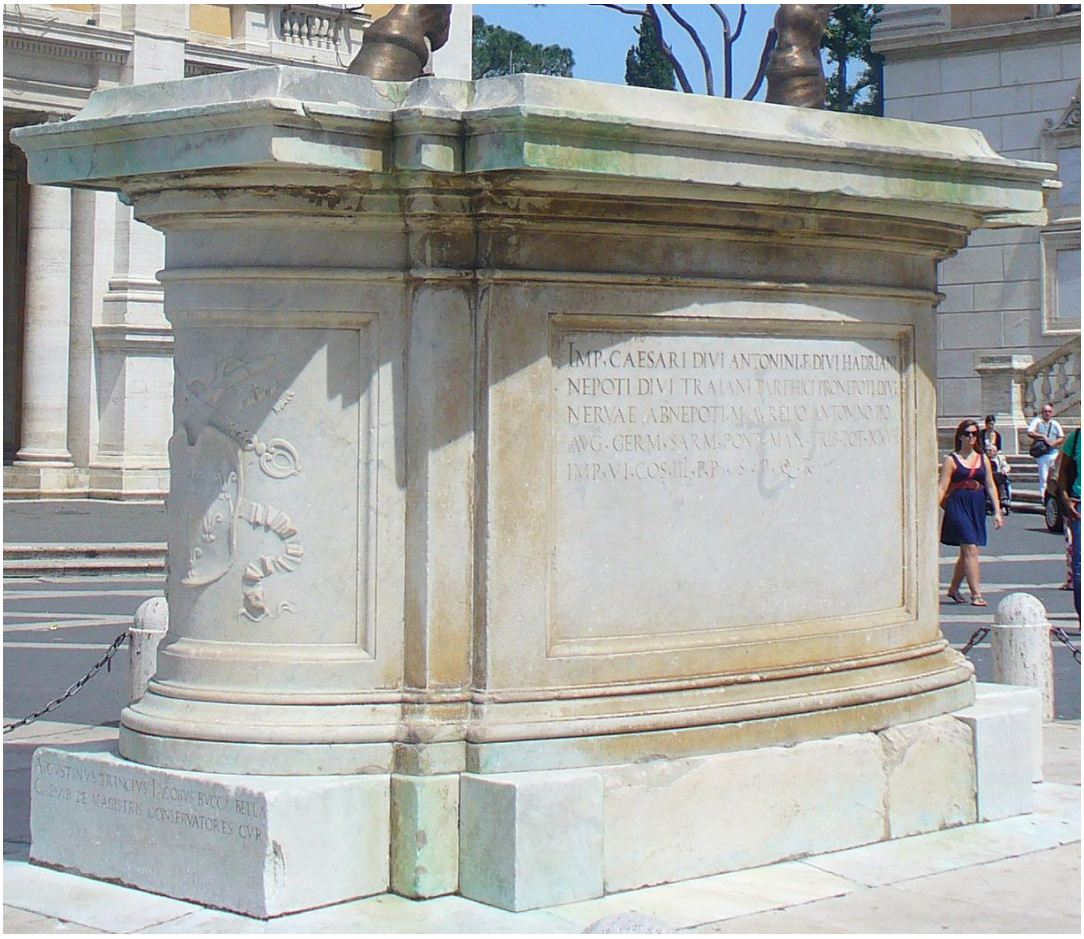
56. Antonio Tempesta, *Henry II of France on Horseback*, ca. 1600-1607, etching (Leuschner, fig 584).

57. Ludovico Cardi (Il Cigoli), *Henry IV Equestrian Monument*, 1604, Pen and brown ink, brush, brown wash and blue wash, Musée du Louvre, Paris (http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/fo/visite?srv=mfc&paramAction=actionGetOeuvre&idFicheOeuvre=1472; accessed 6.29.10).

58. Ludovico Cardi (Il Cigoli), *Henry IV on Horseback*, 1604, Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, Musée du Louvre, Paris (http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/fo/visite?srv=mfc&paramAction=actionGetOeuvre&idFicheOeuvre=1471; accessed 6.29.10).

59. Ludovico Cardi (Il Cigoli), *Drawing after Francesco Salviati's Triumph of Camillus*, 1607, New York, Janos Scholz (Chappell, "On Some Drawings by Cigoli," fig. 8).

60. Giambologna, Pedestal, *Cosimo I de'Medici Equestrian Monument*, 1587-99, marble, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).



61. Michelangelo, *Base for the Marcus Aurelius Equestrian Monument*, ca. 1539, marble, Piazza del Campidoglio, Rome (author's photograph).

62. Bernardino Gaffurri and Jaques Bylivelt, *Oval Plaque Showing the Piazza Granducale*, 1599-1600, chalcedony, lapis lazuli, cornelian, heliotrope, rock crystal, gold, gilt metal, Museo degli Argenti, Florence (*The Medici, Michelangelo...*, p. 257 cat. 114).

241

63. Giambologna, *Model for the pedestal of the equestrian monument to Cosimo I*, relief illustrating *Cosimo's Patronage of the Arts*, ca. 1590, terracotta (*Giambologna (1529-1608) Sculptor to the Medici*, 228 fig. 241).

64. Giambologna, *Model for the pedestal of the equestrian monument to Cosimo I*, relief illustrating *The Signoria Offers Cosimo the Ducal Crown in 1537*, ca. 1590, terracotta, (*Giambologna (1529-1608) Sculptor to the Medici*, 228 fig. 241).

65. Giorgio Vasari, *The Apotheosis of Cosimo*, ca. 1563, oil, Sala del Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Apotheosis of_Cosimo_I_de'_Medici.jpg; accessed 6.29.10).

66. Giambologna, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, Medici Coat of Arms, detail, 1587-1596, bronze and marble, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

67. Giambologna, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, Inscription plaque, west side of pedestal, detail, 1587-1596, bronze and marble, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

68. Giambologna, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, Turtle, west side of pedestal, detail, 1587-1596, bronze and marble, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

69. Giambologna, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, Ram (Capricorn), west side of pedestal, detail, 1587-1596, bronze and marble, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

70. Giorgio Vasari, *Cosimo I de'Medici as Augustus*, 1560-65, fresco, Room of Leo X, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (Muccini and Cecchi, *The Apartments*..., 116).

71. Vincenzo Danti, *Cosimo I de'Medici as Augustus*, 1568-72, marble, Museo del Bargello, Florence (http://www.polomuseale.firenze.it/danti2008/english/galleria.asp; accessed 6.29.10).

72. Giambologna, *Florentine Senate Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany*, east side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze and marble, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

73. Giambologna, *Florentine Senate Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany*, east side, without marble framing, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

74. Giambologna, *Florentine Senate Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany*, east side, view showing curvature of base, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

75. Giambologna, *Florentine Senate Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany*, detail, east side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

76. Giambologna, *Florentine Senate Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany*, detail, east side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

77. Jacopo da Empoli, *The Florentine Senate Paying Homage to Cosimo as Duke of Tuscany*, 1589, engraving (Gualterotti, *Della descrizione del regale apparato...*; http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0204; accessed 6.28.10).

78. Jacopo da Empoli, *L'elezione di Cosimo I a duca di Firenze*, 1589, pen and ink, wash, and black pencil, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (*Jacopo da Empoli 1551-1640*, 225 cat. 56).

79. Jacopo da Empoli, *L'elezione di Cosimo I a duca di Firenze*, reversed, 1589, pen and ink, wash, and black pencil, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (*Jacopo da Empoli 1551-1640*, 225 cat. 56).

80. Giambologna, *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, south side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

81. Giambologna, *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, south side, view showing level of relief, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

82. Giambologna, *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, south side, view showing level of relief projection, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

83. Giambologna, *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, south side, view showing light and shadow on surface, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

84. *The Triumph of Titus*, on the *Arch of Titus*, 81ce, marble, Roman Forum, Rome (http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/titus/triumph2005.jpg; accessed 7.2.10).

85. *The Triumph of Marcus Aurelius*, 176-180CE, marble, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b5/Bas_relief_from_Arch_of_Marcus_Aurelius_triumph_chariot.jpg; accessed 7.2.10).

86. Giambologna, *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, detail, south side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

87. Giambologna, *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, detail, south side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

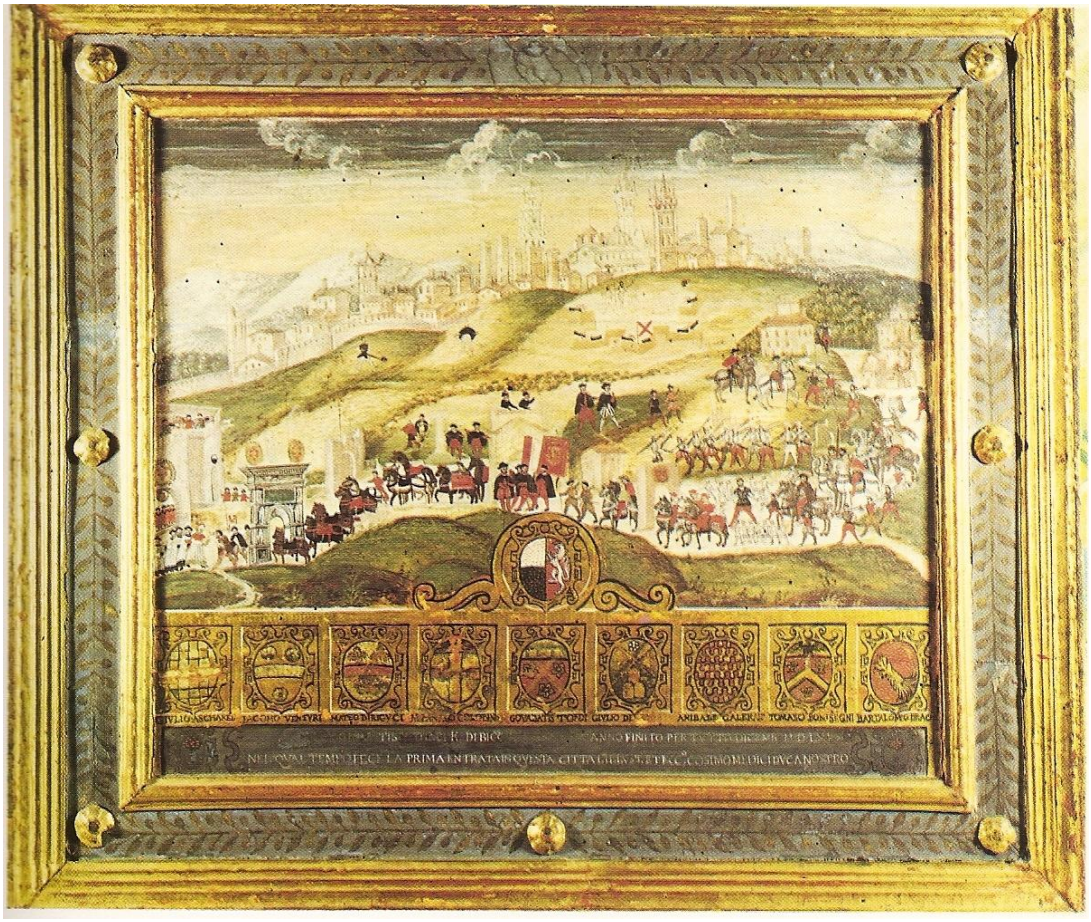
88. Giambologna, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, detail, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (Avery, "Giambologna's Horse...," fig. 8).

89. Baccio Bandinelli, *Giovanni delle Bande Nere*, ca. 1542-44, marble, Piazza San Lorenzo, Florence (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Statua_di_ giovanni_ delle_bande_nere_01.JPG; accessed 7.13.10).

90. Giambologna, *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, detail, south side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

91. Giambologna, *Cosimo I's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, detail, south side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

92. Domenico de'Camei, *Ingresso trionfale*, cameo, Museo degli Argenti, Florence (Barocchi, *Collezionismo mediceo*..., fig. 23).



93. Sienese Tavoletta di Biccherna no. 83, *Cosimo I de'Medici's Triumphal Entry into Siena*, ca. 1560, Archivio di Stato, Siena (Diaz, 96).

94. Francesco Salviati, *The Triumph of Camillus*, 1543-46, fresco, Sala dell'Udienza, Palazzo Vecchio (http://www.wga.hu/html/s/salviati/camillu2.html; accessed 6.28.10).

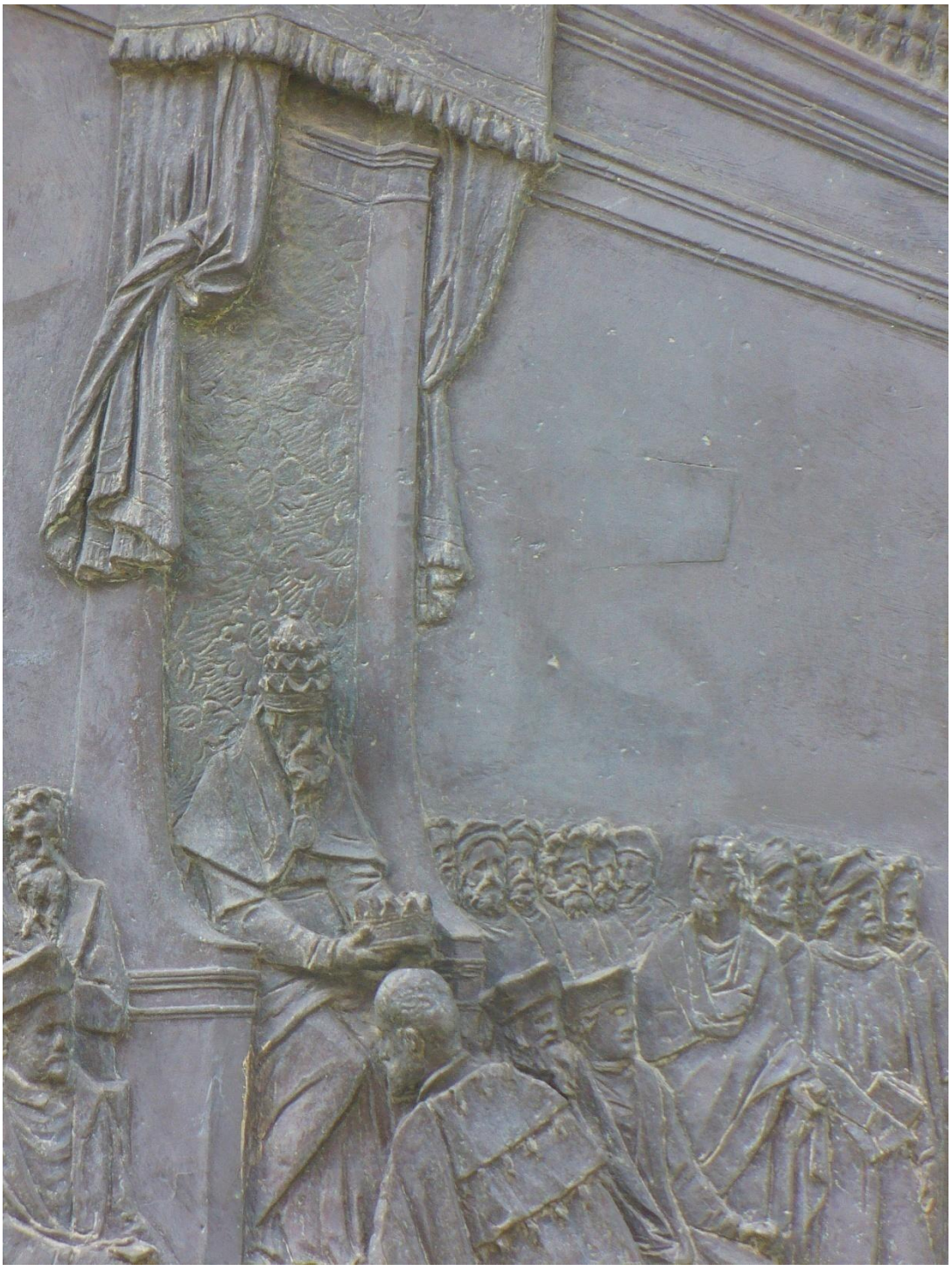
95. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Uomini Famosi*, *Sala dei Gigli*, detail, 1482-84, fresco, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/g/ghirland/domenico/3fresco/3gigli2.html; accessed 6.28.10).

96. Giambologna, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, north side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

97. Giambologna, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, north side, view showing level of relief projection, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

98. Giambologna, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, detail, north side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

99. Giambologna, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, detail, north side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).



100. Giambologna, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, detail, north side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

101. Ludovico Cardi (Il Cigoli), *Portrait of Grand Duke Cosimo I de'Medici*, 1603, oil on canvas, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (Prefettura), Florence (http://www.palazzo-medici.it/mediateca/it/schede.php?id_scheda=137&sezione=1; accessed 6.30.10).

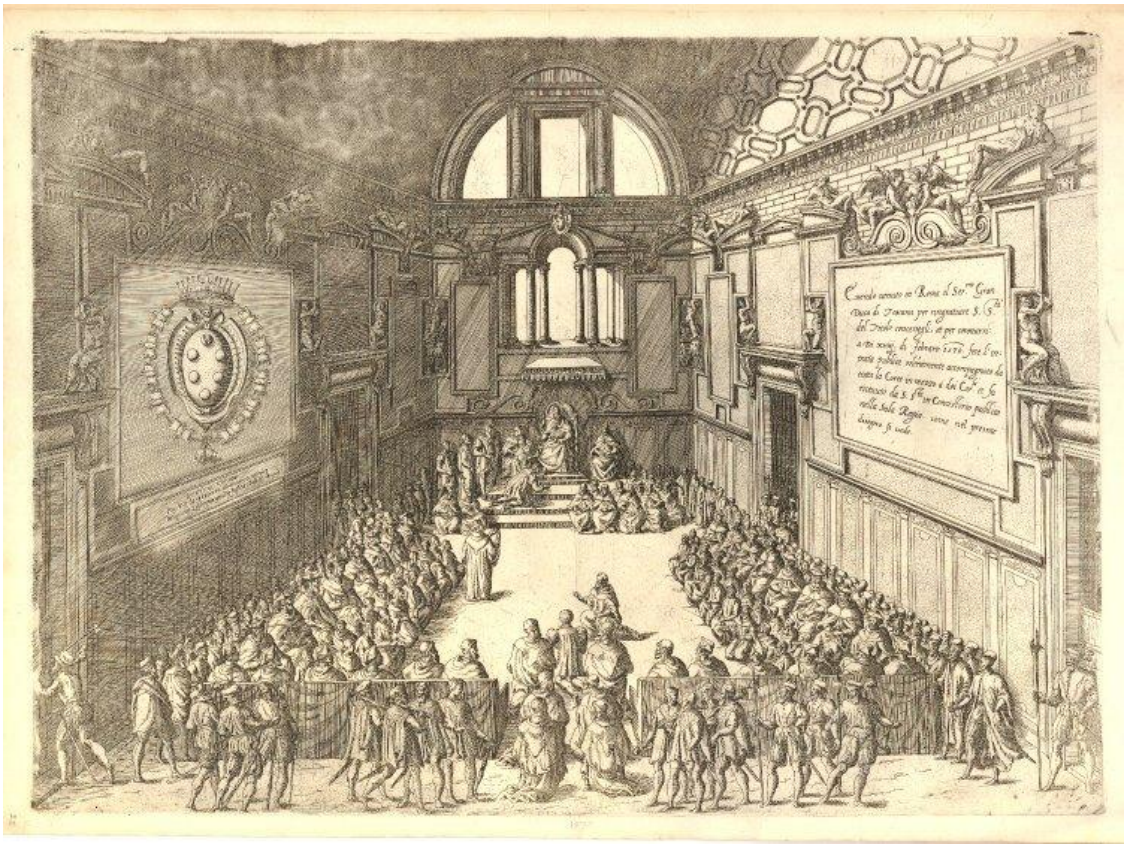
102. Giambologna, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, detail, north side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

103. Giambologna, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, detail, north side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

104. Giambologna, Salviati Chapel, detail, ca. 1581-87, San Marco, Florence (Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator*, Plate 1).

105. Giambologna, *The Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, detail, north side, *Cosimo I Equestrian Monument*, 1587-1596, bronze, Piazza della Signoria, Florence (author's photograph).

106. Bernardino Poccetti, *Pius V Crowning Cosimo I as Grand Duke*, ca. 1589, engraving after ephemeral painting (Gualterotti, *Della descrizione del regale apparato...*, 173; http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0204; accessed 6.29.10).



107. Etienne Duperac, *Reception of Cosimo I de'Medici by Pope Pius V*, ca. 1570, engraving, The British Museum, London (http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/search.php?search%5B0%5D=cosimo&searchnode%5B0%5D=all&result=2; accessed 7.13.10).

108. Sistine Chapel, Rome, interior, (http://img503.imageshack.us/img503/5467/papaadorientem1ex0.jpg; accessed 7.13.10).

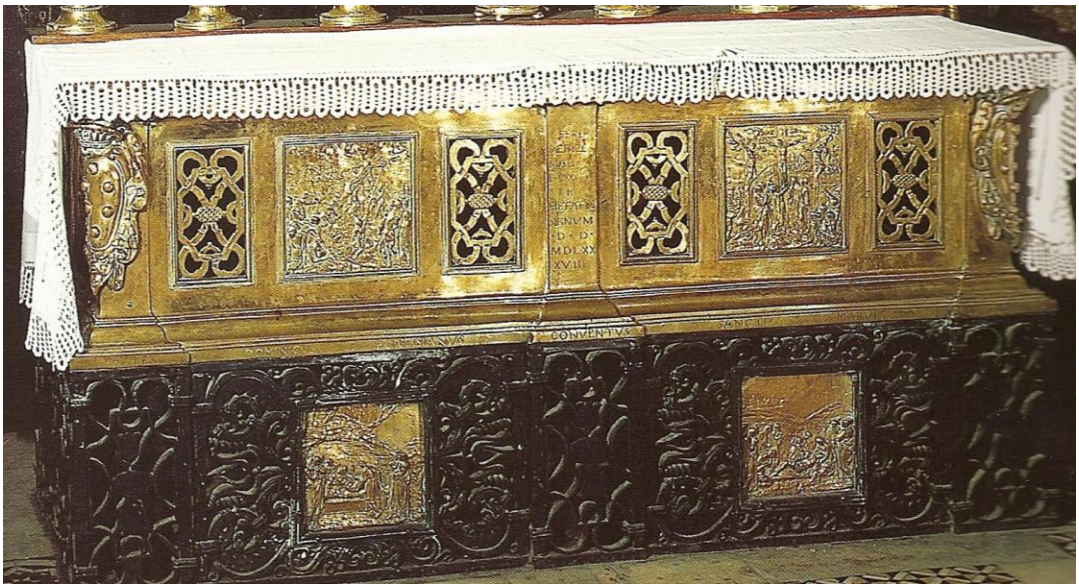
109. Cesare Nebbia, *Coronation of Cosimo I de'Medici as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, late 1580s, pen and brown ink, brown wash, Albertina, Vienna (http://gallery.albertina.at/eMuseum/code/emuseum.asp?newaction=advsearch&searchpage=4&qsearchoperator=enth%C3%A4lt&qdepart=alle&qsearch=nebbia; accessed 7.13.10).

110. Cesare Nebbia, *Coronation of Cosimo I de'Medici as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, late 1580s, pen and brown ink, brown wash, Rhode Island School of Design (Franklin, 391 cat. 128).

111. Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, detail, 1537-41, fresco, Sistine Chapel, Vatican (http://www.wga.hu/html/m/michelan/3sistina/lastjudg/1lastjud.html; accessed 7.13.10).

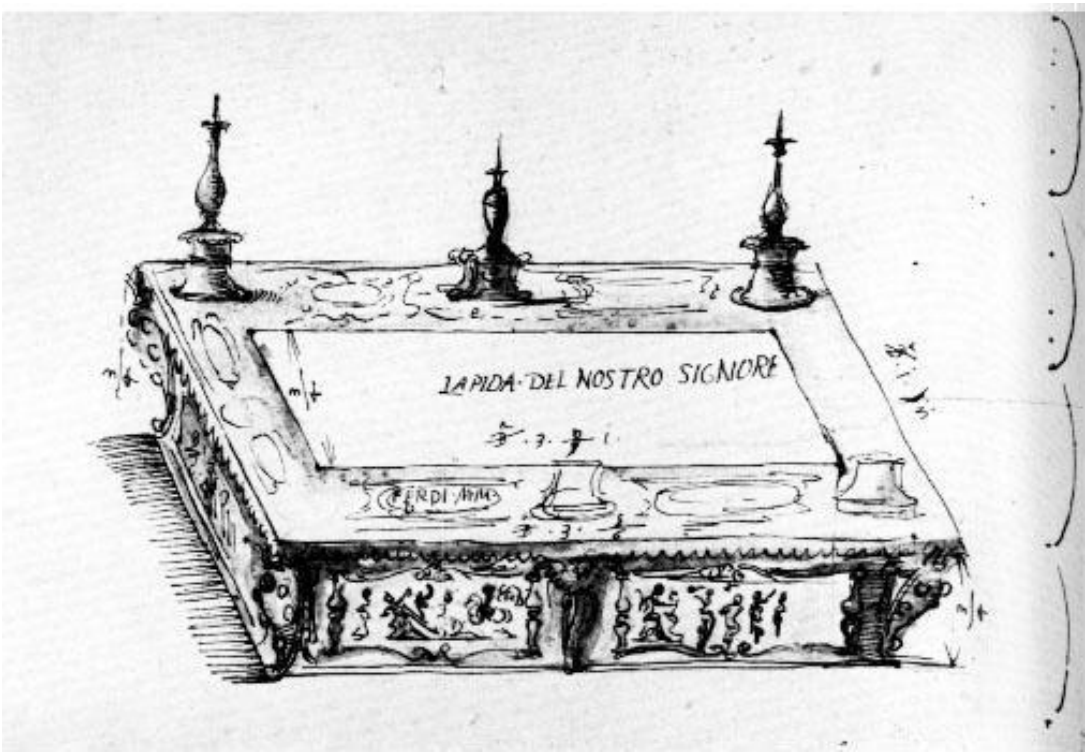
112. Philips Galle, after Giovanni Stradano, *Coronation of Cosimo I de'Medici as Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V*, from *The History of the Medici*, 1583, engraving, Gemeente-Archief, Haarlem (Dolders, 398).

113. Giorgio Vasari (and Giovanni Stradano), *Clement VII Crowning Charles V*, 1555-1562, oil, Apartment of Leo X, Palazzo Vecchio (Muccini and Cecchi, *The Apartments...*, 166).



114. Fra Domenico Portigiani and Giambologna, *Jerusalem ornamento*, bronze, 1587-1592, Chapel of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (http://www.sacred-destinations.com/israel/jerusalem-holy-sepulchre-photos/slides/calvary-latin-medici-altar-c-hlp; accessed 6.29.10).

115. *Altar of the Crucifixion*, Chapel of the Crucifixion, The Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/sbf/ escurs/Ger/ 08Calvario1Big.jpg; accessed 7.14.10).

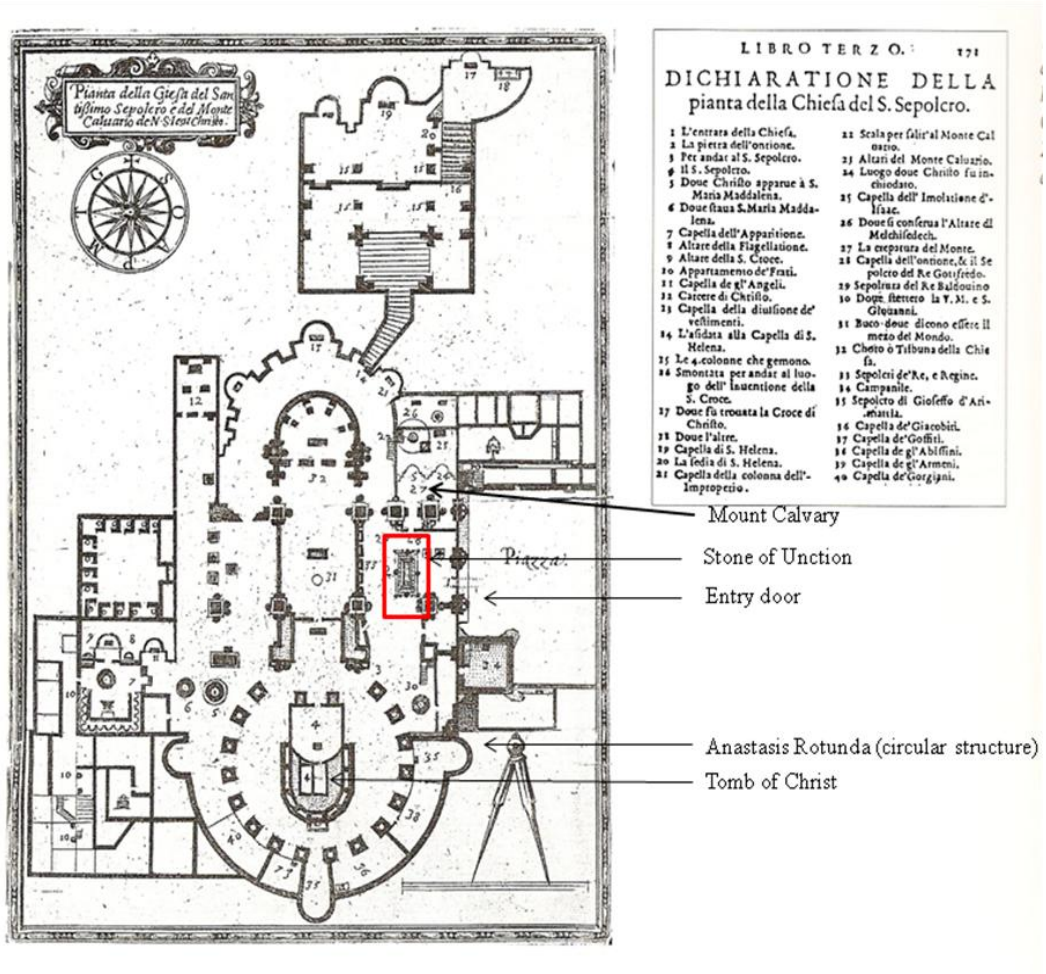


116. Bernardo Buontalenti, *Design for the Jerusalem ornamento*, ca. 1587-88, pen and ink, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence (Morrogh, *Disegni*..., fig. 97).

117. Fra Domenico Portigiani, *Ornamento*, detail, Medici Coat of Arms, 1587-92, bronze, Chapel of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'ornamento'..." fig. 15).

118. Fra Domenico Portigiani, *Jerusalem ornamento*, detail, Inscription, 1587-92, bronze, Chapel of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze 'ornamento'..." fig. 14).

119. Stone of Unction, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (http://www.sacred-destinations.com/israel/jerusalem-holy-sepulchre-photos/slides/stone-unction-cc-jon-caves; accessed 6.29.10).

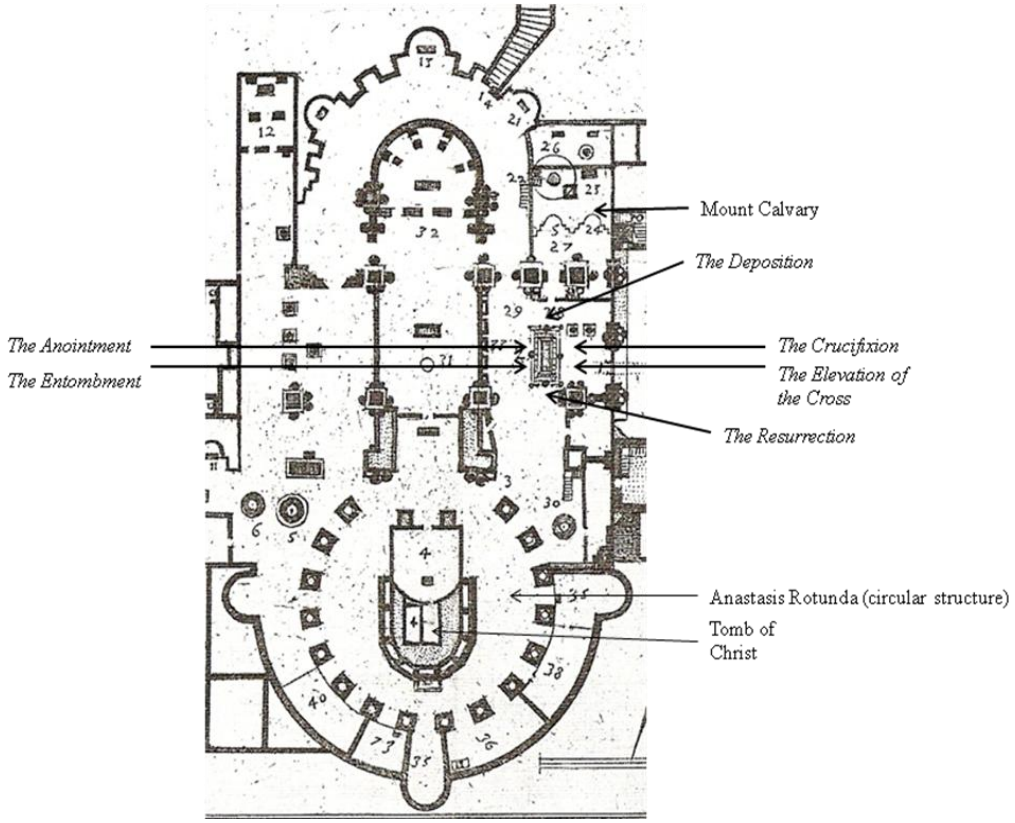


120. Giovanni Zuallardo, *Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher*, 1586, engraving (Zuallardo, 184-85).

121. Modern pilgrims at the Stone of Unction, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (http://washingtonbureau.typepad.com/photos/uncategorized/2008/03/23/easter1.jpg; accessed 7.7.10).

122. Andrea Sansovino, *The Holy House*, begun 1510, marble, Basilica della Santa Casa, Loreto, Italy (http://sacred-destinations.blogspot.com/2008/04/holy-house-of-loreto.html; accessed 7.2.10).

123. Giambologna, *The Flagellation*, ca. 1585-87, bronze, Aula Magna, Università, Genoa (Weitzel Gibbons, *Giambologna: Narrator*..., fig. 65b).



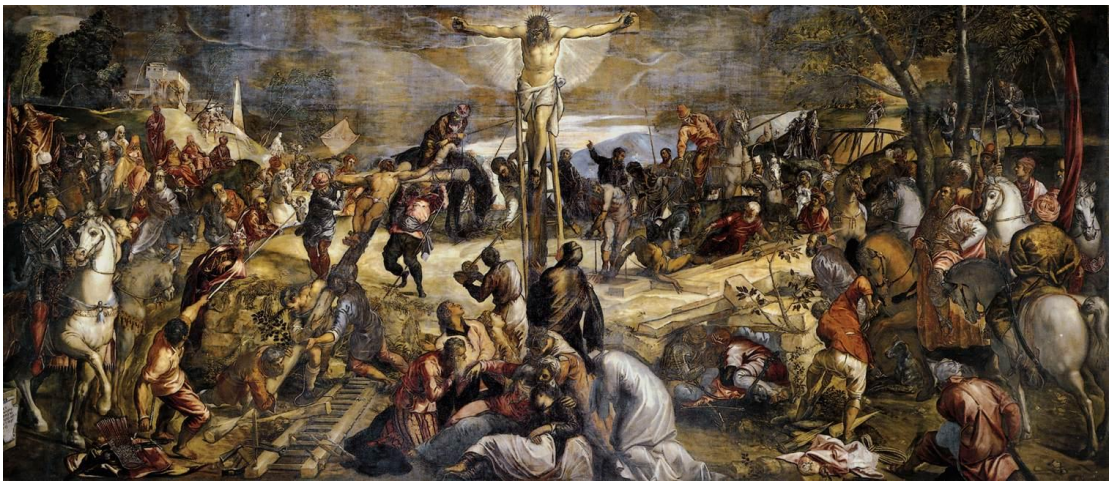
124. Giovanni Zuallardo, *Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher*, 1586, engraving, with author's notations (Zuallardo, 184-85).

125. Andrea del Minga, *Agony in the Garden*, 1574-78, oil on canvas, Santa Croce, Florence (Hall, fig. 86).

126. Pietro Francavilla, *The Raising of Christ's Cross*, 1587-92, bronze, Altar of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze...," fig. 3).

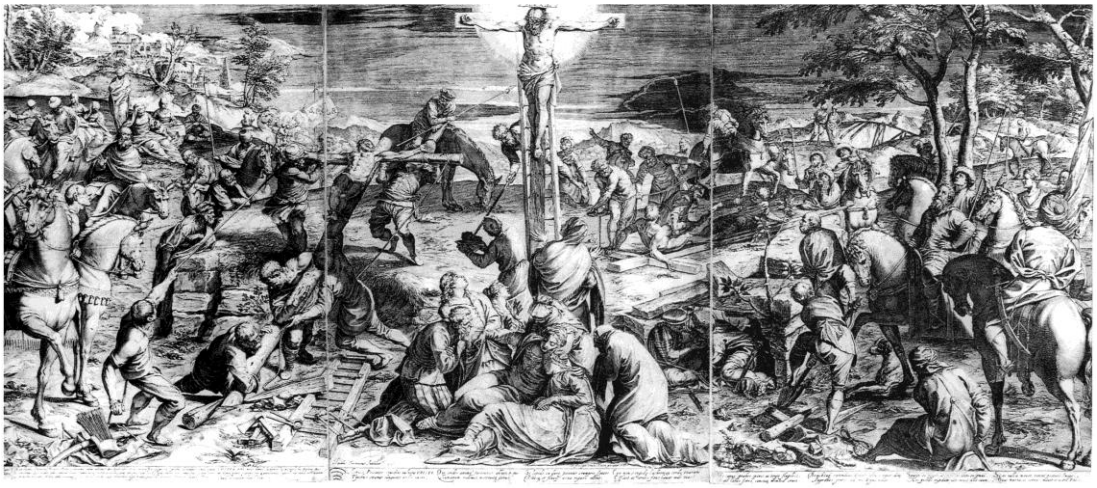
127. Hans Baldung Grien, *The Raising of the Cross*, 1507, woodcut, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (http://www.wga.hu/html/b/baldung/4/0crucifi.html; accessed 6.30.10).

128. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Elevation of the Cross*, central panel, *The Elevation of the Cross Triptych*, 1610, oil on panel, O.-L. Vrouwekathedraal, Antwerp (http://www.wga.hu/html/r/rubens/11religi/03erect1.html; accessed 6.30.10).



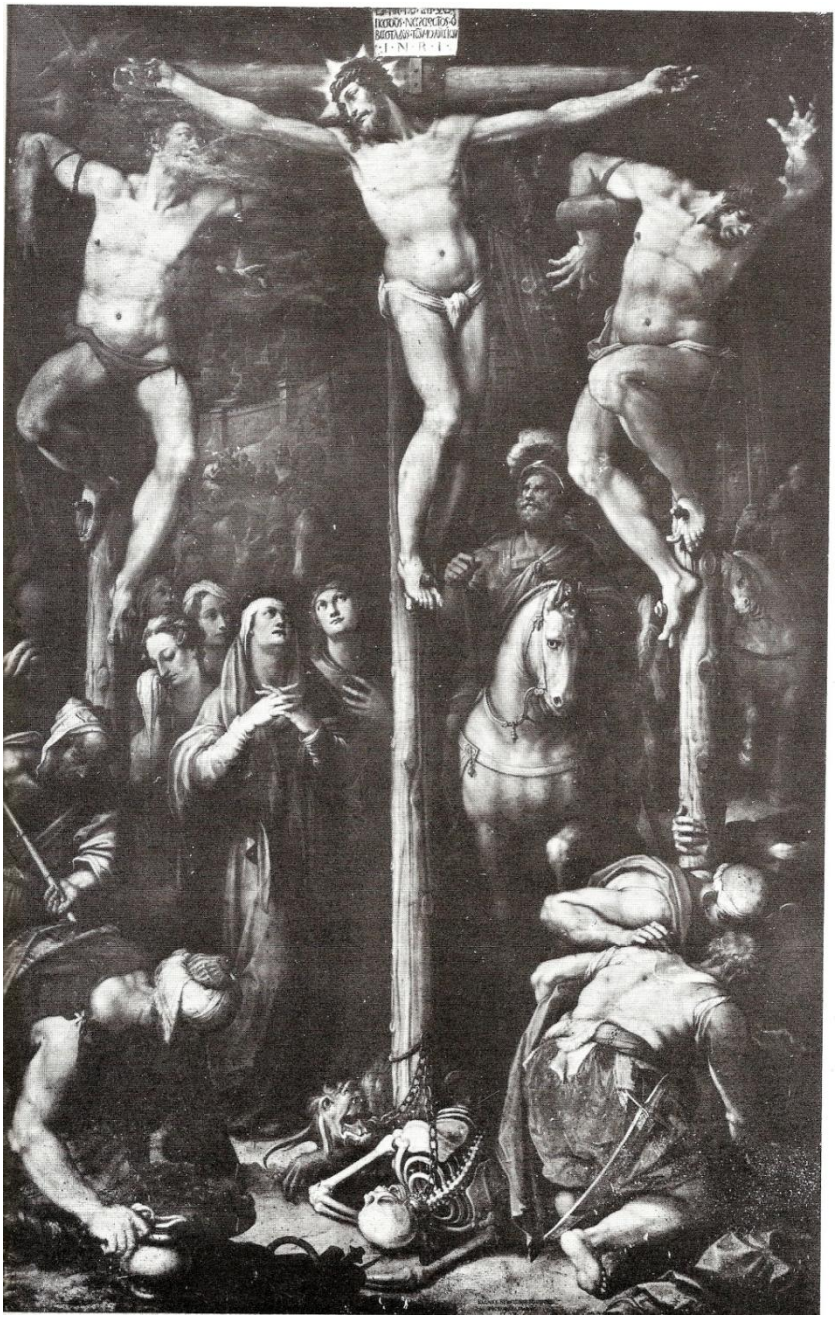
129. Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1564-67, oil on canvas, Scuola di San Rocco, Venice (http://www.wga.hu/html/t/tintoret/3b/1albergo/2/4cruci.html; accessed 6.30.10).

130. Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Crucifixion*, detail, ca. 1564-67, oil on canvas, Scuola di San Rocco, Venice (http://www.wga.hu/html/t/tintoret/3b/1albergo/2/4cruci.html; accessed 6.30.10).

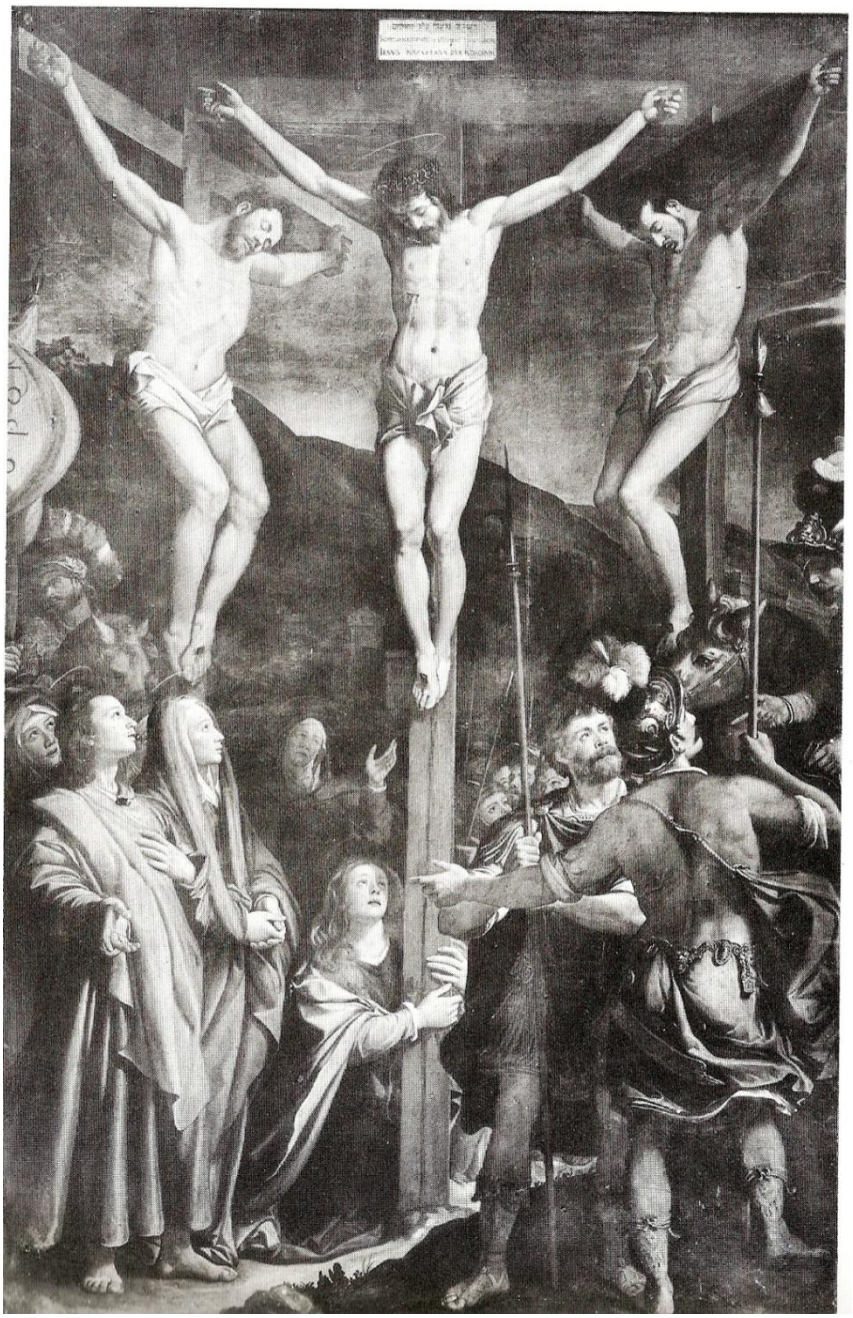


131. Agostino Carracci, *The Crucifixion*, after Jacopo Tintoretto, 1589, engraving, Museo Biblioteca-Archivo, Bassano (Chiari Moretto Wiel, 23 fig. 3).

132. Pietro Francavilla, *The Crucifixion,*1587-92, bronze, Altar of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze...," fig. 5).

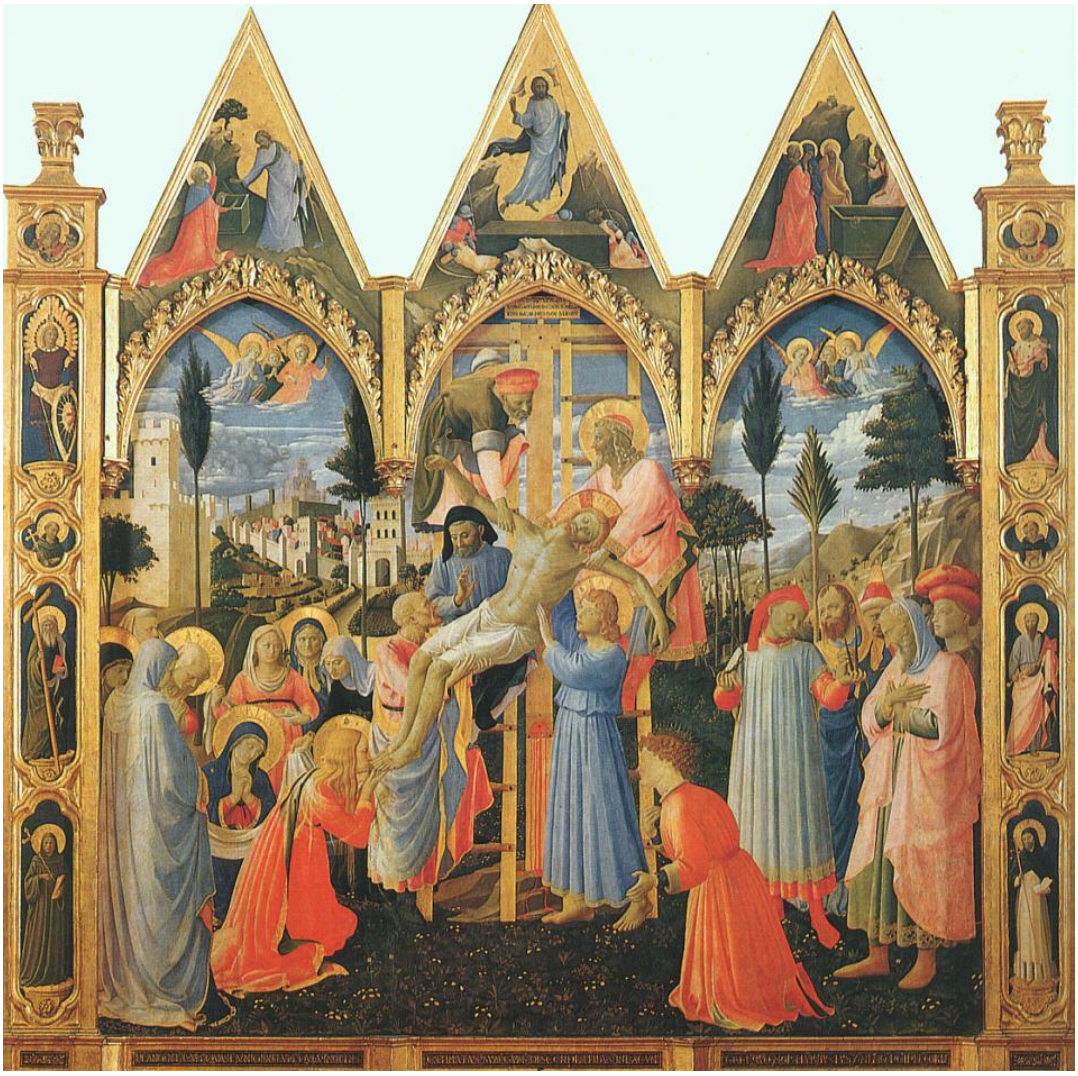


133. Giovanni Stradano, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1570, oil on canvas, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (Hall, fig. 44).



134. Santi di Tito, *Crucifixion*, 1588, oil on canvas, Santa Croce, Florence (Hall, fig. 109).

135. Pietro Francavilla, *The Deposition,*1587-92, bronze, Altar of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze...," fig. 7).



136. Fra Angelico, *Deposition*, 1437-40, tempera on panel, Museo di San Marco, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/a/angelico/08/1trinita.html; accessed 6.30.10).

137. Filippino Lippi, *Deposition*, 1506, oil on panel, Galleria del Accademia, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/html/l/lippi/flippino/2/9deposit.html; accessed 6.30.10).

138. Giovanni Battista Naldini, *Deposition/Lamentation*, oil on panel, ca. 1572, The National Gallery, London (http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/upload/img/Naldini-Lamentation-dead-christ-L1095-fm.jpg; accessed 7.9.10).

139. Bronzino, *Deposition / Lamentation*, ca. 1565, oil on canvas, Galleria dell Accademia, Florence (http:/ /www.museumsinflorence.com/foto/Accademia/big /bronzino.html; accessed 6.30.10).

140. Giambologna, *The Anointing of Christ's Body*, 1587-92, bronze, Altar of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze...," fig. 8).

141. Giambologna, *The Anointing of Christ's Body*, detail, 1587-92, bronze, Altar of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze...," fig. 8).

142. Theophanes the Cretan, *Epitaphios*, 1535-45, mural, Mount Athos, Crete (http://revpatrickcomerford.blogspot.com/2009_06_27_archive.html; accessed 7.13.10).

143. Theodosia Poulopos, *Epitaphios*, 1599, tapestry, Benaki Museum, Greece (http://www.mlahanas.de/Greeks/Medieval/Icons/EpitaphiosTheodosiaPoulopos.html; accessed 7.13.10).

144. Giambologna, *The Entombment*, 1587-92, bronze, Altar of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze...," fig. 9).

145. Giotto, *Entombment*, 1320-25, tempera on panel, Berenson Collection, Settignano, Italy (http://www.wga.hu/index1.html; accessed 7.9.10).

146. Duccio, *Entombment*, back panel from the *Maestà*, 1308-11, tempera on panel, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Italy (http://www.wga.hu/html/d/duccio/buoninse/maesta/verso_3 /verso22.html; accessed 7.9.10).

147. Raffaello Sanzio, *Entombment*, 1507, oil on panel, Galleria Borghese, Rome (http://www.wga.hu/html/r/raphael/3umbtrip/37entom.html; accessed 7.9.10).

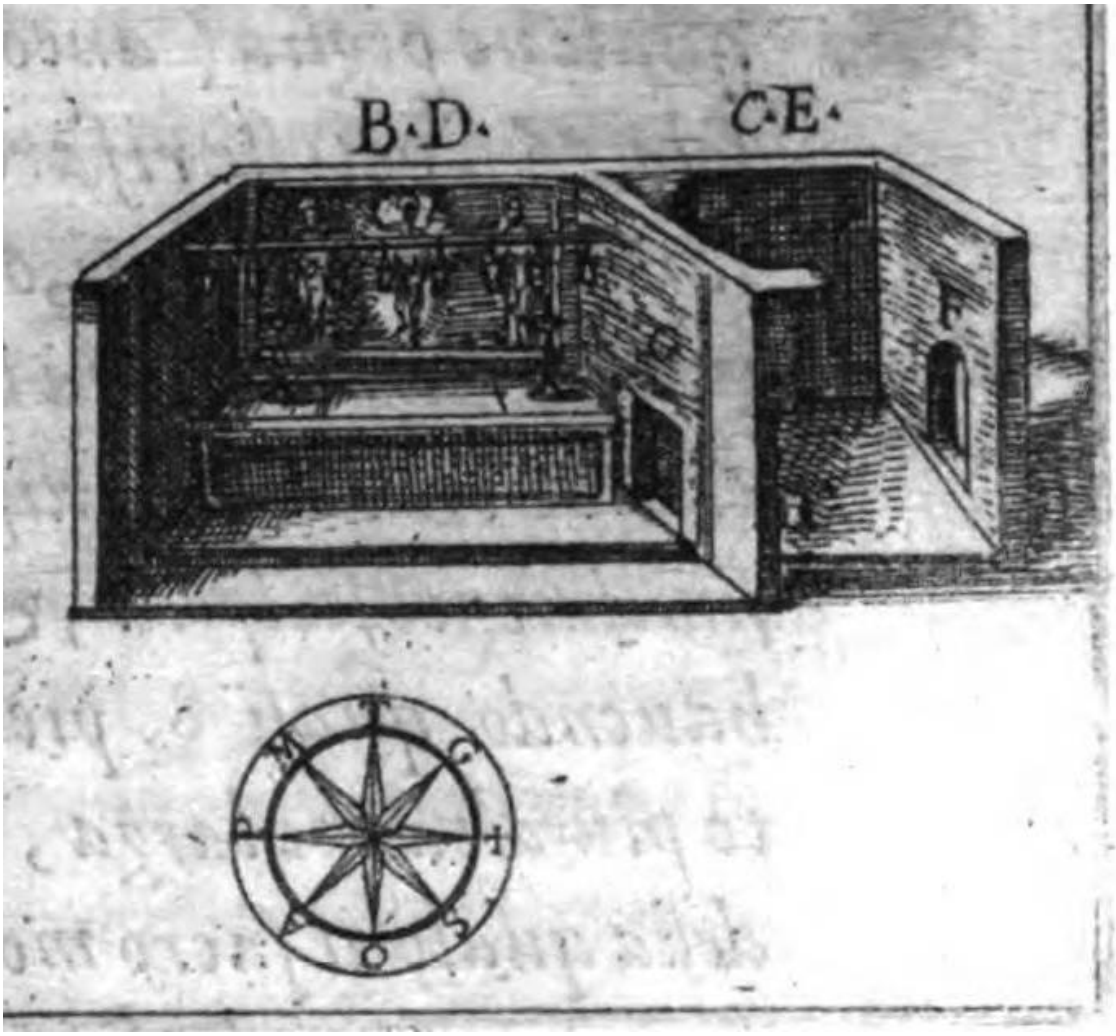
148. Giovanni Battista Naldini, *Entombment*, 1583, oil on canvas, Santa Croce, Florence (Hall, fig. 67).

149. Pietro Francavilla, *The Resurrection*, 1587-92, bronze, Altar of the Crucifixion, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (Ronen, "Portigiani's Bronze...," fig. 11).

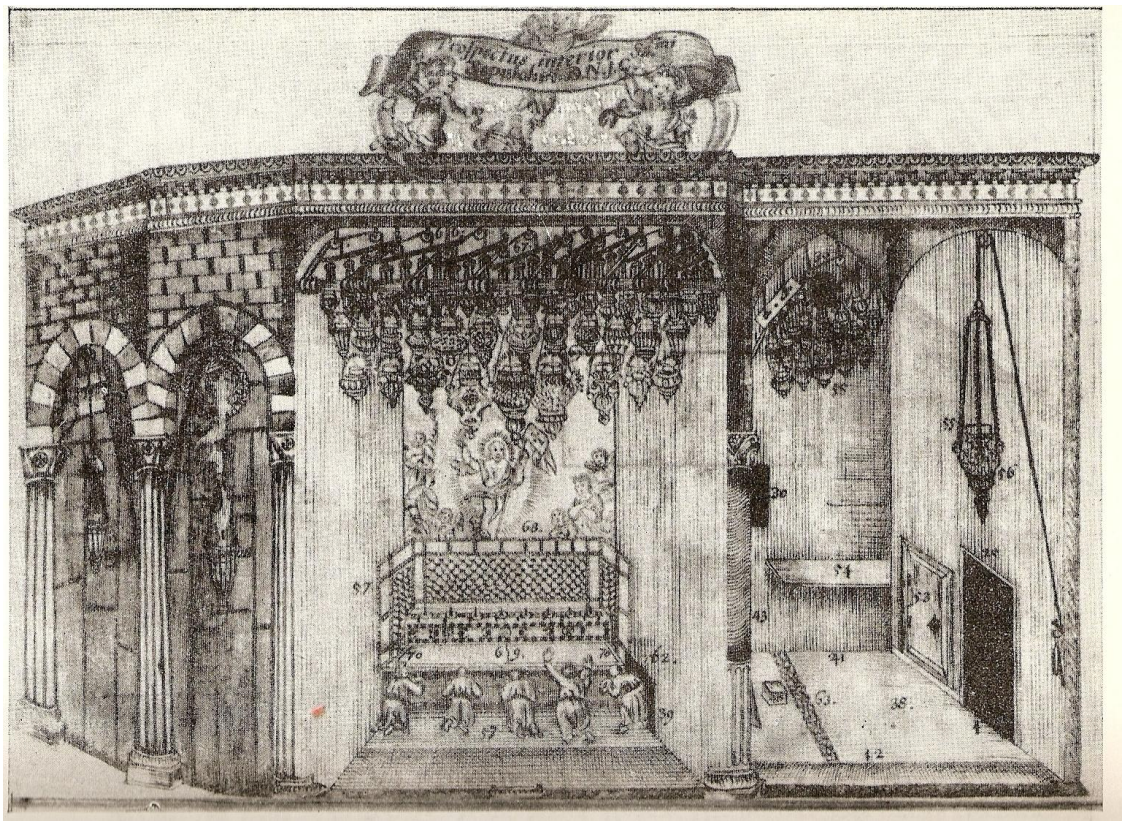
150. Agnolo Bronzino, *Resurrection*, 1552, oil on panel, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (http://www.learn.columbia.edu/italian/pages/Bronzino_1.html; accessed 6.30.10).

151. Santi di Tito, *Resurrection*, 1574, oil on panel, Santa Croce, Florence (http://www.lisavenerosipesciolini.it/images/tavole_8.jpg; accessed 7.2.10).

152. Tomb of Christ, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem http://www.sacred-destinations.com/israel/jerusalem-holy-sepulchre-pictures/slides/church-of-holy-sepulcher-interior-c-sacredsites.htm; accessed 6.29.10).

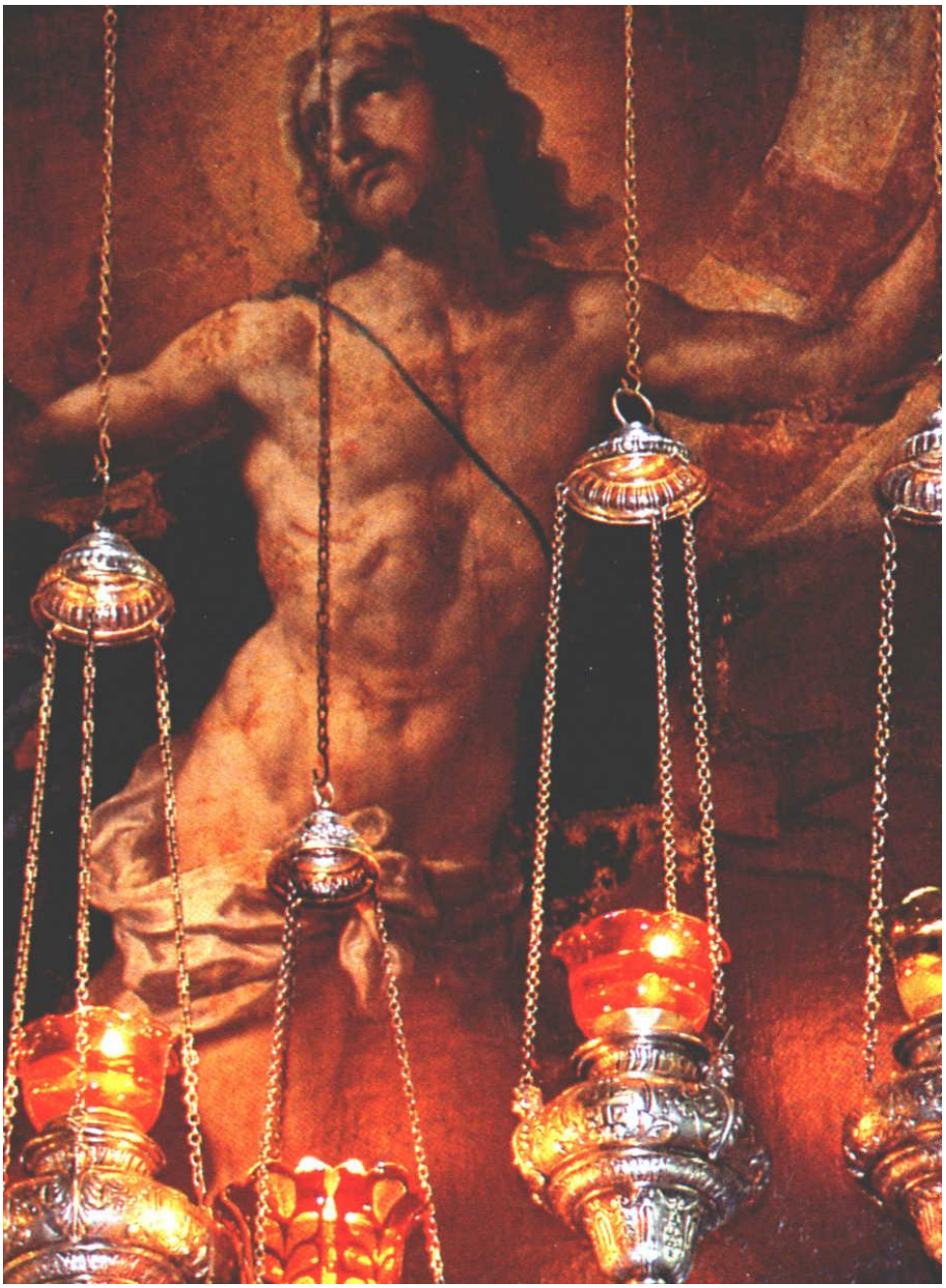


153. Giovanni Zuallardo, *Interior of the Aedicule with Christ's tomb illustrated on the left (B-D)*, detail, 1586 engraving (Zuallardo, 207).



154. Fra Elzear Horn, *A section of the building over the tomb of Our Lord, illustrating the two inner rooms*, 1724-1744, engraving (Horn, Plate IV).

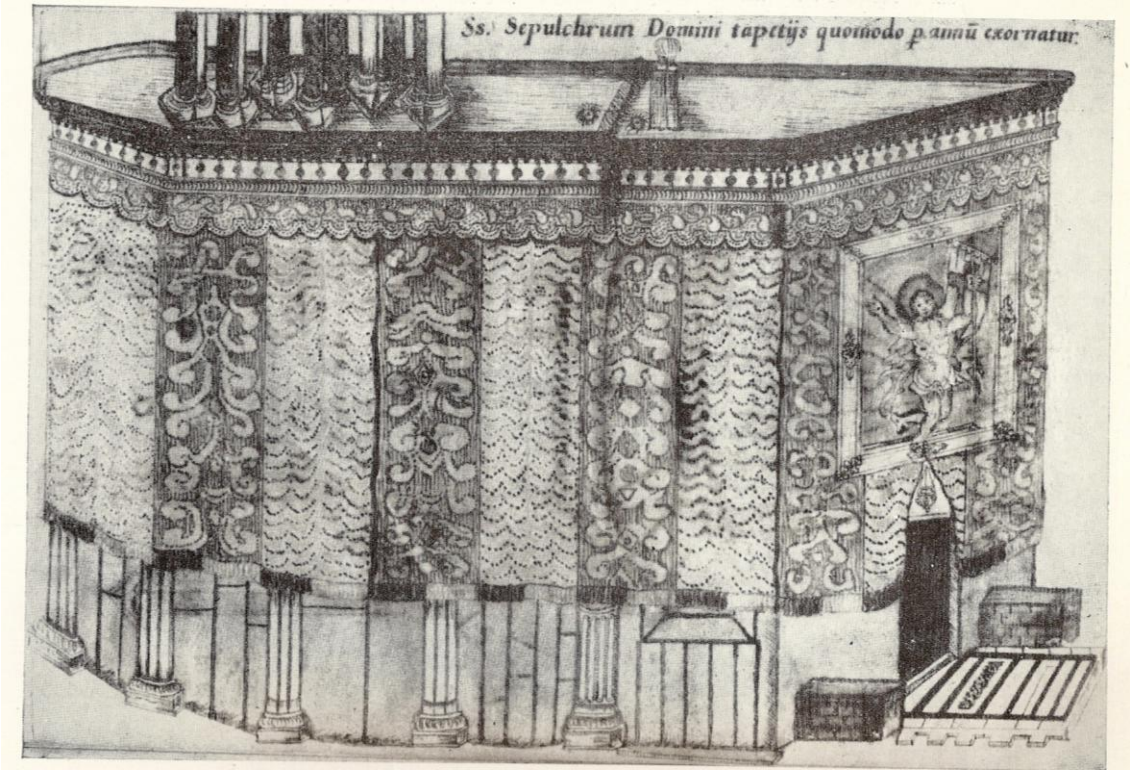
155. Aedicule, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem
(http://www.holysepulchre.com/image/edicule.jpg; accessed 7.7.10).



156. Painting over entrance into the Aedicule, detail, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem (http://www.holysepulchre.com/image/edicule.jpg; accessed 7.7.10).

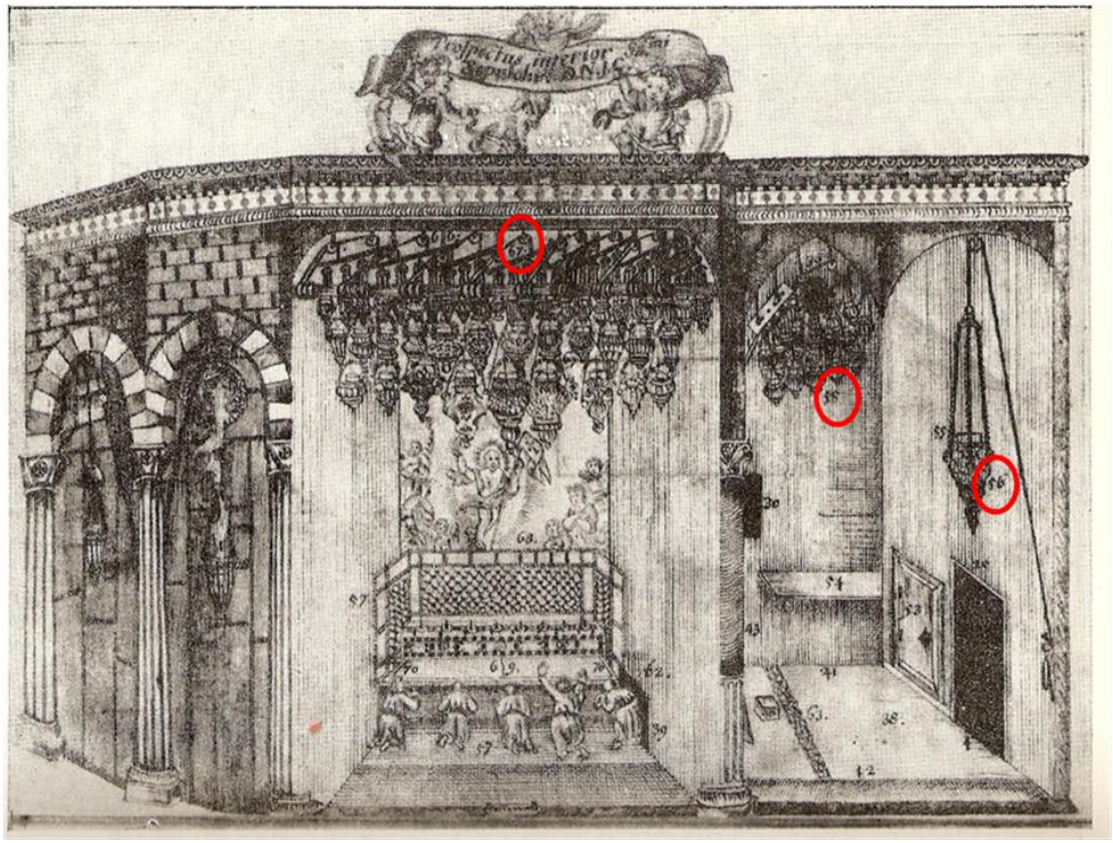
157. Tuscan, early to mid- sixteenth-century frame, (Newberry, fig. 72).

158. Ludovico Cardi (Il Cigoli), *Resurrection,* 1590, oil on panel, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (*The Medici, Michelangelo*...cat. 20).

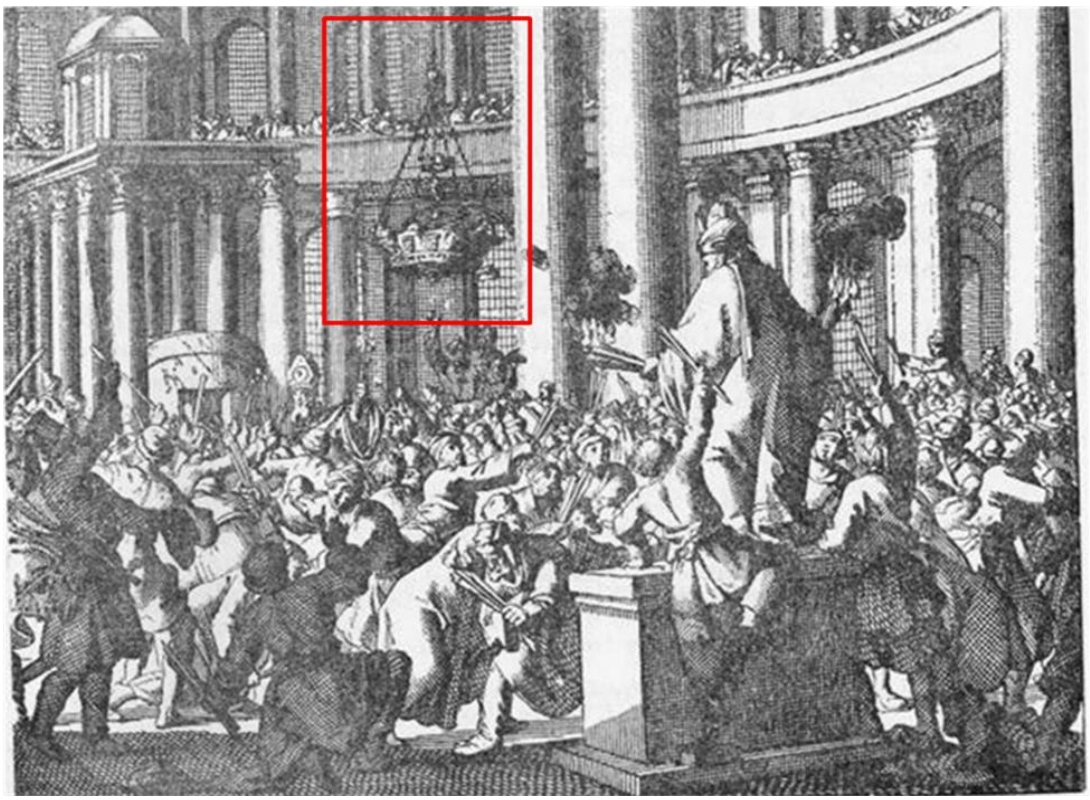


159. Fra Elzear Horn, *The building over the tomb of Our Lord seen from the east and south; with ornaments*, 1724-1744, engraving (Horn, Plate III).

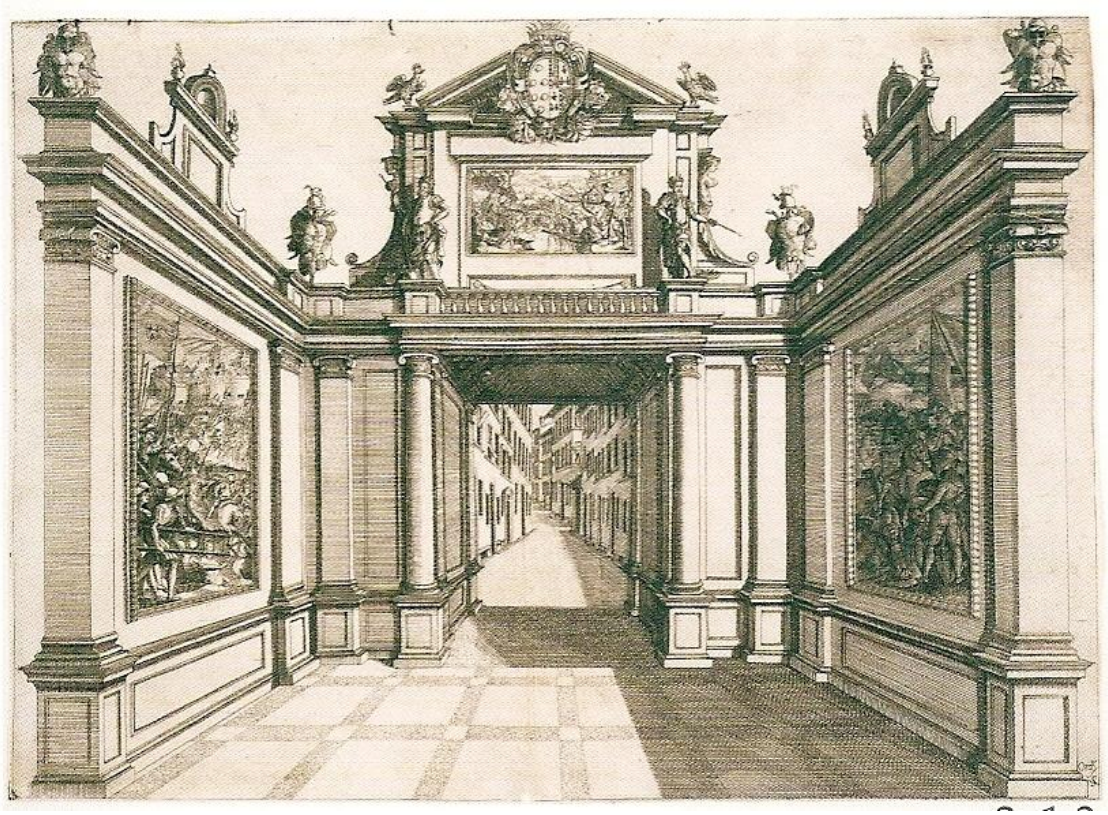
160. Fra Elzear Horn, *The building over the tomb of Our Lord seen from the east and south; with ornaments*, detail, 1724-1744, engraving (Horn, Plate III).



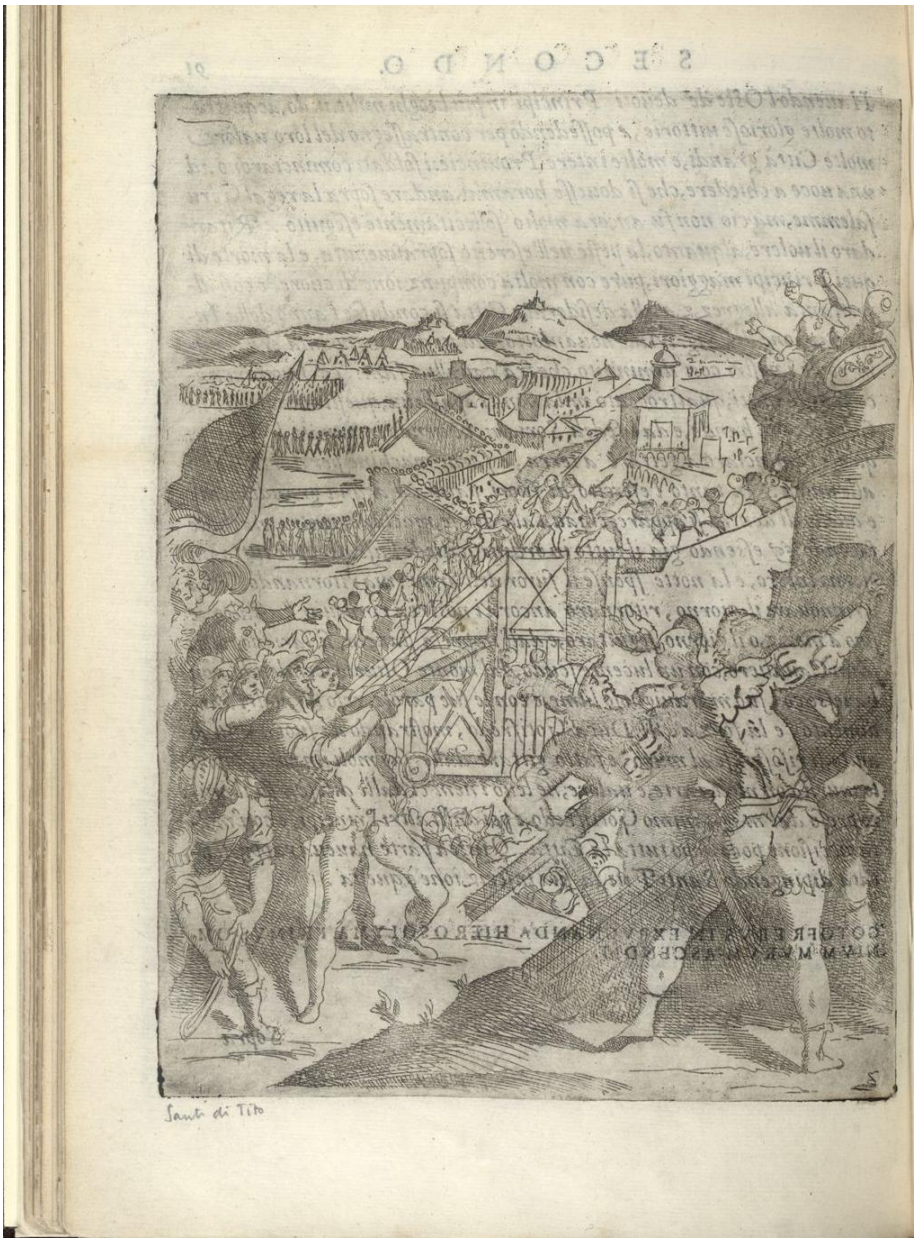
161. Fra Elzear Horn, *A section of the building over the tomb of Our Lord, illustrating the two inner rooms*, 1724-1744, engraving (Horn, Plate IV).



162. Jean de Thévenot, *Interior of the Rotunda during the ceremony of the Holy Fire*, 1658, engraving (Amico, fig. 6).



163. Orazio Scarabelli, *Canto dei Carnesecchi entry arch*, 1589, engraving, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Saslow, 192 no. 3).



164. Santi di Tito, *The Taking of Jerusalem*, 1589, engraving (Gualterotti, *Della descrizione del regale apparato...*; http://special-1.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/pageview.aspx?strFest=0204&strPage=1; accessed 6.29.10).

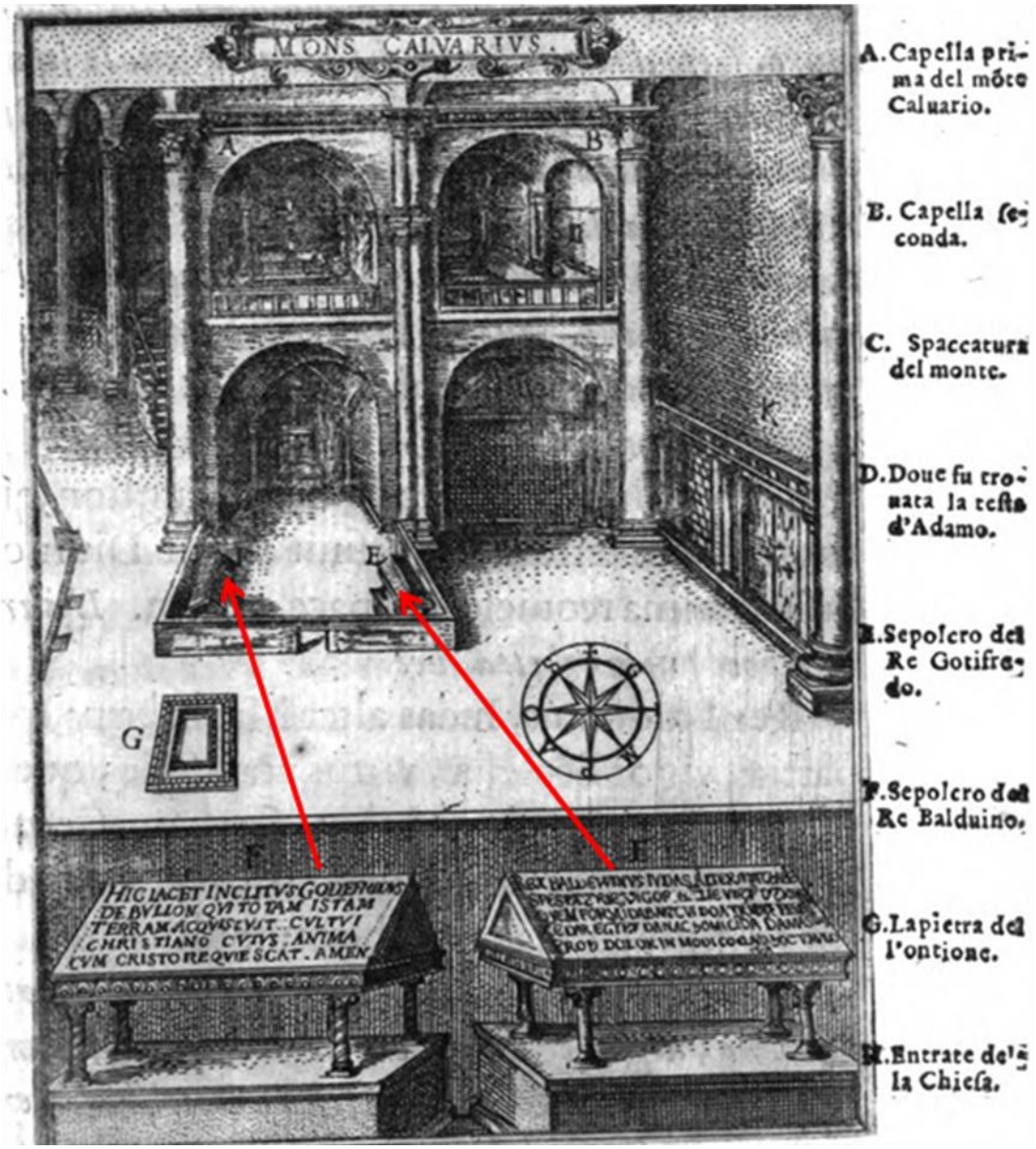
165. Giambologna, *Ferdinando I de'Medici Equestrian Monument*, 1602-1608, bronze, Piazza Santissima Annunziata, Florence (http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/ce/FerdinandodeMedici.jpg; accessed 7.2.10).

166. Giambologna, *Ferdinando I de'Medici Equestrian Monument*, detail, 1602-1608, bronze, Piazza Santissima Annunziata, Florence (http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/ce/FerdinandodeMedici.jpg; accessed 7.2.10).

167. Giambologna, *Ferdinando I de'Medici Equestrian Monument*, detail, 1602-1608, bronze, Piazza Santissima Annunziata, Florence (http://romeartlover.tripod.com /Piazza.htm; accessed 8.20.2009).

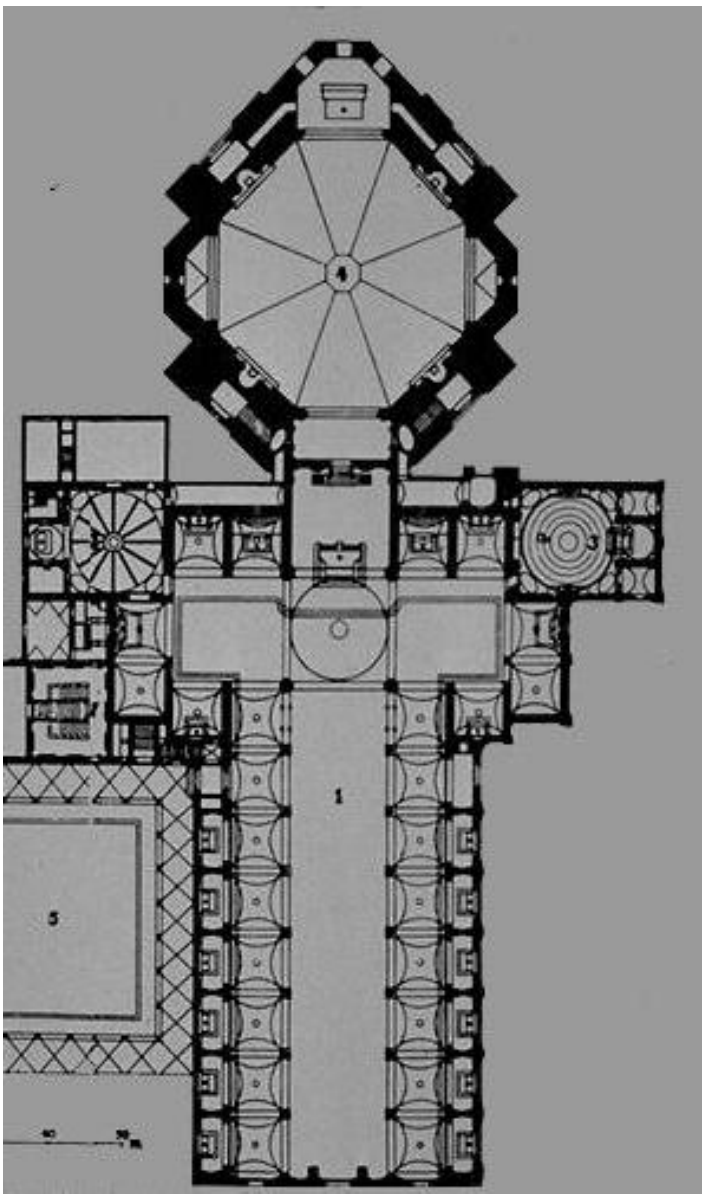
19a

168. Bernardino Poccetti, *Le conquiste di Prevèsa e di Bona e altri episodi storici dell'epoca di Ferdinando I,* 1608-09, fresco, Sala di Bona, Palazzo Pitti, Florence (*L'arme e gli amori*, 136 cat. 19).

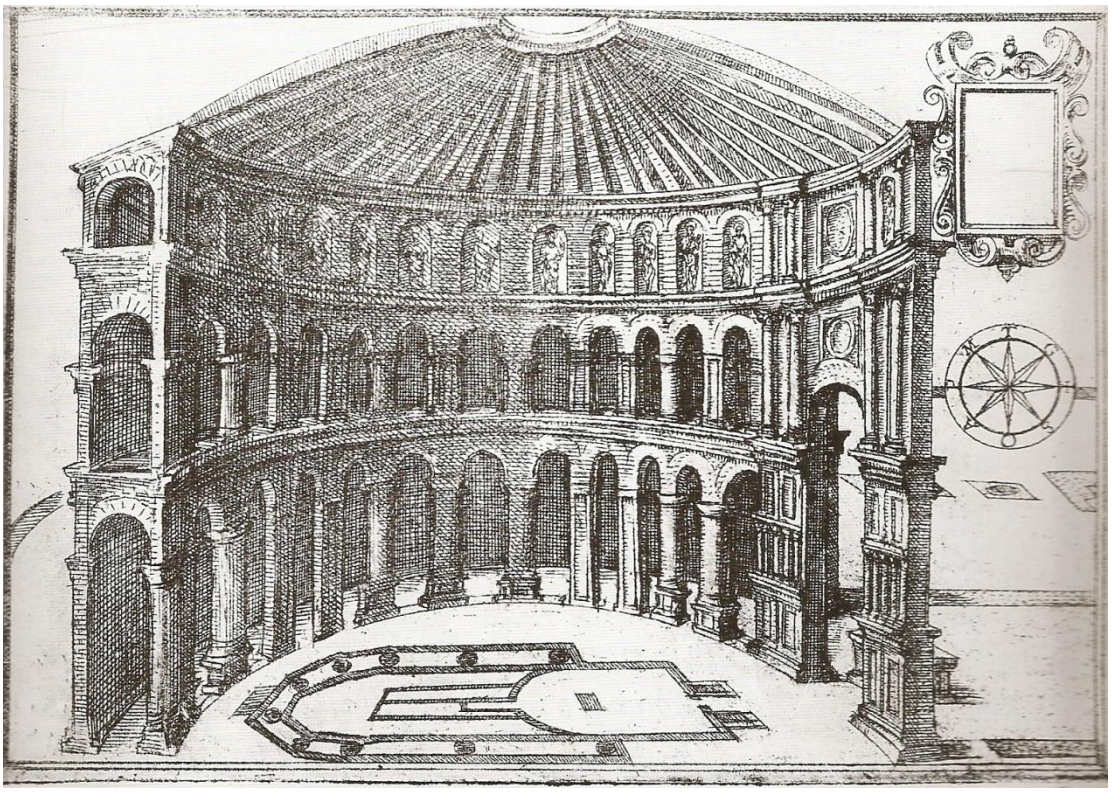


169. Giovanni Zuallardo, *Mount Calvary*, 1586, engraving (Zuallardo, 203).

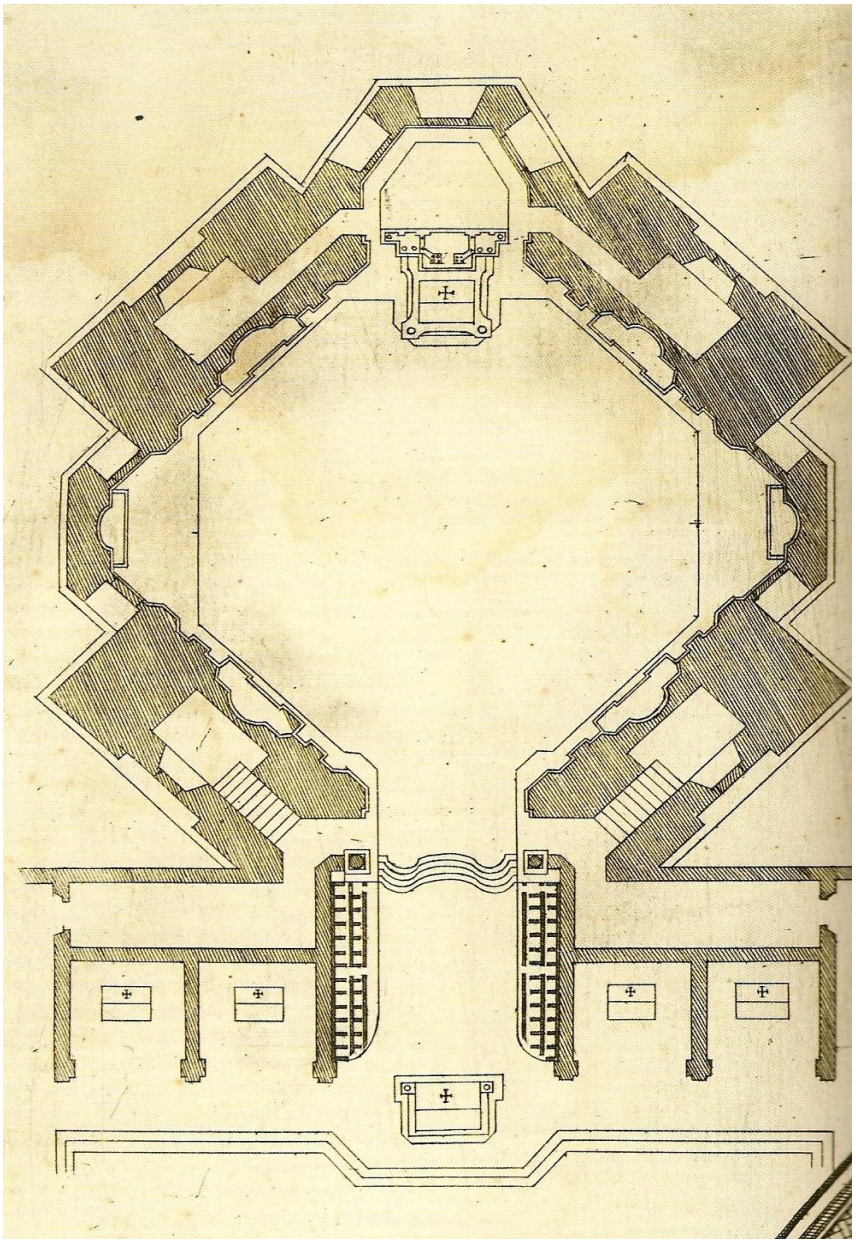
170. Matteo Nigetti and Don Giovanni de'Medici, *Cappella dei Principi*, interior (http://darcs.augustsson.net/vacation/florence/chapel_of_the_princes.jpg; accessed 7.14.10).



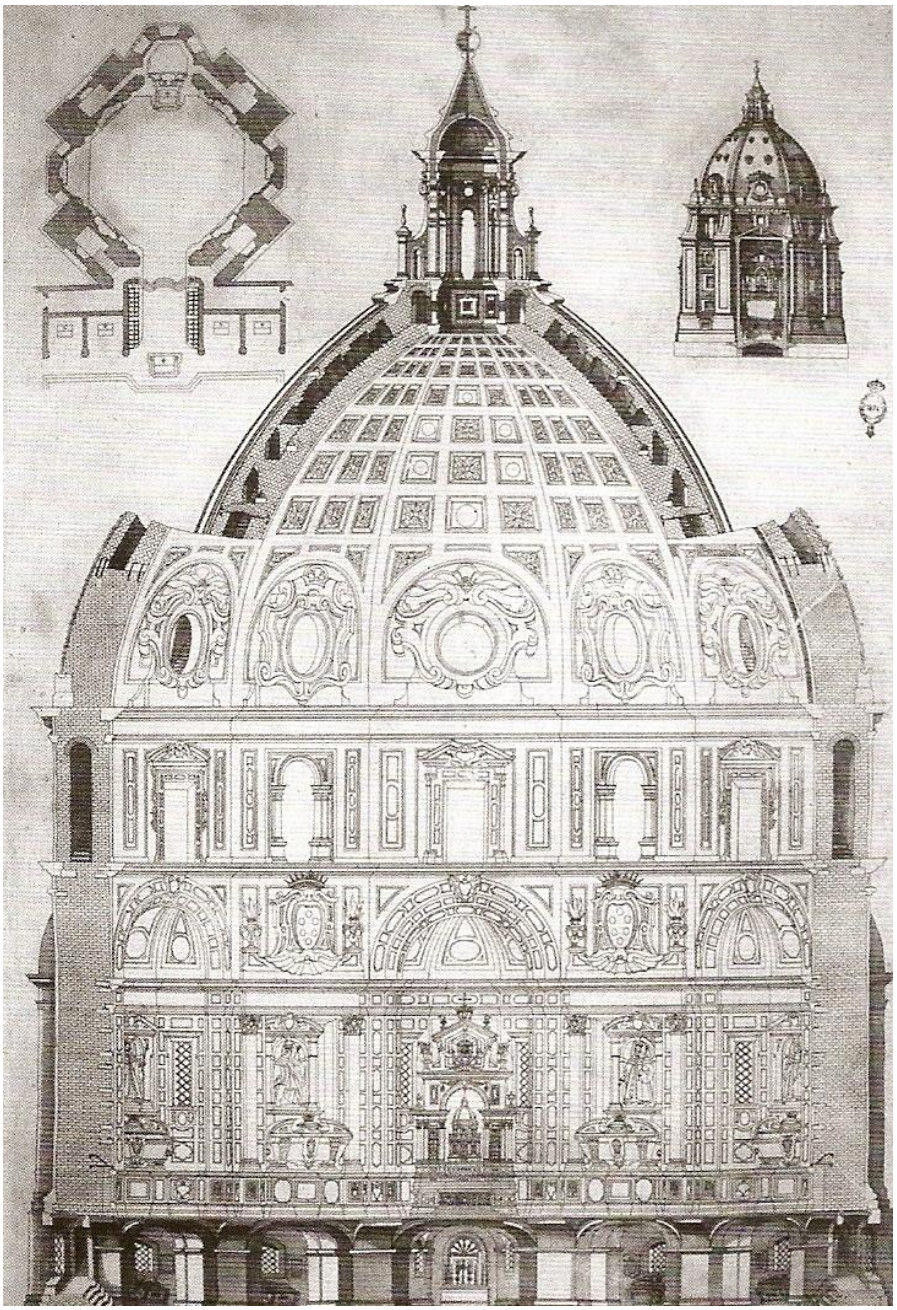
171. Plan, San Lorenzo, Florence (http://www.ciids.org/arthistory/mainmenu.cfm ?mediano=47121&cc=39&sc=627; accessed 7.14.10).



172. Giovanni Zuallardo, *Spaccato prospettico della rotunda dell'Anastasis a Gerusalemme, con la pianta della tomba di Cristo*, 1587, engraving (Rossi, fig. 5).



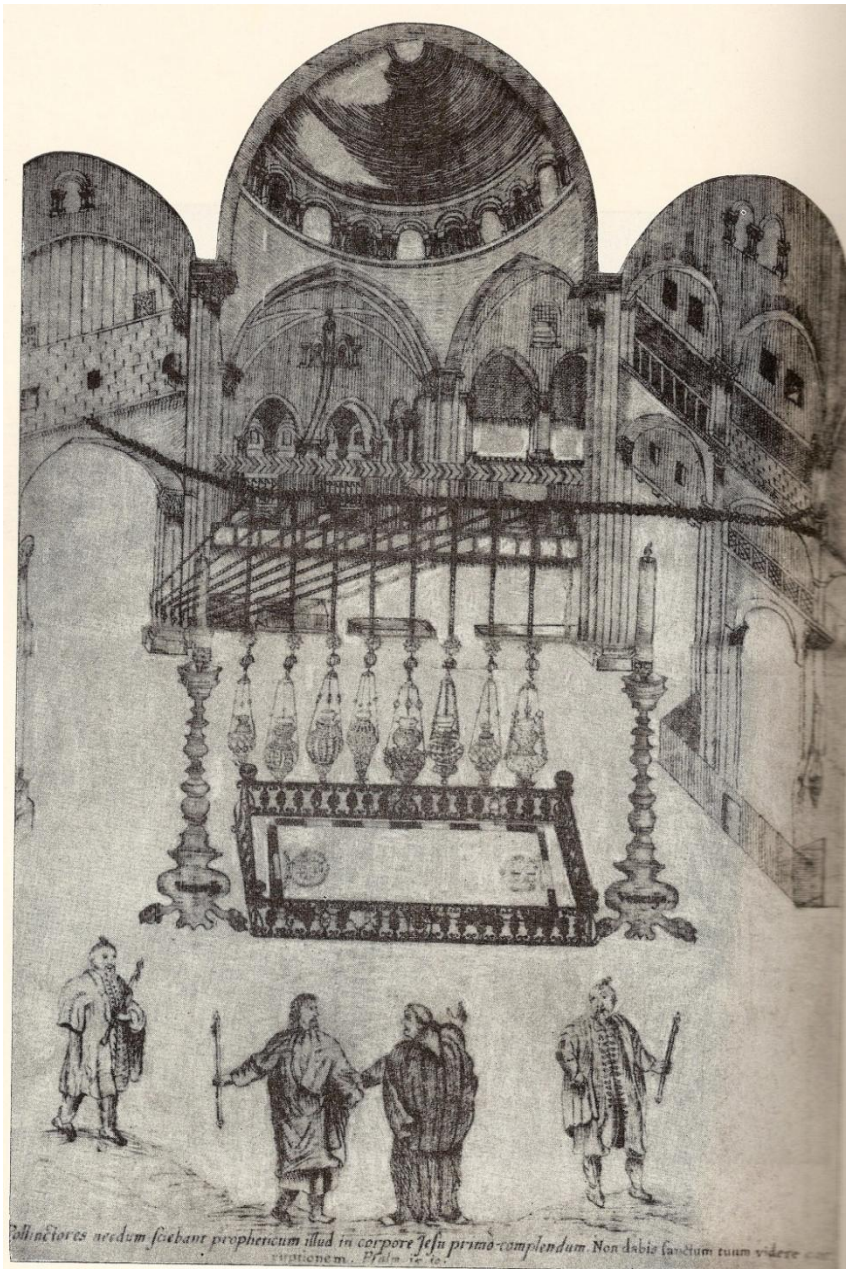
173. Don Giovanni de'Medici, Bernardo Buontalenti, Matteo Nigetti, *Cappella dei Principi*, plan, 1604, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze (*Ferdinando I de'Medici 1549-1609 Maiestate Tantum*, 128 fig. 5).



174. Matteo Nigetti and Don Giovanni de'Medici, *Cappella dei Principi,* plan, section, and elevation, 1604, engraving (Rossi, fig. 4).

175. Brunelleschi, *Old Sacristy*, ca. 1440-59, San Lorenzo, Florence (http://www.ciids.org/arthistory/mainmenu.cfm?mediano=47123&cc=39&sc=627; accessed 7.14.10).

176. Michelangelo, *New Sacristy*, 1520-34, San Lorenzo, Florence (http://www.ciids.org/arthistory/mainmenu.cfm?mediano=46369&cc=39&sc=6507; accessed 7.l4.10).



177. Fra Elzear Horn, *The stone of the anointing of Our Lord; to its right is Calvary; in front of it is the cupola of the Greek choir*, 1724-1744, engraving (Horn, Plate XII).