VIRGINIA L. BUSH

IV

BANDINELLI'S *HERCULES AND CACUS* AND FLORENTINE TRADITIONS

THE CHORUS of negative criticism that greeted the unveiling in 1534 of Baccio Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* opposite Michelangelo's *David* in front of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (Fig. 30), grew through the centuries into a heated aesthetic and political confrontation.[1] The young David was a favorite Florentine personification of heroic virtue and civic liberty, who had been represented many times in the Quattrocento. The project that eventually resulted in Michelangelo's statue was begun during the early years of the fifteenth century when the freedom of Florence was threatened by the expansion of Milan. It was revived at the beginning of the sixteenth century under the Republican government, which had expelled the Medici but faced enormous pressures from papal and foreign powers and Medicean interests.[2] Hercules was also a popular Florentine hero, who had been Christianized as an embodiment of physical and moral fortitude.[3] The confrontation of

[1] A summary of the bibliography on this project is found in G. Vasari, *La vita di Michelangelo*, ed. P. Barocchi, Milan-Naples, 1962, III, 1079ff, to which add D. Heikamp's notes to the *Club del Libro* edition of G. Vasari, *Le Vite*, Milan, 1962, VI, 30ff; J. Pope Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 2nd ed., London-New York, 1970, 44-45; 363-364; and M. Weinberger, *Michelangelo the Sculptor*, London-New York, 1967, I, 235ff.

This article was written during a fellowship at the American Academy in Rome and supported in part by a grant from the Rutgers University Research Council. I am grateful to my colleagues at the Academy as well as Kathleen Weil-Garris and Leo Steinberg, for helpful suggestions. The encouragement of Irving Lavin was critical to my research.

[2] For the *David* project see C. Seymour, *Michelangelo's David: A Search for Identity*, Pittsburgh, 1967, and Vasari-Barocchi, II, 190ff. For the history of Florence during the era covered by this study see the bibliography in F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, Princeton, 1973.

[3] L.D. Ettlinger, "Hercules Florentinus," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XVI, 1972, 119-142.

the two colossi in the Piazza della Signoria arose from the fact the second statue was originally commissioned by the Florentine Republic from the beloved Michelangelo but was ultimately completed by the unpopular Bandinelli for Medici rulers.

Benvenuto Cellini, whose devotion to Michelangelo was matched only by his competitive hatred for Bandinelli, regarded the *Hercules and Cacus* as a grotesque perversion of its original potential.[4] He claimed that Hercules' skull is too small to contain a brain, that his features resemble a cross between a lion and an ox, that his pose is ungraceful and unclear, that his shoulders look like the pack saddle of an ass, that his musculature resembles a sack of melons, and so on. Bandinelli's abrasive personality, overt ambition, and almost obsequious service to the Medici provided an apt foil for the idolization of Michelangelo from the sixteenth century to the present. In a recent article W.R. Valentiner expressed this same point of view when he asserted that " the character of the two sculptors was such that their works resulted in a divergent expression of idealistic and demonic forces ", the *David* being " the expression of the noblest spirit of fighting youth, a spirit kindled by supernal aspiration, the *Hercules* that of satanic power, slaying mankind with bestial brutality ".[5] Valentiner's anti-Bandinelli bias was so intense that he reversed the subject matter of the statue. After all, Hercules' conquest of the monstrous Cacus, who surrounded his cave with the bones of his human victims, was anything but a defeat for mankind, and since antiquity Hercules' feats had almost always been regarded as a positive force in the world.[6] The personal and artistic clash between Michelangelo and Bandinelli has also been seen as a political allegory, glamorizing the early Medici and the government of the Republic for whom Michelangelo worked as enlightened and democratic while disparaging the later Medici who employed Bandinelli as corrupt and decadent.[7]

Late nineteenth-century critics, devoted to the academic concepts of idealization,

4 *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, ed. O. Bacci, Florence, 1901, 353ff.

5. W.R. Valentiner, " Bandinelli, Rival of Michelangelo," *Art Quarterly*, XVIII, 1955, 241-263, is based primarily on Cellini and Vasari (*Le Vite*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1881, VI, 148ff), as well as Bandinelli's own account of his life and works (A. Colasanti, " Il Memoriale di Baccio Bandinelli," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXVIII, 1905, 406-443.

6 The most dramatic ancient account of the victory over Cacus is in Virgil's *Aeneid*, VII, 194ff. For further references to and interpretations of the hero see G.K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century*, Oxford, 1972.

7 J.R. Hale, " Three Centuries of Medicean Rule," *Apollo*, CI, 1975, 409, notes several examples of this tendency. See also C. Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, Princeton, 1948, III, 98-100.

harmony and decorum, often saw in the *Hercules and Cacus* the opposite extremes of ugliness and brutishness. Charles Perkins condemned the statue's " vulgarity, pretentiousness, and bad modelling" and John Addington Symonds referred to it as " the wrestling bout of a porter and a coal-heaver." [8] This negative approach to Bandinelli's statue is still in force. Nearly every mention of the work in recent art historical or topographical literature is accompanied by a reference to or recitation of the statue's alleged failings, no matter how gratuitious those remarks might be. Kenneth Clark says that the statue is " certainly the ugliest Hercules in existence," and Franzsepp Würtemberger calls it a " weak, botched work." [9] Even the normally laconic Touring Club of Italy guide to Florence refers to the statue as " poco felice." [10] While some critical judgments of Bandinelli's statue, such as those by John Pope Hennessy or Creighton Gilbert, are undoubtedly due to real evaluations of the work, I suspect that a greater number result from routine repetitions of earlier prejudices.[11]

My suspicion gains confirmation from the fact that the illustration of the *Hercules and Cacus* used in most modern texts is the one available from Alinari (Fig. 1).[12] This photograph has probably done as much harm to the reputation of Bandinelli's statue as all its verbal critics. With all-too-common insensitivity the photograph was taken from an artificially high and close point of view, level with the center of Hercules' body. The statue was not intended to be seen in this way, nor can it be seen thus under ordinary circumstances. My photograph (Fig. 2), taken from a spectator's normal viewing height and distance, reveals that the Alinari photograph makes Hercules' head look too big for his body, his neck too long, and his arms

8 C.C. Perkins, *Tuscan Sculptors*, London, 1864, II, 149; J.A. Symonds, *The Fine Arts* (1877), in *Renaissance in Italy*, New York, 1961, III, 126.

9 K. Clark, *The Nude*, 1956, 211; F. Würtemberger, *Mannerism*, New York, 1963, 172.

10 Touring Club Italiano, *Firenze e dintorni*, Milan, 1974, 104.

11 Pope Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, 45, and C. Gilbert, *History of Renaissance Art Throughout Europe*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972, 205-206, stress the statue's structural and geometric character but maintain negative judgments upon it. G. Bazin, *The History of World Sculpture*, Greenwich Conn., 1968, 361, follows Pope Hennessy's analysis, as does C. Avery, *Florentine Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1970, 189-199, who also permits himself some satisfying tirades against " the fiasco of the Hercules and Cacus."

12 Besides Pope Hennessy, Gilbert, Avery, Würtemberger, and Weinberger, the Alinari photograph (No. 31024A) appears in E.H. Gombrich, " The Leaven of Criticism in Renaissance Art," in *The Heritage of Apelles*, Oxford, 1976, fig. 232; H. Keutner, *Sculpture, Renaissance to Rococo*, London, 1969, fig. ix; P. and L. Murray, *Dictionary of Art and Artists*, London, 1965, pl. 160; *The Thames and Hudson Encyclopaedia of the Arts*, ed. H. Read, London, 1966, I, 61; K. Weil-Garris, *Leonardo and Central Italian Art 1515-1550*, New York, 1974, fig. 51; and L.O. Larsson, *Von allen Seiten gleich schön*, Stockholm, 1974, fig. 140.

and torso too narrow and flat. Other published and commercially available photographs of the work are not much better.[13] Although no photograph can be completely successful in presenting a statue because a camera does not work like human vision, Figure 2 does more closely approach a satisfactory depiction of Bandinelli's work than do previous illustrations.

More important, this review and analysis of the whole project for the statue, which strives to be aesthetically unbiased and politically neutral, demonstrates that even if Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* is ugly, it is not inept. The statue does embody an aesthetic and political confrontation with Michelangelo's *David*, but Bandinelli's handling of artistic and iconological traditions is both more positive and more successful than many critics would admit. Such willingness to judge works of art on their own terms and according to their creators' intentions is, of course, aesthetic relativism. While admitting the possible value of this approach, Ernst Gombrich still condemns the *Hercules and Cacus* because, in aiming to surpass Michelangelo, Bandinelli failed to preserve the Renaissance tradition of accurate and plausible human anatomy, and thus was not playing the game.[14] This claim assumes that Michelangelo's designs were always accurate and plausible, which is far from the the truth, and that Michelangelo's was the only game in town.

Bandinelli did attempt to surpass Michelangelo and often imitated both his works and his life, but in Renaissance Florence there were other games and other traditions. After early training with his goldsmith father,[15] Baccio was apprenticed to

13 The Brogi photograph (No. 3088) was taken from only slightly lower and further away and includes a wired on figleaf and an unfortunate juxtaposition between Cacus' left shoulder and the statue of Orcagna behind it on the Uffizi Corridor; these two areas of the photograph were purposely blurred in the reproduction in A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1936, X, 2, fig. 170. In the Alinari side view (No. 31024; *ibid.*, fig. 169) the statue is strangely pinched between the wings of the Corridor, which is probably why the background of the image is blacked out in A. Lensi, *Palazzo Vecchio*, Milan-Rome, 1929, 122. Valentiner, "Bandinelli," fig. 4 is an even more peculiar side view, which may be a montage. The Anderson front view (No. 40460), which has a relatively minor distortion from a raised camera level, has not to my knowledge been reproduced in literature. The only photographs I have found taken from a normal viewing position are Bazin, *World Sculpture*, No. 807, a postcard published by Innocenti Editori in Florence (No. 278), and Brogi's view of both colossi (No. 21167; my Fig. 30).

14 Gombrich, "The Leaven of Criticism," 122-123.

15 Important studies of Bandinelli's stylistic sources and development include U. Middeldorf, "A Bandinelli Relief," *Burlington Magazine*, LVII, 1930, 65-72, and "A Group of Drawings by Baccio Bandinelli," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXIV, 1937, 291-304; D. Heikamp, "Baccio Bandinelli nel Duomo di Firenze," *Paragone*, XV, No. 175, 1964, 32-42, and "In margine alla 'Vita di Baccio Bandinelli' del Vasari, *Paragone*, XVII, No. 191, 1966, 51-62; M.G. Ciardi Dupré, "Per la cronologia dei disegni di Baccio Bandinelli fino al 1540," *Commentarii*, XVII, 1966, 146-170, and "Alcuni aspetti della attività grafica del Bandinelli," *Antichità viva*, V, No. 1, 1966, 22-31; and Weil-Garris, *Leonardo*, 38-41.

Giovanni Francesco Rustici, a close associate of Leonardo da Vinci, whose work remained an inspiration and resource for Bandinelli throughout his career. He also used the example of Raphael's work and the methodology of his shop, although these elements are less evident in the subject under discussion.[16] Beyond these contemporary sources, there was the vast storehouse of antique art, as well as the protean creation of Donatello. All of these alternatives Bandinelli combined into a complex and subtle game, which he may even be said to have won, according to his own political and aesthetic rules.

★★★

In January 1504 a number of officials and artists met in Florence to debate the placement of Michelangelo's nearly completed *David.*[17] The ultimate decision, which is not recorded in the minutes, to place the colossus on the *ringhiera* at the left of the entrance to the Palazzo della Signoria (now Palazzo Vecchio) almost certainly presupposed the initiation of a project to set a comparable statue on the other side of the portal to complete the symmetry [18] and complement the symbolism of the *David.* While single, freestanding statues set in prominent positions were not unknown in Renaissance Italy, they were ordinarily placed as central accents in courtyards or on fountains in gardens. Donatello's *Judith*, which had occupied the site by the portal from 1495 until replaced by the *David*, is a notable exception, but is much smaller than the *David* and created a less emphatic asymmetry. In most of the sites proposed at the *practica* of 1504 — the Cortile or Salone of the Palazzo, or one of the arches of the Loggia dei Lanzi — Michelangelo's statue would have been either centralized within or framed by the surrounding architecture. Cosimo Roselli proposed setting the *David* on the right corner of the steps of the Duomo, and Botticelli immediately added that a *Judith* should be made

16 This and other aspects of Bandinelli's development are discussed by Weil-Garris in "Bandinelli and Michelangelo: A Matter of Temperaments," a lecture first given at the Frick Collection in 1973. Further material will be included in her monograph on the sculptor.

17 C. Neumann, "Die Wahl des Platzes für Michelangelos David in Florenz im Jahr 1504," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenshaft*, XXXVIII, 1916, 1-27; Seymour, *Michelangelo's David*, 57 ff; S. Levine, "The Location of Michelangelo's David," *Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1974, 31-49; N.R. Parks, "The Placement of Michelangelo's *David*," *Art Bulletin*, LVII, 1975, 560-570.

18 M. Marangoni, "A proposito della recollazione del David," *Rivista d'arte*, VII, 1910, 45, notes that the asymmetry was somewhat mitigated by the *ringhiera*, which was removed in 1809. The *David* was moved to the Accademia in 1873 and replaced by a marble copy.

for the other side.[19] Although no such corresponding statue is mentioned in relation to the placement on the steps of the Palazzo, a balanced enframement of that entrance would have seemed equally natural. A pair of statues flanking the portal would have satisfied the Renaissance taste for balanced forms and also would have continued the traditions of paired portal guardians that had existed since early antiquity and had recently been embodied in Paolo Romano's statues of Peter and Paul for the steps of St. Peter's.[20]

David was not as consistently paired with a complementary figure as were Peter and Paul but he did have accepted symbolic counterparts. Perhaps before and certainly after the expulsion of the Medici in 1495 Donatello's bronze *David* had been linked with his *Judith* as images of moral and civic virtue [21] — a combination that probably prompted Botticelli's proposal. Another counterpart of David was Hercules, the biblical hero representing moral fortitude and defense against external enemies and the pagan hero representing physical strength and vigilance against internal enemies.[22] It is easy to see how the virtuous young David's conquest of the giant champion of the Philistine army became identified with the resistance of Florence against larger and more powerful enemies. The identification of Hercules with Florence rests upon the allegorization of the hero that began in late antiquity.[23] For Fulgentius the adversaries of Hercules represented the vices: Antaeus was lust, Cacus evil incarnate, and so on. During the Middle Ages spiritual and intellectual qualities were added to Hercules' strength and morality. In Renaissance Florence Hercules became an *exemplum virtutis*, a model for the active and wise life that benefits mankind. His conquests over tyrants and monsters were seen as the reestablishment of civic order that would bring justice and liberty to the populace. This is the meaning of the image of Hercules on a thirteenth-century seal of the city, the reverse of which was inscribed " The club of Hercules subdues the depravity of Florence." [24] A similar meaning invests other Florentine images of Hercules up to and including Bandinelli's statue in the Piazza della Signoria.

19 Seymour, *Michelangelo's David*, 144-147.

20 A. Riccoboni, *Roma nell'arte*, Rome, 1942, 14; A. Bertolotti " Urkundliche Beiträge zur Biographie des Bildhauers Paolo di Mariano," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, IV, 1881, 430 ff. The statues were made during the reign of Paul II (1458-1464); they remained on view there until removed to the Sacristy during the nineteenth century.

21 H.W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1963, 83 and 203, and " La signification politique du David en bronze du Donatello," *Revue de l'art*. No. 39, 1978; 33-38.

22 Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, III, 98.

23 Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, 190 ff; Ettlinger, " Hercules Florentinus," 120 ff.

24 *Ibid.*, 120 ff.

There is considerable, albeit circumstantial, evidence that the second colossus for the Piazza was intended to be a Hercules from its inception. It is reasonable to suppose as well that Michelangelo was originally to make the statue, even though he was called to Rome in 1505 to work for Pope Julius II, and even though what seems to be the earliest extant design for the project is by Leonardo da Vinci. Whether or not Leonardo had been considered for the *David* commission as Vasari claims,[25] his drawings do reveal an interest in Michelangelo's completed statue and suggest that he also gave some thought to the composition of the pendant figure. In a drawing of Neptune based on the *David*[26] (Fig. 3) and dated about 1504, Leonardo seems to be criticizing — as Bandinelli did later — Michelangelo's statue as too thin and too static, adding a heavier musculature, more pronounced turns of the head and left arm, and enlivening figures of seahorses at the feet. A similar bulking out and enlivening characterizes Leonardo's drawing of Hercules and the Nemean Lion (Fig. 5), which Pedretti dates about 1504 and regards as "suitable for translation into a statue as a fitting counterpart to Michelangelo's *David*."[27] If the project for the second colossus had already been initiated in 1504, as I believe, Pedretti's suggestion becomes more compelling. The fact that the Hercules is seen from the back and the lion from the front gives it a particularly sculptural feeling. The shift of the left arm back towards the core of the body might also be a sign that Leonardo was thinking in terms of a marble statue.

Documented evidence for the project for the second colossus and its intended authorship by Michelangelo is found by August 21, 1507, when Pietro Soderini, *gonfaloniere* for life of the Florentine Republic, wrote the Marchese of Massa that Michelangelo would soon come to inspect a block of marble found for him at Carrara.[28] Considering the scarcity of enormous blocks of statuary marble — it

25 Vasari's claim (Vasari-Milanesi, VII, 153; Vasari-Barocchi, I, 19) has been discounted because he attributes the deed to Pietro Soderini, who did not become *gonfaloniere a vita* until 1502, and because Leonardo did not return to Florence until after the date of Michelangelo's commission (Seymour, *Michelangelo's David*, 22 ff; K. Clark and C. Pedretti, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, London, 1968, No. 12591). However, through his colossal model for the Sforza Monument in Milan, Leonardo was the only living artist known to have worked on the scale of the nine-*braccia* block that became the *David*.

26 E. Solmi, "Il 'David' di Leonardo e il 'David' di Michelangelo," *Rassenga d'arte*, XII, 1912, 128-132; C. Pedretti, "L'Ercole di Leonardo," *L'Arte*, LVII, 1958, 163-172; Clark and Pedretti, *Drawings of Leonardo*, No. 12591.

27 C. Pedretti, *Leonardo*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1973, 80. See also his *Disegni di Leonardo da Vinci e della sua scuola alla Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, Florence, 1975, No. 8; A. Bertini, *I Disegni italiani della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, Rome, 1958, No, 479; and Clark and Pedretti, *Drawings of Leonardo*, No. 19043.

28 C. Frediano, *Ragionamento storico su le diverse*

is fifty years before another block of comparable size is recorded [29] — the initial request for the marble could easily have occurred three or four years earlier, at the time the site for the *David* was selected. On May 10, 1508, Soderini asked the Marchese to continue to reserve the marble, which he says specifically is for a statue for the piazza in Florence, and on December 16 of the same year he insisted that no one but Michelangelo himself take charge of roughing out the block for fear of someone who did not know the artist's idea ruining the marble.[30]

Soderini's words imply that Michelangelo already had a design in mind for his statue by the end of 1508. Tolnay asserts that he was thinking of a *Hercules and Antaeus*, which is reflected in the man carrying his dead son in the *Deluge* on the Sistine Ceiling.[31] A pen sketch in the Casa Buonarroti (Fig. 6) representing a figure with raised arm standing over a crouched victim has also been dated about this time and identified as a *Hercules and Cacus*.[32] As it turned out, Michelangelo was unable to obtain leave from Julius II to pursue the project, and the marble remained in Carrara until 1525,[33] by which time the political situation in Florence had changed greatly, and the significance of the colossus project within that situation had grown more complex.

In 1512 Soderini and the Republican government had been expelled and Florence returned to the control of the Medici. In 1515 Pope Leo X Medici reaffirmed this control by making a triumphal entry into the city, amidst elaborate decorations.[34] Arches ornamented with paintings, tapestries and sculpture, a temporary facade for the Duomo, and several colossal statues stressed the role of the Medici dynasty in Florentine history. Like so much Medici patronage the decor insinuated that the essential identity and interests of the Medici rulers matched

gite fatte a Carrara da Michelangelo Buonarroti, Massa, 1837, 67 ff.

29 The next block of colossal size was found in about 1558 and was ultimately used for Ammanati's Neptune fountain.

30 G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Florence, 1840, II, 97 and 107.

31 Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, III, 101 and 184.

32 H. Thode, *Michelangelo: Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke*, Berlin, 1908, II, 297; L. Dussler, *Die Zeichnungen des Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1959, No. 271; P. Barocchi, *Michelangelo e la sua scuola*, Florence, 1962, I, No. 10; and F. Hartt, *The Drawings of Michelangelo*, London 1971, No. 61.

33 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 148, says that the block was quarried during the reign of Leo X with the marbles for S. Lorenzo, which may be only an assumption, since he was apparently unaware of the negotiations of 1507-1508. Despite Weinberger, *Michelangelo*, I, 243, I doubt that there could have been two different colossal blocks.

34 J. Shearman, "The Florentine Entrata of Leo X, 1515," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVIII, 1975, n. 2, lists 23 descriptions of the entry.

those of the city, by showing the family's links with the land, the history, and the traditions of Florence.[35]

One of the colossi featured in the entry was a *Hercules* made by Bandinelli in stucco covered with bronze paint, which he is said to have boasted would surpass the *David*.[36] The stucco was placed under the leftmost arch of the Loggia dei Lanzi, but it was conceived as a pendant of Michelangelo's statue and a trial-piece for the marble colossus, for which Bandinelli already hoped to obtain the commission. Before the return of the Medici he had made an underlifesize *Hercules* with the dead Cacus lying between his legs, as an exercise in marble carving.[37] Bandinelli's choice of subject matter is highly revealing of the pattern of the nineteen-year-old sculptor's ambition. He seems to have been aware not only that the postponed colossus project was to represent Hercules but also that Michelangelo had carved a *Hercules* on his own initiative when he was seventeen in memory of Lorenzo de'Medici, who had identified himself with the pagan hero.[38] Whether or not one assumes that Bandinelli's early *Hercules and Cacus* was part of this traditional association between the Medici rulers and the hero, his stucco *Hercules* surely was. Like Lorenzo, his father, Leo was linked with Hercules in contemporary literature, and depicted as or associated with the hero in visual representations.[39] A contemporary might not have spelled it out so simply, but the message of Bandinelli's stucco of 1515 was that Leo was Hercules, and since Hercules was Florence, then Leo was Florence.

The design that Bandinelli invented for the stucco cannot be known with certainty because the work is lost, but in the 1560's Vasari included a small image of the figure in his fresco in the Palazzo Vecchio commemorating Leo's entry

35 See n. 41, below; the numerous articles by E. Borsook in the *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*; and, for additional bibliography, G.G. Bertelà, *Feste e apparati medicei da Cosimo I a Cosimo II*, Florence, 1969.

36 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 141-142; L. Landucci, *A Florentine Diary from 1450 to 1516*, trans. A. de R. Jervis, London, 1927, 279 ff; G. Cambi, *Istorie*, in *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, Florence, 1785-1786, XXII, 83; E. Schaeffer, "Der Herakles des Baccio Bandinelli," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenshaft*, III, 1910, 112-114; J. Holderbaum, "The Birth Date and a Destroyed Early Work of Baccio Bandinelli," *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, 93-97. The gilding of the statue may indicate a relation to the gilt-bronze *Hercules Boario*, then on the Capitol in Rome (W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen Klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, Tubingen, 1966, II, No. 1804).

37 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 137. The work is no longer extant.

38 Ettlinger, "Hercules Florentinus," 119 ff; L. Chatelet-Lange, "Michelangelos Herkules in Fontainbleau," *Pantheon*, XXX, 1972, 455-468.

39 J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons*, London, 1972, 89-90, and "The Florentine Entrata," n. 41.

(Fig. 7), which can be regarded as fairly reliable.[40] In Vasari's painting the stucco *Hercules* stands with his feet spread wide apart and his club held over his left shoulder. If the statue had been set at the right of the entrance to the Palazzo, its shoulders and body would have turned out and away but its head would have looked back towards the *David*. As far as one can tell from the fresco, Bandinelli's stucco had the physiognomy traditional for the mature Hercules: a coarse face with overhanging brow, broad flat nose, and protruding bearded chin. The body had a relatively short torso, long legs, and bulky musculature. Like Leonardo, Bandinelli anticipated pairing the *David* with a figure having a thicker body and less constrained pose. Apparently he planned on the use of a marble block known to be more ample than that of the *David*.

The most interesting aspect of Bandinelli's stucco *Hercules* is not, however, its relation or reaction to the *David*, but rather its use of earlier Florentine representations of Hercules, which reveals a precocious manipulation of traditional images for political symbolism that became more and more common later in the century.[41] Florentine political attitudes during the early sixteenth century were conservative and resisted change. As Felix Gilbert says, "The correct procedure in politics, according to the prevailing mode of thinking, was to seek out the type of political institutions which had existed in the historical — or mythical — past and to model new institutions after the pattern of the old."[42] Bandinelli's procedure in propagandizing the Medici role in Florentine politics was to seek out early visual traditions and to model on them both his stucco *Hercules* and his final marble statue.

The earliest traceable image of Hercules as Florence was the thirteenth-century seal, which is believed to be reproduced in an eighteenth-century woodcut (Fig. 8).[43] Bandinelli's stucco held a club angled over his shoulder, passing behind his head, in almost precisely the same fashion. His other hand rested on his hip, and the arm was covered by drapery from the shoulder down over the hand. In all the

40 Holderbaum, "Bandinelli," 95; Schaeffer, "Der Herakles," 113. Vasari knew Bandinelli well, and although the latter had died before the Quartiere di Leone X was painted, Vasari would have had access to any drawings or models that survived.

41 Ettlinger, "Hercules Florentinus," 139-142; K.W. Forster, "Metaphors of Rule: Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XV, 1971, 72 ff; N. Rubenstein, "Vasari's Painting of *The Foundation of Florence* in the Palazzo Vecchio," *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, 64-73.

42 Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, 78-79.

43 Ettlinger, "Hercules Florentinus," 120-121. D.M. Manni, *Osservazioni istoriche sopra i sigilli antichi de' secoli bassi*, Florence, 1739, frontispiece.

thousands of antique representations of Hercules, covering both the shoulder and the hand is extremely unusual, but does appear on two early images of Hercules in Florence: the relief of *Hercules and Cacus* made by Andrea Pisano for the Campanile of the Duomo in the early fourteenth century; and the standing *Hercules* on the decorated jambs of the Porta della Mandorla of the Duomo, carved at the turn of the fifteenth century (Figs. 9 and 10). Aside from this one feature and the position of the club resting on the ground, these two early representations are quite different. It would be interesting to know how they relate to each other or to their sources. But the point here is that Bandinelli evoked them in his stucco *Hercules* because they were old and, therefore, associated with traditional Florentine political institutions.

Although the young Bandinelli's original interest in the project for the second colossus was probably less political than opportunistic, his opportunities were closely tied to politics. His father had already served the Medici rulers, and from 1512 until the death of Leo X in 1521 the bulk of Bandinelli's sculptural work was either for or obtained through Pope Leo or Cardinal Giulio de' Medici.[44] One of the Cardinal's commissions during this period was for two huge stucco figures to flank a garden gate at the Villa Madama, where they still stand, much damaged and partially restored (Fig. 11).[45] The poses of these giants roughly approximate the *David* and the stucco *Hercules*. The giant on the left, like the *David* (Fig. 4), faces forward flatly, supporting his weight on his right leg and bending his left arm towards the shoulder. He is a flabby and lifeless figure and comments unfavorably on his prototype. The giant on the right, on the other hand, has a gyral *contrapposto* that vitalizes the heavy, swollen musculature given to both figures. The right-hand giant, following the stucco *Hercules*, turns his shoulders away from the gate and his head back towards it. A drawing by Marten van Heemskerck[46] (Fig. 12) shows that the right-hand giant held a club over his left shoulder in the same manner as did the stucco *Hercules*, although he extended his other arm forward across his body rather than rested it on his hip. This change was, I believe, Ban-

44 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 134 ff and 140 ff. These works were a wax model of a *St. Jerome*, the *St. Peter* for the Duomo, the stucco *Hercules*, various parts of the reliefs at the Santa Casa di Loreto, a model of of a *David and Goliath* for the Palazzo Medici, the *Orpheus* for the same Palazzo, the Villa Madama Giants, and a copy of the *Laocoön* (finished after 1523).

45 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 144; Holderbaum, "Bandinelli," 95 ff; Heikamp, "In margine," 52-53. Heikamp notes the resemblance of the left-hand giant to the *David*.

46 C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, Berlin, 1913, I, f. 24*recto*.

dinelli's response to Michelangelo's *Risen Christ*, the first version of which was abandoned because of a flaw in the marble and left behind in Rome in 1516.[47] Figure 14 shows the second version, now in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, which Bandinelli's giant resembles strikingly in reverse (Fig. 13).

It is conceivable that this similarity had an iconographical purpose, since Hercules had long been paralleled with Christ as a mediator between mankind and divinity,[48] and since Christ was closely linked with contemporary Florentine civic iconography. The revolution of 1494 took place on the day of San Salvatore, a few months later Savonarola proclaimed Christ the new king of Florence, and His image was planned as a centerpiece of the new Hall of the Grand Council.[49] The idea gained strength, and after the reestablishment of the Republic in 1527, Christ was formally elected head of the government and His monogram was placed over the portal of the Palazzo Vecchio.[50]

Bandinelli's formal purpose at the Villa Madama was to show how the *David* and a colossus by him would look flanking the portal of the Palazzo. His stucco giants are not symmetrical but have adequate balance to frame the gate and enough interaction to be pendants. Each bears its weight on the right leg, bends the left arm and extends the right; each turns its head inward towards the spectator approaching the gate. Cardinal Giulio appears to have been pleased with Bandinelli's proposal,[51] for later, as Pope Clement VII, he reactivated the much delayed project for the second colossus and gave the commission to Bandinelli.

Even before the block for the second colossus was brought to Florence in July 1525,[52] the project had become the focus of an artistic and political squabble of surprising magnitude. Both Bandinelli and Michelangelo had made designs for for the statue, to which I will return presently. While the block was being taken

47 Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, III, 89 ff and 177 ff.

48 Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, 202 ff; M Simon, *Hercule et le Christianisme*, Strassbourg, 1955.

49 J. Wilde, "The Hall of the Great Council of Florence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, VII*, 1944, 77-78.

50 L. Passerini, "Del Monogramma di Cristo posto sulla porta del Palazzo della Signoria," in *Del Pretorio di Firenze*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1865, 41-54.

51 Vasari (ed. Milanesi, VI, 142 and 144) says the Villa Madama giants were considered reasonably beautiful, whereas the stucco Hercules cost the sculptor much of his former esteem. Cf. Landucci, *A Florentine Diary*, 285.

52 Gaye, *Carteggio*, II, 464-465; Cambi, *Istorie*, XXII, 274-275; Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 148 ff. Vasari gives the dimensions of the block as 9½ by 5 *braccia* in the life of Bandinelli and the height as nine *braccia* in the life of Michelangelo (VII, 200), but the measurements (8½ by 2½ by 2½ *braccia*) given by Cambi and the document in Gaye are more dependable and conform more closely to the proportions of the finished statue (E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, 231).

ashore at Signa because the Arno was too low to continue the trip by boat, it was accidently dropped and sank into the sand of the river bed. A contemporary wit claimed that the marble, having thought that it would be carved by Michelangelo, learned that it would be given to Bandinelli, and tried to commit suicide. But Pope Clement prevented it. An engineer was hired to divert the river and cut away the bank so that the block could be dragged out of the sand with windlasses. The enormous expense of this operation was perhaps justified by the value and rarity of the marble, but also testifies to the Pope's intense interest in the project.

Clement was determined that the statue be finished, and by Bandinelli. Vasari, who was a Medici employee, later blamed the transfer of the commission to Bandinelli on an intrigue at the papal court,[53] but in fact it would have been dangerous to have the colossus completed by Michelangelo, whose political as opposed to professional loyalty to the Medici family was questionable. Bandinelli's was not. Transferring the commission to Bandinelli was a way of neutralizing the Republican associations of the project.[54] Clement continued to employ Michelangelo but was deaf to his requests to regain the commission. In an exchange of letters with the Holy See late in 1525,[55] Michelangelo complained that competition with Bandinelli was destroying his ability to work. Although not usually casual about money and always claiming to be overworked, he offered to carve the statue for Florence as a gift, since he was legally in the exclusive employ of the Pope, or to put off the project for two or three years until he was free, since the Florentines were willing to wait. Clement assured Michelangelo that he gave the commission to Bandinelli only because he did not want Michelangelo over-extended by working on " cose del pubrico " or for other patrons. Clement's real concern was to keep Michelangelo away from the politically sensitive Hercules project. In fact, he proposed an even larger project for a colossus over forty feet high for the Piazza of S. Lorenzo, which would indeed have been public but could not be a symbol of resistance to the Medici, since it would be attached to the family church. The artist's rejection of the proposal in a letter full of bitter humor shows his scorn for this ridiculous attempt to divert him. Clement ended the discussion with a handwritten appeal to Michelangelo to finish the work in hand.

Political considerations continued to effect the history of the project until its

53 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 148-149.

54 Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, II, 98-99; Weinberger, *Michelangelo*, I, 245.

55 K. Frey, ed., *Sammlung ausgewählter Briefe an Michelagniolo Buonarroti*, Berlin, 1899, 260-271; G. Milanesi, ed., *Le lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875, 448-453.

completion. When the Florentine Republic was reestablished after the Sack of Rome in 1527, Michelangelo was again given the commission, which called for two figures but left the choice of subject to the artist and the choice of final position to the Signoria.[56] The possibility that the subject be altered and that the statue not be a pendant to the *David* shows that there had been a marked change in attitude towards the project. Michelangelo chose to represent not Hercules, but Samson, his biblical equivalent as a personification of physical strength and moral fortitude. This change was not merely a Christianization of the theme, for Hercules had long been assimilated into contemporary religious thought. Rather, the meaning of Hercules had been poisoned by his link with Medici domination. What had been a positive symbol for the Republic in the first decade of the century had become a focus of resentment against the Medici regime. When the block was returned to Bandinelli after the final victory of the Medici in 1530, some Florentines tried to hinder the sculptor's work. He had to ask Pope Clement to prompt Alessandro de' Medici, who had been installed as Duke of Florence, to provide for the completion and erection of the statue. After the statue was unveiled in 1534 there was an intense reaction against the work and its patrons, expressed as usual in Florence by a flurry of satirical poems. Duke Alessandro imprisoned several persons whose lampoons were too extreme. Bandinelli was rewarded like the political ally that he was: as an extra payment he received the villa confiscated from a personal enemy who had sided with the Republican forces.[57]

I contend that these political events and attitudes had a profound effect on the final *form* of the *Hercules and Cacus*, as well as its history. Before examining the completed statue, however, it is necessary to look at both Bandinelli's and Michelangelo's preliminary designs.

Contemporary sources state that Michelangelo had made designs for a *Hercules and Antaeus* prior to 1525.[58] On two sheets that record those designs [59] the figure

56 Milanesi, *Lettere*, 700; Gaye, *Carteggio*, II, 98-99.

57 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 155-161. Several verses critical of the *Hercules and Cacus*, and Bandinelli, are published in Perkins, *Tuscan Sculptors*, II, 140, n. 2; 147; 149, n. 5; 151; and *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, ed. F. Tassi, Florence, 1829, III, 410, 436-439.

58 Gaye, *Carteggio*, II, 464-465; Cambi, *Istorie*, XXII, 274-275; Milanesi, *Lettere*, 452; Frey, *Briefe*, 260 ff.

59 Thode, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, 293-295; Dussler, *Zeichnungen*, Nos. 159 and 196; Hartt, *Drawings of Michelangelo*, Nos. 302 and 496; J. Wilde, *Michelangelo and His Studio*, London, 1953, No. 33; K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1956, II, No. 317. Vasari (ed. Milanesi, VI, 168-169) claims that Montorsoli started to execute one of Michelangelo's models for a *Hercules and Antaeus* but that Bandinelli destroyed the marble block. Michelangelo gave a wax model of a *Hercules and Antaeus* to Leone Leoni, but this too is lost.

of Antaeus twists vigorously away from the entwining embrace of Hercules (Figs. 15 and 16). The group is energetic and compact, but it is also top heavy and if executed in marble on a colossal scale, could not have stood without additional support.[60] The *Samson* that Michelangelo designed after 1528 is reflected in a number of small bronzes attributed to Pierino da Vinci.[61] This group is also energetically intertwined and has better internal support because of the Philistine crouched between Samson's legs. A terracotta *bozzetto* in the Casa Buonarroti (Figs. 17 and 19) is generally regarded as a study for the colossus, although no one has proved whether it represents Hercules and Cacus or Samson and a Philistine, or whether it dates before 1525, after 1528, or sometime in-between.[62] I am presently inclined towards the earlier date, because I think that the terracotta, or some similar design, inspired the model that Bandinelli made shortly before the marble was brought to Florence in 1525.

Vasari had seen Bandinelli's model in Duke Cosimo de' Medici's *guardaroba*, and his description agrees in detail with a large wax group in East Berlin:[63] (Figs. 18, 20, 21)

> Hercules... gripped the head of Cacus between two stones with one knee, grasped him with great force with the left arm, and held him crouched under his legs in a tortured attitude; in this Cacus showed his suffering and the strain and weight of Hercules above him, bursting every smallest muscle in his whole body. In the same way Hercules, with his head bent down

60 The Ashmolean sheet suggests that Michelangelo had been considering the statics of the group. In one of the sketches he extended the lower leg of Antaeus to the ground in order to add support. Between the sketches he drew two pairs of lines converging to tiny circles drawn in perspective as if flat on a surface, which I take to be indications of stress or support lines within the figures' legs.

61 Thode, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, 297-298; A.E. Brinckmann, "Die Simson-Gruppe des Michelangelo,' *Belvedere*, XI, 1927, 155-159.

62 Thode, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, 296; Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 231-233. J. Pope Hennessy and R. Lightbown, *Catalogue of Italian Sculptures in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1964, II, 423-424, discuss a copy of the *bozzetto*. J. Wilde, "Zwei Modelle Michelangelos für das Julius-Grab," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorisches Sammlungen in Wein*, n.s., II, 1928, 199-218, and "Due modelli di Michelangelo ricomposti," *Dedalo*, VIII, 1928, 653-671; and Weinberger, *Michelangelo*, I, 245 ff., argue that the terracotta in the the Casa Buonarroti is not a design for the colossus but for a *Victory* for the Tomb of Julius II.

63 A.E. Brinckmann, *Barock-Bozzetti*, Frankfurt am Main, 1923, I, 44-45; F. Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke der Renaissance und des Barock*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, I, 156, No. 2612. The model, broken in several pieces during World War II, is in storage at the Bode Museum. Its high quality and vigorous anatomical detailing lend support to the attribution.

> down towards his crushed enemy, grinding and gnashing his teeth, raised his right arm and gave him another blow with his club, fiercely dashing his head to pieces.[64]

If the model in Berlin is not Bandinelli's original, it must be a near replica in pose and expression. Like Michelangelo's terracotta, Bandinelli's wax model represents two active combatants, the clear victor rising above his fallen adversary. Although Michelangelo's figures are twisted into a compact spiral while Bandinelli's are spread out in a more planar composition, the similarities between the victors' bent legs, turned upper torsos, and raised arms (now missing from the terracotta) suggest a connection between the designs, in which Michelangelo's probably took precedence.[65]

A number of explanations can be advanced for the fact that Bandinelli's design of 1525 was not carried out. Unlike Michelangelo's designs and Bandinelli's own earlier ideas, the Berlin group would have clashed emphatically with the *David*, because of its open pose and violent movement, as well as the large rock base. Valentiner, again distorting the subject matter, argues that the design is in bad taste: "It would have been unbearable, in a sculpture of enormous proportion, to witness the actual moment of murder of the most dastardly kind, trampling a human being into the ground with relentless blows of a heavy club."[66] The design also presents technical problems. The open pose would have been difficult to carry out in marble, and the upper arm would have had to be pieced or braced to support the weight of the club at an angle that puts torsion on the arm.

Vasari says that Bandinelli abandoned the design because it would not fit the block, and presented several others to Pope Clement, who chose the one to be used for the statue.[67] As a Medici employee, Vasari chose not to acknowledge the crucial political factors that influenced the change in design. Even if Bandinelli did miscalculate the measurements of the block, he could have kept more of the ac-

64 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 149. The translation is from Pope Hennessy, *High Renaissance*, 363.

65 The violence of Bandinelli's conception is anticipated by Rustici's terracotta groups of fighting horsemen that ultimately derive from Leonardo's ideas (Weinberger, *Michelangelo*, I, 244), and the open composition, as well as the pose, of Bandinelli's design, may be reflected in the bronze statuette of a horseman fighting off a lion from the Foulc Collection in the Philadelphia Museum. Weil-Garris has pointed out to me that the pose of the Berlin model also appears in Rosso's *Moses and the Daughters of Jethro*, as well as prints after Rosso and Bandinelli.

66 Valentiner, "Bandinelli," 256.

67 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 150-151.

tion and impact of the wax model had he, and Pope Clement, chosen to do so. The several models that the sculptor showed the Pope may have included active, conflicting groups, but Vasari specifies that Clement chose the one that showed Hercules standing over Cacus, seizing him by the hair and holding him down like a prisoner.

The model that Clement chose is possibly to be seen in a drawing in the Uffizi, (Fig. 22), which has sometimes been regarded as Bandinelli's final preparatory sketch for the statue.[68] The group is shown from slightly above Hercules' shoulders. The statue cannot be seen from this angle, and it would have been impractical to design from this point of view. However, Bandinelli did keep his models in his studio and had his many students draw from them. The Uffizi drawing is done from the same angle that students are shown viewing and drawing the model for Bandinelli's *Jason* in the 1531 engraving of his Academy.[69] The variations between the Uffizi drawing and the *Hercules and Cacus* are not a sign of tentativeness but rather reveal a previous stage in Bandinelli's thinking. When he made the full-scale clay model from which the statue was faithfully reproduced, he increased the rigidity of his figures and banished all movement. The psychological interaction of glances between victor and vanquished is removed, and the last of the curving lines of the bodies are converted into dominating verticals and horizontals.

The contrast between the Berlin model and the final statue embodies one of the most radical changes of conception that ever took place in the development of a work of art. The wax model is active and savagely violent; the statue is static and hieratic. It was precisely that savagery and conflict that Clement found undesirable. He scarcely wanted to remind the Florentines that the Medici (in the guise

68 Venturi, *Storia*, X, 2, 199, n. 1; R. Galleria degli Uffizi, *Mostra di disegni dei fondatori dell'Accademia delle Arti del Disegno*, Florence, 1963, No. 7; J.B. Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, Oxford, 1976, No.89. U. Middeldorf pointed out to me that the Uffizi drawing is not preparatory in character and probably derives from a *modello*. The *verso* has several studies of the head and arms of Cacus. The absence of Cacus from the Christ Church drawing does not prove that it precedes the Uffizi drawing, of which it may be a copy; Cacus is also omitted from other derivative drawings, such as Louvre 156 (attributed to Bandinelli) and Uffizi 6992F (Clemente Bandinelli). Uffizi 520F could be a preparatory sketch for the Hercules model, and Louvre 130 and Uffizi 518F probably represent Bandinelli's preparatory work on the pose of Cacus. The head and torso on Uffizi 529F are related to the *Hercules* but with a shift of weight and more open pose of the arms. A number of drawings of the head (Louvre 98, Christ Church 0085*verso*) and legs (Uffizi 521F, 6984F; British Museum 1946-7-13-269) of Hercules also exist, probably as copies from the statue.

69 Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, *Drawings and Prints of the First Maniera, 1515-1535*, Providence, Rhode Island, 1973, No. 117.

of Hercules) could be merciless in surpressing their enemies (in the guise of Cacus).[70] Further, since the *Hercules and Cacus* implied the triumph of the Medici, it was better to show the conflict as resolved rather than ongoing. But the final design of the statue involves more than an avoidance of violence and conflict; it can also be seen as a presentation of a specific political message that Clement wanted advertised.

Contrary to Valentiner's claim, the *Hercules and Cacus* does not represent a bestial murder, but an act of clemency. In the original story Cacus was deservedly executed, but Bandinelli, in keeping with traditional and contemporary ideas, has altered the action and spared Cacus. Hercules was traditionally the personification of force but also of the controlled use of that force. In Ripa's *Iconologia* Hercules appears as the emblem of Heroic Virtue, which has three aspects: the moderation of anger; the tempering of greed; and the contempt for strife, for pleasure and for talking.[71] The lion, whose skin Hercules wears as an attribute, is Ripa's first symbol for *clementia*, because when the lion overpowers a man and throws him to earth, unless wounded by that man, the lion does not tear him to pieces but merely shakes him lightly.[72] The striking feature of Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* is its mildness in contrast with earlier representations of the theme. In the Pisano relief on the Campanile (Fig. 9) Cacus is clearly dead, as he was in Bandinelli's lost marble made in the early 1510's.[73] In the Pollaiuolesque relief in the Palazzo Guicciardini in Florence Hercules is in the process of dispatching his victim,[74] as he is in the Berlin model (Figs. 18, 20 ,21). In the statue of the Piazza della Signoria, however, Hercules

70 The conquest of Cacus is not one of the most commonly described feats of Hercules, although it does appear in Boccaccio's list (*La Geneologia degli dei de gentili*. Venice, 1581, 210 *verso*). Weinberger, *Michelangelo*, I, 244, relates the choice of the Cacus exploit, the only one that took place in Rome, to Clement's conflict with his Roman enemies. Even if this reference is included, the whole history of the project demands that the principal motivation for the subject matter be sought in Florence. If Michelangelo's drawing in the Casa Buonarroti does date *ca.* 1508 and does represent Hercules and Cacus (see n. 32, above), the subject had already been proposed under the Republic. M. Trachtenberg, *The Campanile of Florence Cathedral*, New York, 1971, 86 and 94, interprets the Pisano relief as an image of purifying the earth for civilization, and then (n. 44) asserts that Cacus represents "the lawless nobles who originally had terrorized the land but were finally beaten down by the Florentines." The meaning of the four animal heads around the rocky base of Bandinelli's statue is not clear. The two nearest the portal may refer to the Nemean lion and the Erymanthian Boar, but the dog has neither the two heads of Orthros nor the three of Cerebrus, and no wolf appears in any of the stories.

71 C. Ripa, *Nova Iconologia*, Padua, 1618, 567; Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, 198.

72 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 79.

73 See n. 37, above.

74 S. Ortolani, *Il Pollaiuolo*, Milan, 1948, fig. 114. A drawing of Hercules and Cacus after Pollaiuolo is in Turin (*ibid.*, fig. 83).

has moderated his anger. Cacus has been thrown to earth and gazes up at the facade of the Palazzo — the seat of the power represented by Hercules — with an expression that is probably most accurately read as supplication. Hercules, standing proud and secure in his victory, has granted his victim clemency.

The concept of *clementia* was a favorite "political catchword" of the Roman Caesars, ostentatiously displayed if not always exercised.[75] Its ultimate expression was given by divinely elected rulers, who were above human institutions and thus granted mercy freely rather than from fear of punishment.[76] A pope ostensibly elected through the divine inspiration of the College of Cardinals, who had taken the name Clement, can hardly have been uninterested in this tradition, which had been reitered by two of the foremost political thinkers of his day. Nicolò Machiavelli's espousal of the controlled use of force permeates all his writings but is best expressed in the seventeenth chapter of *The Prince* entitled "Concerning Cruelty and Clemency [Pietà], and Whether It Is Better to Be Loved than Feared."[77] Machiavelli says that the prince ought to seek to be considered merciful and not cruel, even though cruelty is often necessary, and that he ought to be feared but not hated. This can be achieved by using force judiciously and not greedily seizing the property and women of his subjects. Francesco Guicciardini also recommends clemency in those cases where it does not endanger a victory. His *ricordo* on clemency (*clementia*) is nearly a verbal equivalent of the visual message of Bandinelli's statue:

> There is nothing that man ought to desire more on this earth and that can be a source of greater pride than to see their enemy prostrate on the ground and at their mercy. This glory is greatly increased by its proper use, that is, by showing mercy and letting it suffice to have conquered.[78]

Pope Clement not only had good reason for advertising his clemency towards

75 R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939, 159 ff., 51, and 480.

76 J.R. Fears, "*Princeps a Diis Electus.*" *The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome*, Rome, 1977, 139-140.

77 N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. W.K. Marriott, London, 1908, 133 ff. *The Prince* was written in the 1510's and dedicated to Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici. In 1520 Cardinal Giulio commissioned Machiavelli to write his *Florentine History*, which was finished and delivered to Rome about the time that Bandinelli brought his several models.

78 F. Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, No. 72 (cf. 73), in *Selected Writings*, ed. C. Grayson, trans. M. Grayson, London, 1965. Most of the *Ricordi* were gathered between 1512 and 1525, although the collection was not complete until 1530.

the Florentines; he also had immediate precedent for using a statue by Bandinelli to do so. Karla Langedijk has shown that the *Orpheus* Bandinelli made for the Palazzo Medici in 1516/1517 was Pope Leo's advertisement of his peaceable intentions towards the Florentines and an image of the harmonious manner in which he would rule them.[79]

Bandinelli based his *Orpheus* on the *Apollo Belvedere*, thus linking both the style and the content of his statue with a renowned and venerated antique; he based his *Hercules and Cacus* on a variety of sources but similarly used them to justify and enhance his image. He drew upon antique types and Michelangelesque precedents and incorporated ideas and motifs from Leonardo and Donatello. If read correctly, the *Hercules and Cacus* not only demonstrates Bandinelli's positive aesthetic choices, it also evokes a number of beloved symbols of Florentine civic identity and pride, and thus links its symbolism with theirs.

The statue has not, of course, always been read correctly. Cellini, for one, misinterpreted all the formal features of the statue, although he was probably more aware of Bandinelli's intentions than he chose to admit.[80] The basic configuration of the group was adapted from two antique types: the mature Hercules standing at rest with his club, and the knife sharpener from narratives of the flaying of Marsyas.[81] Cellini's complaint about Hercules' small skull ignores the fact that many ancient statues of Hercules are characterized by similarly modest crania.[82] His condemnation of Hercules' ugly face is irrelevant, because leonine physiognomy was a traditional antique and Renaissance formula for stressing

79 K. Langedijk, "Baccio Bandinelli's Orpheus: A Political Message," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XX, 1976, 33-52. A similar use of a defensive *impresa* on the *Lacoön* Bandinelli made for Clement VII is mentioned in I. Lavin, "The Sculptor's Last Will and Testament'," *Allen Memorial Art Museum*, Bulletin, XXXV, 1978, n. 25. In Langedijk's opinion Leo rejected Bandinelli's model of David striking off the head of Goliath for political reasons, which would provide a precedent as well for Clement's rejection of the 1525 design. However, that would make Bandinelli's return to a violent image all the more puzzling. For a suggested identification of Bandinelli's *David and Goliath*, see Valentiner, "Bandinelli," 259 and fig. 1. For the purported clemency and actual policy of Leo and Clement, see F. Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, trans. and ed. S. Alexander, New York, 1969, especially 275, 338 and 361, and C. Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic*, London, 1925, 12 ff.

80 Cellini, *Vita*, ed. Bacci, 353 ff. Although Cellini's *Perseus* has not shown his victim clemency, his impassive, meditative expression, his symbolic victor's stance, and the contrived pose of Medusa's body are all paralleled in the *Hercules and Cacus*.

81 The statue of the *Knife Sharpener* now in the Uffizi was in Rome during Bandinelli's lifetime, and the figure also appears on sarcophagi (Weil-Garris, *Leonardo*, n. 247).

82 M. Reymond, *La sculpture florentine*, Florence, 1900, IV, 120-121.

virility and ferocity in heroic portraits.[83] The turned-down mouth, flattened nose, overhanging brow, and deeply furrowed forehead of Bandinelli's hero resemble the features given to Verrocchio's *Colleoni*, a number of Leonardo's drawings, and Cellini's own later portrait of Duke Cosimo I. The " sack of melons " physique that Bandinelli used complements this physiognomy. The musculature is exaggerated, but not much more so than some of Leonardo's drawings, antique statues such as the *Laocoön*, or Michelangelo's *Allegories* in the Medici Chapel.

Vasari says that when the *Hercules and Cacus* was unveiled in the late spring of 1534 Bandinelli found that it looked too " dolce," and went to work again to strengthen the modelling.[84] Even today bright light tends to wash out the contours of both Bandinelli's and Michelangelo's statues. Before they were weathered and streaked by pollution, the *David* must have seemed even more pale and puny by comparison to the more robust and articulated musculature of Bandinelli's statue. Next to the stolid pyramid of the *Hercules and Cacus* the *David* may also seem attenuated and slightly unstable (Fig. 30). The difference is even more pronounced when observed from the steps entering the Palazzo (Figs. 23 and 24). Cellini criticized the *Hercules and Cacus* for lacking grace and *contrapposto*, but Bandinelli purposely stressed the structural regularity and solidity of his group. Hercules stands with his weight on both legs and both arms almost straight at his sides. Cacus is sharply folded into position, his shoulders paralleling the ground and those of Hercules, and his body giving firm visual and actual support to the masses above. Cellini reported with horror that Bandinelli had criticized the *David* for looking well only from the front,[85] but in fact it is true. In fairness to Michelangelo, one must admit that multiple views in sculpture were not much thought about when he carved the *David* in the first years of the century, and that he did have an usually narrow block which had already been carved in part by earlier hands. Nonetheless, in fairness to Bandinelli, one must give him credit for designing a group that is visually solid and satisfactory from most points of view all around the base.

Besides bemoaning the second colossus' lack of grace, Cellini purports not to understand the pose, since Hercules is not paying attention to what he is doing and it is not clear whether his weight is concentrated on one leg or both. The

83 P. Meller, " Physiognomic Theory in Renaissance Heroic Portraits," *Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, Princeton, 1963, II, 53-69.

84 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 160. See also Weil-Garris, *Leonardo*, n. 246.

85 Cellini, *Vita*, ed. Bacci, 386-387.

head is turned to the side, but to avoid implications of ongoing action, and the stance, although not easy to read, is rational and deliberately calculated.

The precedents for the pose of Bandinelli's Hercules are familiar Florentine images, chosen to associate the statue with popular civic ideals. The Quattrocento statue that most closely resembles the overall configuration of Bandinelli's group is the *Abraham and Isaac* (Fig. 25), made by Donatello and Nanni di Bartolo for the Campanile.[86] In both cases the potential victim is held between the legs of the standing figure, who looks off to the side. The form of the turned heads is similar, but the meaning is different, even though both men can be regarded as moral victors. Abraham is presently responding to the miraculous intervention of the angel who pointed out the ram to be substituted for Isaac. Hercules has already spared Cacus and turns away with what might be termed "heroic disdain" to watch for new dangers. The *David* is also a watchful guardian, but Michelangelo was characteristically ambiguous about whether David is shown before or after his victory over Goliath. Bandinelli's representation of a point in time after the victory, and Hercules' internalized detachment from his prisoner, is most akin to Donatello's *Judith* (Fig. 26), who stands in equally hieratic and meditative triumph over Holofernes.[87] Although Judith raises her sword, her gesture is not narrative but symbolic. The fingers of her other hand are casually laced into the hair of the unresisting Holofernes; Bandinelli's Hercules uses no more effort to dominate Cacus. Antique representations of the Labors of Hercules sometimes show him controlling his adversary with a hand in the hair (Fig. 27), but the more immediate precedent for the gesture of Bandinelli's Hercules is Donatello's statue.

The *Judith* was readily available to Bandinelli and had a symbolic content that could be beneficially related to the *Hercules*. In 1495 the *Judith* had been moved from the Palazzo Medici to the position in front of the Palazzo Vecchio taken by the *David* in 1504. After a short stay inside the Palazzo Vecchio, Donatello's statue was installed in the Loggia dei Lanzi, where it remained throughout Bandinelli's lifetime. At the Palazzo Medici the base of the *Judith* bore an inscription that linked her moral victory with civic virtue: "Kingdoms fall through luxury; cities rise through virtues; behold the neck of pride severed by the hand of humility." In the 1460's Piero de' Medici added an inscription rededicating the

86 Janson, *Donatello*, 33 ff. The precedent is cited by Weil-Garris, *Leonardo*, n. 247.

87 Janson, *Donatello*, 198 ff. Heikamp makes the comparison in his notes to the *Club del Libro* edition of Vasari's *Vite*, VI, 10.

statue to "that liberty and fortitude bestowed on the republic by the invincible and constant spirit of the citizens." Janson interprets the rededication as a reference to Piero's victory over the Pitti conspiracy in 1466 and an attempt to turn a personal Medici political triumph into a triumph of the populace at large.[88] Such an implication would have been equally valuable to attach to the *Hercules and Cacus*, to assert that the victory of the Medici rulers was at the same time a victory for the people of Florence. The inscription that replaced these earlier ones in 1495, "The Citizenry Has Erected This Exemplum of Public Wellbeing," appropriated the statue for the Republic and continued to hold up Judith's conquest as a symbol of civic welfare. By linking his *Hercules* with the *Judith*, Bandinelli invested his statue and his patrons with some of her recognized virtue and beneficence.

The stance of the *Hercules*, although different from that of Judith or Abraham, also depends upon and evokes familiar Florentine images of heroic virtue. Both of Hercules' feet are firmly planted on the rocky base. At the same time, the spread legs are straight and tense, the hips are level, and the weight is divided almost equally between the two legs.[89]

Bandinelli's most immediate examples for this type of *anticontrapposto* pose were in the work of Leonardo, who used it frequently in the first decade of the sixteenth century: in the project for *Hercules and the Lion* (Fig. 5), in anatomical studies,[90] and in his fresco of the Battle of Anghiari for the Hall of the Great Council in in the Palazzo Vecchio. Bandinelli would have become closely acquainted with Leonardo's fresco while he was in the Hall in about 1512 drawing from Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina*. His attention may have been drawn to to a figure at the left of Leonardo's design, seen from the rear, standing stalwart amidst the turmoil, and giving cover to two of his Florentine compatriots who are trying to rescue a fallen companion. The figure appears in Gould's and Pedretti's reconstructions of the composition, but is more clearly seen in a drawing in Turin (Fig. 28) that has two studies for the warrior in the upper right.[91] The

88 Janson, *Donatello*, 200.

89 As Weil-Garris, *Leonardo*, 41, points out, this deliberate *antigrazioso* and *anticontrapposto* stance is related to Leonardesque modes. She illustrates a Leonardo drawing of a nude (Clark and Pedretti, *Drawings of Leonardo*, No. 12594) that closely resembles the proportions and musculature of the *Hercules*, as well as the straight arms and spread legs. However, this drawing is more of an anatomical demonstration than a depiction of a real pose, and the figure's feet are both placed directly under his shoulders so that his legs are parallel. In the statue the figure of Cacus obliges Hercules to have his right leg advanced and his left leg extended behind his shoulders.

90 *Ibid.*, No. 19014.

91 C. Gould, "Leonardo's Great Battle-Piece: A

posture of this heroic and humanitarian soldier is remarkably similar to the back view of the *Hercules* (Fig. 29), even to the advanced and retracted position of the legs. The largest study is the closer, although the smaller also holds a weapon in the straight right arm.

In adapting Leonardo's figure Bandinelli again chose a familiar heroic and moral image as a formal precedent for his statue, from a context full of significance for Florentine history, both Republican and pre-Republican. The Hall of the Great Council was built to accommodate the new assembly of Florentine citizens after the reinstitution of the Republic in 1495 and was " the embodiment of Florentine Republicanism."[92] Leonardo and Michelangelo were commissioned to paint murals of Florentine military victories that took place in 1440 and 1364. Pedretti characterizes the image of Leonardo's stalwart soldier as a symbolic and paradigmatic figure: the heroic defender of the liberty and democratic principles of the Florentine Republic.[93] Identification with such a personage would restore to the colossus of Hercules some of the aura of civic virtue that it had lost during the squabbles over the project and the political events of the same years.

It may seem odd to analyze a statue from the back, but Bandinelli did plan his statue from multiple points of view, and for this location. One principal view is obtained by the spectator coming to the Palazzo Vecchio from the Via Calzaioli, the main route from the Duomo and the north part of the city. Other views can be obtained from the steps of the Palazzo, the Uffizi Corridor or the Loggia dei Lanzi, and from the Via della Ninna, a main route from the southeast part of the city. The route from the west or from the south over the Ponte Vecchio enters the Piazza from the Via Vaccherecia, and the spectator gets the view shown in Figure 30, which I consider the most important, because the two colossi can be seen together in their roles as guardians of the portal. From this view one discovers yet another of Bandinelli's references, which is in keeping with the pattern examined already.

The intended echo of the image of *Hercules* from the viewpoint of the spectator approaching the entrance from straight out in the Piazza is Donatello's *St. George*

Conjectural Reconstruction," *Art Bulletin*, XXXVI, 1954, fig. 18; C. Pedretti, *Leonardo da Vinci inedito*, Florence, 1968, fig. 61 and *Disegni di Leonardo*, No. 7; Bertini, *I Disegni Italiani*, No. 227. A connection between the figure and Bandinelli's *Hercules* is suggested by Larsson, *Von allen Seiten*, 49.

92 Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, 10, See also Wilde, " The Hall of the Great Council."

93 Pedretti, *Disegni di Leonardo*, 17.

(Fig. 31), made about 1416 for the niche of the armorers and swordsmiths' guild at Or San Michele.[94] St. George stands with his left foot and left shoulder advanced, his hips level and his weight evenly distributed over both feet. Bandinelli seems to have reversed the position of Hercules' legs in order to accommodate the figure of Cacus, but otherwise the specific elements of the pose and expression of his *Hercules* are strikingly close to those of the *St. George*. Both figures hold their shoulders level but advance the left one, looking out over it with furrowed brows. Both bend their left arms and relax the hand atop a form that rests between their legs, and both tense their right arms vertically at their sides to grasp a weapon. Although the age, proportions and costume or absence thereof is quite different, watchful concentration emanates from the bodies and faces of both figures.

Commissioned by a guild, the *St. George* was not made as an embodiment of the Florentine government, but does represent a hero who defended a city from a monster, as the relief below depicts. The statue became a great popular favorite in Florence, admired for its " prontezza," " vivacità," and " terribilità," and copied many times.[95] The statue also turns up in literary sources, including a licentious poem by Il Lasca, and a story by Anton Francesco Doni, in which an admirer laments that Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* had such a prominent position by the Palazzo Vecchio, while the *St. George* was in a much less conspicuous location.[96] The story is based on the idea that Donatello's statue was more worthy of the important setting, but at least it does make a connection between the two works.

Two further pieces of evidence help confirm the connection between the statues. One is a small drawing of the *St. George* in the Uffizi that is inscribed and catalogued as Bandinelli (Fig. 32).[97] While the execution is clumsy and contains distortions or misunderstandings of some details of the statue, the brown ink that is clearly visible is traced over faint indications of an original drawing in black chalk. The sheet may be a hasty sketch by Bandinelli gone over later by one of his students, although there is no certainty about the date of either the original sketch or the

94 Janson, *Donatello*, 23 ff. The *St. George* was later moved to the Bargello and replaced by a bronze copy. Larsson, *Von allen Seiten*, 88, compares the stances of the two figures.

95 For example, the St. Michael on Perugino's Adoration altar in the National Gallery, London, and his Lucio Sicinio in the Collegio del Cambio, Perugia.

96 Janson, *Donatello*, 24; A.F. Doni, *I Marmi*, Venice, 1552, III, 10-11.

97 Uffizi 489F. The drawing is inscribed *P. bo. Bandinelli* in black chalk. The *verso* shows a side view of a standing man, wearing a long robe and holding a book.

reworking. The second piece of evidence is more concrete but less direct. In about 1540 Bandinelli was commissioned to carve portrait statues of the Medici rulers for the *Udienza* that was built to replace the dismantled Hall of the Great Council. He turned to the *St. George* again, to serve as the basis for the figure of Alessandro, who had been Duke of Florence when the *Hercules and Cacus* was finally finished.

The hand gestures of Bandinelli's *Alessandro* are taken from Donatello's marble *David* of 1409.[98] The history and symbolism of Donatello's marble *David* are intimately bound up with the government of Florence, and although telling the story of the statue would go far beyond the limits of this study, Bandinelli's use of that historical image gives another example of the pattern of his political propagandizing.

* * *

The political and artistic success of Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* was limited but not entirely lacking. Despite the biased criticism of Bandinelli's immediate contemporaries, the statue did enjoy a certain amount of favorable aesthetic judgment later in the sixteenth century. The large numbers of drawings that copy or adapt the image are one index of its popularity among his followers. One of these followers, Vincenzo de' Rossi, petitioned Duke Cosimo I in 1563 to obtain the full-size clay model.[99] Vasari grudgingly allows the statue approval because it was well studied and because other sculptors had made worse colossi.[100] At least two later statues are based directly on Bandinelli's colossus; Sansovino's *Hercules* in Brescello and his *Mars* at the Palazzo Ducale in Venice.

It is possible that Sansovino's *Hercules* in Brescello was made with an understanding of the political message of Bandinelli's statue. Duke Ercole II d'Este was lavishly praised for his *clementia* in the dedication of Gyraldo's *De Dei Gentium* of 1548.[101] In 1550 the Duke commissioned the statue of his namesake as a

98 Middeldorf, "A Bandinelli Relief," 71, makes the connection with the *St. George*. On the Udienza, see Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 170 ff; Venturi, *Storia*, X, 2, 222-226. On the *David* of 1408 see Janson, *Donatello*, 3 ff.

99 Gaye, *Carteggio*, III, 107-108. For some of the drawings, see n. 68, above.

100 Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 160. Doni, I *Marmi*, III, 10, refers to the *Hercules and Cacus* as "un bellissimo Colosso."

101 L.G. Gyraldo, *De Deis Gentivm*, Basel, 1528, 46B.

symbol of his power in Modena, but later changed its location to Brescello, of which he had recently reacquired control.[102] Since Sansovino's *Hercules* has no figure of Cacus or other victim, it would be presuming too much to interpret the statue as an explicit image of *clementia*, but at least the formal connection with the *Hercules and Cacus* shows that Bandinelli's statue was regarded as an acceptable image of a ruling power.

In Florence Hercules continued to be a common personification of the Medici rulers, as witness Vincenzo de' Rossi's statues in the Palazzo Vecchio and Pietro da Cortona's frescoes in the Palazzo Pitti. Since the later sixteenth and seventeenth-century Medici ruled Florence absolutely, and since Hercules' good reputation had such a long history in the city, it is unlikely that Bandinelli's statue was crucial in the maintenance of that tradition. In the last decades of the sixteenth century, however, when the political conflicts of Republican and Medicean interests had cooled or been thoroughly suppressed, the statue was better understood and even praised. Raffaello Borghini answered complaints about Hercules' lack of ferocity and activity by explaining that the statue does not represent a battle but an embodiment of victory, lauding Bandinelli's artistic judgment in representing the musculature of the figures.[103] In more elegant terms, Francesco Bocchi praised Bandinelli's profound understanding of design and his marvelous skill at depicting the human body, as well as the natural and truthful figure of Cacus and the fierce and heroic image of Hercules.[104]

102 L. Pittoni, *Jacopo Sansovino scultore*, Venice, 1909, 291-297; G. Campori, " Una statua di Iacopo Sansovino," *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di Storia Patria per le Provincie Modenesi e Parmensi*, VI 1872, 501-514.

103 R. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, I, 190-191. Borghini also (III, 30) points out that although the statue was once despised, its worth was later recognized (" sebben allora fu biasimata, è stata poi la bontà sua conosciuta ").

104 F. Bocchi, *Le Bellezze della città di Firenze* (1591), ed. J. Shearman, London, 1971, 33-34.

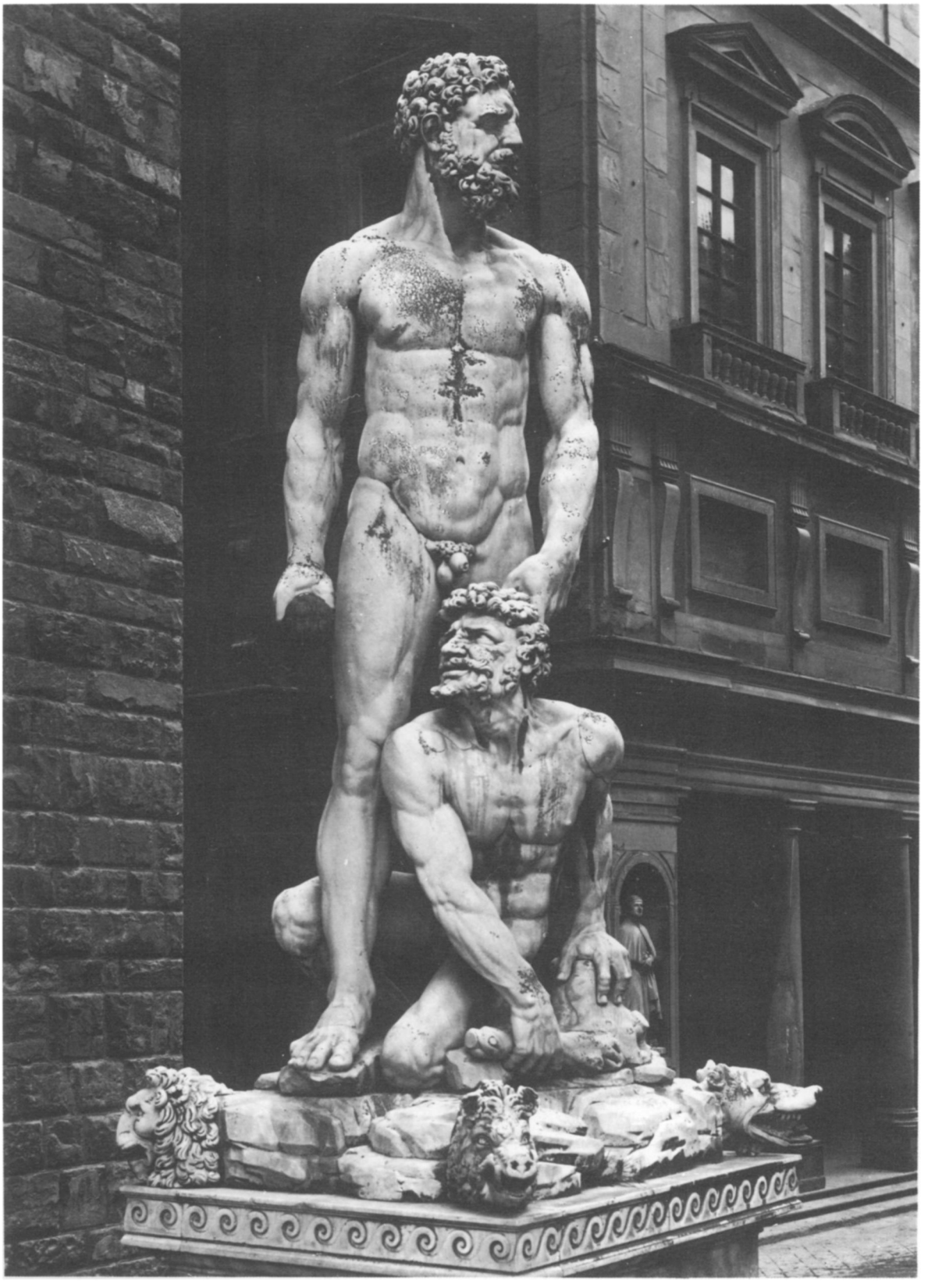

Fig. 1. ***Bandinelli,*** Hercules and Cacus, *Piazza della Signoria, Florence* (*photo Alinari*).

Fig. 2. Bandinelli, Hercules and Cacus, *Piazza della Signoria, Florence (photo Author).*

Fig. 3. Leonardo, Neptune (*after Michelangelo's* David), *Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12591* (*Copyright reserved*).

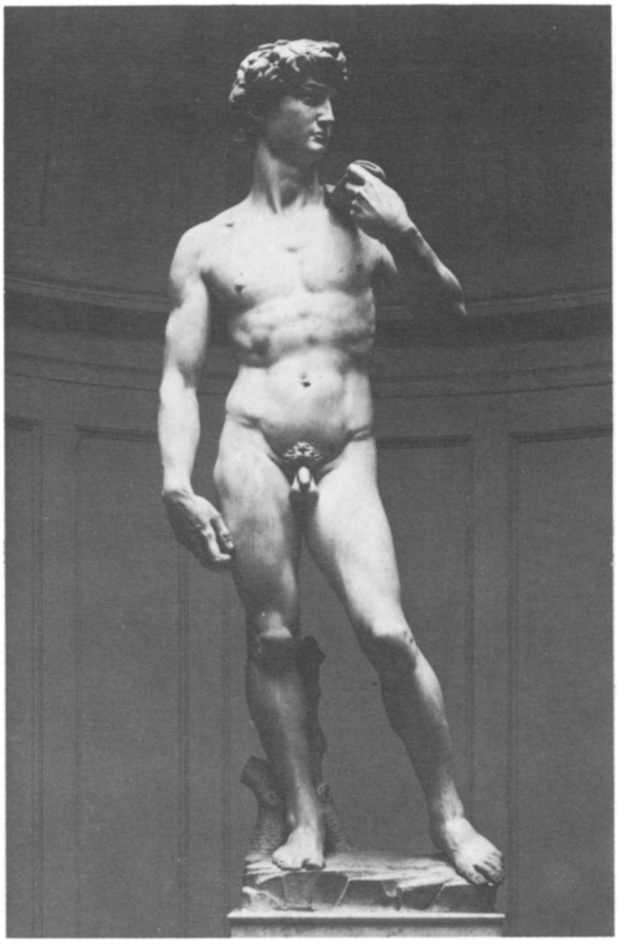

Fig. 4. Michelangelo, David, *Accademia, Florence* (*photo G.F.S.G., Firenze*).

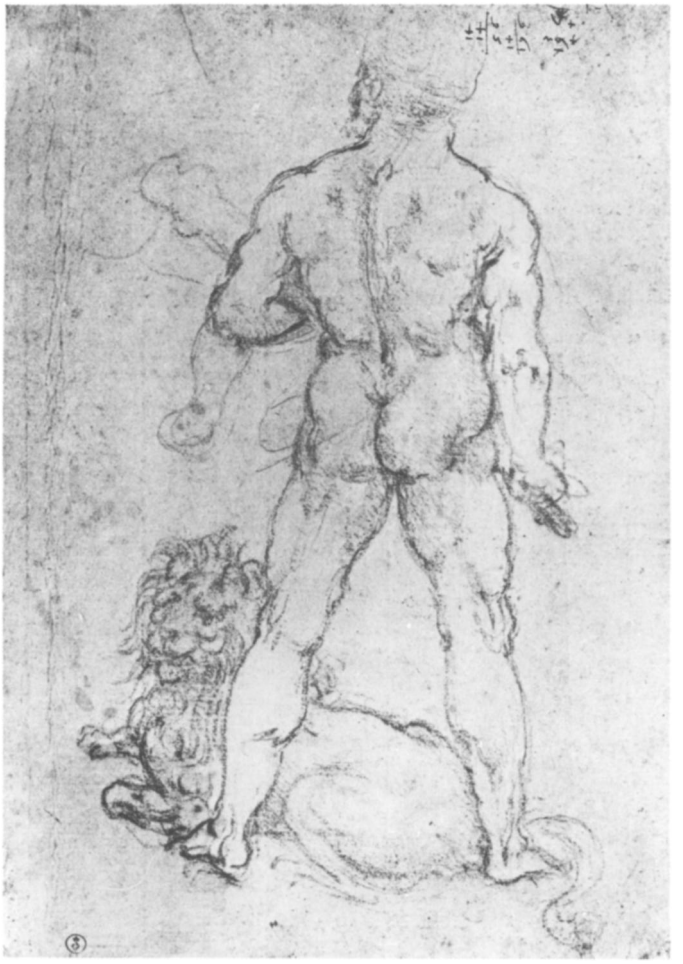

Fig. 5. Leonardo, Hercules and the Lion, *Biblioteca Reale, Turin, Inv. 15630 (photo Chomon-Perino, Turin).*

Fig. 6. Michelangelo, Hercules and Cacus (?), *Casa Buonarroti, Florence (photo G.F.S.G., Firenze).*

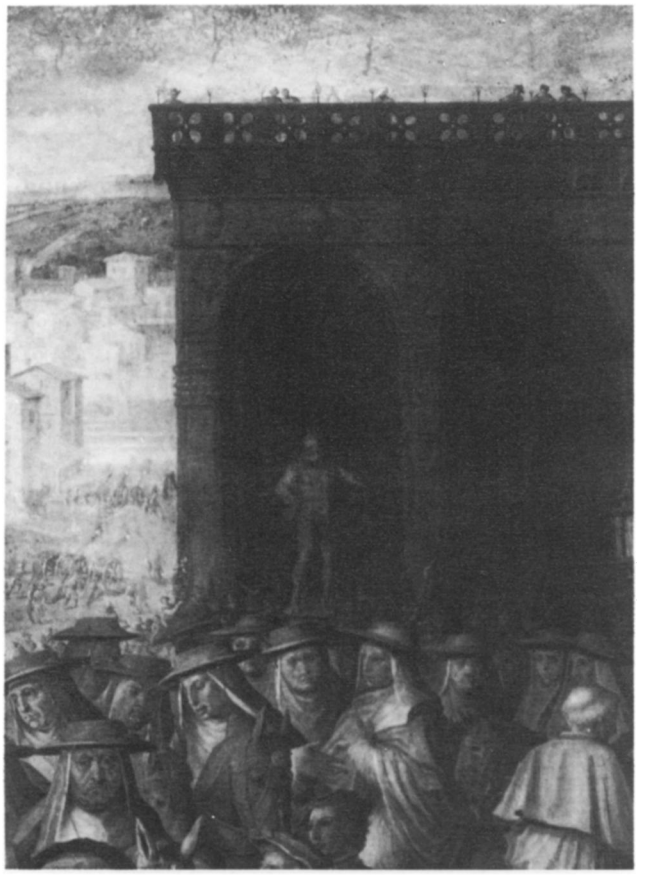

Fig. 7. Vasari, Entry of Leo X, *Detail, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence* (*photo Alinari*).

Fig. 8. Hercules Seal, Woodcut from D. M. Manni, Osservazioni istoriche, *Florence, 1739* (*photo Author*).

Fig. 9. Andrea Pisano, Hercules and Cacus, *now opera del Duomo, Florence* (*photo Alinari*).

Fig. 10. Hercules, *Porta della Mandorla, Duomo, Florence* (*photo Alinari*).

Fig. 11. Bandinelli, Giants, *Villa Madama, Rome (photo Author).*

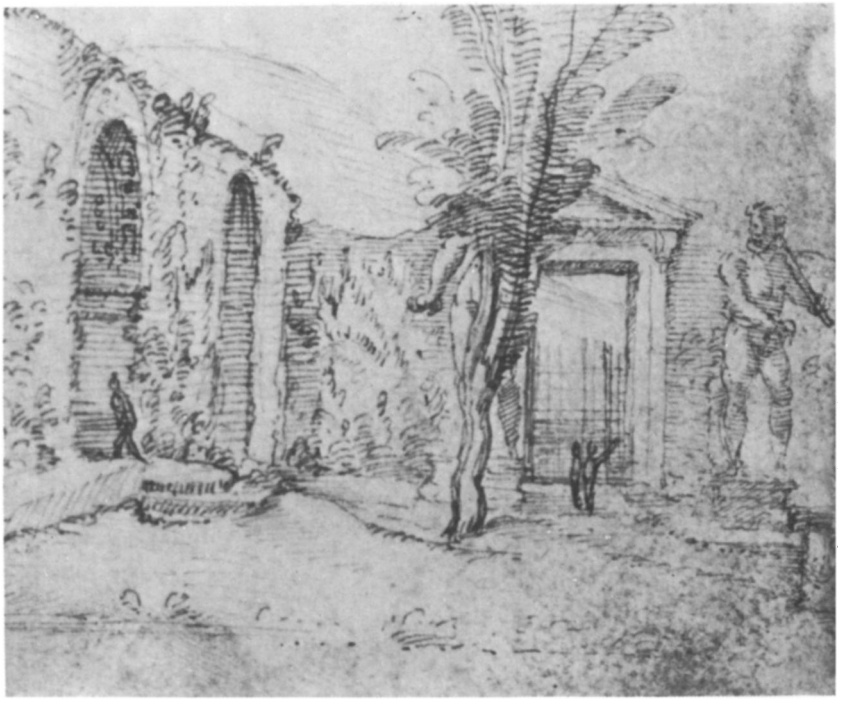

Fig. 12. Heemskerck, Villa Madama, *Detail*, Skizzenbuch *I, f. 24r, Staatliche Museum Preussicher Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin-Dahlem (photo Jörg P. Anders, Berlin).*

Fig. 13. Bandinelli, Giant, *Villa Madama, Rome (photo Author).*

Fig. 14. Michelangelo, Risen Christ, *S. M. sopra Minerva, Rome*

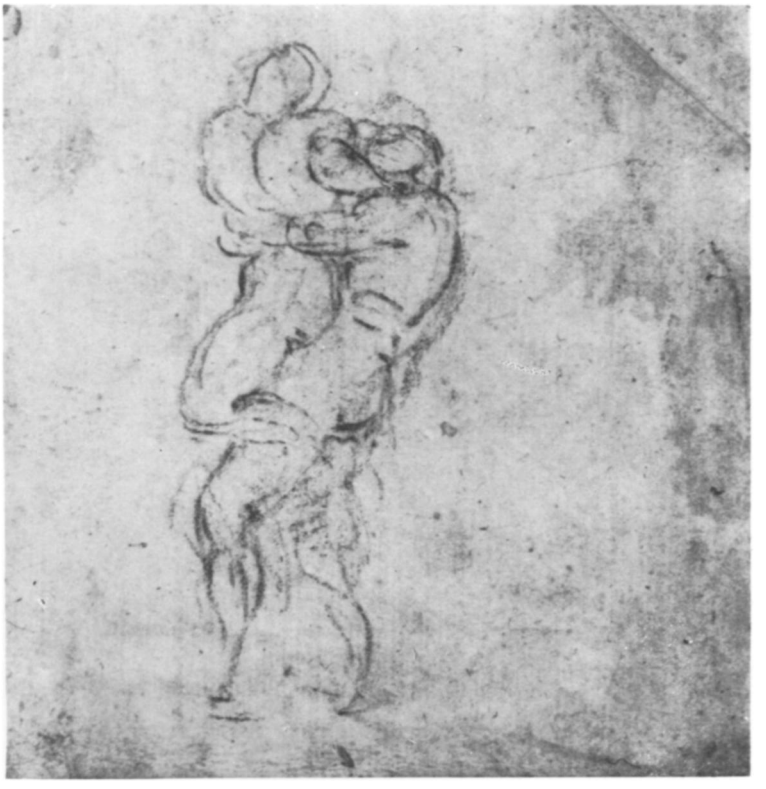

Fig. 15. Michelangelo, Hercules and Antaeus, *British Museum, London (photo by permission of the Trustees).*

Fig. 16. Michelangelo, Hercules and Antaeus, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (photo Ashmolean Museum).*

Fig. 17. Michelangelo, Hercules *or* Samson, *Casa Buonarroti, Florence* (*photo G.F.S.G., Firenze*).

Fig. 18. Bandinelli, Hercules and Cacus, *Bode Museum, East Berlin* (*photo Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*).

Fig. 19. Michelangelo, Hercules *or* Samson, *Casa Buonarroti, Florence (photo G.F.S.G., Firenze).*

Fig. 20. Bandinelli, Hercules and Cacus, *Bode Museum, East Berlin (photo Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).*

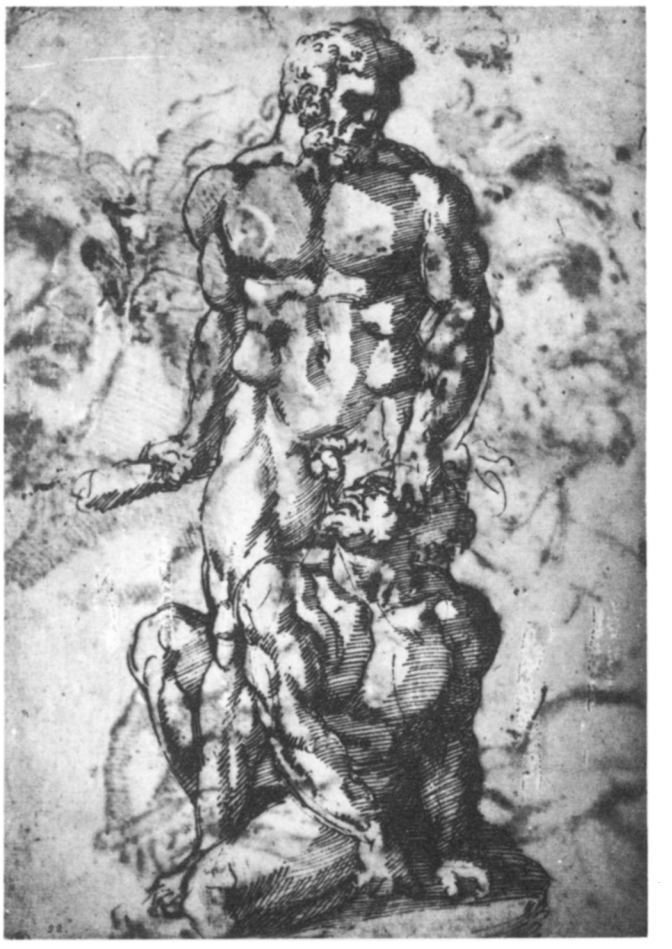

Fig. 22. After (?) *Bandinelli*, Hercules and Cacus, *Uffizi 714E recto* (*photo G.F.S.G., Firenze*).

Fig. 21. Bandinelli, Hercules and Cacus, *Bode Museum, East Berlin* (*photo Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*).

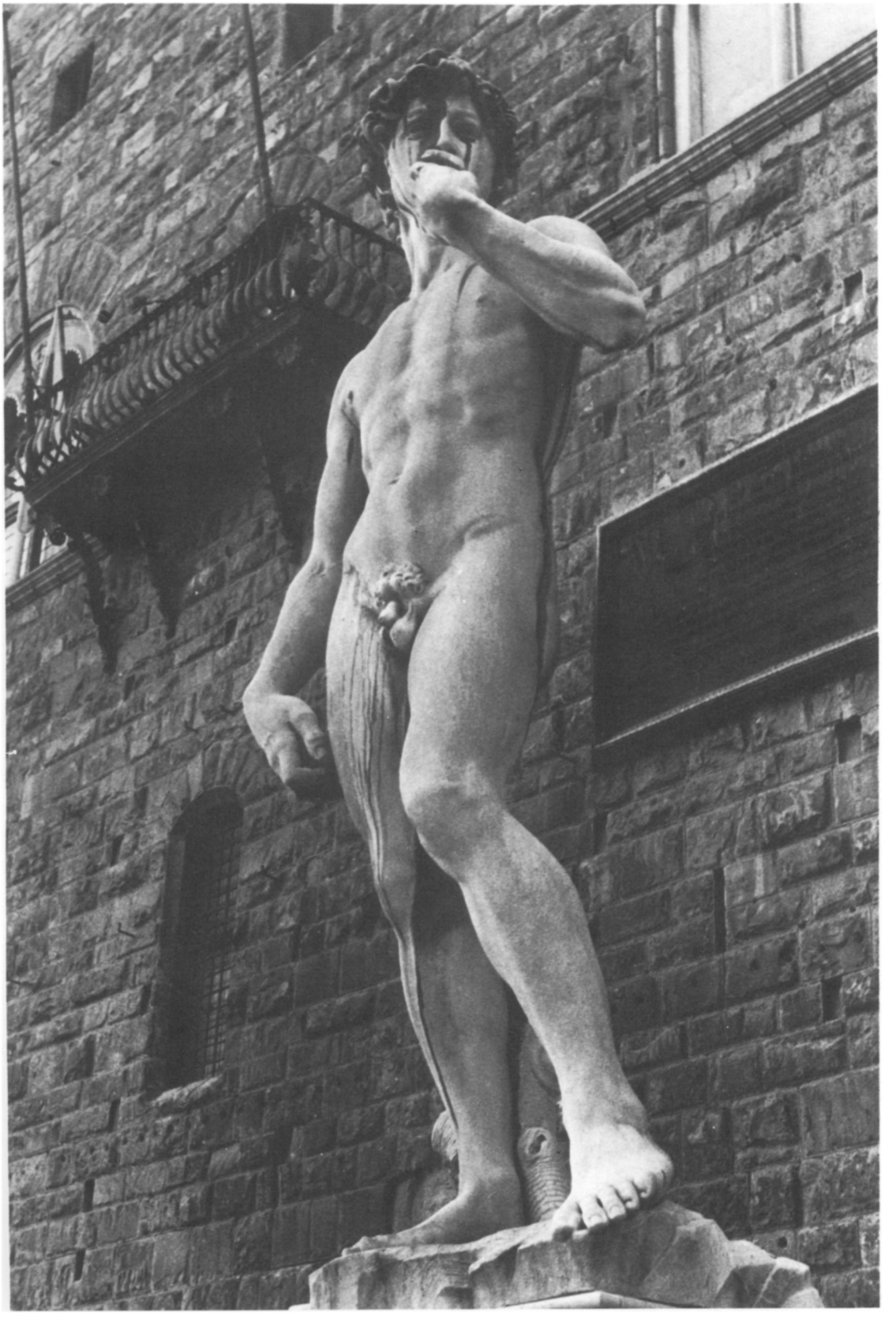

Fig. 23. Michelangelo, David (*copy*), *Piazza della Signoria, Florence* (*photo Author*).

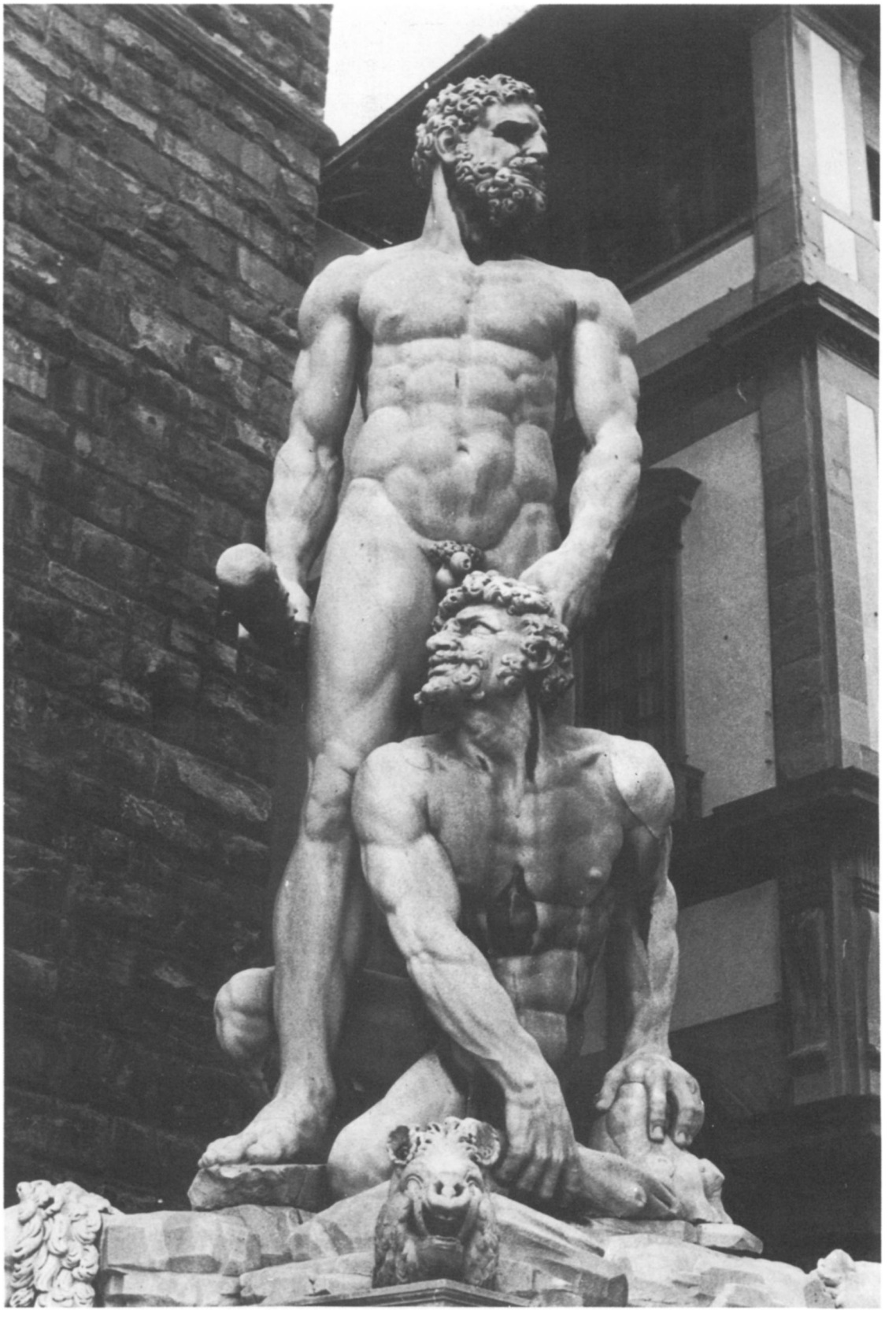

Fig. 24. Bandinelli, Hercules and Cacus, *Piazza della Signoria, Florence* (*photo Author*).

Fig. 25. Donatello and Nanni di Bartolo, Abraham and Isaac, *now Opera del Duomo, Florence (photo Alinari).*

Fig. 26. Donatello, Judith, *Piazza della Signoria, Florence (photo Author).*

Fig. 27. Hercules Sarcophagus, *Detail*, *Galleria Borghese*, *Rome* (*photo G.F.N.*, *Roma*).

Fig. 28. Leonardo, Studies for the Battle of Anghiari, *Biblioteca Reale, Turin, Inv. 15567 (photo Chomon-Perino, Turin).*

Fig. 29. Bandinelli, Hercules and Cacus, *Piazza della Signoria, Florence (photo Author).*

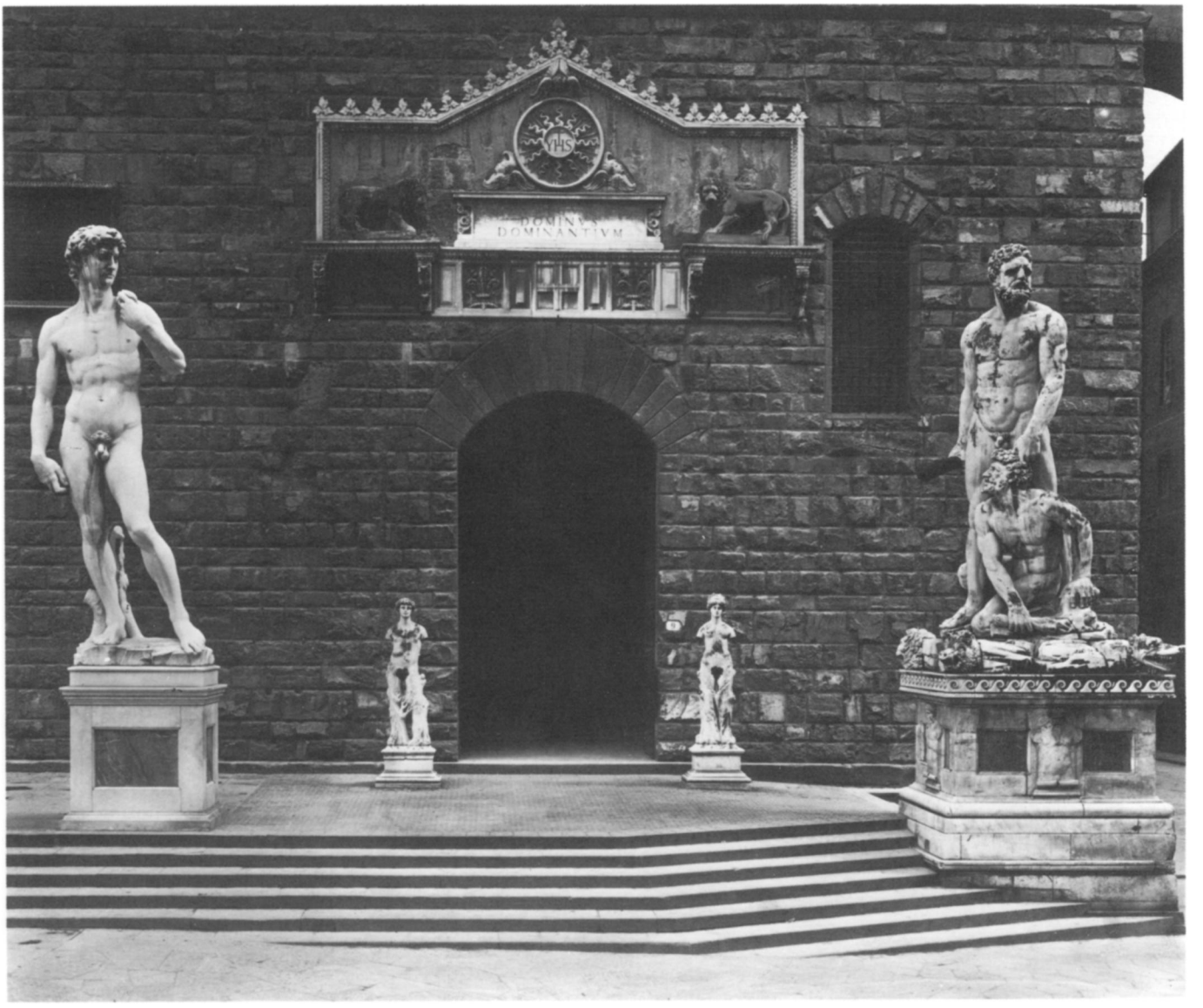

Fig. 30. Michelangelo, David (*copy*) *and Bandinelli*, Hercules and Cacus, *Piazza della Signoria, Florence* (*photo Brogi*).

Fig. 31. Donatello, St. George, *Museo Nazionale (Bargello), Florence (photo Anderson).*

Fig. 32. Bandinelli and Follower (?), St. George (*after Donatello*), *Uffizi 489F verso (photo G.F.S.G., Firenze).*