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Remembering the Medici: Michelangelo's New Sacristy and the Memory of Medici Magnificence in Sixteenth-Century Florence

By

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Linda Prudence Hardi
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An abstract of
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Abstract

Remembering the Medici: Michelangelo's New Sacristy and the Memory of Medici Magnificence in Sixteenth-Century Florence
By Linda Prudence Hardi

The New Sacristy of the Florentine Basilica of San Lorenzo was commissioned from Michelangelo in 1519 by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, in consultation with his cousin Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici). It was built as a mausoleum for Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, and for their descendants Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, and Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino This study examines Michelangelo's methods in designing the New Sacristy in relation to the central mechanisms of Renaissance portraiture, which rehearse a socially legible representation of a particular individual's character and status by casting it in a fictional interaction with a willing audience. In order to demonstrate how the concept of portraiture frames the rhetorical apparatus of Michelangelo's New Sacristy, as a platform for the beholder's experience of the space, the following paper will review the components of the sculptural program, and the range of available models with which Michelangelo could expect his viewers to associate the posthumous memory of the Medici. This includes the various precedents available to Michelangelo in the tombs of other Florentines—and more specifically, the tombs of other Medici leaders at San Lorenzo—as the most immediate influence on the beholder's expectations for the tombs in the New Sacristy. Additionally, the precedent provided by the Medici in their patronage of the visual arts will be reviewed in order to assess Michelangelo's symbolic interpolation of the visual references in his New Sacristy tombs. This investigation must include a more specific definition of the terms and concepts attached to the study of the arts in Renaissance Italy, especially to the concept of portraiture at the time, and to the particular importance and character of visual culture in Renaissance Florence as the context for Michelangelo's New Sacristy.

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Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Figure 14 Andrea del Verrocchio (and workshop), Tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, c. 1470-1472, Marble, porphyry, serpentine, bronze, and pietra serena, Detail, sarcophagus.

Figure 15 Filippo Brunelleschi (architect), Old Sacristy, 1418-1428. Basilica of San Lorenzo, Florence. View of altar wall.

Figure 16 Donatello, Arched Relief with Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian, 1434-37. Polychrome terracotta, 215 x 180 cm. Old Sacristy, Basilica di San Lorenzo, Florence.

Figure 17 Desiderio da Settignano, Tomb of Carlo Marsuppini, 1453-1460. White and red marble. Santa Croce, Florence.

Figure 18 Donatello and Michelozzo, Tomb Monument of Baldassare Coscia (Tomb of Pope John XXIII), c. 1425-27. Marble and bronze, partially painted and gilt.Battistero di San Giovanni, Florence.

Figure 19 Bernardo Rossellino, Tomb of Leonardo Bruni, c. 1444-1447. Santa Croce, Florence.

Figure 20 Bernardo Rossellino, Head of Leonardo Bruni, (detail) from the Tomb of Leonardo Bruni, 1444-1447. Santa Croce, Florence.

Figure 21 Bernardo Rossellino, Virgin and Child with two angels, (detail) from the Tomb of Leonardo Bruni, 1444-1447. Santa Croce, Florence.

Figure 22 Michelozzo, Tabernacle or Chapel of the Crucifixion, front and back views. Marble tabernacle, enamelled terracotta roof and ceiling by Luca della Robbia, c. 1448. San Miniato al Monte, Florence.

Figure 23 Michelozzo, Tabernacle or Chapel of the Crucifixion, Detail of marble ornament., c. 1448. San Miniato al Monte, Florence.

Figure 24 Michelozzo, Reliquary tabernacle devoted to the miraculous Virgin, c. 1449, Santissima Annunziata, Florence

Figure 25 Illumination depicting the Palazzo Medici, *Book of Hours of Laodamia de' Medici*, London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 30, fol. 20v.

Figure 26 Fra Angelico, San Marco Altarpiece, c. 1432-40, Tempera on wood. Florence, Museo di San Marco.

Figure 27 Domenico Ghirlandaio, Sassetti Chapel, Detail, *Confirmation of Franciscan Rule by Pope Honorius III* (above)and *Resurrection of the Notary's Son* (below),1479-85. Fresco. Santa Trinità, Florence.

Figure 28 Piero Cattaccio *Medici Family Tree*, 16th century (first half). Parchment manuscript illumination, 31.5 x 22 cm. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Figure 29 Anonymous Florentine, 15th or 16th century, probably after a model by Andrea del Verrocchio and Orsino Benintendi. *Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici*, Painted terracotta, 65.8 x 59.1 x 32.7 cm. Washington, National Gallery of Art.

Figure 30 Andrea del Verrocchio, *Bust of Giuliano de' Medici*, c. 1475-78, Terracotta, 61 x 66 x 28.3 cm. Washington, National Gallery of Art.

Figure 31 Michelangelo, Medici Chapel, 1519-1534, New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence, Front and back of torso, seated effigy of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours (detail of tomb sculpture).

Figure 32 Michelangelo, Candelabrum (for altar), Medici Chapel , 1519-1534. New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Figure 33 Andrea del Verrocchio, *Lavabo*, c. 1464-1469, Marble, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Figure 34 Andrea del Verrocchio, *Lavabo*, c. 1464-1469, Marble, San Lorenzo, Florence. Detail of top.

Figure 35 Giorgio Vasari, *Portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent,* 1533-1534. Tempera on panel, 80 x 72.5 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Figure 36 Copy after Raphael (16th century), *Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours*, Tempera and oil on canvas, 83.2 x 66 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 37 Raphael, *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino,* 1518. Oil on canvas 38 x 31 in. (97 x 79 cm.) Private Collection.

Figure 38 Donatello, Frieze containing tondi of alternativing seraphim and chreubim. Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Figure 39 Michelangelo (designer), carved by Francesco da Sangallo, Medici Chapel, 1519-1534, New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Figure 40 Giovanni Pietro Birago, *Francesco Sforza among the Famous Warriors of Antiquity*, c. 1490. Paint on Vellum.Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

The New Sacristy of the Florentine Basilica of San Lorenzo was commissioned from Michelangelo in 1519 by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, in consultation with his cousin Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici).[1] It was built as a mausoleum for Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, the so-called *magnifici*, and for their descendants Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, and Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino **(Fig. 1)**. When he became Pope, Leo X gained the power and authority to help facilitate the restoration of the Medici to power in Florence.[2] As the son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, he was dynastically authorized to reclaim the mythology of the Laurentian golden age as validation—as could his brother, Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours—and use it for taking back control of the city for the Medici in 1512.[3] Michelangelo's New Sacristy was created during the brief period, marked by the return of the Medici to power in 1512, in which the Medici rulers in the city of Florence, and their papal relatives in Rome, attempted to reestablish the prosperity of the by-gone golden age of Lorenzo the Magnificent.[4] In part, the patrons' choice of Michelangelo as

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[1] Giulio de' Medici was a cardinal from 1513 until 1523, when he became Pope, taking the name Clement VII (until his death in 1534). He was the illegitimate son of Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Lorenzo il Magnifico. Giovanni de' Medici—who took the name Leo X as pope—was the son of Lorenzo il Magnifico. The papacies of the two Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII, were interrupted, briefly, by the reign of Adrian VI (from January of 1522 till September, 1523).

[2] As Cristina Acidini Luchinat explains, the "return of the Medici to Florence, which Leo had helped to engineer, was hailed as the revival of a golden age, and the Pope's brother Giuliano, duke of Nemours, and his nephew Lorenzo di Piero, duke of Urbino, who now took on the leadership of the city, was welcomed with parades and festivals." Cristina Acidini Luchinat (ed.), *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 12.

[3] "In 1512 the restoration of the Medici, heralded as a return to the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, was accompanied by a festive policy that was not only inspired by Lorenzo's, but also devised to lend credence to the Lorenzo myth." Michel Plaisance and Nicole Carew-Reid, *Florence in the Time of the Medici: Public Celebrations, Politics, and Literature in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 101.

[4] FW Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Melissa Meriam Bullard, "The Magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici: Between Myth and History," in Phyllis Mack and Margaret C. Jacob (eds.), *Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of H. G. Koenigsberger* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 25-58. Another useful resource of information on Lorenzo and his era is the catalogue, edited by Cristina Acidini Luchinat, of the exhibition held at the *Renaissance Florence: The Age of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1449-1492* (Milan: Charta, 1993). For a detailed analysis and account of Lorenzo's activities as a collector, see Laurie Smith Fusco and Gino Corti, *Lorenzo de' Medici: Collector and Antiquarian* (Cambridge: Cambridge

the designer for the memorial recalled the link between the artist's early biography and that of Lorenzo il Magnifico,[5] who was elevated in Florentine thought and memory as an ideal, virtuous leader.[6]

Recalling the architecture of Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy, built between 1418 and 1428, Michelangelo's New Sacristy features white stucco surfaces outlined with dark *pietra serena* columns, cornices, and arches **(Figs. 1 and 11)**.[7] The centrally oriented altar protrudes into the open space of the square chapel, seemingly reinforcing the prescribed liturgical function of the New Sacristy **(Fig. 2)**.[8] Departing from Brunelleschi's example in the Old Sacristy, Michelangelo's design incorporates more elaborate, classicizing marble components distributed horizontally across the lower registers of the New Sacristy. A blind marble tabernacle towers over each of the eight doorways, echoing and enlarging the framing devices used in the wall tombs to the left and right of the altar. The viewer occupies the space initially in relation to this framework. But the larger than life-sized human figures sculpted on the tombs project forward

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University Press, 2006). Fusco and Corti discuss the historical trajectory, patterns, and contexts of Lorenzo's activities as a collector (including the politics of collecting and the breadth of Lorenzo's network throughout Italy), as well as the objects themselves and the contexts in which they were displayed and interpreted.

[5] Cristina Acidini Luchinat (ed.), *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 12.

[6] Michel Plaisance and Nicole Carew-Reid, *Florence in the Time of the Medici: Public Celebrations, Politics, and Literature in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008); Lee Hancock, *Lorenzo de' Medici: Florence's Great Leader and Patron of the Arts* (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2005).

[7] John Paoletti and Gary M. Radke, *Art in Renaissance Italy* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997), 252.

[8] The Bull issued by Pope Clement VII (Cardinal Giulio de' Medici), on November 14th, 1532 required the clergy to regularly deliver prayers in honor of the deceased Medici. Leah Ettlinger identifies this important source and explains its application, in "The Liturgical Function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XXII (1978): 287-304.

from the walls into the beholder's line of sight already from the entrance, drawing attention away from the altar towards the Chapel's sculptural program **(Fig. 3)**.[9]

Each of the three walls aside from the altar wall is centered on a tripartite composition consisting of three human figures, whose enigmatic features are rendered in compelling, beautiful detail. The central position in the wall tomb on the right side of the New Sacristy (when facing the altar wall from the entrance) is occupied by the seated figure of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours **(Fig. 6),** while the tomb against the opposite wall belongs to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino **(Fig. 5)**. Draped over the marble sarcophagi beneath each of the seated effigies, Michelangelo sculpted pairs of reclining allegories. These allegories are the nude personifications of the four *Times of Day,* paired as opposites on the facing wall tombs: the soft feminine form of *Dawn* is juxtaposed with the masculine body of *Dusk*, while the muscular but female figure of *Night* is paired with the male personification of *Day*.[10] Along the main wall of the New Sacristy, opposite the altar wall, the double sarcophagus of Lorenzo il Magnifico and Giuliano de' Medici bears no effigies of the deceased **(Fig. 4)**. Their monumental, rectangular, sarcophagus is unadorned except with a simple inscription of the brothers' names. The flat top of the sarcophagus serves as a base for the three full-length sculptures of the Virgin and Child flanked Saints Cosmas and Damian, the Medici patron saints.[11]

The New Sacristy is decorated with sculptures that link the deceased to their ancestors, who had sponsored Brunelleschi's refurbishment of the Basilica of San Lorenzo in the quattrocento and were entombed across the transept from Michelangelo's New Sacristy, in the

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[9] Originally, one entered the New Sacristy from the right of the tomb of Lorenzo the Magnificent and his brother Giuliano, while today one enters from the right of their sarcophagus; in both cases, the viewer enters from the wall facing the altar.

[10] Edith Balas challenges this generally accepted identification. See Edith Balas, *Michelangelo's Medici Chapel: A New Interpretation* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995).

[11] Till Verellen, "Cosmas and Damian in the New Sacristy." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 274-277.

Old Sacristy **(plan**, **Fig. 10)**. As a sepulchral monument, the New Sacristy was dedicated to the Resurrection, an appropriate theme for tomb designs, as well as a thematic interest of the Medici.[12] The Bull issued by Clement VII near the completion of the project, in November of 1532, included detailed arrangements for services to be held in the chapel and prayers to be said for the salvation of the Medici family, which Leah Ettlinger explains was centered on the idea of continuous intercession and the theme of resurrection.[13] The memory of the life of Lorenzo il Magnifico was used to articulate the theme of the resurrection, as part of the larger Medicean narrative, in terms of the history of Florence.[14] At a time when popular understanding of Florence's communal history was being shaped by and linked with the histories of prominent Florentine individuals, the Medici were so successful in asserting their relation to the community in the visible domain of the city, that the family history "came to be equated with the fate of the collectivity."[15]

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[12] Leah Ettlinger, "The Liturgical Function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 22. Bd., H. 3 (1978), 287- 304; John W. Dixon, "The Medici Chapel as a Resurrection," in William E. Wallace (ed.), *Michelangelo: Selected Scholarship in English. 3. San Lorenzo* (New York: Garland, 1995), 135-145.

[13] Of the Bull she writes: "It was issued on November 14th 1532, and the provisions for the services to be held in the new chapel, dedicated to the Resurrection of Christ, are spelt out in great detail. The financial arrangements allowing payment for the officiating clergy are complex, but fortunately need not detain us here beyond saying that ample sums had to be available since the Pope wished to add four new capellani to conduct the services required by him… (it) ordered uninterrupted services: three masses per day had to be said, and during the rest of the time, by day and night, the whole psalter was recited, each psalm being followed by a prayer. Such continuous intercession is unique in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Not surprisingly the clergy of San Lorenzo eventually found that they could not maintain praying at this rate" Ettlinger, Ibid, 295-296.

[14] Of Lorenzo, Richard Trexler explains: "His childhood, near martyrdom, and death, and the limbo of family exile after 1494 appeared to be the preconditions for the resurrection of the family after its return from exile in 1512. The Medicean popes of the sixteenth century, in turn, were looked upon as holy spirits who, by bestowing immortality on the city, brought to a happy end the republican search for unquestioned credit, honor and trust." Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 420. Also, on Lorenzo il Magnifico as Lorenzo the Martyr, see Trexler, "Lorenzo de' Medici and Savonarola, Martyrs of Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 31 (1978): 1-25.

[15] Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 420.

To an extent, the architectural components of the New Sacristy regulate the viewer's experience by systematizing the distribution of sculptural imagery so as to stage a familiar encounter reminiscent of other Florentine commemorative structures—such as wall tombs and funerary chapels, the exclusive privilege of the highest ranking members of society.[16] Beholders were compelled to understand the sculptures in the round on the tombs of the *capitani* in the New Sacristy within the context of sepulchral monuments found in the churches of Florence. Michelangelo's tomb sculptures depart more radically from the prevailing models for commemorative sculpture in popular use, for example, the reclining portrait effigies that, in special cases, appeared on tomb slabs or atop sarcophagi in wall tombs, but were rare enough to signify a degree of status for their subjects.[17] Because portraits were only included in a small number of tombs belonging to the most privileged members of Florentine society, the presence of the human, figural sculptures in the central registers of Michelangelo's Medici tombs would have lead the contemporary beholder to certain assumptions, based on the particular status Florentine audiences assigned to tombs with portrait effigies.[18] Two prominent examples of such tombs were erected in the aisles of the Basilica of Santa Croce in the fifteenth century. Desiderio da Settignano's monumental wall tomb of Carlo Marsuppini, begun in 1453, is positioned in the left aisle, across the nave from Bernardo Rossellini's tomb of Leonardo Bruni (**Figs. 17 and 19**).[19] Both of these tombs consist of niches inserted into the walls of the aisles, so that the

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[16] Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 26 (Autumn, 1994): 47-67; Sharon T. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

[17] See Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," 58-61.

[18] Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," 59.

[19] Marsuppini served as Chancellor of the city of Florence from the spring of 1444 (his predecessor was Leonardo Bruni), until his death in 1453 (April 24). Rossellino created the Florentine humanist Leonardo

sarcophagi are slightly removed from the space of the basilica's interior. Each includes a recumbent portrait effigy of the deceased, resting on a flat bier on top of a marble sarcophagus.

While the components of both these tombs at Santa Croce are arranged beneath rounded arches that recede into rectangular niches, the more extravagant tomb of Baldassare Coscia in the Baptistry of Florence prodrudes into the space of its audience. The monumental tomb of Baldassare Coscia (Antipope John XXIII) was created in a joint effort by Michelozzo and Donatello, from 1422-1428 **(Fig. 18).** Coscia's tomb is similar, in some aspects of its configuration, to the tombs of Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce (**Figs. 17 and 19**).[20]. Michelozzo's gigantic Corinthian columns flank the stacked components of Coscia's wall tomb, which projects three-dimensionally into the baptistery. Like the effigies of Bruni and Marsuppini, Coscia's gilded bronze effigy—the work of Donatello—reclines on a bier placed on top of his sarcophagus. However, Coscia's tomb is considerably more ostentatious than the Santa Croce tombs, particularly in Donatello's gilded effigy and Michelozzo's columns. The subjects of these examples, like all other portrait effigies on Florentine tombs, were sculpted in death, and appropriately dressed to indicate the rank the deceased had achieved in life.

Effectively, the expected condition of likeness in effigy portraits placed on tombs in Renaissance Florence, and the lack thereof in the New Sacristy, serves to initiate a participatory relationship with the viewer, who is left to do the work of connecting the images and names with

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Bruni—who was the city's Chancellor from 1427 until his death in 1444—to be placed in the Basilica of Santa Croce. No documents exist on the commission, but the Signoria is generally accepted as the primary instigator, in defiance of Bruni's own request for an unobtrusive tomb slab in the pavement of the church. Anne Markham Schulz, *The Sculpture of Bernardo Rossellino and His Workshop* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 32-51; Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," 56. Butterfield identifies Bruni's tomb as breaking with the customary reservation of tomb portraiture as a privilege for high-ranking ecclesiastical figures, for the first time in Florence in the fifteenth century.

[20] On the tomb of Baldassare Coscia see Sarah Blake McHam, "Donatello's Tomb of Pope John XXIII," in Marcel Tetel, Ronald G. Witt, and Rona Goffen (eds.), *Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), 146-173.

the individuals they are meant to invoke. Viewers have always been aware of the fact that the effigies seated at the center of each wall tomb in the New Sacristy are not truthful representations of the two individuals based on their physical features. In July 1544, Michelangelo's friend Niccolo Martelli recorded the exceptional character of the *capitani* in a letter relating the artist's response to the criticism of his sculptures. Martelli wrote:

> Michelangelo…having to sculpt there the illustrious lords of the most felicitous house of the Medici, did not use as his models Duke Lorenzo and Lord Giuliano as Nature had portrayed and composed them, but rather gave them a size, proportion, decorum, grace and splendor which he thought would bring them more praise, saying that in a thousand years no one would be able to remember that they had looked otherwise, but would continue to the amazed by and honor them as he had represented them here.[21]

Martelli's letter both suggests that Michelangelo's portraits of the two *capitani* are representative of something praiseworthy and memorable about them, and points to the temporal limitations of portraits that replicated the physical features of their subjects, capturing a likeness in an effort to secure a specific presence. Though Michelangelo rejects the practice of veristic representation of the deceased employed in other tomb monuments in his project for the New Sacristy, its design does have a great deal to do with the uses and types of portraiture current in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Florence. Superficially, Michelangelo's effigies of the *capitani* represent their subjects in terms of a heroic, masculine ideal adopted by early modern elites to convey

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[21] "…havendo in quella à scolpire i Signori illustri della felicissima casa de Medici non tolse dal Duca Lorenzo, ne dal Sig. Giuliano il modello apunto come la natura gli avea effigiati e composti, ma diede loro una grandezza una proporzione un decoro una gratia uno splendore qual gli parea che piu lodi loro arrecassero, dicendo che di qui à mille anni nessuno non ne potea dar cognitione che fossero altrimenti, di modo che le genti in loro stessi mirandoli ne rimarrebbero stupefatti." Niccolò Martelli, *Il primo libro delle lettere di Niccolò Martelli* (Florence, 1546), fol. 49.

privileged status, masculine strength, and moral virtue.[22] The sculptures of the *capitani* and the ornamentation of their tombs together stake the claim that the younger Giuliano and Lorenzo had failed to live up to in life, attaching the air of the earlier Lorenzo's magnificence to their posthumous memory.[23]

Michelangelo drew from various precedents in order to assemble what might be conceived of as a collective, commemorative portrait of the Medici entombed in the space. That is, the sculptural program of the New Sacristy can be related to the notion of portraiture when portraiture refers to a set of creative, rhetorical strategies used to represent a particular subject in recognizable, believable terms for a particular audience. In order to demonstrate how the concept of portraiture frames the rhetorical apparatus of Michelangelo's New Sacristy, as a platform for the beholder's experience of the space, the following paper will review the components of the sculptural program, and the range of available models with which Michelangelo could expect his viewers to associate the posthumous memory of the Medici. This includes the various precedents available to Michelangelo in the tombs of other Florentines—and more specifically, the tombs of other Medici leaders at San Lorenzo—as the most immediate influence on the beholder's expectations for the tombs in the New Sacristy. Additionally, the precedent provided by the Medici in their patronage of the visual arts will be reviewed in order to assess Michelangelo's symbolic interpolation of the visual references in his New Sacristy

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[22] Magne Malmanger, "Dukes or Dummies? The Commemoration of the Capitani in the Medici Chapel," in Rocco Sinisgalli (ed.), *Verso una Storia Organica della Prospettiva* (Rome: Kappa, 2001), 36-49.

[23] "Maintaining that Florence should have an oligarchic government comprising the Medici's most loyal adherents, Leo foresaw a state of equilibrium between the civil aristocracy and his family. However, Lorenzo di Piero had his own ideas. Concentrating increasing amounts of power in his hands, he undermined the "vivere civile" that Lorenzo the Magnificent had always safeguarded. In this way, the ideology of the 'Golden Age' assumed ambiguous tonalities. A reflection of this shift in political climate can be found in the defiance shown by the Florentines in 1513: slogans hostile to Leo's visit were scratched onto the walls where papal courtiers were lodged." Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 101.

tombs. This investigation must include a more specific definition of the terms and concepts attached to the study of the arts in Renaissance Italy, especially to the concept of portraiture at the time, and to the particular importance and character of visual culture in Renaissance Florence as the context for Michelangelo's New Sacristy. Michelangelo designed the sculptural program of the New Sacristy with the memory of fifteenth-century Laurentian Florence in mind, but the continued importance of visual representation to the cultural life of Florence in the sixteenth century also had some bearing upon the development and reception of the final work. It is thus necessary to consider the New Sacristy in light of what is known about the trajectory of visual culture over the course of the Renaissance in Florence.[24] Scholars have long been aware of the sustained relationship between the arts and the processes of cultural knowledge and exchange in Renaissance Florence.[25] Florentine elite society maintained a collective awareness of visual imagery, and was conscious of the contribution of visual representation to the codification of local hierarchies of social interaction.[26] A "shared imagery" was employed in evaluations of an individual or family's honor, their virtues and good deeds as well as their faults and mistakes.[27]

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[24] In broader discussions, this timeframe can span anywhere from 1300 to the start of the seventeenth century.

[25] Numerous scholars have analyzed the visual dimension of Florentine Renaissance culture and society, many of them with a focus on the visual politics of the Medici family. See Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Cristina Acidini Luchinat et al, *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Monica Bietti, Anna Maria Giusti, and Maria Sframeli, *The Splendour of the Medici: Art and Life in Renaissance Florence* (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2008).

[26] As Patricia Rubin has argued, "the social operations and social consensus of fifteenth-century Florence relied on many forms of visual awareness and accountability." Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 130-31

[27] According to Rubin, the "social consciousness" of Renaissance Florence "depended on the ability to call to mind—collectively and individually—a shared imagery to judge both honor and shame, to shape public good and strategically to place private interest." She adds: "The visual arts participated in this process of social definition, literally reminding Florentines of themselves," manifesting in painted form the "codes and conventions that expressed and enforced the city's identity." Patricia Lee Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 130-31.

The Medici family, beginning with Cosimo il Vecchio, who cast himself as *pater patriae*—knew how to capitalize on this system. They were tenacious and methodical in their efforts to infuse the Medici image into the collective consciousness and ritual memory of the city in a variety of creative ways, not all of them strictly visual or overt.[28] For example, at the Duomo, where demonstrations of private, familial power were considerably restricted, Cosimo il Vecchio became an active patron of music.[29] Later, during the papacy of Leo X, the Medici sponsored a project to restore the cathedral's antiphonaries and graduals and seized the opportunity to insert themselves again into the "instruments of worship" of the Florentine public.[30] When Leo X returned for the first time as pope to the city of Florence, his processional *entrata* ritually activated the otherwise embedded Medici overlay of the shared spaces of the Renaissance city.[31] This honorific choreography was then repeated in the funeral procession of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours.[32]

To interpret the project in terms of portraiture, as a scholarly lens, allows us to situate Michelangelo's ideas within a particularly appropriate discourse that clarifies something qualitative about the nature of the engagement between the New Sacristy and its moment. One level of this interpretation finds Michelangelo's methods in designing the New Sacristy

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[28] See Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), especially chapter IV, "*Jugum Meum Suave Est:* Architecture and Myth in the Era of Leo X," 99-156.

[29] Cosimo and Piero were also a regular presence at the frequent civic dramas staged at the Duomo. Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 210-12.

[30] Marcia S. Tacconi, "Appropriating the Instruments of Worship: The 1512 Medici Restoration of the Florentine Cathedral Choirbooks," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2003): 333-376.

[31] See John Shearman, "The Florentine *Entrata* of Leo X," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 38* (1975): 136-154.

[32] Marcello Virgilio Adriani—first chancellor of the Florentine republic—gave the eulogy for Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, on the nineteenth of March 1516 (two days after his death on the seventeenth). Adriani delivered this oration in front of the Medici Palace on the Via Larga, initiating a funeral procession that ended at the site of San Lorenzo. See John Shearman, "The Florentine *Entrata* of Leo X," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 38* (1975): 136-154.

paralleling the central mechanisms of Renaissance portraiture, which rehearse a socially legible representation of a particular individual's character and status by casting it in a fictional interaction with a willing audience. By examining the Medici Chapel as a portrait, we may observe how Michelangelo takes up the human impulse to identify faces, or to attach a persona and a history to the image of a human face, and harnesses it in an experience of commemorative contemplation.[33] The honorific and memorial operations of the New Sacristy program turn on the rhetorical construct of the portrait, communicating Medici imagery through channels recognizable to its Florentine audience. The Medici family had harnessed the desire for legibility reflected in the development of portraiture as a genre in the quattrocento, by inserting their own images into the public domain in various forms. This gave them a degree of control over how their family was perceived, through the advancement of a kind of "rhetoric of portraiture," as Adrian Randolph calls it.[34] For the Medici, this rhetoric advanced the family name and collective image over the unique attributes and personalities of its individual members. Lorenzo and Giuliano, the *magnifici*, thus came to embody the virtues and ideals of their family. This is evidenced by a lovely illumination of the Medici genealogical tree, created by the artist, Piero Cattaccio, as an honorific gift for Leo X, sometime in the first half of the sixteenth century

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[33] For instance, in her assessment of "Renaissance Faciality," Maria Loh has pointed to the universal appeal of the human face as something beyond physiognomy, as "a thing that gives rise to meaning."[33] For Loh, the face is both "something produced in humanity" and "an inhuman abstract system of signification…a signifying machine" that speaks to the general desire for legibility in human relations. Additionally, from Niccolo Martelli's letter, Jodi Cranston has interpreted Michelangelo's method of idealizing the figures of the *capitani* as "(oriented) toward the reception of the effigies, their presence and significance in the future," such that it is the artist's "consciousness of the signifying potential of their features" which leads him to depict them as he does. Cranston, *Poetics of Portraiture*, 169.

[34] Randolph uses this term to label "the artistic means by which viewers could be convinced of visual reference to a particular individual." Adrian Randolph, "Introduction: The Authority of Likeness," *Word & Image* 19.1-2 (January-June 2003): 1-5.

(Fig. 28).[35] Every member of the Medici family is included in a round, red medallion, linked to the others by the golden tendrils of the proverbial tree's branches. All except seven of these roundels contain gold block lettering, which identify the individual family members by name. The seven exceptional roundels pertain to the Leo X's branch of the family, including three small faces in profile and four miniature escutcheons. The profile portraits represent Cosimo il Vecchio and his grandsons Lorenzo and Giuliano, skipping over Piero de' Medici (named in gold block letters), perhaps because his physical image was less ubiquitous during his lifetime than that of his father or his sons. The four escutcheons belong to Leo X, his nephew Cardinal Giulio, and the occupants of Michelangelo's wall tombs, Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and Giuliano, Duke of Nemours (the pope's crest is enlarged and includes the keys and papal tiara, and a cardinal's tassled hat adorns the crest of Cardinal Giulio).

Applied to the effigies of the *capitani,* the rhetoric of portraiture visually elevated its subjects—the departed Medici—in generating a composite, augmented memory of the family and its deeds. In the context of the rise of a refined interest in "naturalism" in representations of the Renaissance, and the concurrent "rise of the individual" in Renaissance Italy, artists and patrons alike recognized the value of the human impulse to identify realistic representations of people with life, and to read them, accordingly, as participants in some sort of narrative.[36] As has been argued by John Shearman, for example, painted portraits induced their viewers to enact and perpetuate this narrative component in an elevated, fictional encounter between represented subject and beholder, rhetorically structured vis-à-vis recognizable elements drawn from the

[35] Perhaps an appropriate occasion would have been the pope's first trip to Florence in 1515. See cat. no. 2 in Monica Bietti, Anna Maria Giusti, and Maria Sframeli, *The Splendour of the Medici: Art and Life in Renaissance Florence* (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2008), 53.
[36] Maria Loh, "Renaissance Faciality," *Oxford Art Journal* 32.3 (2009): 341-363.

social and cultural context of the outside world.[37] The artificial, ideal milieu generated by a painted portrait when it is approached by a viewer—the fictional space within which their idealized, face-to-face interaction can occur—is in a sense replicated by Michelangelo's design choices and projected across the liminal space of the New Sacristy. In the remainder of this paper, I will assess how the sculptural program of the New Sacristy might be understood as the backdrop for a portrait of the Medici, in which the particular disposition and attire of the effigies, the architectural membering of the wall tombs, the ornamental masks, and the sculptures of the saints and the Virgin on the tomb of the *magnifici* work in conjunction as part of the fictional milieu framed by the portrait.

Though the New Sacristy figures are not depicted with the same features, the manner in which Michelangelo's tomb sculptures are presented to the viewer is more alike in kind to that of painted portraits of the living Medici than to recumbent tomb effigies like the sculpture by Bernardo Rossellino on the tomb of Leonardo Bruni in Santa Croce **(Fig. 19)**. Rossellino's sculpture depicts the deceased Bruni with his eyes closed, his skin slightly sagging to betray his age, and his cheeks sunken in death **(Fig. 20)**. In contrast, the central figures of Michelangelo's Medici wall tombs are depicted seated upright and very much alive, with chiseled muscles and handsome, youthful features **(Figs. 7 and 8)**. The effigy of Giuliano, to the right of the entrance, turns with intense focus towards the figures of Saint Cosmas, Saint Damian, and the Virgin and Child between them **(Fig. 8)**. This turning motion carries through his entire body, from his craned neck to his torso, rotating towards the entrance to the Sacristy. The lines of motion extend all the way down to the tensed muscles of Giuliano's legs, so that he appears to be twisting slightly on the edge of his seat, poised to rise. The effigy of Giuliano has the tousled

[37] John Shearman, *Only Connect—: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

locks, dimpled chin, and aquiline nose of a Roman Augustus. He has generally been identified with the personification of the Active Life (*Vita Activa*).[38] Most scholars identify the counterpoint to Giuliano's "active" effigy in the "contemplative" figure of Lorenzo, directly across the room.[39] The body of Lorenzo's effigy is as lifelike, and animated, as that of Giuliano, but unlike Giuliano, who cranes his neck towards the figures standing on the tomb of the *magnifici*, Lorenzo's blank gaze is directed downwards and to the side, in the general direction of the entrance wall **(Fig. 7)**. While Giuliano's eyes are focused intently on the figural group along the entrance wall, Lorenzo is depicted lost in thought.[40] The body of his effigy is posed in deep contemplation, the hand of his left arm raised to stroke his chin pensively as he rests his weight on his elbow.

Painted portraits commissioned during the lifetimes of the recently deceased Lorenzo and Giuliano depict their subjects according to the vocabulary of contemporary fashions in dress, pose, and setting.[41] They are part of a courtly method of representation in which "the status and social rank of the person represented becomes more important than the person itself."[42] In general, portrait representations of wealthy, important men tended towards formulaic compositions in order to declare the status of their subjects. Such images generically represented straight-faced and upright male figures, attired in richly colored and embroidered textiles.

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[38] See Balas, Edith. *Michelangelo's Medici Chapel: A New Interpretation* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995), esp. 46-68.
[39] The prevailing assertion among scholars is to identify the effigy on the wall tomb on the right side of the room (when facing the altar) with Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, and the effigy at the center of the facing tomb (to the left of the room when facing the altar) with Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino. Trexler and Lewis advanced an argument for the reverse identification. Richard C. Trexler and Mary Elizabeth Lewis, "Two Captains and Three Kings: New Light on the Medici Chapel," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* IV (1981): 93-177.
[40] The pupils of the effigy of Giuliano are deeply incised, while the eyes of Lorenzo are blank.
[41] See Konrad Oberhuber, "Raphael and the State Portrait—II: The Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici," *The Burlington Magazine* 113.821 (August, 1971): 436-443.
[42] Konrad Oberhuber, "Raphael and the State Portrait—II: The Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici," 440.

Frozen in a nearly frontal pose, the subject was often depicted turning toward the viewer, his arm casually resting on his hip, or on an object such as a book or the hilt of a sword. In Raphael's early sixteenth-century portraits of the Medici *capitani*, both young men wear hats and neatly kept beards, with finely-made clothing indicative of their family's wealth **(Figs. 36 and 37**).[43]

Though the program contains no portrait likenesses taken from life, the concept of portraiture, as defined and qualified by numerous modern scholars, gives us a rhetorical frame for understanding the processes enacted by the viewer of the Medici tombs, whose experience is structured by Michelangelo's design of the sculptural program (and architecture) of the New Sacristy.[44] The surfaces of the room hint at an infinite realm beyond, a realm occupied by the departed Medici collectively commemorated in the New Sacristy. There, the viewer comes to recognize them in the forms they should have borne in life, thanks to the glorifying veneer of the

[43] The catalog of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection—where the portrait of Giuliano is housed—labels this painting as a "nearly contemporary copy" of the original by Raphael **(Fig. 40)**. The authors of the catalog identify this example as the "finest" of the known versions of the painting, which they discuss in review. They also believe that all of the details included in this composition were most likely present in the original work. See Federico Zeri with the assistance of Elizabeth E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings: A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sienese and Central Italian Schools* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 78–80, pl. 112. Cf. Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, who argues that irregularities in the execution and the revelation of the *pentimenti* in the x-ray are evidence against the identification of the painting as a copy. Instead, he suggests that it served as the model for all subsequent copies, and was designed by Raphael, who probably participated in the execution of the painting by his workshop. Jürg Meyer zur Capellen. "The Roman Portraits, ca. 1508–1520." *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings. 3* (Landshut: Acros, 2008), 14–16, 42, 46, and 183–88 (illustrations).

[44] On portraiture in this respect, see Maria Loh, "Renaissance Faciality," *Oxford Art Journal* 32.3 (2009): 341-363; Richard Brilliant, "Portraits: The Limitations of Likeness," *Art Journal* 46.3 (Autumn 1987): 171-172; Jodi Cranston, *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Adrian Randolph, "Introduction: The Authority of Likeness," *Word & Image* 19.1-2 (January-June 2003): 1-5; James Saslow, "The Unconsummated Portrait: Michelangelo's Poems About Art," in Amy Golahny (ed.), *The Eye of the Poet: Studies in the Reciprocity of the Visual and Literary Arts from the Renaissance to the Present* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1996), 79-101; Joanna Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Vanessa Walker-Oakes, "Representing the Perfect Prince: Pontormo's Alessandro de'Medici," *Comitatus* 32.1 (2001): 127-146.

effigies and the frames within which one encounters them in the design.[45] This proposition does not exclude the Neoplatonic readings of the New Sacristy advanced by De Tolnay and Panofsky, who read the iconography as a reflection of the hierarchical scheme of the Neoplatonic universe. Rather, this reading locates a viewer in the New Sacristy who is inspired by its design to contemplate the transience of terrestrial existence in contrast to the eternity that exists for the soul after death.[46] Within this scheme, the effigies of the *capitani* represent the eternal souls of the departed Medici, not their corporeal forms.[47] The present proposal also does not contradict the sociological interpretations of Frederick Hartt and others, whose primary claim is for "a central allegory of princely power" that elevates the immortal soul of the Medici family through social and religious traditions.[48] In Hartt's interpretation, the fact that the marble bodies of the *capitani* are dressed in the armor of Roman generals is appropriate to their roles as captains of the Church.[49]

The complexity of Michelangelo's conceits, however, suggests a more complicated reading of the armored effigies of the Medici *capitani*. Perhaps the armor of the *capitani* serves

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[45] In this respect, the effigies of the *capitani* in the New Sacristy fall stylistically under the heading of what Jodi Cranston identifies as Michelangelo's "poetics of portraiture," wherein Michelangelo was concerned with "Portraying figures as they should appear rather than as they actually do appear." Jodi Cranston, *The Poetics of Portraiture in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 168.

[46] Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo. III. The Medici Chapel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948); Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

[47] Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo. III. The Medici Chapel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948); Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962)

[48] Frederick Hartt, "The Meaning of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Oswald Goetz (ed.). Essays in Honor of Georg Swarzenski* (Chicago: Henry Regnery in cooperation with Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin, 1951), 145-155.

[49] Frederick Hartt, "The Meaning of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," In Oswald Goetz (ed.), *Essays in Honor of Georg Swarzenski* (Chicago: Henry Regnery in cooperation with Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin, 1951), 145-155. Hartt emphasizes the roles of Lorenzo and Giuliano as captains of the Church in his analysis of the Medici Chapel. Hartt accordingly explains the reason for the emphasis in the wall tombs on the younger Lorenzo and Giuliano, as opposed to the *magnifici*, by pointing to the importance of their roles as captains of the Church and the horrible loss suffered by the Medici dynasty—and its hopes for the future—with their deaths.

a multivalent function, which demonstrates the artist's successive visual troping of armor, or rather of the image of the armored male figure, to produce a range of associations in the beholder's imagination. At first glance, the details on the armor are particularly striking. Strange, mask-like faces with half-human features are carved in high relief at the center of the cuirass on Giuliano's effigy (both front and back, **Fig. 31**). Though his cuirass is relatively plain, Lorenzo's effigy wears an elaborate, zoomorphic helmet, in the shape of a lion's head, whose upper jaw curls into a visor overshadowing the *capitano's* pensive brow **(Fig. 7)**. But these embellishments are not entirely novel inventions on Michelangelo's part. Both classical and early modern models existed for Michelangelo's application of animated details to the armor of the Medici *capitani*. Michelangelo's effigies of the *capitani* are classified as idealized in part because their physical features are ambiguously heroic, youthful and handsome, resembling representations of classical exempla and Renaissance *all'antica* hero types like Hercules, Apollo, and Alexander the Great.[50] The representations of the seated, muscular, *capitani* are reminiscent of known forms of antique Roman portraiture, prized by the Medici and other elite families, and their designs also make reference to a specifically Medicean custom of collecting armor. The popular designs for elite armor in the early modern period were themselves classicizing, but there were also plenty of real, antique models, which Michelangelo would have known, having seen exemplary sculptures of emperors such as Tiberius, decked out in elaborate armor, in the collections of the Medici and their contemporaries. A 1492 inventory shows that numerous

[50] The various copies of the relief sculpture known as 'Alexander the Great' by Verrocchio and/or his workshop—like the example in the collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, dated to c. 1483-85—can be explained within the context of the popularity of classical hero portraits, as Stuart Phyrr et al have done. See Stuart W. Phyrr and José A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 96-98.

pieces of armor with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decorations were part of the Medici family collection.[51]

On top of the evident visual similarity of their attire to these models, the armored male figures in the New Sacristy could also recall the modes in which these images generally appeared in visual representations. Aside from individual portraits of rulers, elite men, dressed in armor, were frequently represented in exemplary groupings of famous men from antiquity and early modern history. Even the more heterogeneous series of *uomini famosi* (famous men) often included Roman generals.[52] In some examples, such as the circa 1490 illumination by Giovanni Pietro Birago, the Renaissance ruler and his court take on the guise of antique warriors. Birago illustrates Francesco Sforza, dressed as a Roman general with a blue, muscular cuirass, surrounded by his advisors, who are cast as the "famous warriors of antiquity," their armor painted in bright oranges and greens (**Fig. 40**). Though their colors set them apart, the armor worn by Sforza and his advisors in the illumination is similar in form to that worn by Michelangelo's white marble *capitani* in the New Sacristy. By invoking the armored figures found in this particular tradition of elite masculine representation, Michelangelo uses the armor as a cue for invoking the group. In this case, the part—that is, the individual *capitano*—invoked the historical whole, tracing back a lineage, as did the common representations of famous men in serial-format. In the New Sacristy, this strategy heroically linked the individual Medici *capitani*

[51] Stuart W. Phyrr and José A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 96.
[52] The particularly rich example of this tradition found in Federico da Montefeltro's *studiolo* at Urbino is discussed in detail by Luciano Cheles, whose analysis includes a thorough review of the history of the subject in the visual arts. Luciano Cheles, *The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Investigation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986).

to their own ancestral lineage, as well as to the general concept of heroic masculinity in contemporary illustrations.[53]

The armored male figure could also have been read in terms of a more religious significance that makes sense in the context of a funerary monument that is also a chapel dedicated to the Resurrection. Carolyn Springer identifies the letter of St. Paul to the Ephesians, specifically the passage from 6:11-17, as "the primary source for the edifying descriptions of armor in medieval manuals of chivalry, in which the various components of the knight's armor were individually allegorized."[54] Moreover, Springer clarifies that this text makes reference to "the spiritual psychomachia of the individual Christian," rather than to secular warfare.[55] Michelangelo's rendering of the armored *capitani* could have such references in mind. Alternatively, it may refer, in a more generalized manner, to the "*topos* of Christ as knight."[56] The most direct comparison, in the realm of portraiture, can be made between the effigy of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, and an earlier portrait bust of Giuliano de' Medici, brother of Lorenzo il Magnifico, made by Verrocchio and his workshop in the late-1470s (**Fig. 30**).[57] But portraits of prominent family members were proliferated throughout the Renaissance in a variety of media, including paintings, medallions, and sculptures.[58] Frescoed portraits of

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[53] Tomb monuments in general, as a kind of representation, conveyed information about the deceased in terms of the norms of their social group. According to Andrew Butterfield, "a monument not only serves to depict the features of the deceased individual; it also preserves a record of the social relations that surrounded its creation." Andrew Butterfield, "Social Structure and the Typology of Funerary Monuments in Early Renaissance Florence," 67.
[54] Carolyn Springer, *Armour and Masculinity in the Italian Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 47.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid, 47.
[57] The bust, in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, is dated to c.1475-78.
[58] Karla Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici* (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1983-87).

family members were depicted in public frescoes, and in more personal, privileged contexts like the Palazzo Medici.[59]

In the New Sacristy, Michelangelo does not represent the familiar, Medici family likenesses found in other contexts and media. The lifelike precision of his figures creates a credible illusion of real presence to authorize the specific fictional ideal they represent. In general, these images seek to honor the memory of Medici greatness by giving it a grander, more perfect visual form than any individual member of the family had possessed in life. This was a common conceit of elite portraiture, which advanced the refined, elite construct of masculine virtue in believable form through portrait representation. As Vanessa Walker-Oakes puts it: "Realism or naturalism in portraiture…works to the sitter's and artist's advantage; it naturalizes as actual that which was most certainly a fiction."[60] The resulting portraits distill the social world of their subjects into an arrangement of signifiers, objects and settings that relate the human figures to themes invested with cultural significance, legible to the contemporary beholder.

Such carefully coded representations of the Florentine elite had a well-established tradition. The decoration of memorial chapels in Renaissance Florence could include frescoes in which the deceased were represented alongside other members of their social circle, indicating their standing in the social hierarchy of the city. Multiple members of the Medici family appear in the frescoes of the Sassetti Chapel at Santa Trinità, painted by Ghirlandaio 1483-1485 **(Fig.**

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[59] Most notably, Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco of the *Journey of the Magi* (Fig. 30) in the Palazzo Medici.
[60] Vanessa Walker-Oakes, "Representing the Perfect Prince: Pontormo's Alessandro de'Medici," *Comitatus* 32.1 (2001), 130. In this article, Vanessa Walker-Oakes argues for a dynastic reading of Bronzino's painted portrait of Alessandro de' Medici that can be related, to a certain extent, to the processes utilized by Michelangelo as well in his composition of the effigies of the *capitani* in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo. She identifies a genealogical justification articulated in Bronzino's painting through "allusions to the Medici of the past, expressed via the inclusion of icons and Medici symbols and via formal resemblances to previous Medici portraiture." Vanessa Walker-Oakes, "Representing the Perfect Prince: Pontormo's Alessandro de'Medici," *Comitatus* 32.1 (2001), 132.

27). In Ghirlandaio's fresco cycle, figures in contemporary Florentine dress direct and encourage the beholder's contemplation of the scenes through their gestures and glances. The arrangements of the figures in these scenes rehearse devotional practices such as mourning and reverence. Moreover, as Patricia Rubin has noted, the vertical arrangement of the compositional planes also symbolically reinforces the Sassetti's intended message of lineage.[61] It is significant, that, in addition to including the figure of Lorenzo il Magnifico, Ghirlandaio also painted his two young sons ascending the steps behind their teacher, Poliziano. As Rubin describes it, the arrangement of fictive spaces on the chapel wall gives the impression that the figures emerge from the scene in the central register depicting the *Resurrection of the Notary's Son* and entering the *Confirmation of Franciscan Rule* scene at the top.[62] As the central event of Christianity, the Resurrection was also central to the articulation of lineage in the pictorial representations of families in Renaissance Florence, as demonstrated by its placement in Ghirlandaio's fresco. The Resurrection was an important thematic fulcrum for visual representations that related to active religious custom in the Renaissance city.

As civic and religious life unfolded within the visual networks of Renaissance Florence, even the processes of social definition and identification became ritualized as part of a repetitive viewing experience sustained throughout lived social experience within the city. The Medici family promoted itself within these structures of experience, perpetuating the family imagery through both monumental and small-scale commissions. The Medici were involved in larger projects to renovate the older churches in the city, and were responsible for the construction of important structures that directly connected them to the devotional activities of the Florentine

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[61] Rubin, *Images and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 131.

[62] Johnathan Katz Nelson and Richard Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 86-88.

public. In the 1440s, at San Miniato al Monte, Piero de' Medici paid tribute to the reliquary of San Gualberto—to whom he was particularly devoted—by commissioning a tabernacle from Michelozzo to house the relic **(Fig. 22)**. The tabernacle is adorned on one side with the Medici eagle, holding the Medici diamond ring **(Fig. 23)**. As Dale Kent has noted, even the maiolica tiles of its roof are the colors of Piero de' Medici's livery.[63]

Around the same time, Piero also inserted a distinctly Medici framework into the popular cult of the Virgin of the Annunciation at the Florentine church of Santissima Annunziata, when he commissioned a tabernacle from Michelozzo to house the miracle-working icon of the Virgin and Child at that site **(Fig. 24)**.[64] Santissima Annunziata was a particularly important site for devotional use of wax, polychrome effigies in Renaissance Florence and for the history of Medici engagement with portraiture. Though they were destroyed in the seventeenth century, life-sized, wax busts and body parts once crowded the interior of the Annunziata.[65] These wax votive sculptures were cast from life, molded directly from the living bodies of their donors, in the same manner described by Vasari in the *vita* of Andrea del Verrocchio. As Vasari describes them, these portraits conveyed a sense of living presence by casting impressions from the features of their subjects in order to produce accurate, recognizable likenesses. These images were animated by brightly-colored paint, applied with painstaking care to approximate as closely as possible the colors and textures of pinkish flesh, locks of hair, and most often contemporary

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[63] Kent, *Cosimo*, 84.
[64] Kent, *Cosimo*, 84.
[65] An inventory of around 1630 records the number of such images removed from SS. Annunziata in that year. It listed "600 life-size wax images, 2,200 votives in papier mache, and 3,600 small pictures of miracles and other gifts, totaling 262,000 *voti*." Arcangelo Maria Giani, *Annalium Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Servorum B. Mariae Virginis* (Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale,1630). This source is cited in Louisa M. Bulman, "Artistic Patronage at SS. Annunziata: 1440-c.1520" (PhD diss., London University, 1971), esp. chap. 4. …" Meghan Holmes, "Ex-Votos,: Materiality, Memory and Cult," in Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (eds.), *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 162-163, and Panzanella, *Ephemeral Bodies*, 33n24.

dress appropriate to the social position of the individual depicted. In his *vita* of Verrocchio, Vasari details the sculptor's method of making plaster from ground stone and water, and the "great delight" Verrocchio took in "making plaster casts" of various things, including body parts, "so that later, having them before him, he could imitate them with greater ease."[66] Vasari writes of how

> …people began to fashion inexpensive death masks (from plaster), and over the fireplaces, doors, windows, and cornices of every home in Florence, one can see countless portraits of this kind, which are so well made and lifelike that they seem alive. This extremely useful practice has continued from Andrea's lifetime to our own day, providing us with the portraits of many individuals introduced into the scenes painted in Duke Cosimo's palace.[67]

Vasari also attributed the stylistic improvement of the wax ex-votos produced in Florence to Verrocchio's involvement with the wax-worker, Orsino Benintendi, on the occasion of a significant event in Medici family history.[68] According to Vasari, Orsino, with the help of his friend Andrea, demonstrated the perfection of his craft in a commission for three life-sized wax effigies occasioned by the events of April 26, 1478.[69] During High Mass on that day, at the Duomo, Giuliano de' Medici was assassinated. His brother, Lorenzo, had been seriously

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[66] I consulted the translation of Vasari's text by Julia Conaway Bondanella, and Peter Bondanella, *The Lives of the Artists* (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1998), 239.
[67] Vasari/Bondanella, *Lives of the Artists*, 239-240.
[68] Vasari first refers to him as "Orsino Ceraiuolo" (alternatively spelled *cerajuolo*), meaning wax worker. *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*. (Florence: Appresso i Giunti, 1568), 485. Orsino Benintendi belonged to one of the most prominent families of wax workers in Renaissance Florence, with known affiliations to the Medici. See Gino Masi, "La ceroplastica in Firenze nei secoli XV-XVI e la famiglia Benintendi," *Rivista d'arte* 9 (1916-1918): 124-142. See also Gaetano Milanesi's footnote in his translation of Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite De'più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori Ed Architettori: Con Nuove Annotazioni E Commenti Di Gaetano Milanesi* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1878), 375.
[69] Harold Acton's book on the Pazzi conspiracy provides background information on the circumstances leading up to the murder of Giuliano and the attempted assassination of Lorenzo de' Medici. Harold Acton, *The Pazzi Conspiracy: The Plot Against the Medici* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

wounded in the attempt, but, according to Vasari, his survival prompted his friends and supporters "to order that his image be placed in numerous places in order to give thanks to God for his escape."[70] Vasari describes the three life-sized effigies, whose attire was "arranged in such a fashion that it would be difficult to find anything better or more lifelike."[71] The ex-votos, which have not survived but are remembered in partial copies, presented the Florentine public with images of the triumphant Lorenzo, who had escaped death **(Fig. 29)**.[72]

The lifelike accuracy of Michelangelo's rendering of the human form in the effigies of the *capitani* incites the viewer to recall the vivid, polychrome wax images of the earlier Lorenzo, cast from his physical features and placed at sites of popular worship in the fabric of the city. But Michelangelo's tomb sculpture deviates considerably from these recognizable likenesses of Lorenzo, and the character of the marble medium is entirely different from that of polychrome wax. The distinction is evident in the contrast between Vasari's description of Orsino's ex-votos in the *vita* of Verrocchio and his comments on the Medici *capitani* in the *vita* of Michelangelo. According to Vasari, when Orsino made these "living portraits," he "painted them in oil, with the hair-style and other necessary features done so naturally and well that they seemed to be living men rather than wax figures."[73] In contrast, the emphasis in Vasari's description of the *capitani* is on the beauty and refinement of Michelangelo's work in sculpting the marble effigies: "And

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[70] Vasari/Bondanella, *Lives of the Artists*, 240.

[71] Vasari/Bondanella, *Lives of the Artists*, 240. Vasari goes on to describe each of the three ex-votos individually.

[72] The ephemeral materials of the original busts deteriorated, but these ex-votos were important enough to survive in copies such as the one in the collection of the National Gallery, Washington. On polychrome sculpture of this nature, see Roberta Panzanelli, Eike D. Schmidt, and Kenneth Laptain, *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum Research Institute, 2008). Following a description of the effigies of Lorenzo, John Paoletti writes: "Such masks in wax and plaster served more than a commemorative function; they were meant to suggest the ever-present, timeless persona of the man or woman represented, a seamless temporal, social, and political order." John Paoletti, "Wooden Sculpture as Sacral Presence." *Artibus et Historiae* 13.26 (1992): 85-100.

[73] I consulted the translation of Vasari's text by Julia Conaway Bondanella, and Peter Bondanella, *The Lives of the Artists* (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1998) 240.

truly, anyone who gazes at the beauty of the boots and cuirass will believe that this is a heavenly rather than a mortal work."[74] The likeness of Lorenzo captured in his wax effigies was meant to play an active role in the experiences of the Florentine public, essentially making him present at the sites where the sculptures were installed.[75] Michelangelo's sculptures of the *capitani* function primarily on an unreal plane, and commemorate the eternal memory of the Medici, in contrast to the votive wax effigies that mimicked lifelikeness in temporally and terrestrially bound terms.[76] Michelangelo's marble effigies are lifelike in the sense that they look, in physical form, like perfect specimens of living, human figures, frozen in a moment.

The commission of votive effigies was, in fact, just one aspect of a practice of intervention in sacred sites, which extended to the provision of accommodations for sacred relics and to the acquisition of the relics themselves. These interventions included the dedication of the reliquary chapel to the Medici patron saints Cosmas and Damian at San Lorenzo in the 1440s and the extensive efforts of Cosimo il Vecchio in accumulating sacred relics for San Lorenzo.[77] Most importantly for the present argument, contemporary viewers would have approached the New Sacristy with an awareness of the Medici family's staged presence at sites of popular

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[74] Vasari/Bondanella, *The Lives of the Artists*, 456.

[75] According to Meghan Holmes, the "(wax) anatomical ex-votos displayed in the sanctuary (of SS. Annunziata)…resonated in relation to (the) double valence of body parts in society: body parts perceived, on the one hand, as the visible signs of vulnerability, injury and disease, transgression and punishment, and, on the other hand, body parts perceived as the signs of Real and sacred presence in the world…" Meghan Holmes, "Ex-Votos,: Materiality, Memory and Cult," in Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach (eds.), *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 159-182.

[76] This is congruous with Charles de Tolnay's Neoplatonic interpretation of the New Sacristy as a higher, heavenly realm, and of the effigies as representations of the eternal souls of the *capitani*. He describes Michelangelo's departure from the popular "tradition of portrait-like naturalness" in tomb sculpture, in his effigies, which are not concerned with capturing the "empirical personality of the deceased but the image of the immortal soul in the existence beyond the grave." Tolnay, *Medici Chapel*, 68.

[77] See Frances Ames-Lewis (ed.), *Cosimo il Vecchio de' Medici, 1389-1464* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), especially the contribution of John Paoletti, "Fraternal Piety and Family Power: The Artistic Patronage of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici," *Ibid*., 195-219, for Cosimo's activities concerning reliquaries.

worship in Florence. The selection of the figures of Saints Cosmas and Damian to accompany the Virgin and Child on the tomb of the *magnifici* was appropriate to the history of Medici family patronage of the arts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[78] As the patron saints of the Medici family, Cosmas and Damian were already an important presence at San Lorenzo before the construction of Michelangelo's the New Sacristy in the sixteenth century.[79] In the 1430s and 40s, Donatello had sculpted two pairs of saints in stucco relief in the rounded arches above the doors to the left and right of the altar in Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy **(Figs. 15 and 16)**.[80] The relief over the door to the left of the altar represents Saints Stephen and Lawrence. This relief was paired with the one over the right door, depicting the *medici* (physician) Saints Cosmas and Damian **(Fig. 16)**. Medici family iconography was thus linked with that of the venerable Church of San Lorenzo through the pairing of the family saints with the titular saints of the site. They were also linked to the larger city and its sacred sites by the placement of the figures of Cosmas and Damian among the figures of martyrs depicted in relief on the door beneath, in close proximity to the bronze representation of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence.[81]

Though they appear frozen in time, the effigies of the *capitani* and the Virgin and Child

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[78] Dale Kent, *Cosimo I de'Medici and the Art of Renaissance Florence: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 118.

[79] Dale Kent discusses the association of the saints with the Medici family at further length in his text on Cosimo il Vecchio's patronage, in a section on "The Medici Patron Saints" later in the text. Kent, *Cosimo*, 149-159. On Cosmas and Damian in general tradition, see Elena Giannarelli, Angela Dillon Bussi, et al, *Cosma e Damiano: dall'Oriente a Firenze* (Florence: Edizioni della Meridiana, 2002). In relation to the Medici, see especially Ludovica Sebregondi, "Cosma e Damiano: Santi Medici e Medicei," *op. cit.* 75-105; Till Verellen, "Cosmas and Damian in the New Sacristy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 274-277. Verellen's article is the only discussion specifically focused on the representations of the saints in the New Sacristy.

[80] John Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors for the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo," *Artibus et Historiae* 11.21 (1990): 39-69, 47.

[81] Roger J. Crum, "Donatello's 'Ascension of St. John the Evangelist and the Old Sacristy as Sepulchre," *Artibus et Historiae* 16.32 (1995): 141-161, and John Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors for the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo," *Artibus et Historiae* 11.21 (1990): 39-69.

with Saints Cosmas and Damian are simultaneously depicted in a shared moment in the New Sacristy, and are involved first of all in a type of conversation that was well known by the time of Michelangelo's designs: the *sacra conversazione*. In this configuration, the saints intercede on behalf of the *capitani* to mediate their relation to the Virgin, here represented in the form of a *Virgo Lactans* between by the two Medici saints. Among the many forms she was customarily given in devotional art, the particular presentation of the Virgin, as *Virgo Lactans* was the most forceful way to visually underscore her role as intercessor, as the literally corporeal link between Christ and man.[82] The presence of the Virgin and Child serves a similar, intercessory purpose in *tondi* on the wall tombs of other prominent Florentines, such as the tombs of Leonardo Bruni and Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce, and Baldassare Coscia in the Baptistery **(Figs. 17, 18 and 19)**. On these earlier tombs, the Christ Child in the Virgin's lap gives a gesture of blessing. In the Medici Chapel, the delicate Virgin holds her rambunctious, ravenous baby in her arms, and though she nurses him willingly, her mind is somewhere else **(Fig. 4)**. That is, the expression on the Virgin's face is one of disengagement, and, distinctively, through her diverted gaze she is detached not only from the interaction with the infant Christ that typically defines her role, but also from any kind of visible interactivity with the intercessory saints to her left and right.[83] She

[82] See for example Leah Ettlinger, "The Liturgical Function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, 22. Bd., H. 3 (1978), 287- 304. This is a common representation, however, and has been remarked upon by many others as well. Sheryl Reiss points out that Michelangelo's Medici Madonna is not quite a *Virgo Lactans*, in that the Christ Child is shown reaching for his mother's breast, rather than nursing directly from it. See Sheryl E. Reiss, "A Medieval Source for Michelangelo's Medici Madonna," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 50. Bd., H. 3 (1987), pp. 394-400.

[83] Michelangelo had, by the time of this sculpture, already treated the subject of Virgin and Child in numerous forms, both on paper and in marble. A seated Virgin and Child are the subject of his earliest independent sculptural work, the relief known as the *Madonna della Scala*, or *Madonna of the Stairs*, now housed in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence. The Virgin who sits above the staircase in this composition is, however, a completely different type of female figure, monumental, stable and strong, as opposed to somewhat more femininely delicate and destabilized, as the *Medici Madonna* is by her twisting pose, the relative size of the Christ child, and her independence from the figures that flank her. The theme also appears in a beautiful drawing, also in the collection of the Casa Buonarroti, from c.1520-25.

also refuses any realized engagement with the beholder before her, an effect doubled by the refusal of the entire trinity to communicate, on an intercessory level, with the beholder before them. But as party to the collective looking/contemplating gestures and expressions of the figures of the *capitani*, they fill intercessory roles in the presence of an audience capable of recognizing or doing the imaginative devotional work to articulate their position.

The arrangement of the Medici saints in the New Sacristy does not, however, simply reiterate the associations laid out in the Old Sacristy. Indeed, the appearance of Cosmas and Damian in a *sacra conversazione* points to another site of Medici patronage: namely Fra Angelico's San Marco altarpiece **(Fig. 26)**.[84] The altarpiece, which was painted circa 1432-40 in conjunction with Cosimo's renovation of the convent church, made new strides in the use of mathematical perspective to draw the viewer into the devotional experience of the painting. In the foreground, Saints Cosmas and Damian kneel before the Virgin, one looking towards her, the other looking out. The sculptures of the saints flanking the Virgin and Child in the Medici Chapel do not maintain the compositional system of Fra Angelico's altarpiece. Instead, both are placed in line with the central sculpture of the Virgin, and both look towards her in gestures of devotion. Nonetheless, Fra Angelico's painting suggests an interactive model for bringing the beholder into the experience figured in the composition.

The beholder's physical involvement in the devotional enterprise of the sculptures within the space of the New Sacristy initiates in the activity of viewing and contemplating the relationship between the *capitani* and the religious figures on the *magnifici* tomb along the entrance wall. In the New Sacristy, Cosmas and Damian stand not only as themselves, but also

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[84] For a useful discussion of the work, see Rubin, *Images and Identity,* 185-188; Alexander Nagel, Michelangelo and the Reform of Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 59-60; see also, among others, Dale Kent, *Cosimo I de'Medici and the Art of Renaissance Florence: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 138.

for the Medici forefathers, borrowing from but reinventing the relationships depicted in Donatello's representation of the saints in the Old Sacristy reliefs. Thus, as saintly and familial forefathers at once, they embody the frame of the conversation, the *sacra conversazione*, while also framing the related, but separate, engagement with the external beholder. By virtue of their connections to that history of Florentine visual culture, these figures simultaneously stand for, mean for, speak for and do the same work for multiple generations of Medici. The subjects they represent could thus be infinitely multiplied. Importantly, they do all of this by making a new image from an old one, and perpetually remaking it. For the beholder, lengthy and venerable tradition and the present moment are collapsed into one by way of this frame.

Looking beyond the individual figures and their arrangement to the larger question of imitation as it pertains to Michelangelo's inventions for the New Sacristy, I would argue that the two important double tombs in Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy provided material for Michelangelo's ideas for the tombs of the Medici *capitani* in the New Sacristy. The first of these is a double marble sarcophagus, designed by Donatello, and probably completed by Buggiano in 1433. This monument stands in memoriam to Giovanni di Bicci (1360-1429) and his wife Piccarda Bueri (1368-1433), parents of Cosimo il Vecchio in the center of the Old Sacristy **(Fig. 12)**. The sarcophagus is located beneath a large marble table that was meant to fulfill the room's official function as a sacristy.[85] The disposition of the sarcophagus in space places Giovanni di Bicci—who can be credited with elevating his branch of the Medici family to a position of status and

[85] John Shearman, *Only Connect—: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 11. This functionality is in contrast to the layout of the New Sacristy, which does not include a table but only a centrally-oriented, ceremonial altar. Cf. Leah Ettlinger, "The Liturgical Function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 22. Bd., H. 3 (1978), 287- 304.

power—is entombed at the formal and functional center of the room.[86] On the far side of the tomb, two angels unroll a scroll inscribed with the names of the deceased, while on the side facing the entrance, another pair of angels holds up a rectangular *all'antica* tablet at an incline, "as if to facilitate reading," according to John Shearman.[87] By presenting the inscriptions on its sides in this manner, Donatello's design for the sarcophagus sets up a carefully staged encounter for the viewer, which is also related to the position from which one enters the space. For Shearman, "the invention of the artist acknowledges the momentary but infinitely repeatable presence of the spectator."[88] This mode of presentation indicates the contingent nature of the tomb design by appealing to the viewer's faculties of sight, drawn out through illusionistic manipulations of perspective.[89] The general principle is a useful one for understanding the nature of Michelangelo's invention for the New Sacristy, even if it results not so much from perspectival manipulation, as from the rhetorical manipulation of the beholder's memories and imagination.

However, there is more to be said about Michelangelo's engagement with the Old Sacristy than is immediately apparent. It is necessary to pay attention to the details. The sophisticated use of the *all'antica* style in Donatello's sarcophagus of Giovanni di Bicci and Piccarda Bueri in the Old Sacristy is relevant, at least conceptually, to Michelangelo's frames for the *capitani* in the New Sacristy, but the relationship, at the level of ornament, is even more

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[86] The symbolic position of Giovanni di Bicci's sarcophagus is not unrelated to the placement of Cosimo's tomb slab in the central crossing of the basilica, above his actual tomb in the pier supporting the crossing from below.

[87] As Shearman notes, the effect of the inclined tablet would have been even more direct from the original point of entry, previously located where Verrocchio's tomb of Giovanni and Piero now stands (linking the Old Sacristy to the reliquary chapel of Cosmas and Damian). Shearman, *Only Connect,* 13.

[88] Shearman, *Only Connect,* 13. The situation is similar for viewers approaching Donatello's other tomb designs, such as the floor slab of Bishop Giovanni Pecci in the cathedral of Siena, where graphically inclined perspective structures the experience of viewing the image within its designated space.

[89] Shearman, *Only Connect,* 13-14.

compelling to the second important tomb in the Old Sacristy **(Fig. 13)**. This second tomb was created by Verrocchio (and largely executed by his workshop) around 1470. It was made at the behest of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici (the *magnifici*) to house the remains of their father, Piero 'the Gouty' (1416-1469), and their uncle Giovanni de' Medici (1421-1463). It is fitted into an archway that stands between the interior of the Old Sacristy on one side and another chapel that was reserved for the Medici, dedicated to the Saints Cosmas and Damian. Verrocchio's especially skillful bronze-work animates the exterior edges of the red porphyry sarcophagus with fictive vegetation **(Fig. 14)**. The bronze decorations include those of specific plants, iconographically suited to the sepulchral context, such as the acanthus leaves, which were a common symbol of death in both classical antiquity and the Renaissance.[90] The inscription along the monument's marble base begins on the side of the tomb that opens to the Chapel of Cosmas and Damian and continues all the way around to the other side, visible from the Old Sacristy. It reads: "Lorenzo and Giuliano, sons of Piero, placed (this tomb here) for their father and their uncle MCCCCLXXII."[91] Lines of Latin text also appear on both sides of the red porphyry sarcophagus, inscribed within the green *tondi*, made of inlaid serpentine framed with laurel leaves wrought from bronze. The text along the base of the tomb identifies Lorenzo and Giuliano as the patrons who commissioned the monument for their father and uncle, as well as the date of its installation in 1472. The inscriptions in the *tondi* provide further information on the tomb's occupants.[92]

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[90] In addition to the acanthus leaves, the tomb decoration includes ivy, palm fronds, and olive branches.
[91] "LAVRENT.ET.IVL.PETRI F. /POSVER. / PATRI PATRVOQVE / MCCCCLXXII."
[92] The tondo facing the Chapel of Cosmas and Damian reads: PETRO / ET IOHANNI/ DE / MEDICIS COSMI P.P.F. / H.M.H.N.S. (To Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, sons of Cosimo Pater Patriae H[oc] M[onumentum] H[eredem] N[on] S[equatur]). The inscription on the other side, facing the Old Sacristy, reads: PET.VIS./ AN.LIII.M.V.D.XV. / IOHAN.AN.XLII.MIIII / D.XXVIII. (Piero lived fifty-three years, five months, and ten days; Giovanni lived forty-two years, four months, and twenty-eight days).

The designs of the double tombs in the Old Sacristy suggest a deliberate choice on the part of both Verrocchio and Donatello—unlike that of Michelangelo—to dedicate a significant amount of surface space to the task of providing their viewers of their sarcophagi with written information about their occupants. Michelangelo limited his use of inscriptions in the New Sacristy to the brief section blocked out in the center of the smooth surface of the *magnifici* tomb, another sarcophagus built for two. Like their father and uncle in the Old Sacristy, Lorenzo and Giuliano are entombed together in Michelangelo's New Sacristy. But unlike Verrocchio, who included information on the patrons of the tomb, its date of installation (1472), and the lifespans (specifying the number of years, months, and days) of each of its occupants, Michelangelo merely names the brothers, "LORENZO IL MAGNIFICO E GIULIANO DE' MEDICI" **(Fig. 4).** Instead of embellishing their sarcophagus with vegetal ornament—another distinguishing factor from the earlier tomb by Verrocchio—Michelangelo decorated the *magnifici* tomb with human figures.

Verrocchio's imagery conveys both a symbolic or emblematic meaning and a kind of narrative meaning, demonstrating the skill with which the Medici had appropriated the generalized symbolic language of their times for the construction of their family's outward representation. For instance, the lion's feet are a conventional decorative motif on earlier sarcophagi and on reliquary chests, but they also became a common heraldic motif because lions were symbols of sovereignty. Centuries before their appearance in the Old Sacristy tomb, the Florentine state had adopted the lion as one of its symbols. Further, lions were associated with resurrection through folklore, which perpetuated the myth that lions were stillborn, and came to life when their mothers animated them with warm breath. A number of diamonds and rings appear repeatedly in the decorative bronze-work of the tomb. At the time Verrocchio made the

tomb, the diamond ring, which symbolized eternity, was a familiar, Medici device.[93] The ivy that envelops the sarcophagus is also a symbol of death dating back to classical funerary tradition and used extensively by Renaissance poets as well, but it is employed here as much more than a static sign.[94] As depicted by Verrocchio on the tomb of Piero and Giovanni in the Old Sacristy, the ivy appears animated in growth, symbolically activating and thus perpetuating the Medici *topos* of return and the theme of resurrection **(Fig. 13)**.[95] For John Shearman, "(just) as the inscriptions are presented on scroll and tablet in a way that acknowledges the contingency of the spectator's presence, and therefore are represented in a frame of time" on the tomb of Giovanni and Piccarda, "so we must read the fiction of the living ivy as something that unfolds before our eyes" on Verrocchio's tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici.[96] Similarly, and more than likely taking a cue from these ideas set forth in the Old Sacristy, Michelangelo's sculptures in the New Sacristy absorb the viewer into their own activities. As noted earlier, the figures of the *capitani,* especially that of Giuliano, animate the ideals of nobility they represent. Their role is enhanced in this respect by the decorative details that set the scene for the representation of the Medici in the New Sacristy. They incite the viewer to draw correlations between the imagery within the space of the Chapel and the dispersed iconographic presence of the Medici in Renaissance Florence.

Elsewhere at San Lorenzo, Verrocchio's ornamental style gave shape to another model that Michelangelo considered in his designs for the Medici Chapel: the elaborate *lavabo* on the

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[93] See Francis Ames-Lewis, "Early Medicean Devices," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 122-143.
[94] Including Poliziano, Sannazaro and Calcagnini. Shearman, *Only Connect,* 15.
[95] I borrow this term from Janet Cox-Rearick, who uses it repeatedly in her work.
[96] Shearman, *Only Connect*, 16.

other side of the basilica **(Fig. 33)**.[97] The *lavabo* was functionally situated within the domain of the Old Sacristy, and was necessarily designed with the Medici, and their preferences in artistic patronage, in mind. A red marble arch and green plinth frame Verrocchio's intricate, white marble *lavabo*. In the center, a large goblet is adorned with bat-like wings, lions' feet, wolves' heads, and a garland around the rim, and a Medici crest in the center. The larger basin below has a prominent lion's head in the center, framed by a pair of seated harpies. Above the basin, a bas-relief crowns the composition with a Medici eagle and diamond ring **(Fig. 34)**. Michelozzo had used this Medici device in similar fashion in 1448 on the back of the Tabernacle of the Crucifixion at San Miniato al Monte **(Fig. 23)**. There is no direct transcription of this element of the Old Sacristy in the New Sacristy, where the plain, unremarkable *lavabo* could not be more different from Verrocchio's ornate design. However, the highly attentive beholder may note a visual relationship to the earlier *lavabo* in the ornamentation of the candelabra, situated on the main altar in the Medici Chapel **(Fig. 32)**. The candelabra themselves stand as symbols of the "soul imaged as flame"—an idea stemming from the classical tradition of Cicero, Virgil, Plautus and Terence.[98] Their decoration consists of more antique Roman iconographic references, some doubling as Christian symbols. These include the phoenix, symbolic of resurrection, and the pelican giving blood to its young, symbolic of Christ's sacrifice. The dolphins were symbolic of the journey across the river to Hades, while the fruit represented, according to de Tolnay, the "delights of eternal life."[99] In both the attire of the *capitani* and the architectural decoration of

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[97] Andrew Butterfield, *The Sculptures of Andrea del Verrocchio* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 9-12. Butterfield identifies Antonio Rossellino as the other hand (or at least one of the other hands) who carved the *lavabo* along with Verrocchio.
[98] de Tolnay, *Michelangelo III*, 165.
[99] Ibid.

the space, Michelangelo employed grotesque details rhetorically to produce specific effects.[100] Their specific iconography aside, however, the decoration of the candelabra takes Verrocchio's bronze-work on the tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, as a point of departure, not only in their general style of ornament, but also in such details as the lion's feet, from which furling acanthus leaves extend upward to frame a face carved into each of the sides **(Fig. 32).** In the New Sacristy, Michelangelo expanded the distribution of such strangely animated details, beyond the decoration of a single object, across the surfaces of the wall tombs of the *capitani*. On the cuirass of Giuliano's effigy, the illusion of hard, cast armor which dissolves to resemble wet fabric clinging to the *capitano's* body, is further enhanced by its juxtaposition with the strange face carved in the center, directly above the sharply-rendered details of his chest muscles and nipples **(Fig. 31)**.

While Verrocchio's tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici was potently poised as the animating link between the chapels of Saints Cosmas and Damian and the Old Sacristy, in the New Sacristy Michelangelo's fantastic sculptural details adorn and frame Michelangelo's portraits of the Medici *capitani*, thus setting the parameters for the beholder's experience of the memorials and animating the space as a whole. The predominance of masks and fantastic quasi-human faces in his designs suggests that his interpretation of Verrocchio's style was informed by the rediscovery of Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome at the end of the fifteenth century.[101] The discovery revealed extensive painted decorations, containing strange, fantastical motifs similar to the faces carved into the capitals of the columns within the wall tombs in the New Sacristy. Such images were first referred to as *grottesque* in a contract in 1502 for the decoration of the

[100] Though he also extended his use of the grotesque beyond this application, as I shall discuss in the paper below.
[101] See Alessandra Zamperini, *Ornament and the Grotesque: Fantastical Decoration from Antiquity to Art Nouveau* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008).

ceiling of the Piccolomini Library in Siena.[102] The word grotesque, which emerged in common use in the sixteenth century, referred to the fantastical masks of the type which decorate the architectural elements of the wall tombs in the New Sacristy.

More than being simply a category of decoration, however, the grotesque seems to constitute an independent, conspicuous concept, or type of representation, that characterizes Michelangelo's methods of complication in the New Sacristy. As Charles Dempsey has argued, the masks held an additional significance in the context of Michelangelo's relationship with his patron's family, pertaining specifically to Lorenzo il Magnifico.[103] The horizontal, marble friezes on Michelangelo's Medici wall tombs are superficially similar to Donatello's red and blue frieze of *tondi* with alternating cherubim and seraphim in the Old Sacristy **(Fig. 38)**. But the theatrical masks on the frieze in the New Sacristy relate to the use of similar masks in the imagery employed by Lorenzo the Magnificent **(Fig. 39)**.[104] Vasari depicted multiple masks like these in the background of his posthumous portrait of Lorenzo il Magnifico, painted in 1533-1534 **(Fig. 35)**. In addition to appreciating classical Roman imagery, which included theatrical masks and decorative masks, Lorenzo employed the imagery of *larve* or masks in his poetry.[105] As Stephen Campbell explains, drawing from Charles Dempsey: "Medici history and Medici portraiture have been supplanted [in the New Sacristy] by uncanny, disquieting, more-present-than-life

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[102] See Alessandra Zamperini, *Ornament and the Grotesque: Fantastical Decoration from Antiquity to Art Nouveau* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008).

[103] Charles Dempsey, "Lorenzo's Ombra," in Gian Carlo Garfagnini (ed.), *Lorenzo Il Magnifico e Il Suo Mondo: Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Firenze, 9-13 Giugno 1992)* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1994), 341-355.

[104] Dempsey, "Lorenzo's Ombra," 350-355.

[105] The state of the *capitani*, frozen, blind-eyed and powerless, torn out of time by death, delineates, to Dempsey, the idea that "the *larve* that torment Night and her companions are the *ombre* of earthly ambition and mortal hope, empty dreams that are forevermore thwarted and vain."[105] All of this, however, works to memorialize the initial source of these ideas in Michelangelo's thinking: Lorenzo il Magnifico, in whose house the artist's creative endeavor first began. Unable to accommodate a full *magnifici* tomb, as he had originally planned, Michelangelo nonetheless managed to commemorate his first great patron in a nuanced expression of infinite possibility, juxtaposed with the arrested moment of death that instantiates its representation. Dempsey, "Lorenzo's Ombra," 341-355.

simulation of bodily surface and the illusion of animate life. The evocation of dreams and false visions (both can be designated as *larva,* the Latin word for mask, or as *ombra*, the word for ghost) corresponds to an embrace of art as erotic, beguiling, and fearsome."[106] It is indicative of the conceptual centrality of such fantastic, even nightmarish imagery to Michelangelo's inventions that, among the many faces to be counted in the New Sacristy, the only ones that confront their audience face-to-face—that face directly towards the viewer in front of them—do not belong to the human figures sculpted for the tombs in the New Sacristy. They lurk, instead, among the grotesque surface decorations of the tombs, from the strange, vividly anthropomorphic architectural ornaments, to the mask held by Night, which is more recognizably related to classical theater masks.

In the sense that it speaks to the ambiguity at the heart of the chapel's program, Michelangelo's use of the grotesque seems to predict aspects of the modern definition of the term offered by Geoffrey Harpham, in his study of the development of the grotesque in western art and literature:

> When we use the word 'grotesque' we record, among other things, the sense that though our attention has been arrested, our understanding is unsatisfied. Grotesqueries both require and defeat definition: they are neither so regular and rhythmical that they settle easily into our categories, nor so unprecedented that we do not recognize them at all. They stand at the margin of consciousness between the known and the unknown, the perceived and the unperceived, calling into question the adequacy of our ways of organizing the world, of dividing the continuum of experience into knowable

[106] Stephen J. Campbell, "'*Fare una Cosa Morta Parer Viva':* Michelangelo, Rosso, and the (Un)Divinity of Art," *The Art Bulletin* 84.4 (Dec., 2002): 596-620, 609.

particles…[107]

This definition of the grotesque is capacious enough to include the representation of the unknowable experience of actually bringing the dead back to life. In a place where portrait likenesses claim to stand in for just such a revivified presence, Michelangelo's "grotesque" tomb demonstrates through a real experience the impossibility of such a claim. The grotesque is ornamentally deployed to redistribute the burden of meaning for Michelangelo's audience in the New Sacristy. Surprised and somewhat puzzled by their appearance, the beholder of the marble sculptures in the New Sacristy is forced to actively remember the Medici, in terms of Lorenzo il Magnifico's preference for the grotesque, in order to make sense of the jarring faces in Michelangelo's designs.

The Renaissance adaptation and proliferation of classical rhetoric gives an important historical context for any attempt to understand the mechanics behind the means of persuasion Michelangelo used in his art.[108] Providing the context for its application in the visual arts, John O'Malley has explored the development of epideictic rhetoric—the rhetoric of praise and blame—at the papal court.[109] According to O'Malley, a new, flexible style of oratory rhetoric, diverging from the thematic sermons perpetuated by medieval university culture, gained popularity in Italy "on the crest of the humanist wave of appreciation for the more eloquent,

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[107] Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 3-4.

[108] John O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979). See also Vincent Colapietro, "Image, Diagram and Metaphor: Unmined Resource and Unresolved Questions," in Pascal Michelucci and Olga Fischer (eds.), *Semblance and Signification* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2011), 157-174; Dominic A. LaRusso, "Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance," in James J. Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 37-55.
Jean Dietz Moss and William Wallace, *Rhetoric and Dialectic in the Time of Galileo* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2003).

[109] John O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979).

more literary forms of expression to be found in Ciceronian oratory," capable of making an appeal not just to the learned but to the larger population as well.[110] For the preachers at the papal court, tasked with the demonstration of the paradoxically (in the context of their project) un-representable nature of God and of creation, the genre of rhetoric offered an appropriate means by which to persuasively evoke their subject in new ways without violating decorum.[111] Because of its freedom of expression, the appeal of epideictic rhetoric understandably extended beyond the oratory.

Michelangelo, like many other artists and writers, readily adopted rhetorical strategies in order to deepen the eloquence of his art.[112] As Kim Butler has argued with relation to the Sistine Chapel, "The literary devices of style common in epideictic, wherein form becomes a vehicle of content, find analogies…in Michelangelo's complex pictorial solutions in the ceiling frescoes."[113] The Sistine Chapel served the papacy at its seat while the New Sacristy was a memorial chapel added to the Basilica of San Lorenzo, already associated with the Medici. However, the Sistine Chapel and the Medici Chapel are alike in kind insofar as Michelangelo employed the strategies of demonstrative rhetoric in creating both programs. In both cases the imagery was "constructed to permit," as Butler finds in the Sistine imagery, "an interpretive polysemy that more broadly served the liturgical, devotional, and dynastic, functions of the

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[110] O'Malley, *Praise and Blame,* 40.
[111] Jean Dietz Moss and William Wallace, *Rhetoric and Dialectic in the Time of Galileo* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 380.
[112] The complexity of Michelangelo's "pictorial eloquence" in large-scale projects lends itself to rhetorical analysis. For example, Kim Butler examines the importance of the Immaculate Conception argument in Michelangelo's treatment of the Sistine Ceiling and its parallel relationship to both the form and the content of the 'source texts' on Immaculacy identified at the beginning of her article. Butler's reading accounts for the theological guidance of Michelangelo's content in conjunction with the demands of patronage, issues of visual invention, "together with the diverse modes of reception" structured liturgically in the case of the Sistine Chapel, and, though less extensively, in the case of the Medici Chapel. See Kim Butler, "The Immaculate Body in the Sistine Ceiling," *Art History* 32.2 (April 2009): 251-289.
[113] Kim Butler, "The Immaculate Body in the Sistine Ceiling," *Art History* 32.2 (April 2009): 251-289.

Chapel."[114] The visual network of references that comes together in Michelangelo's complex design of the Medici Chapel draws upon a number of sources to produce a compelling, if ambiguous, program. Rather than being based on a set of "source texts," however, the Medici Chapel program refers to other Medici sites and images dispersed throughout the city of Florence.

The Medici Chapel's enduring ambiguity also makes sense if one understands Michelangelo's critique of portraiture as an inadequate and potentially dangerous ideal for representation. Mimetic representation and copying from life can only go so far, or too far, while metonymic representation and chiasmic grotesquery can frame an infinitesimal understanding of paradox as a crucial aspect of the human condition. What is at stake in the Medici Chapel is, fundamentally, the need to accept this paradox. The chapel's program, as a direct denial of an alternative to likenesses found in other forms funerary portraiture and tomb sculptures, is a means of disassembling meaning that could lead to a greater understanding of the dichotomies of life and death, representation and reality. It stands for a kind of Socratic dialogue, in which aporia (a rhetorical figure, expressing doubt in the face of paradox), functioned in the terms described by Cammy Brothers with relation to Michelangelo's architecture, to "purge the interlocutor of pretense of knowledge in the hope that he may take up the search for knowledge."[115] In the Medici Chapel, the dialogue is structured by the spiritual and pragmatic sensibilities of the artist, who never strayed far from his preoccupation with the unknowable. The result is a grotesque moment of transcendence, in which the artist and his beholder participate collectively.

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[114] Butler, "The Immaculate Body," 253.
[115] Cammy Brothers, "Michelangelo, Architecture, and the Stingray," in *Subject as Aporia in Early Modern Art*, ed. Alexander Nagel and Lorenzo Pericolo (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 171.

By participating in Michelangelo's enterprise, the beholder can bridge the gap between the artist's understanding of the Medici in heaven, and the imperative to commemorate, and thus to remember, their legacy. In a manner of presentation more akin to the function of a reliquary as an encasement of a sacred relic, the Medici Chapel mediates between the material understanding of corporeal presence, and the insufficient representation of the soul provided in its fleshy form. One might endeavor to understand the New Sacristy as a kind of inside-out reliquary, mediating the viewer's experience of the departed Medici.[116] The exercise of contemplation performed by the beholder in the New Sacristy might be related, in this respect, to the activity of scriptural exegesis, insofar as scriptural exegesis concerns the discovery of the image of Christ, or an effort towards that discovery, in the reader's imagination.[117] The visual material presented in Michelangelo's sculptural program prompts a search for the manner in which the honored Medici could be portrayed, even though they are not readily visible in the New Sacristy. Moreover, the centrality of the Resurrection in this tradition might be associated with the dedication of the New Sacristy to the Resurrection. Though they are not the same as the a saintly bodies contained in reliquaries, the Medici figures commemorated in the New Sacristy belong nonetheless to the heavenly realm, no longer to the terrestrial, and are thus closed off in the same way from human knowledge. The paradox extends towards infinity through Michelangelo's inversion, for turning the encasement inside-out, it is the unknowable, heavenly realm that extends outward without bounds, and the human beholder who must accept the conditions of terrestrial encasement.

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[116] As Seeta Chaganti describes it, the "poetics of enshrinement," at play in the reliquary form, "is an interpretive mode that draws upon dialectical framing" and "seeks out practices beyond comparisons between visual and verbal expression," such that it "locates a shaping language for poetic processes" within historical, socio-cultural practices, and "renegotiates the relationship between poetry and culture." See Seeta Chaganti, *The Medieval Poetics of the Reliquary: Enshrinement, Inscription, Performance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 168-169.

[117] My thanks for this suggestion to Dr. Walter Melion.

Playing upon a number of external expectations with which he could reasonably expect his audience to enter the chapel, Michelangelo commemorates the members of the Medici family by encoding their ideals and the themes with which they chose to associate themselves, in a network of visual cues. The information they carry is accessible to the committed beholder through a process of identification and recollection that exists, to an extent, outside of time, insofar as it can begin at any time for a given audience. The framework of references is carefully drawn from the various available models of Florentine tomb designs and Medici imagery interwoven into the public domain of Renaissance Florence, such that the visual experience of the space itself, while unique, was rooted in the expectations of its audience. Michelangelo's New Sacristy recalls a panoramic portrait of the Medici family in its moment of glory. This eternal, honorific meaning depends extensively upon the "beholder's share" of Michelangelo's New Sacristy.[118] There is nothing novel in stating that Michelangelo's sensitivity to the difficult psychological (state/position) of his beholder suggests a degree of personal uncertainty on the part of the artist.[119] But perhaps his reliance on the involvement of his audience points to Michelangelo's more extensive faith in the willingness and capacity of his audience to learn from his teachings, and to appreciate what he has to offer. Willing to look the disquieting mask of *Night* in the eye, in the hopes of finding Michelangelo himself, the learned viewer in the New Sacristy fills in the blanks.[120] Even today, when one remembers the Medici in the New Sacristy one does so by making connections between Michelangelo, his marble figures and the family

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[118] EH Gombrich's defined the "beholder's share" of the work of art in *Art and Illusion*, in terms of the beholder's "projective" activity upon the work, which is mobilized in certain works of art to "compensate for the limitations of the medium," allowing for a collective enterprise between the artist and the beholder. EH Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960), 101.

[119] Cammy Brothers, "Michelangelo, Architecture, and the Stingray," in *Subject as Aporia in Early Modern Art*, ed. Alexander Nagel and Lorenzo Pericolo (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 175.

[120] Paul Barolsky, *The Faun in the Garden: Michelangelo and the Poetic Origins of Italian Renaissance Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 35-36.

that inspired their creation. The time one spends between realizations in examining the sculptural program of the New Sacristy is time spent in tribute to the Medici, to Michelangelo, and to the greatness of their moment in Renaissance Florence.

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Fig. 1

Michelangelo, *Medici Chapel*, 1519-1534.
New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.
Interior bird's eye view

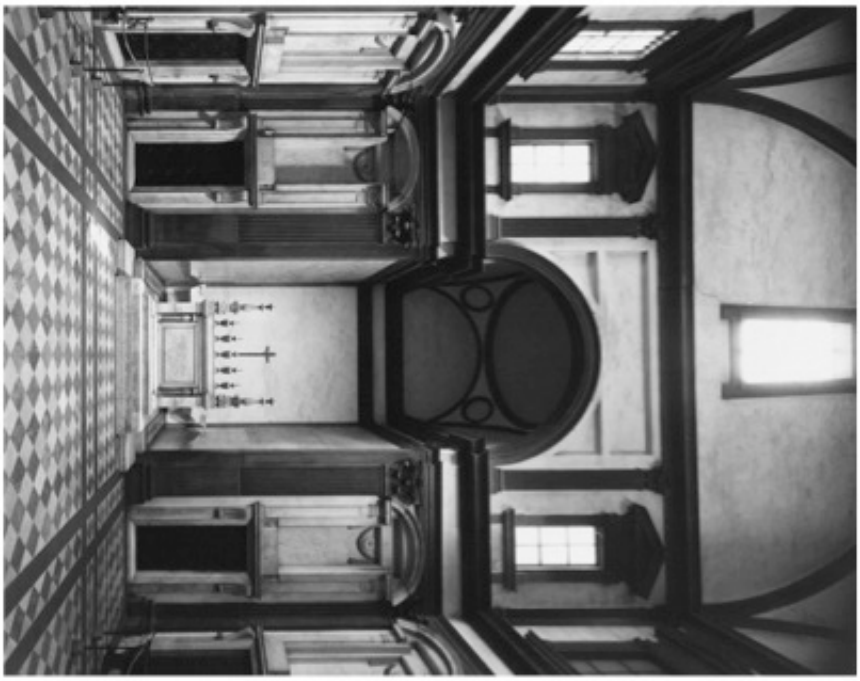

Fig. 2

Michelangelo, *Medici Chapel*, 1519-1534.
New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.
Interior view, Altar wall

Fig. 3

Michelangelo, *Medici Chapel*, 1519-1534.
New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.
Interior view of southwestern wall, immediate right from current entrance

Fig. 4

Tomb of Lorenzo il Magnifico and Giuliano de' Medici.
Marble sarcophagus and sculptures of the Virgin and Child with Saints Cosmas and Damian
Michelangelo, Medici Chapel, 1519-1534.
New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 5

Michelangelo, Tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino.
Medici Chapel, 1519-1534.
New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 6

Michelangelo, Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours.
Medici Chapel, 1519-1534.
New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 7

Michelangelo, Seated Effigy of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino (detail of tomb sculpture). Medici Chapel, 1519-1534.

New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 8

Michelangelo, Seated Effigy of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours (detail of tomb sculpture), Medici Chapel, 1519-1534.

New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 9

Michelangelo (and workshop), Detail, Grotesque ornamentation of capitals on the wall tombs in the Medici Chapel, 1519-1534.

New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

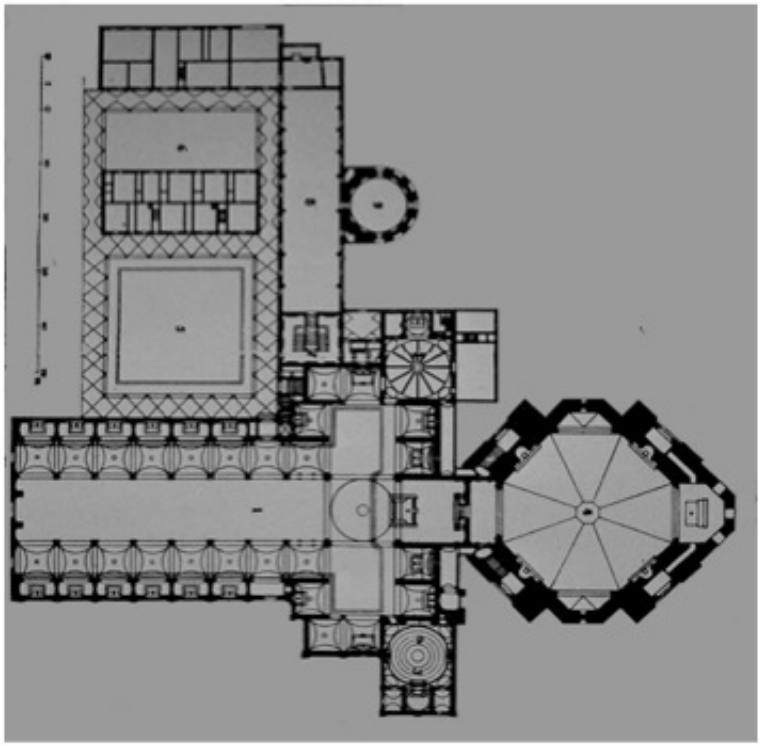

Fig. 10

Plan, Basilica of San Lorenzo, Florence

Fig. 11

Filippo Brunelleschi (architect), Old Sacristy, 1418-1428.
Basilica of San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 12

Buggiano (?), design by Donatello, Tomb of Giovanni di Bicci and Piccarda de' Medici, Detail, Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 13

Andrea del Verrocchio (and workshop), Tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, c. 1470-1472.
Marble, porphyry, serpentine, bronze, and pietra serena.
View from Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 14

Andrea del Verrocchio (and workshop), Tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, c. 1470-1472.
Marble, porphyry, serpentine, bronze, and pietra serena.
Detail, sarcophagus.

Fig. 15

Filippo Brunelleschi (architect), Old Sacristy, 1418-1428.
Basilica of San Lorenzo, Florence. View of altar wall.

Fig. 16

Donatello, Arched Relief with Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian, 1434-37.
Polychrome terracotta, 215 x 180 cm.
Old Sacristy, Basilica di San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 17

Desiderio da Settignano, Tomb of Carlo Marsuppini, 1453-1460. White and red marble.
Santa Croce, Florence.

Fig. 18

Donatello and Michelozzo, Tomb Monument of Baldassare Coscia (Tomb of Pope John XXIII), c. 1425-27.

Marble and bronze, partially painted and gilt.

Battistero di San Giovanni, Florence.

Fig. 19

Bernardo Rossellino,
Tomb of Leonardo Bruni, c. 1444-1447.
Santa Croce, Florence.

Fig. 20

Bernardo Rossellino,Head of Leonardo Bruni, (detail) from the Tomb of Leonardo Bruni, 1444-1447.

Santa Croce, Florence.

Fig. 21

Bernardo Rossellino, Virgin and Child with two angels, (detail) from the Tomb of Leonardo Bruni, 1444-1447.

Santa Croce, Florence.

Fig. 22

Michelozzo, Tabernacle or Chapel of the Crucifixion, front and back views
Marble tabernacle, enamelled terracotta roof and ceiling by Luca della Robbia, c. 1448.
San Miniato al Monte, Florence.

Fig. 23

Michelozzo, Tabernacle or Chapel of the Crucifixion, Detail of marble ornament, c. 1448.

San Miniato al Monte, Florence.

Fig. 24

Michelozzo, Reliquary tabernacle devoted to the miraculous Virgin, c. 1449, Santissima Annunziata, Florence

Fig. 25

Illumination depicting the Palazzo Medici, *Book of Hours of Laodamia de' Medici*, London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 30, fol. 20v.

Fig. 26

Fra Angelico, San Marco Altarpiece, c. 1432-40, Tempera on wood.
Florence, Museo di San Marco.

Fig. 27

Domenico Ghirlandaio, Sassetti Chapel, Detail, *Confirmation of Franciscan Rule by Pope Honorius III* (above)and *Resurrection of the Notary's Son* (below),1479-85. Fresco.

Florence, Santa Trinità.

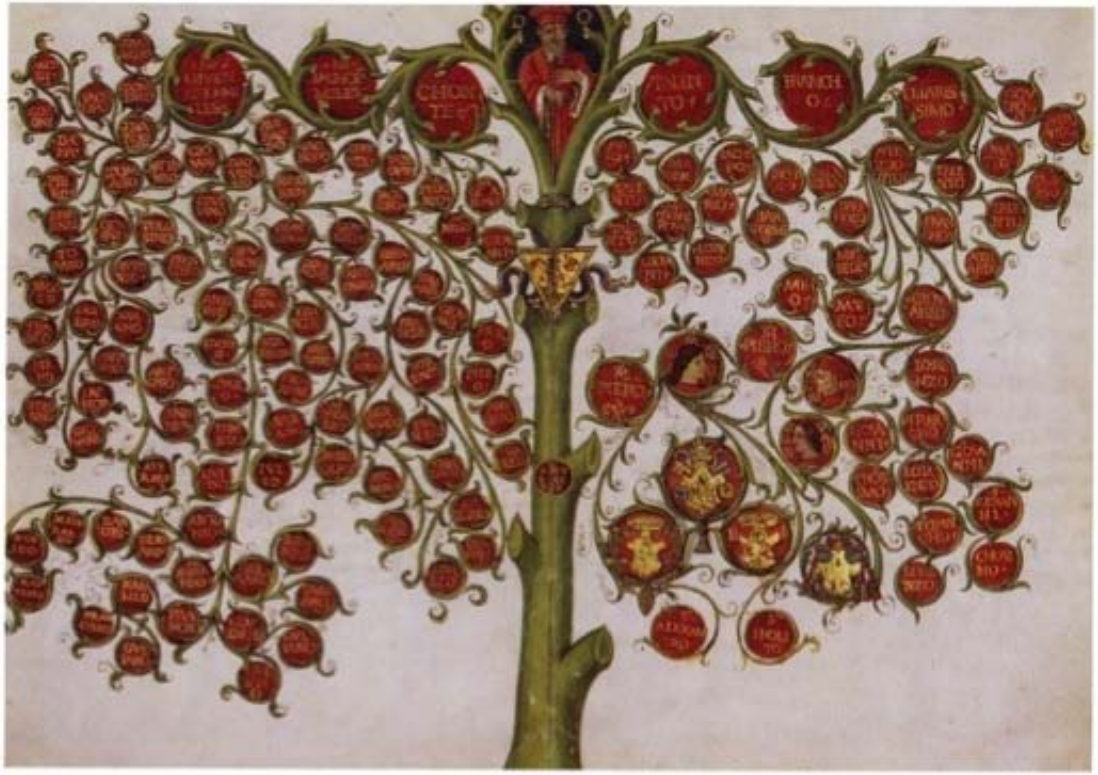

Fig. 28

Piero Cattaccio
Medici Family Tree, 16th century (first half).
Parchment manuscript illumination, 31.5 x 22 cm.
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana

Fig. 29

Anonymous Florentine, 15th or 16th century, probably after a model by Andrea del Verrocchio and Orsino Benintendi. *Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici*,

Painted terracotta, 65.8 x 59.1 x 32.7 cm.

Washington, National Gallery of Art

Fig. 30

Andrea del Verrocchio, *Bust of Giuliano de' Medici*, c. 1475-78, Terracotta, 61 x 66 x 28.3 cm.
Washington, National Gallery of Art

Fig. 31 Michelangelo, Detail (front and back of torso), Tomb Sculpture/Effigy of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, Medici Chapel, New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 32
Michelangelo, Candelabrum (for altar), Medici Chapel , 1519-1534. New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 33
Andrea del Verrocchio, *Lavabo*, c. 1464-1469, Marble, San Lorenzo, Florence

Fig. 34

Andrea del Verrocchio, *Lavabo*, c. 1464-1469, Marble, San Lorenzo, Florence. Detail of top.

Fig. 35

Giorgio Vasari, *Portrait of Lorenzo the Magnificent,* 1533-1534. Tempera on panel, 80 x 72.5 cm

Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

Fig. 36

Copy after Raphael (16th century), *Giuliano de`Medici, Duke of Nemours*, Tempera and oil on canvas, 83.2 x 66 cm.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 37

Raphael,
Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, 1518.
Oil on canvas
38 x 31 in. (97 x 79 cm.)
Private Collection.

Fig. 38

Donatello, Frieze containing tondi of alternativing seraphim and chreubim. Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig. 39

Michelangelo (designer), carved by Francesco da Sangallo, Medici Chapel, 1519-1534, New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence.

Fig 40

Giovanni Pietro Birago, *Francesco Sforza among the Famous Warriors of Antiquity*, c. 1490.

Paint on Vellum.

Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi