Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture

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Contents

On the Sources and Meaning of the Renaissance Portrait Bust

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INDEPENDENT PORTRAIT SCULPTURE was revived around the middle of the fifteenth century in three main forms – the equestrian monument, the bust, and the medal. Equestrian monuments are over life-size, they were made by public decree, and were displayed in public places. Sculptured busts are life-size, were privately commissioned, and were displayed on private property. Medals are small in scale, they might be commissioned officially or privately, and they were intended for a selected audience that did not include the public at large but extended beyond the sitter's personal domain.[1]

None of these classes of portraiture had actually disappeared during the Middle Ages, but when they occurred they were included within some physical and conceptual context, such as church and tomb decoration, or ordinary coinage.[2] The Renaissance portrait categories cannot be regarded only as revivals, however, for, not to mention questions of style and form, their meaning was profoundly different from what it had been in classical times. With equestrian monuments and medals, the difference is illustrated readily. In antiquity the former were the exclusive prerogative first of the nobility, then of the emperor himself;[3] medallions were restricted to the imperial family.[4] In the Renaissance anyone might be honored by an equestrian monument if he deserved it, and anyone might commission a medal if he could afford it. The change in both cases can be explained partly, but only partly, by what became of equestrian and numismatic portraiture in the Middle Ages.

This essay is concerned with the characteristic Renaissance bust type.[5] The purpose is to analyze its relation to its predecessors, ancient as well as medieval, and to define the significance of its particular form and content. It will appear that the early Renaissance type was more or less equally indebted to classical and medieval traditions and that in certain fundamental respects it was a new creation.

We begin by comparing as to form and function two representative busts from antiquity and the Renaissance. The classical bust (Fig. 18) is rounded at the bottom, hollowed out at the back, and set up on a base. It has an inscription on the front saying it was dedicated to the deified spirits of the dead by the parents of the girl named Aurelia Monnina, who died at age eighteen.[6] It probably

formed part of her tomb or stood in a niche in her family's house along with other portraits of her ancestors. The Renaissance bust (Fig. 19) is cut straight through just above the elbow, it is carved fully in the round, and it has no base. It has an inscription on the underside saying that it represents Piero de' Medici at the age of thirty-seven and was made by the sculptor Mino da Fiesole; thus it was carved in 1453, sixteen years before the sitter died, and is, incidentally, the first dated portrait bust of the Renaissance. This bust and others of Piero's wife and brother, also by Mino, stood in semicircular pediments above doorways in the Palazzo Medici in Florence.[7]

Before exploring the comparison it must be emphasized that the difference in the treatment of the backs is related to the special and perhaps unexpected way in which the Renaissance bust manifested its independence. Neither of these sculptures was meant to be seen from all sides. In antiquity and in the early Renaissance, busts (as distinguished from herms) were normally set in recesses or on consoles projecting from an architectural member. The idea of the bust as a "freestanding" monument with a columnar pedestal reaching to the ground was a late development in both periods, Early Christian in the former, sixteenth century in the latter.[8] The Renaissance bust, however, as is indicated by two companion paintings attributed to Jacopo del Sellaio (Figs. 20 and 21, above the doorways), might be displayed in profile as well as head-on,[9] and this equivalence of front and side views made the Quattrocento bust independent in effect, although it was not so in fact.

Visually the classical work is a self-contained, abstract form, conceived only from the front and set apart by a base from its support. The Renaissance work is an arbitrarily cut-off, incomplete form, conceived in three dimensions and not isolated from the support. It could be deduced from their forms alone that both objects were created by rational beings, but whereas it might be concluded that the classical work is purely an artifact, it would be evident that the Renaissance work represents part of a whole. The classical bust is an ideal form; the Renaissance bust is a deliberate fragment. The locations of the inscriptions are also significant: the dedicatory formula on the classical portrait, D(iis) M(anibus), is in this case cut into the torso itself, emphasizing that the bust is an object; the inscription on the bottom of the Renaissance portrait serves purely as documentation, since it is ordinarily invisible, and it does not interfere with the suggestion that the bust is part of a human being.[10] From each artist's point of view the other's creation is grotesque, in the one case because the bust appears like an amputated body, in the other because a human being is made into an inanimate thing.

The visual contrast is paralleled on the functional level. Classical sculptured portraits may be grouped into two broad categories. One group consists of official, honorific portraits displayed publicly. They depict persons, living or dead, who by virtue of rank or achievement merited recognition. They were set up in open fora, in temples, libraries, and baths. The second group consists of private ancestral portraits. They represented deceased persons of no special distinction, and were displayed on the tomb or within the home as part of the family

cult.[11] There is no literary or epigraphical evidence that portraits of living friends or members of the family were displayed privately.[12] The classical bust, therefore, was never just a record of an individual. In all its uses it was basically an idol, a cult image – for ruler or hero worship in the case of public portraits, for ancestor worship in the case of private portraits.[13]

Most Renaissance busts, by contrast, are neither honorific nor are they family ghosts.[14] Moreover, they were not only displayed on tombs or inside the house, but on the facade of the dwelling as well; they were private, but might be seen by one and all.[15] And they had no role in religious cults, whether of the hero, though the sitters might be alive, or of ancestors, though they might represent members of the family.

Figure 18. Roman, *Portrait Bust of Aurelia Monnina,* Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, 3d century (photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz)

The Sources of the Renaissance Bust

Antiquity

The classical portrait bust, in all its forms, transforms the body into an abstract, ideal shape. The development of the "canonical" type of Roman bust may be defined as follows: starting from the head, the torso increased in width and length to include the shoulders and arms, while the back was hollowed out, the bottom rounded off, and the base introduced (Fig. 22).[16]

The horizontally cut bust, with or without base, does occur throughout the Roman period, in two contexts.[17] It occurs when the body is fully articulated but the whole bust is not included. This is the case with the herm, where the shoulders and arms are sliced off vertically, and with certain votive terracottas, where the shoulders are included but the trunk is severed at the breast line or above (Fig. 23).[18] The horizontal cut also occurs in portraits where more of the bust is included but the body is not fully articulated. Such is the case with portraits in relief (Fig. 24),[19] or with freestanding busts that are flat or merely roughed out at the back (Figs. 25 and 26);[20] busts of this kind were regularly framed by an aedicule or set in a base, so that the lower part of the

Figure 19. Mino da Fiesole, *Portrait Bust of Piero de' Medici*, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, 1453 (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)
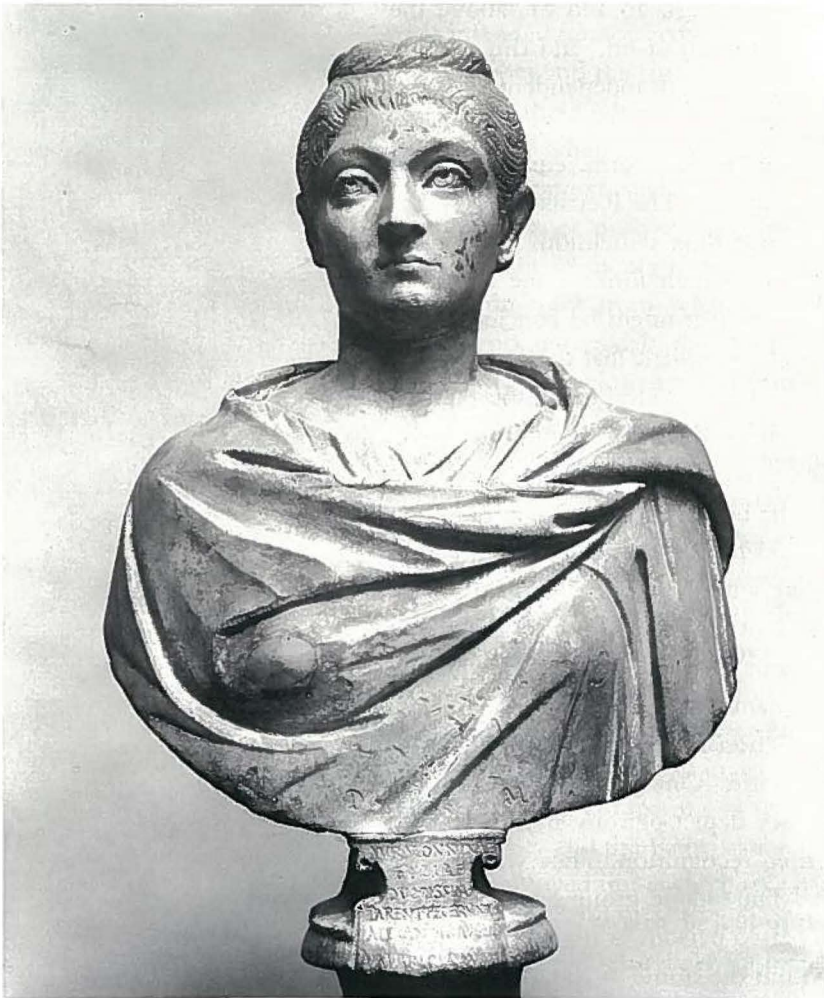
figure did not appear to have been cut off but hidden.[21] Such is the case also with various types of funerary terracottas and cinerary urns that have no frames or bases (Figs. 27–29); here the arms are not articulated (that is, the bust is a simple rectangle, circle or oval in plan), the back is flat or unworked, openings are left in the sides or back.[22]

Thus, if the Renaissance bust was inspired by classical models, they were transformed both physically and conceptually: Physically, by lengthening the abbreviated type, or by executing the partially articulated type fully in the round. Conceptually, the portrait was transformed from an idol or cult image into the

Figure 20. Jacopo del Sellaio (attr.), Scene from the *Story of Esther* (detail), Uffizi, Florence, mid–15th century (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)

Figure 21. Jacopo del Sellaio (attr.), Scene from the *Story of Esther* (detail), Uffizi, Florence, mid–15th century (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)

representation of a private living person. Antiquity did not create portraits of individuals, pure and simple, and it did not create a complete bust form for the portrait, that is, a human protome, including head, trunk of the body, shoulders and upper arms, and worked fully in the round.

These formulations have linguistic counterparts. There is no equivalent in classical Latin for the word "individual" used as a substantive noun in reference to a human being. The parent word *individuus* occurs only as an adjective, or as a neuter noun referring to inhuman entities (atoms).[23] Other terms, such as *persona* or *homo* or *privatus*, were applied to human beings, but these did not focus, as does "individual," on the quality of uniqueness.[24] Similarly, antiquity had no name for the bust in the sense of a complete human protome. *Truncus* meant as do our words "trunk" and "torso" (from *thyrsus*, stalk), the main stem of the body, excluding head and arms. *Herma* or *imago clipeata* (that is, the shield portrait) might be used for abbreviated likenesses, but these terms do not refer to the protome as such.[25] *Bustum* (from *urere*, to burn) was used in the context of funeral rites to mean the place of incineration, the ashes or bones left from the pyre, the tumulus of earth on the tomb, but it was never used for the human protome.[26] It has been suggested, on the basis of the anthropomorphic funerary urns just mentioned, that the later use of *bustum* was a linguistic extension from the place where the body was burned to the urn in which the ashes were kept.[27] This hypothesis finds support in the fact that in late classical Latin *bustum* was used to mean brazier.[28] *Bustum* was first used with the connotation of human protome by medieval writers, who also applied it to containers for holy relics.[29] The ancient cinerary urn was, after all, a sort of reliquary.

The Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages the horizontal cut was the canonical form for the portrait bust.[30] It occurs both in relief and in the round. An example of the former is the portrait of Wenceslaus I (Fig. 30) that forms part of a series of busts by Peter Parler and his workshop set in niches in the triforium of Prague Cathedral (around 1375);[31] an example of the latter is a thirteenth-century bust in the classicistic style of the period of Frederick II (Fig. 31) that crowned the tympanum of the cathedral of Acerenza, which is left unfinished at the back.[32] Such busts are generally seen without separate frames or bases, so there is no suggestion that the lower body is hidden, as was the case with their classical antecedents; rather there is implied an inner continuity between the torso and its architectural matrix.

The horizontal cut occurs in the late Middle Ages in one class of independent monuments, namely, bust reliquaries (Fig. 32).[33] These often include the whole bust, and they are worked fully in the round. This is a form we could not find in antiquity. The bust reliquaries differ from the Renaissance portrait in three respects: they are normally isolated from the support, either by a base or necking or a lip around the lower edge; being portable, they are completely free of their environment; and they represent distinguished dead people.
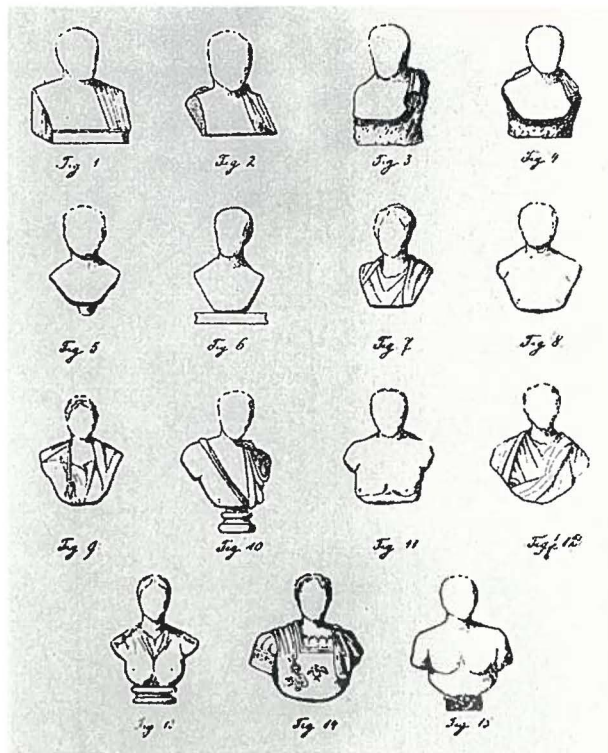
Figure 22 (above left). Development of Roman Portrait Bust Forms (after Bienkowski)

Figure 23. Etruscan Votive Terracotta of a Man, Temple of Vignale, Falerii Veteres, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome, 2d century B.C. (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)

The medieval reliquary was functionally related to the ancient cinerary urn, and this relationship seems to have become explicit in the genealogy of the term *bustum*. Both were cult images and served as containers for the remains of a venerated person. The difference is that in antiquity this honor might be accorded to any man: it was, so to speak, a "death right"; in the Middle Ages the honor was accorded only to a sanctified few. In this respect the reliquary is comparable to the pagan idol. The difference here is that, as with the Byzantine icon, the worship was not accorded to the object itself, but to what it represented.[34] The image was not the deity, it merely represented the deity. The icon and the reliquary allude, in a way the pagan idol does not, to a reality beyond that which is actually represented.

If the Renaissance bust was inspired by the medieval reliquary, the model was

Figure 24. Roman Tomb Monument with Four Figures, Cloister, S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome, 1st century B.C. (photo: Fototeca Unione, Rome)

Figure 25 (above). Portrait Bust of a Woman from a Tomb at Palestrina (front view), Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, Vatican Museums, Rome, 2d century B.C. (photo: Fototeca Unione, Rome)

Figure 26. Portrait Bust of a Woman from a Tomb at Palestrina (side view), Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, Vatican Museums, Rome, 2d century B.C. (photo: Fototeca Unione, Rome)

again transformed physically and conceptually; physically, by taking the bust off its base and connecting it to a setting; conceptually, by making it into a representation of a living, private individual.

The Transition to the Renaissance Bust

Two works seem consciously to mediate between the independent, bust-length portrait of antiquity and the medieval bust reliquary on the one hand, and the Renaissance portrait bust on the other. One of these is Donatello's reliquary of *St. Rossore*, of around 1424 (Fig. 33). Here the realistic treatment is obviously intended to suggest an individual likeness, there is no horizontal band or lip, and there was evidently no base.[35] By a striking illusionistic device, however, Donatello made it clear that the *St. Rossore* is not really half a human being. The bottom edge of the drapery spills out onto the underlying surface, so that while the figure appears amputated, the bust appears as an object resting on its support.

An analogous device is seen in the much-discussed *Bust of a Youth* in the Bargello, often attributed to Donatello, in which case it must date from around 1440 (Fig. 34).[36] In that it is worked in the round and is not a reliquary, it anticipates the portrait busts that appear a decade later. But in that it has a rim at the base, on which the drapery rests, it is again an object, not half a man. There is a specific reference to the reliquary tradition in the oval relief at the front: it has been observed by Wittkower that this recalls the jewels which often decorate the
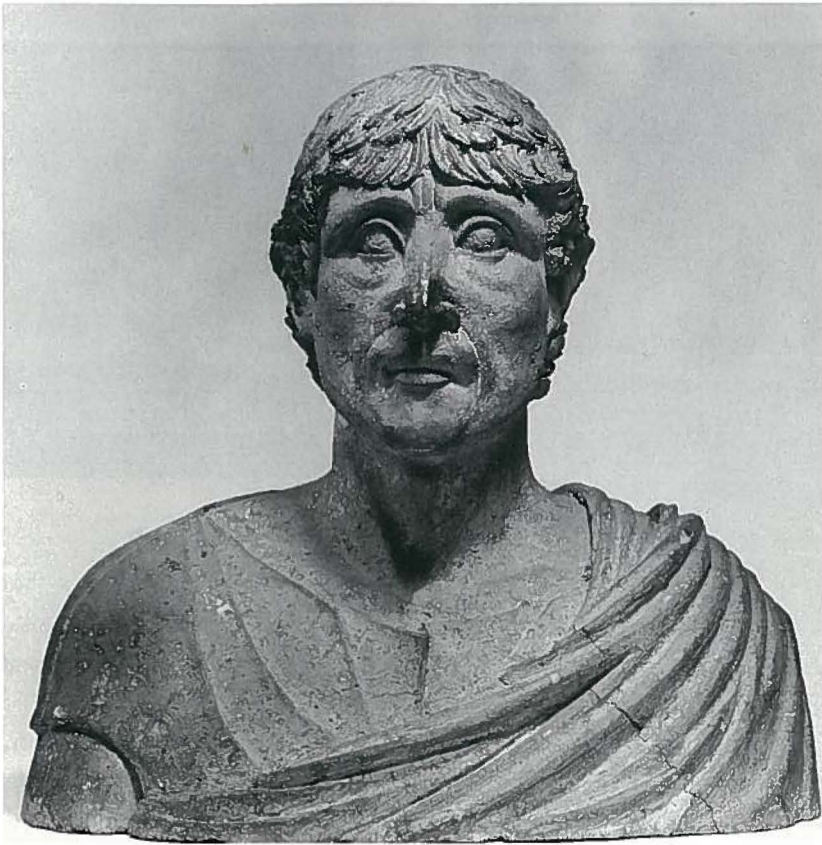
breasts of bust reliquaries, but it also recalls the openings in the breast that often provided a glimpse of the relic inside. The relief depicts Plato's image, described in the *Phaedrus*, of the human soul as a two-horsed chariot and driver – which appears here as if it were the relic. The interplay between medallion and view of the soul is a perfect visual counterpart to the Platonic relationship between visible form and the idea behind it. The bust thus represents Man, whether it portrays a particular man or not.

Both the *St. Rossore* and the *Bust of a Youth* break radically with tradition: in the former a reliquary appears as if it were a portrait; in the latter what appears to be a portrait is given the character of a reliquary. Both involve an existential pun in which generic notions – Saint/Man – and concrete things – reliquary/portrait – are fused.

Conclusion

The ingredients from which the Renaissance bust was created had all existed in the classical and medieval past. The Renaissance bust itself, however, is something that had never existed before, conceptually and visually: an independent portrait of a living, private individual, and a full human protome, horizontally cut, without a base. This unprecedented portrait form creates a three-dimensional illusion which the full-length figure, by its very nature, cannot achieve and which the shaped, hollowed bust inevitably contradicts. The arbitrary amputation specifically suggests that

Figure 29. Terracotta Bust of a Man, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome, 1st century B.C. (photo: Fototeca Unione, Rome)

Figure 30 (middle). Workshop of Peter Parler, *Portrait Bust of Wenceslaus I,* Cathedral, Prague, c. 1375 (photo: Fototeca Unione, Rome)

Figure 31. Bust of a Man, Cathedral, Acerenza, mid-13th century (photo: Fototeca Unione, Rome)

what is visible is part of a larger whole, that there is more than meets the eye. By focusing on the upper part of the body but deliberately emphasizing that it is only a fragment, the Renaissance bust evokes the complete individual – that sum total of physical and psychological characteristics which make up the "whole man."[37]

"Totus homo," the whole man, was in fact a Renaissance expression. Though used in various contexts, and never precisely defined, the concept of the *totus homo* occurs widely in the writings of Renaissance thinkers. It has been studied only in the case of Luther, but it first appears, so far as I can discover, in the famous treatise *On the Dignity and Excellence of Man* written in 1451–52 by Giannozzo Manetti, the Florentine statesman and historian.[38] Having considered the body and soul separately, Manetti devotes the third book to the whole man. His main theme here is the uniqueness of man's nature, the qualities of which are shared, he says, by no other of God's creatures, not even the angels.

From Manetti it was but a short step to the view of man as a free and independent being midway between heaven and hell, a concept which is one of the principal glories of Florentine humanist thought in the second half of the fifteenth century. This forms the basis of the long poem on the significance of human life, the *Città di Vita,* written in the 1450s and 1460s by the lifelong friend of Cosimo and Piero de' Medici, Matteo Palmieri, whose bust dated 1468 by Antonio Rossellino, now in the Bargello, stood above the entrance to Palmieri's house in the Via de' Pianellai (Fig. 35).[39] Palmieri formulated the heretical theory that man was the descendant of those archangels who remained neutral at the time of the rebellion, when Michael sided with God and Lucifer fell; in man, according to Palmieri, the neutral archangels are given a second opportunity to choose their destiny. I will only mention the passionate hymn to the uniquely indeterminate nature of humanness in Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man* of 1486.[40] Neither Palmieri nor Pico use the term, but thereafter *totus homo* became intimately linked to the problem of the freedom of the will, and entered into the dispute on this subject

between Erasmus and Luther; its connotation here has been defined as that of a "neutral" concept of human personality, a sheer self-awareness which participates in but is essentially independent of body and soul, good and evil, salvation and damnation.[41]

I do not pretend that the Renaissance idea of the whole man and the peculiar form of the Renaissance portrait bust were specifically related. But they were specifically correlated, historically in the sense that both emerged at the same time in the same close-knit ambience of Florentine humanism, and ideologically in the sense that both embody a notion of man's nature as a totality which can be reached only by implication and allusion.[42]

They are also analogous in that they belong to the unarticulated premises
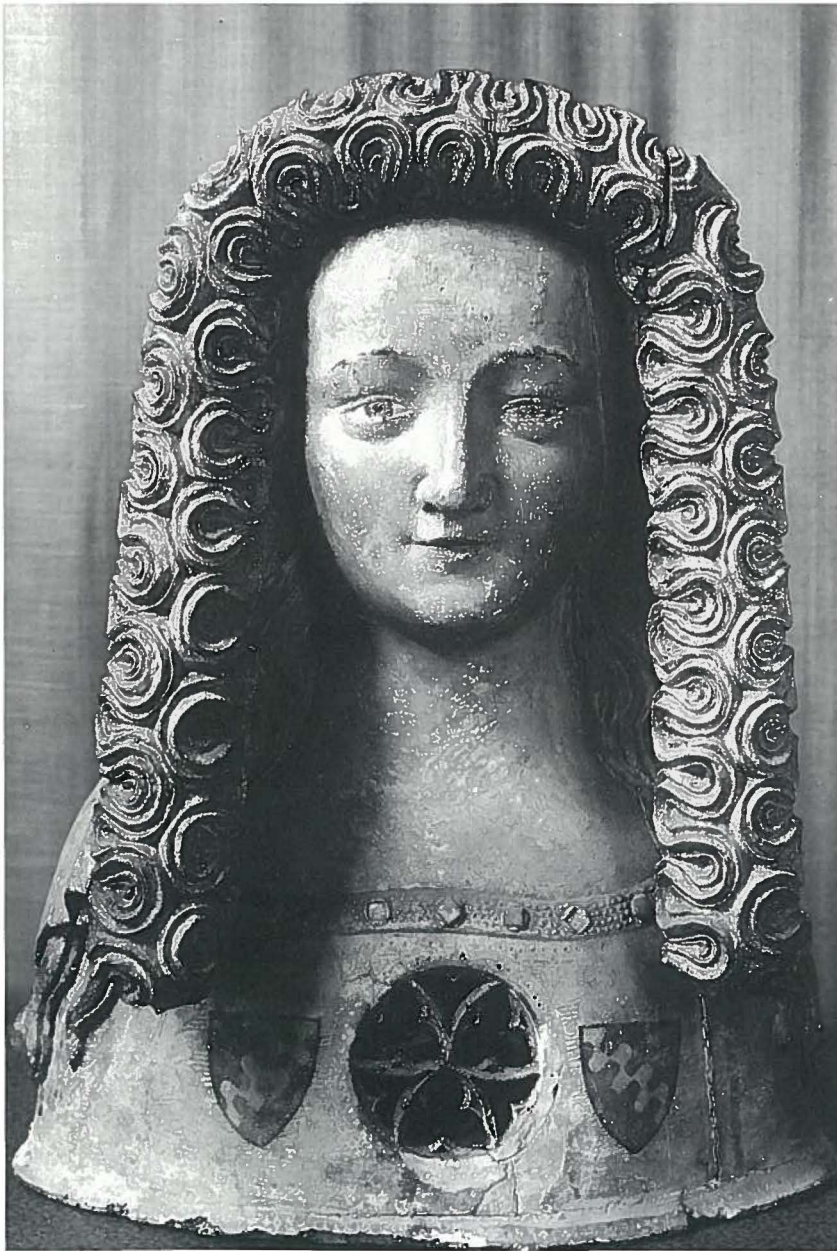
Figure 32. Reliquary Bust of a Female Saint, Church of St. Ursula, Cologne, 14th century (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, N.Y.)

Figure 33. Donatello, Reliquary
Bust of St. Rossore, Museo di San
Matteo, Pisa, c. 1424 (photo:
Charles Seymour, Jr. Archive)

rather than the explicit deductions of Renaissance culture. For just as none of
the writers ever says what he means by *totus homo*, so one cannot cite external
evidence for the significance of the bust form as such. Fifteenth-century refer-
ences to portrait busts are, in fact, exceedingly rare, and, except for a number of
poems, limited to bare notations of their existence.[43] The poetical evocations are
deeply revealing, however, because they create in words the same effect as do
the portraits in marble. This is true of the earliest poem on a portrait bust I have
found so far,[44] which contains, incidentally, the word "bust" for the first time to
my knowledge with its modern meaning.[45] It is one of a series of Latin epigrams
by Alessandro Bracci, a member of Ficino's Platonic academy and friend of
Poliziano and Lorenzo de' Medici, eulogizing Albiera degli Albizzi, who died
betrothed in 1472, at the age of fifteen.[46] The epigram, which is on a lost or as
yet unidentified portrait of Albiera,[47] reads in translation as follows:

TO THE MARBLE BUST
Albiera, whose noble form is to be admired, asks, O passerby,
That you stop a little and consider
Whether Polykleitos' or Praxiteles' deft hand
Ever made such visages from Parian marble.

> But lest there be on earth any lovelier than the goddesses,
>   Death, at the command of the deities, carried me off.

Works of art that speak are, of course, commonplace in the classical literary tradition of *ekphrasis* and in medieval accounts of miraculous holy images; inscriptions on tombs and commemorative statues are often couched in the first person. But Bracci's epigram is remarkable in two respects. It is the earliest case of such elocution I know that involves a portrait bust. The second point concerns the structure of the poem. The title tells us that we are confronted by a portrait. In the first four lines Albiera is represented as asking us to compare her noble form with faces by famous sculptors. Were it not for the title we would assume the living woman was asking to be compared to a work of art. In the last two lines there is a crucial grammatical shift from indirect to direct discourse, and Albiera says she is dead. The difference between life and death is therefore deliberately conjured up, and dismissed, for it is impossible to know in either case which is speaking, Albiera or her counterfeit. The verbal equiv-

Figure 34. Donatello (attr.), *Bust of a Youth*, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, c. 1440 (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.)
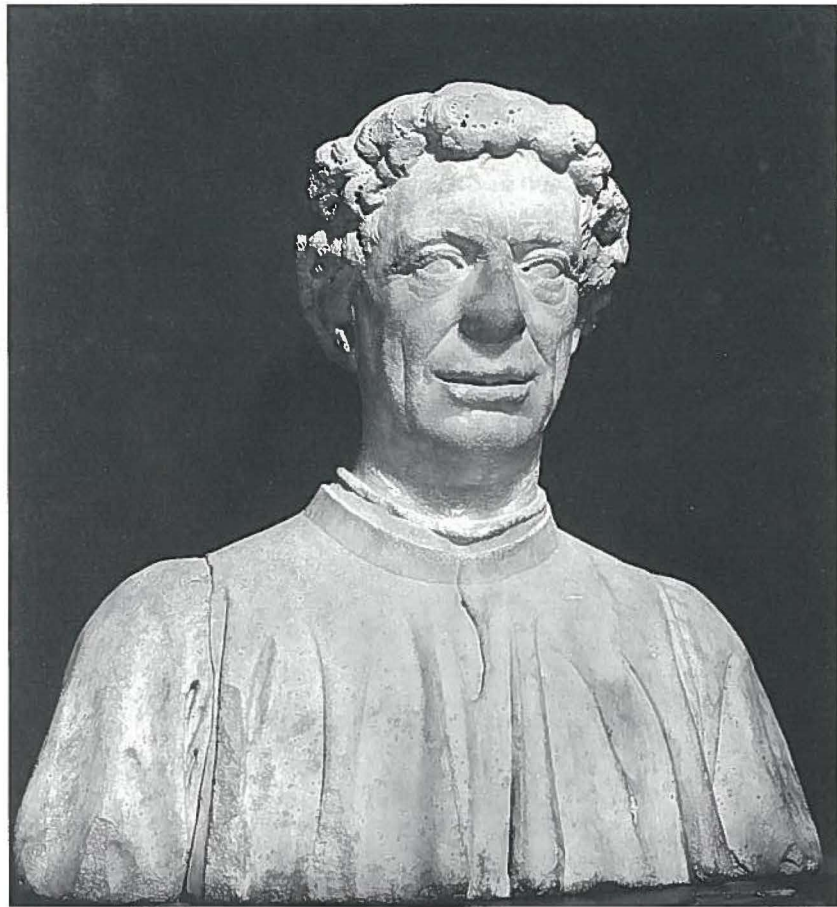
alent of the horizontal cut-off is the title: in an arbitrary way, because it is not part of the poem, it calls attention to the material and the incompleteness of the object. In the text, however, the words "form" and "visage" are used, and these refer not to an object but to an image and a person. Thus, because the title addresses a marble bust and the text alludes to a human being, on reading the epigram we inevitably think of what can only be described as the whole individual.

Notes

The substance of this paper was originally presented as a talk at the American Academy in Rome in February 1969 and published in revised form in the *Art Quarterly* XXXIII (1970): 207–26. It is one of a series of essays that deal in a similar way with the Italian portrait bust in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including "Five Youthful Sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of his Early Works," *Art Bulletin* L (1968): 223–48; [with the collaboration of M. Aronberg Lavin], "Duquesnoy's Nano di Créqui and Two Busts by Francesco Mochi," *Art Bulletin* LII (1970): 132–49; "Bernini's Death," *Art Bulletin* LIV (1972): 158–86; "Afterthoughts on Bernini's Death," *Art Bulletin* LV (1973): 429–36; "On Illusion and Allusion in Italian Sixteenth-Cen-

tury Portrait Busts," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* CXIX, no. 5 (October 1975): 353–62; "On the Pedestal of Bernini's Bust of the Savior," *Art Bulletin* LX (1978): 547; "Bernini's Bust of Cardinal Montalto," *Burlington Magazine* CXXVII (1985): 32–8; "Pisanello and the Invention of the Renaissance Medal," *Italienische Frührenaissance und nordeuropäisches Mittelalter: Kunst der frühen Neuzeit im europäischen Zusammenhang* (Munich, 1993), 67–84; "Bernini's Portraits of No-Body," and "Bernini's Image of the Sun King," in my *Past-Present: Essays on Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso*, (Berkeley, 1993), 101–37, 139–200; "Bernini's Bust of the Medusa: An Awful Pun," forthcoming in the Acts of a Symposium entitled *Docere, Delectare, Movere*, Istituto Olandese,

Rome, 1996; and "Bernini's Image of the Ideal Christian Monarch," forthcoming in the Acts of a Symposium entitled *The Jesuits: Cultures, the Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, Boston College, Boston, 1997 (Toronto, 1998).

Since this essay was written, a good deal of literature on the subject of the Renaissance bust has appeared, references to which will be found in the latest work on the Venetian contribution: A. Luchs, *Tullio Lombardo and Ideal Portrait Sculpture in Venice, 1490–1530* (Cambridge, 1995).

1. The most useful survey of the kinds of Renaissance portrait sculpture remains that of J. Burckhardt, "Skulptur der Renaissance," in *Jacob Burckhardt-Gesamtausgabe* (Stuttgart, 1934), XIII, 302–17. See further the articles "Bildnis" (P. O. Rave), "Büste" (H. Keller), and "Denkmal" (H. Keller), in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1937–73), II, cols. 639–79; III, cols. 255–74, 1257–98; and H. Keutner, *Sculpture Renaissance to Rococo* (London, 1969), 27–9. On the medal, G. F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance*, (Oxford, 1920).

    The isolated standing portrait monument did not appear until the sixteenth century (see H. Keutner, "Über die Entstehung und die Formen des Standbildes in Cinquecento," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* VII [1956]: 138–68), although a columnar monument with a seated figure of Borso d'Este was erected at Ferrara in the mid-fifteenth century (W. Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument* [Leipzig-Berlin, 1939], 146–7). The honorific papal portrait statue, which emerged in the late Middle Ages, forms a category apart (W. Hager, *Die Ehrenstatuen der Päpste* [Leipzig, 1929]).

2. On the medieval portrait, see H. Keller, "Die Entstehung des Bildnisses am Ende des Hochmittelalters," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* III [1939]: 227–356.

3. See H. W. Janson, "The Equestrian Monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great," in *Aspects of the Renaissance: A Symposium*, ed. A. Lewis (Austin, Texas and London, 1967), 75, 77.

4. See Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance*, 15.

5. For a survey of Renaissance bust types and bases, see W. von Bode, "Die Ausbildung des Sockels bei den Büsten der italienischen Renaissance," *Amtliche Berichte aus den preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* XL (1918–19): 100–20.

6. C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Römische Bildnisse* (Berlin, 1933), no. R118.

7. The busts of Piero and Lucrezia are mentioned by Vasari: "fece (Mino) il ritratto di Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici e quello della moglie, naturali e simili affatto. Queste due teste stettono molti anni sopra due porte in camera di Piero, in casa Medici, sotto un mezzo tondo" (G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, 8 vols. [Florence, 1878–1906], III, 123). The busts of Piero and Giovanni are listed in the inventory of the Medici Palace made in 1492: "Nella Camera della scala grande detta di Lorenzo – Una testa di marmo sopra l'uscio dell'antichamera della (i)mpronta di Piero di Cosimo. Nella chamera che risponde sulla via chiamata di Monsignore dove sta Giuliano – Una testa di marmo sopra l'uscio dell'antichamera di tutto rilievo ritratto al naturale di Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici" (E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XVe siècle* [Paris and London, 1888], 62, 84–5).

    In general, on the placement of family portraits, Vasari's phraseology is significant: "onde si vede in ogni casa di Firenze, sopra i cammini, usci, finestre e cornicioni, infiniti di detti ritratti . . ." (Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. Milanesi, III, 373).

8. On the modes of displaying classical busts, see M. Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1939), 289–91. Both in antiquity and in the Renaissance the freestanding bust monument seems to have been related to the conception of the bust form itself as a sign of veneration. The custom may be traceable to the imperial cult. Portrait busts are shown on altars, which may take cylindrical shape, from the later Republican period: *cf.* a gem attributed to Sulla, in M.-L. Vollenweider, "Der Traum des Sulla Felix," *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau*, XXXIX, 1958–59, pl. VII, no. 6, p. 24, n. 8, a reference for which I am indebted to Mr. Dawson Kiang. Related material was kindly brought to my attention by Professor Henri Seyrig: H. von Fritze, *Die Münzen von Pergamon* (Berlin, 1910), 90; F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanius* (reprinted from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1885, 1886, 1887), 94, pl. S, fig. XVIII. See also a coin of Caracalla, C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), frontispiece; *cf. The Museum Year: 1968. The Ninety-Third Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1969), 33. Subsequently, busts are shown placed on columns in scenes of Nebuchadnezzar ordering the three youths to worship his image and on an ivory representing a poet and his model (Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse*, 290; H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes im römischen Reiche* [Paderborn, 1934], 84–9). Related phenomena are imperial portrait busts set on movable stands and surmounting scepters (*ibid.*, 101–2, 106–9; A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* L [1935]: 116–17). In the Renaissance, busts were not put on separate supports until the sixteenth century (A. Sciaparelli, *La casa fiorentina e i suoi arredi nei secoli XIV e XV* [Florence, 1908], 194), along with the revival of the "canonical" form of the classical bust.

9. Alinari photos 30716–7. I am indebted to Professor Ulrich Middeldorf for referring me to these paintings. *Cf.* P. Schubring, *Cassoni* (Leipzig, 1923), 307.

10. I know of no Renaissance bust inscribed on the body of the sitter, and in most early examples the inscription appears on the underside. I include here, with no claim to completeness, a chronological checklist of inscribed Florentine portrait busts of the Quattrocento (where no reference is given I have copied the inscription myself).

1. Mino da Fiesole, *Piero de' Medici*, Museo Nazionale, Florence
   Inside hollow at front:
   PETRVS. COS. F
   Inside hollow at back:
   AETATIS. ANNO. XXXVII (*i.e.*, 1453)
   Under right arm:
   SCVLTORIS
   Under left arm:
   OPVS. MINI

2. Mino da Fiesole, *Niccolò Strozzi*, Staatliche Museen, Berlin
   Inside hollow at back:
   "NICOLAVS. DESTROZIS
   INVRBE. A. MCCCCLIIII."
   On underside of rim at front:
   "OPVS. NINI"
   (F. Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke der Renaissance und der Barock. Erster Band. Die Bildwerke in Stein, Holz, Ton und Wachs,* 2d ed. [Berlin and Leipzig, 1933], 55, no. 96.)

3. Mino da Fiesole, *Astorgio Manfredi*, National Gallery, Washington, D.C.
   Inside hollow at back:
   ASTORGIVS. MANFREDVS.
   SECVNDVS.FAVENTIE. DOMINVS
   On underside of rim at right side:
   ANNO. XLII. ETATIS. SVE
   Under right arm:
   1455
   Under left arm:
   OPVS.NINI

4. Antonio Rossellino, *Giovanni da San Miniato*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London
   Inside hollow:
   "Inscribed within the slightly hollowed base: MAGisteR IOHANES MAGistRI. ANTONII DE SancTO MINIATE DOCTOR ARTIVM ET MEDICINE. M.CCCCLVI, and in the center: OPVS ANTONII."
   (J. Pope-Hennessy, assisted by R. Lightbown, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum,* 3 vols. [London, 1964], I, 124.)

5. Mino da Fiesole, *Alessandro Mini di Luca*, Staatliche Museen, Berlin

On the plinth at the front:
"ALEXO DI LVCA MINI 1456"
Inside hollow at back:
"MCCCCLXV"
(F. Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke,* 56, no. 2186.)

6. Mino da Fiesole, *Rinaldo della Luna*, Museo Nazionale, Florence
   Around front lower edge beginning behind right shoulder:
   RINALDO. DELLA. LVNA. SVE.
   ETATIS. ANNO. XXVII.
   Around back lower edge beginning behind left shoulder:
   OPVS. MINI. NE M̊CCCCLXI.

7. Antonio Rossellino, *Francesco Sassetti*, Museo Nazionale, Florence
   Inside hollow at back:
   FRAN. SAXETTVS
   FLORENT. CIVIS
   AETATIS. ANN. XLIIII (*i.e.*, 1464)

8. Mino da Fiesole, *Dietisalvi Neroni*, Louvre, Paris
   On base:
   "+AETATIS. SVE. AN AGES . LX
   TYRC . . . FACĪV. DVM.ṣ. CVRAVIT.
   DIETISALVIVS. OPVS. MINI
   MCCCCLXIIII."
   (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana,* 11 vols. [Milan, 1901–39], VI, 640, n. 1.)

9. Antonio Rossellino, *Matteo Palmieri*, Museo Nazionale, Florence
   Inside hollow at back:
   MATTHEO PALMERIO
   SAL. AN. MCCCCLXVIII
   Inside hollow at front:
   OPVS ANTONII
   GHAMBERELLI

10. Benedetto da Maiano, *Pietro Mellini*, Museo Nazionale, Florence
    Inside hollow above a banderole at back:
    A̅N̅ 1474
    Inside hollow on a banderole at the back:
    PETRI. MELLINI. FRANCISCI.
    FILII. IMAGO. HEC
    On underside of rim at front:
    BENEDITVS. MAIANVS. FECI

11. Benedetto da Maiano, *Filippo Strozzi* (died 1491), Louvre, Paris
    On interior of base:
    "PHILIPPVS. STROZA. MATHEI.
    FILIVS. BENEDICTVS. DE. MAIANO.
    FECIT"
    (J. Babelon, "Un médaillon de cire du Cabinet des

Médailles. Filippo Strozzi et Benedetto da Majano," *Gazette des Beaux-arts*, 5th ser. [1921]: no. 4, 204, n. 2.)

12. Antonio Pollaiuolo (?), *Portrait of a Man*, Museo Nazionale, Florence
Inside hollow on tabula ansata at back:
MCCCCLXXXXV.

11. For a survey of the Roman uses of portrait statuary, see L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1919–21), III, 57–78.

For the types and placement of ruler portraits, *cf.* Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse*, 100–22. For portraits of philosophers and poets, *cf.* T. Lorenz, *Galerien von griechischen Philosophen- und Dichterbildnissen bei den Römern* (Mainz, 1965), 35–44. For ancestral portraiture, see A. N. Zadoks and J. Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome and the Art of the Last Century of the Republic* (Amsterdam, 1932). An intermediate group might include votive portraits displayed in a sanctuary to invoke the deity's beneficence, as in case of illness; for example, our Fig. 23, a terracotta portrait in the Villa Giulia, from the Tempio Maggiore at Vignale, Falerii Veteres (see below, n. 18).

A passage in Pliny is often cited as evidence that ancestral portraits were displayed publicly on the outside of houses; more likely, it refers to the placement of such images around the door leading to the family record room: "Tabulina codicibus implebantur et monumentis rerum in magistratu gestarum. Aliae foris et circa limina animorum ingentium imagines erant . . . " (*Historiae Naturalis*, 35, 7). This passage may, nevertheless, have had considerable influence in the Renaissance; see below, n. 15.

12. H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (Olten, 1961), 136: "Devon aber, dass sich der Hausherr Porträts seiner noch lebenden Familienangehörigen oder Freunde machen liess, um sie bei sich aufzustellen, ist, so viel ich sehe, weder in der Literatur noch in Inschriften je die Rede."

13. "Das Bildnis zeigt überall eine noch viel stärkere Kraft zur Vergegenwärtigung, es ist in intensiverem Masse stellvertretend für den Dargestellten, als wir im allgemeinen empfinden können" (Jucker, *Bildnis im Blätterkelch*, 135).

14. All the busts listed in n. 10 above with the name of the sitter and his age or the date inscribed were made while the sitter was alive.

15. The bust of Matteo Palmieri (Fig. 35) stood until 1832 over the entrance to the Casa Palmieri in the Via de' Pianellai in Florence (see below). For a later Quattrocento example in Naples, see G. L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485–1495* (New Haven and London, 1969), 29–30, n. 12.

This custom, which became widespread in the sixteenth century, may have arisen from a misinterpretation of a passage in Pliny (cited in n. 11 above); I have found

no classical instances of private portrait busts placed over exterior entrances.

16. On the development of this bust type, see P. Bienkowski, "Note sur l'histoire du buste dans l'antiquité," *Revue archéologique* XXVII (1895): 293–7 (our Fig. 22 is Bienkowski, 294, fig. 1); H. Hekler, "Studien zur römischen Porträtkunst," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* XXI–XXII (1922–24): 172–202. Lorenz, *Galerien*, 54, notes that the first bust known to him that is set on a base is a portrait of Caligula.

17. For a brief discussion of the horizontal cut, see B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik* (Leipzig and Weimar, 1948), 31.

18. On the development of the portrait herm, *cf.* K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (Basel, 1943), 196–7; Lorenz, *Galerien*, 54. For such portrait terracottas, *cf.* G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Berlin, 1965), II, 16–17, 51; R. Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Storicità dell'arte classica* (Florence, 1950), 100–30 (our Fig. 23 is M. Moretti, *Il museo nazionale di Villa Giulia* [Rome, 1962], fig. 160; see above, n. 11).

19. Our Fig. 24 is Zadoks and Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture*, pl. XVIIb, an interesting tomb relief in which certain of the figures are distinguished by the inscription "VIVIT."

20. M. Collignon, *Les statues funéraires dans l'art grec* (Paris, 1911, 301–14); O. Vessberg, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik* (*Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, VIII) (Lund and Leipzig, 1941), 189; A. Giuliano, "Busti femminili da Palestrina," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung* LX–LXI (1953–54): 172–83. Our Figs. 25 and 26 are Giuliano, pl. 71 (*cf.* W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th ed. [Tübingen, 1963–72], I, 477–8, no. 618).

21. *Cf.* O. Benndorf, "Bildnis einer jungen Griechen," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* I (1898): 1–8, *cf.* p. 7; J. Keil, "Hellenistische Grabstele aus Magnesia a. M.," *ibid.*, XVI (1913): 181; Lorenz, *Galerien*, 54.

Certain bust-length tomb figures from the Greek islands, set in aediculas or on hollowed plinths on sarcophagus covers, are carved in the round (*e.g.*, that from Thera in Athens, *cf.* S. Karovsov, *National Archaeological Museum. Collection of Sculpture: A Catalogue* [Athens, 1968], 190); these are not individualized portraits. I have found no classical example of a life-size portrait bust cut horizontally at the breast line or lower, worked fully in the round, and demonstrably not set in an aedicule or on a base.

22. *Cf.* n. 18 above; S. Ferri, "Busti fittili di Magna Grecia e l'origine dell'erma," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti*, XVIII (1963), 29–42. Our Figs. 27 and 28 are Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Storicità*, 64, figs. 129, 130; our Fig.

29 is B. M. Felletti Maj, *Museo nazionale romano: I ritratti* (Rome, 1953), no. 48 (there is a large hole in the back left side).

23. *Individuum* appears in writers of the early Christian period as a neuter substantive, meaning a man as a single member of his species: "Cum dico 'Cicero,' iam quiddam individuum certumque significo; cum dico 'homo,' . . . incertum est, quem significem" (Martianus Capella; *cf.* *Thesaurus linguae latinae* [Leipzig, 1900–13], VII, pt. 1, col. 1208, lines 68–72).

The first instance cited in the dictionaries in which the word refers to a particular person without any notion of contrast to a class or group dates from the sixteenth century: "Dubitando che per qualche accidente e' non nascesse alcuna differenza tra queste due individui" (Agnolo Firenzuola, 1493–1543; *cf.* N. Tommaseo, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, 4 vols. [Turin and Naples, 1861–79], II, pt. 2, 1456).

A further extension occurred in the seventeenth century when the word was applied to the person's self: "Il peccato d'Adamo non solamente condannò l'uomo a conservare il suo individuo con tanta fatica, ma l'abbassò a mantener la sua specie con tanta deformità" (Pietro Sforza Pallivicino, 1607–77; *ibid.*). Compare the obsolete English usage, "As to what concerns my owne poore individuall" (E. Nicholas, 1655; J. A. H. Murray, ed., *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, 10 vols. [Oxford, 1888–1933], V, 224).

24. The Greek word ἰδιώτης focused on the private, as opposed to the public, nature of the person, but not on the person's uniqueness. Modern Greek has an equivalent for "individual," ἄτομο, "undivided," an extension of the ancient word, which was not applied to persons: *Istorikon lexikon tis neas ellenikes* (Athens, 1933 –), III, 268.

25. On herm portraits, see Schefold, *Bildnisse*, 196–7; on the *imago clipeata*, H. Blank, "Porträt-Gemälde als Ehrendenkmaler," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CLXVIII (1968): 4–12, and R. Winkes, *Clipeata imago* (Bonn, 1969).

The same is a fortiori true of terms such as *caput* and *vultus* (πρόσωπον), which do have anatomical reference, but not to the protome. It is also interesting that I have found no Renaissance use of *vultus* to mean portrait image, as in antiquity, and no real classical equivalent for the Renaissance use of *caput* (testa) in reference to portrait busts (*e.g.*, the Medici inventory quoted in n. 7 above and the documents concerning Paolo Romano's bust of Pius II in the Vatican, E. Müntz, *L'art à la cour des papes pendant le XVe et le XVIe siècle*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1879–82], I, 276).

The Greek word προτομή was applied to portraits, but it refers as much to the "front" as to the "upper" part of the body and seems to have been used thus only after the Roman bust type had been developed (H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, 10 vols. [London, 1816–28], VI,

2071; H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexikon* [Oxford, 1953], 1536–7; *cf.* L. Robert, "Recherches épigraphiques," *Revue des études anciennes* LXXII [1960]: 320, a reference I owe to Henri Seyrig).

26. *Cf.* Gullini, "Busti fittili," 42.

27. *Ibid.*

28. H. Chirat, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954), 120.

29. C. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883–87), I, 793; O. Prinz, ed., *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1967), I, col. 1629. Further on the word below, n. 45.

30. On the revival of the bust form in Italy in the thirteenth century, *cf.* H. Keller, "Der Bildhauer Arnolfo di Cambio und seine Werkstatt. II Teil," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LVI (1935): 25–32; and *idem*, "Entstehung des Bildnisses," *ibid.*, 269–84. For a tradition of half-length relief figures in niches, *cf.* O. von Kutschera-Woborsky, "Des Giovanninorelief des spalatiner Vorgebirges: Ein allgemeines Beitrag zur Geschichte der Antiken Nachahmung," *Jahrbuch des kunsthistorischen Institutes der K. K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* XII (1918): 1–43.

31. Fig. 30 is *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, II, col. 656, fig. 15; *cf.* K. M. Swoboda, *Peter Parler*, 2d ed. (Vienna, 1941).

32. *Cf.* G. von Kaschnitz-Weinberg, "Bildnisse Friedrichs II von Hohenstaufen," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung* LXII (1955): 48–9; for a view of the bust in its original location, *cf.* R. Delbrück, "Ein Porträt Friedrich's II von Hohenstaufen," *Zeitschrift für bildenden Kunst* XIV (1903): 17, fig. 1; for a view of the back, *cf.* Keller, "Entstehung des Bildnisses," 271, fig. 246.

In fact, as far as I have been able to determine, none of the bust-length portraits of the period of Frederick II are worked fully in the round (the example formerly in the Brummer Gallery, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is finished at the back, but the head and torso are two separate and different pieces of marble and may not be contemporary; *cf.* J. Deér, *Der Kaiserornat Friedrichs II* [Bern, 1952], 42, pl. XXII, 4).

33. See J. Braun, *Die reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung*, Freiburg i. B., 1940, 413–34.; E. Kovács, *Kopfreliquiare des Mittelalters* (Budapest, 1964); our Fig. 32 is *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, III, col. 279. fig. 5.

34. Ernst Kitzinger has called my attention to a remarkable passage in Mesarites's description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, in which the bust-length image of the Pantocrator in the central dome is explained in three ways. These might be defined as metaphorical, the bust alluding to our partial knowledge of the whole divinity; illusionistic, the bust illustrating Christ's arrival from

the heavens at the Second Coming; and physical, the bust representing the portion of the Father's anatomy in which the Son resides. In all three cases the bust is conceived as significant specifically because it refers to more than meets the eye.

The passage is as follows: "This dome shows in pictured form the God-Man Christ, leaning out as though from the rim of heaven, at the point where the dome begins, toward the floor of the church and everything in it, but not with His whole body or in His whole form. This I think was very wisely done by the artist as he turned the matter over in his mind and revealed the very clever conclusion of his intelligence through his art to those who do not observe superficially, because for one thing, I believe, we now know in part as though in a riddle (αἰνίγματι), and in a glass, the things concerning Christ and in accord with Christ, and for another thing the God-Man will appear to us from heaven at the time of his second sojourn on earth, though the space of time until that coming has never yet been wholly measured, and because He himself dwells in heaven in the bosom of His father . . . " (G. Downey, "Nicolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n. s. XLVII, pt. 6 [1957]: 869–70).

35. At least, a base for it is mentioned only in the sixteenth century, when a woodcarver was paid for making one; H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton, 1957), 56–9.

36. *Ibid*, 141–3; *cf.* R. Wittkower, "A Symbol of Platonic Love in a Portrait Bust by Donatello," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* I (1937–38): 260–1. For recent bibliography on the bust see E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences* (Copenhagen, 1960), 189; P. H. von Blanckenhagen, "Two Horses and a Charioteer," in *Ancients and Moderns*, ed. J. Cropsey (New York, 1964), 92; U. Wester and E. Simon, "Die Reliefmedaillons im Hofe des Palazzo Medici in Florenz," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* VII (1965): 72–3; C. De Tolnay, "Nuove osservazioni sulla cappella medicea," *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura*, Quaderno no. 130, 1969, 7, n. 10.

A variation of the drapery device appears in Mino da Fiesole's profile relief bust of Bernardo Giugni (died 1466) in the Badia of Florence (J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* [Washington, D.C., 1966], 79, fig. 81).

37. Oddly enough, leaving function and meaning aside, the closest precedent I know for the Quattrocento type of portrait bust – life-size, cut in a straight horizontal through chest and arms, fully articulated, and finished in the round – is a limestone bust of Akhnaton in the Louvre, a sculptor's model presumably made in preparation for a full-length statue (*cf.* H. Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter* [Berlin, 1923], pls. 85–6). In general, *cf.* W. S. Smith, *A*

History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom (London, 1946), 38–9; W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Aegyptens* (Stuttgart, 1957), 150–1, 456; B. von Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100. The Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1960), 85–6.

The obvious parallel for this sculptured type in Quattrocento painting is the bust-length profile portrait, which is also without real precedent in antiquity; both the front and the back of the figure are shown, yet it is manifestly incomplete: J. Lipman, "The Florentine Profile Portrait in the Quattrocento," *Art Bulletin* XVIII (1936): 54–102; R. Hatfield, "Five Early Renaissance Portraits," *ibid.*, XLVII (1965): 315–34.

38. Manetti's treatise, published at Basel in 1532, is extensively analyzed in G. Gentile, *Il Pensiero italiano del Rinascimento, Opere complete* (Florence, 1968), XIV, 90–113; W. Zorn, *Gianozzo Manetti: Seine Stellung in der Renaissance* (Freiburg, 1939), esp. 22–30; and most recently, C. Trinkhaus, *In Our Image and Likeness* (London, 1970), I, 230–58. Book IV, the best-known part, is published with an Italian translation in E. Garin, *Prosatori latini del quattrocento* (Milan and Naples, 1952), 421–87 (English translation in B. Murchland, *Two Views of Man* [New York, 1966], 63–103).

I quote the concluding sentences of Book III: "Nihil enim aliquid quicumque ei naturae, quam tam pulchram, tam ingeniosam et tam sapientem ac tam opulentam, tam dignam et tam potentem, postremo tam felicem et tam beatam constituerat, ad totem et undique absolutam perfectionem suam deesse putabatur, nisi ut ea per admixtionem cum ipsa divinitate, non solum coniuncta in illa Christi persona cum divina, sed etiam ut cum divina natura una et sola efficeretur, ac per hunc modum unica facta fuisse videretur. Quod neque angelis neque ulli aliae creaturae, nisi homini duntaxat, ad admirabilem quondam humanae naturae dignitatem, et ad incredibilem quoque eius ipsius excellentiam, datum, concessum et attributum esse novimus" (Basel, 1532, 173–4).

39. On Palmieri see the literature cited concerning the painting commissioned by him, attributed to Botticini, in M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Earlier Italian Schools*, 2d ed. (London, 1961), 122–7.

40. E. Cassirer, P. O. Kristeller, J. H. Randall, Jr., eds., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago and London, 1948), 223–54.

41. *Cf.* R. Pfeiffer, *Humanitas Erasmiana* (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, XXII) (Leipzig and Berlin, 1931), 19–20; E. Schott, *Fleisch und Geist nach Luthers Lehre unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Begriffs "totus homo"* (Leipzig, 1928), esp. 50–72.

42. Though in a different way, J. Pope-Hennessy has also seen the portrait bust as the creation of an interrelated group of Florentine humanists (*The Portrait in the Renaissance*, 75–7).

43. As in the Medici inventories and documents concerning the bust of Pius II, cited in nn. 7 and 25 above.

44. For an example from near the end of the century in Naples, see E. Pèrcopo, "Una statua di Tommaso Malvico ed alcuni sonetti del Tebaldeo," *Napoli nobilissima*, II, 1903, 10–13 (*cf.* Hersey, *Alfonso II*, 35 and n. 24).

45. *Busto* appears as part of the body, not as a sculpture, in Dante, *Inferno*, XVII, 8. The first instance of the latter use listed in the Italian dictionaries is from A. M. Salvini, 1735 (S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* [Turin, 1961–], II, 465); in fact, I do not find it defined thus in the editions of the Vocabolario della Crusca before Salvini.

46. A. Perosa, ed., *Alexandri Bracci Carmina* (Florence, 1944), 108–9. I am indebted to Ulrich Middeldorf for bringing the poem to my attention.

AD BUSTUM MARMOREUM

Albiera, insigni forma spectanda, viator,
Ut paulum sistas aspiciasque rogat,
Duxerit e Pario tales si marmore vultus ·
Docta Polycleti Praxitelisve manus.

Ne tamen in terris formosior ulla deabus
Esset, mors iussu me rapuit superum.

I adopt the title from the Turin manuscript of eulogies by various authors on Albiera, which was compiled by her fiancé Sigismondo dell Stufa and which gives the earliest versions of Bracci's epigrams to her (see Perosa and the references cited there). In subsequent manuscript collections of Bracci's poems the more elegant but less precise title AD EIUS MARMOREAM EFFIGIEM is substituted.

On Bracci, who is mentioned among the academicians in 1473, see B. Agnoletti, *Alessandro Braccesi* (Florence, 1901); and A. Della Torre, *Storia dell'accademia platonica di Firenze* (Florence, 1902), 656, 806–7.

47. The bust is presumably identical with portraits of Albiera mentioned in poems by Poliziano, Ugolino Verino, and Mabilio Novato (who names a certain "Morandus" as the artist); *cf.* F. Patetta, "Una raccolta manoscritta di versi e prose in morte d'Albiera degli Albizzi," *Atti della R. Accademia della Scienza di Torino*, LIII (1917–18): 290–4, 310–28.