The *Maniera Etrusca* in Florentine Art and Artistic Collections of the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Antique Art in the Service of Florentine Civic Mythology

The *Chimaera of Arezzo*, Etruscan, c. 400 BC, from Arezzo, bronze, 78.5 cm x 129 cm, National Archaeological Museum, Florence.

Anne Wildschut

Research MA Thesis Art History

Anne Wildschut, 1516027
RMA Art History
Department of Humanities
Utrecht University

Supervisor: Dr. Matthijs Jonker
Second Reader: Professor Koen Ottenheym
Course Code: GKRMV18002

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Abstract:

This thesis will explore the ways in which the *maniera Etrusca* was defined and appropriated in the artistic production of the late 15th and 16th centuries, with a particular focus on the Etruscan self-fashioning of Leo X and Cosimo I. Placing these Medici receptions into the context of a long history of Republican responses to and constructions of the Etruscan past, this research will look to shed light on the Etruscan forms and motifs that shaped the visual language of 16th century Florence and their role in the formation of a distinct Florentine civic identity. The interaction of this Tuscan/Etruscan civic self-fashioning with the dominant conception of antiquity emanating from the Eternal City will then be discussed in the context of the artistic promotion of Medici papal power in Rome. Though the influence of ancient Etruria on the artistic production and scholarship of the 18th and 19th centuries has been well established in scholarship, the afterlife of the material culture of this ancient civilisation in the Italian Renaissance has been somewhat understudied, particularly with regards to its interaction with Renaissance conceptions of the artistic past that had long been dominated by Rome. In much scholarship on the Etruscans, therefore it appears as though the Etruscomania of the 18th and 19th centuries had little or no prelude. Given the prominence of current Museological debates on the ownership and restitution of antiquities, and the potency of these objects in the construction of modern national identities, this thesis will ultimately seek to provide an insight into the competing claims, in the Renaissance, to an ancient past tied intimately to the political and cultural selfhood of Florence.

Contents

INTRODUCTION

From the Romans of the late Republic and early Empire to the nationalists of the Italian Risorgimento, the inhabitants of Tuscany have almost invariably looked back on their Etruscan past with patriotic pride and reverence. The Florentine Renaissance in particular stands out in the long history of this region as a defining moment in the reception, classification and appropriation of the art of the Etruscans. In a period so often defined by artistic and humanist preoccupation with ancient Greece and Rome, the heritage of the Etruscans provided the city of Florence, and its rulers, with a means of defining their civic identity and ancient past as independent from, and sometimes superior to, that of the city of Rome. Both in the Eternal City and within Florence itself, the literary and visual production of Tuscan authors and artists shaped an image of the Tuscan/Etruscan state as a formidable ancestor of Rome, guiding and defining the cultural, religious and political development of this esteemed civilisation.

At other times, the same Etruscan histories were recast for the self-fashioning of the Florentine state and its nobility, resonating especially with the expansionist and unifying aims of the Medici Dukes, who sought increasingly to unite the Tuscan region under their personal rule. Not merely a 'daughter of Rome', in the conceptions of Etruscan history and art that emerged in the early 15th and 16th centuries, Florence imbued itself with an idiosyncratic Etruscan/Tuscan civic identity that celebrated the city and its surrounding region as the first and most ancient culture of the Italian peninsula, predating and equalling (or surpassing), the image of Roman cultural pre-eminence that dominated the works of contemporary art theorists and antiquarians.[1]

This thesis will explore the ways in which these claims to Etruscan ancestry were seized upon, in the late 15th and 16th centuries, both in the humanist circles of the Florentine Republic and the large-scale aggrandizing cultural programmes of the Medici. In seeking to answer the question of how Etruscan artworks shaped the construction of an idiosyncratic civic identity for the city of Florence, it will be crucial to establish also the ways in which the art of this civilisation was recognised and classified in this period: How was an Etruscan *maniera* identified and appropriated by artists and their patrons in this period? And how, then, was this style utilised in the service of a civic mythology that sought to challenge, at times, the dominant image of classical antiquity emanating from Rome?

Though the late 15th century certainly saw an increase in archaeological activity, a result of the new interest in the fragmentary remains of Rome spurred on by the ideas of revival and rebirth that had begun

[1] Van Veen 2006, p. 152. and Camporeale 2018, p. 29.

to emerge already in the writings of Trecento humanists, Etruscan artefacts, despite the remarkable frequency of their discovery in the Tuscan landscape, remained largely absent from the most important Florentine collections. To answer these questions, therefore, this thesis will focus primarily on a number of case studies concerning the reception of Etruscan art in the visual culture of the 16th century. The increasing artistic and literary engagement with the remains of the Etruscan past in the 15th century, exemplified by the works of Annius of Viterbo and the wide dissemination in artistic circles of the forms and iconographies of Etruscan tombs such as that discovered at Castellina in Chianti in 1508, however, were crucial in setting the scene for the Tuscan/Etruscan self-fashioning of the Medici, providing these rulers of Florence with a historical framework within which they could situate their own dynastic power. To fully explore, therefore, the origins and expression of the 'Etruscan revival' that took place in the 16th century, the final decades of the 15th century are also discussed insofar as the shifts in the literary and archaeological understandings of the Etruscans that took place in this period are essential for understanding the developments of the 16th century.

Etruscan Receptions in Scholarship: Continuity/Revival

The abundant, but often underappreciated afterlives of Etruscan civilization have long been a subject of discussion in the field of classical reception studies. Indeed, the influence of the art of Etruria in the 18th and 19th centuries, which saw the laying of the foundations for the discipline of Etruscology and an accompanying explosion of 'Etruscomania' in literary and visual culture, has been well established in scholarship. Yet alongside the Etruscan histories and forms that permeated their own artistic milieu- influences that survived well into the 20th century in the oeuvres of artists like Alberto Giacometti, Amedeo Modigliani, and Marino Marini (Figure 1-4)- scholars of this period discerned also a close connection between the artistic production of ancient Etruria and that of the Italian, and particularly Florentine, Renaissance.[2] Characterised in early scholarship as a relationship of *longue durée* continuity, based largely on the recognition of an inherent racial or psychological 'Tuscan soul'[3] shared by the ancient Etruscans and their Renaissance successors, this framework continued to permeate art historical treatments of Etruscan receptions until the mid to late 20th century.[4]

In the wake of the Second World War, however, the notion of an 'Etruscan revival' began to make a gradual appearance in scholarship. A seminal work in this regard is André Chastel's 1959 publication 'L'

[2] Grant 1980, p. 61.
[3] Bule 1996, p. 307.
[4] Van Essen 1939, p. 498.

'Etruscan Revival' du XVe Siècle', in which the author tied Renaissance artistic responses to Etruscan forms and histories closely to the concomitant revival of interest in Greco-Roman antiquity, as well as to the growing power of the Florentine state in the 16th century. Chastel's work introduced into scholarly debate a more refined and distinctly post-war conception of 'Etruscan revival', rejecting the racial implications of the shared national 'spirit' that frequently underlay notions of continuity.

In the period between the beginnings of systematic and scholarly Etruscology in the 18th century and the 20th century conception of an 'Etruscan revival' in the art of the Tuscan Renaissance, however, the notion of an 'Etruscan spirit' suffusing the visual culture of the Italian peninsula found the support of numerous prominent art historians and archaeologists. Going beyond mere artistic influence, this connection to the ancient past was perceived not only in the artistic production of the region, but also in the bodies and customs of early modern and contemporary Italians. In the numerous ethnographic studies produced in this period, which saw a steady rise in nationalist ideology and an accompanying heightened concern for national identity in the visual arts, the people of Italy were praised for their ideal, untouched beauty.[5] The many Northern European artists who walked the streets of Rome in these years spoke repeatedly of feeling as though they were 'seeing the peasants of Virgil and Hesiod again.'[6] While these artists and ethnographers focused largely on the Roman past, the earliest studies of Etruscan receptions in the Renaissance were nonetheless produced in an artistic and scholarly milieu that conceived of both early modern and modern Italians as living vestiges of their revered ancient ancestors.[7] Interpretations and appropriations of the art and histories of antiquity are rarely ideologically neutral. Indeed, for the proponents of the Italian Risorgimento, the federal structure of the Etruscan state provided an ideal model for a united Italy, rooting the aims of this movement in an admired antique precedent, much as the Etruscan model had done for the Medici Dukes. At some times paradigms of anti-imperialist resistance against an aggressive and expansionist Rome, and at other times models of autocratic princely rule, the idea that the perceived power and glory of Etruscan civilisation remained very much alive in the towns and peoples of Tuscany served a wide variety of political and ideological purposes.

For artists and historians of the 18th century on, working in a period defined by a neoclassical adulation of the ancient past, the notion that the ancient world could be reached tangibly through both the contemporary and Renaissance people of Tuscany was remarkably stimulating for the scholarly

[5] Hutchinson 1901, p. 469.
[6] Santulli 2009, p. 24.
[7] Alu 2005, p. 201.

imagination. Born out of a scholarly milieu preoccupied with racial and national identity and fascinated by the remains of the antique past, the notion of 'continuity' was heavy with ideological implications. Indeed, when John Ruskin proclaimed the continuity of the Etruscan artistic tradition, casting Renaissance Florentines as the direct heirs of this ancient civilisation, he did so less as a genuine art historical and archaeological observation of the *longue durée* persistence of Etruscan forms and iconographies in the works of these artists, than as a response to the dominant neoclassicism of the 19th century.[8] In his emphasis on the Etruscan nature of the Tuscan Renaissance, Ruskin elevated the 'spiritual truth' of this civilisation, a quality so revered by his own pre-Raphaelite movement, in opposition to the rigid Greco-Roman canon celebrated by his contemporaries:[9]

> *Etruscan art remains in its own Italian valleys, of the Arno and upper Tiber, in one unbroken series of work, from the 7th century BC, to this hour, when the country whitewasher still scratches his plaster in Etruscan patterns. All Florentine work of the finest kind- Luca della Robbia's, Ghiberti's, Donatello's, Filippo Lippi's, Botticelli's, Fra Angelico's- is absolutely pure Etruscan, merely changing its subjects and representing the Virgin instead of Athena, and Christ instead of Jupiter. Every line of the Florentine chisel in the 15th century is based on national principles of art which existed in the 7th century before Christ; and Angelico, in his convent of St Dominic at the root of the hill of Fiesole, is as true an Etruscan as the builder who laid the rude stones of the wall along its crest.*[10]

Given the general rejection in the scholarship that followed the Second World War of the racial science that had suffused much artistic theory of the 19th and early 20th century, it is unsurprising that this notion of an innate, inborn Etruscan spirit that defined Tuscan cultural production was sidelined in favour of a more comprehensive consideration of the individual motivations of the Renaissance patrons and artists who responded to and appropriated Etruscan artistic production in this period. In the works of scholars like André Chastel and Giovanni Cipriani ('Il Mito Etrusco Nel Rinascimento Fiorentino', 1980*)*, there emerged an increased focus on the concrete archaeological, artistic and collecting practices that contributed to the increased interest in Etruscan civilisation during this period, rather than on the pursuit of a nebulous 'Etruscan spirit', forging a path for the exploration of the notion of an Etruscan 'revival' in the Tuscan Renaissance.

[8] Hillard 2009, p. 1.
[9] Hillard 2009, p. 1.
[10] Ruskin 1945, p. 45.

More recent treatments have increasingly turned away from studying the phenomenon of this 'revival' in itself, moving instead towards the investigation of the specific, individual afterlives of Etruscan antiquities in the collections of particular patrons and specific sites. Many of these studies have sought to re-evaluate the arguments of Chastel, often accepted into the scholarly canon with little critical reflection, supplementing these earlier considerations of the social and political context of this 'revival' with comprehensive, systematic analyses of the collections of the patrons who facilitated and promoted it. Particularly crucial for this thesis is Andrea Gáldy's exhaustive study of the antiquities in the collections of Cosimo de' Medici and the cultural and political considerations that underlay their display.[11] The works of Caroline Hillard on the reception of Etruscan antiquity have also been essential, particularly in relation to exploring the interaction between Etruscan histories and antiquities in the self-fashioning of Cosimo I de' Medici.[12] My thesis will expand on these studies by introducing additionally a thorough consideration of the ways in which the Tuscan/Etruscan civic self-fashioning of Republican and Medici Florence interacted with the conceptions of antiquity that arose in Rome during these centuries. Focusing not only on the expression of this civic mythology in Florence, but also on its manifestations in the visual landscape of Rome, this research will illuminate a subject that has, so far, received little attention in scholarship.

Etruscan Receptions in Scholarship: Stylistic Analysis

In addition to this exploration of the Tuscan/Etruscan self-fashioning of the Medici in Rome, this thesis will seek also to move away from a dominant tendency in scholarship to discuss 'Etruscan influences' largely through the visual comparison and stylistic analysis of antique and Renaissance works of art. Many of the early studies that adopted the framework of an 'Etruscan revival' relied largely on authors personal perception of stylistic similarity, an approach which may have seemed self-evident in light of the striking scarcity of written sources on the Etruscans and their artistic production in both antiquity and the Renaissance.[13] Indeed, the absence of an Etruscan written record beyond brief inscriptions has necessitated a focus on the occasional mentions of this civilisation in the texts of ancient Greece and Rome. In the Renaissance, discussions of Etruscan artistic style appear with similar infrequency. Despite

[11] See Gáldy 2009 and 2005 a and b.

[12] See Hillard 2008, 2009, 2013, 2016 and 2018.

[13] The written sources of the Etruscans themselves are largely limited to inscriptions on *cistae*, mirrors, grave goods and other works of art. The Etruscans are mentioned frequently, however, in the texts of Greek and Roman authors. The most notable texts in this regard were the writings of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c. 60 BC - c. 7 BC), Livy (59 BC - AD 17), Pliny the Elder (AD 23/24 – AD 79), and the lost *Tyrrhenika* of the Emperor Claudius (10 BC – AD 54), devoted to Etruscan history. See De Grummond 1986, p. 18.

the relative prominence with which this civilisation figures in the histories on the origins of Florence and treatises on the Tuscan vernacular, mentions of the Etruscans in art theoretical texts remained exceedingly rare.

Though somewhat justifiable, this approach is complicated by the affinities between Etruscan art and the artistic production of their Roman successors, as well as by the flourishing artistic trade that existed from the Iron Age onwards between Etruria and the *poleis* of ancient Greece. The remarkable Etruscan taste for Greek vases, found among the *corredi* of their tombs from the 8th century BC on, in particular led to Renaissance conflation of the art of these two cultures.[14] In the absence of inscriptions, the question of how Etruscan artefacts, often unearthed from the Tuscan soil with little or no cultural signifiers, were recognised as uniquely Etruscan, is notably complex. The issue is intensified additionally by Mediaeval re-use of ancient artworks, which were often incorporated into the altars, columns and pulpits of churches, as well as by Roman assimilation of Etruscan styles and forms.[15] The boundaries of what constituted 'Etruscan art' in the conceptions of Renaissance viewers were therefore far from clearly defined, a problem exacerbated by the strikingly vague nature of many of the documents recording the discovery of artefacts from Etruscan tombs or describing the collections of nobles in which these were housed. Refering regularly to these works simply as *anticaglie*, with little or no reference to (perceived) cultural origins, it is often difficult to determine whether a connection was made between an object and its Etruscan past.[16]

For modern art historians, it is therefore frequently problematic to determine on the basis of stylistic analysis alone whether Renaissance artists and patrons emulated consciously a motif or style they associated with the Etruscans, or whether the source was a later Roman or Mediaeval adaptation of these Etruscan forms. Indeed, to identify a 'revival' at all, the emulation of 'Etruscan' forms (whether these were authentically Etruscan or not) must have been direct and deliberate. Though 'Etruscan influences' have sometimes been traced back as far as c. 1300 in the works of Nicola Pisano (1220-1284) (Figure 5-6) and Giotto (c. 1267-1337), that Etruscan artworks were known does not necessitate a 'revival.'[17]

[14] Camporeale 2013, p. 888.
[15] Bule 1996, p. 311.
[16] Hillard 2016, p. 490.
[17] De Grummond 1986, p. 21. Giotto's frescoes for the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua have sometimes been linked to the paintings of Etruscan tombs (discussed in Chapter 2). The reclining pose of the Virgin in Nicola Pisano's

Arguments for 'revival' that rely largely on the author's personal perception of stylistic similarity are particularly vulnerable to claiming as 'Etruscan influence' the emulation and appropriation by Renaissance artists of Etruscan forms transmitted second-hand through the more widely-known artworks of ancient Rome. Moving away from these formalist approaches, the analyses of this thesis will be conducted on the basis of the notion that any 'Revival' presupposes the deliberate and informed reinvigoration of Etruscan forms and histories in the art of the 15th and 16th centuries: indirect 'influences' that 'may recall' Etruscan prototypes cannot be seen to constitute a Renaissance 'rebirth' of Etruscan art. Where documentary evidence is scarce, however, such methods can be of some value, though their limitations should in each case be thoroughly considered.

The aim of this thesis will be, therefore, to fill a considerable lacuna, particularly glaring in Anglophone scholarship, in the discourses surrounding the reception of the artistic production of Etruscan antiquity in the Italian Renaissance. Though there has been a significant amount of literature produced concerning the afterlives of Etruscan artefacts in this period, there has been remarkably little re-examination of the key arguments in this discourse since the publications of Chastel and Cipriani in the 19th century. Despite the cautious nature of Chastel's initial study, many of the subsequent arguments put forward in scholarship, made largely on the basis of highly subjective judgements of stylistic affinities, have been accepted straightforwardly into the art historical canon.[18] A fresh consideration of the notion of an Etruscan 'revival' in this period, and the key case studies most often invoked to support this, is therefore long overdue.

Thesis Structure and Methodology

Seeking to elucidate the ways in which the Etruscan past was used in the construction of a uniquely Tuscan conception of antiquity, this thesis will combine an exploration of the afterlives of the artefacts that shaped the Etruscan 'revival' in this period with a thorough re-consideration of the key texts and documentary sources that formed the basis for the Renaissance re/construction of the Etruscan past. Though the discussions and case studies presented in this thesis will be explored within the framework of a late 15th and 16th century 'revival' that saw the resurgence of interest in this civilisation, the first two chapters will consider also the literary and archaeological developments that established the necessary

Annunciation relief for the pulpit of the Pisa Baptistery (1260) has also been frequently associated with the reclining figures of Etruscan urns and sarcophagi. See Bule 1996, p. 318.

[18] Hillard 2009, p. 7.

conditions for this ostensible 'revival' in both in the Florentine Republic and during the reign of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*.

Chapter 1 will explore specifically the shaping of a Florentine conception of the Etruscan past in the literature of the 15th century. Providing the crucial foundations on which the civic self-fashioning of the Medici was built, the ways in which this Tuscan/Etruscan myth was appropriated and reinterpreted by the authors of the 16th century, particularly those in the circles of the Medici, will also be considered, with a focus on Vasari's definition on the so-called *maniera Etrusca*. Particular attention will also be paid to the works of Annius of Viterbo, whose forgeries and embellishments of ancient texts and artefacts presented for the first time a history of Tuscany in which the role of Rome was rendered almost entirely marginal, centring instead the glory of Etruria. Taken up by many successive authors, including Giles of Viterbo and the humanists of Cosimo I's Accademia Fiorentina, the image of the Etruscan past developed by Annius played a crucial role in the political and cultural self-fashioning of the Medici, and the legitimation of their unification of the Tuscan state under their quasi-monarchical rule. Examining the ways in which the literary myth of the Etruscan past was used to shape Florentine and Tuscan civic identity, this first chapter will establish the crucial background of humanist discourses that underlay and moulded artistic and antiquarian responses to the Etruscan antiquities pulled from the soil of Renaissance Tuscany.

The second chapter will continue this exploration of Florentine myth-making in the 15th and 16th centuries, turning from literature to the Republican reception of the tangible remnants of the Etruscan past that became increasingly visible in the Tuscan landscape during this period. Focusing on tombs uncovered during the period of Medici exile from Florence, notably artistic responses to the tomb discovered at Castellina in Chianti in 1507, this chapter will elucidate the ways in which Etruscan artefacts were defined and valued outside of the promotion of the Medici state. A number of documentary sources, including the letters of humanists and antiquarians studying these artefacts, will be consulted here to reconstruct an image of the Renaissance knowledge of Tuscany's ancient past, and the ways in which these artefacts, once discovered, were categorised and valued by their excavators. These documents will also be analysed to provide an insight into the dissemination of this knowledge, and its movement through humanist and artistic circles of Republican Florence, and beyond, seeking to understand the means by which material knowledge of the Etruscan past was disseminated, collected, and displayed in the years that preceded the large-scale cultural programmes of the Medici.

Following on from these considerations of the late 15th century construction of a Florentine myth of an ancient Etruscan past, the second half of my thesis will focus on the manifestation of this Tuscan/Etruscan history in the artistic expression of the Florentine state, specifically in the commissions and cultural policies of the Medici. Analysing the ways in which the political agendas of this princely family shaped the visual expression of the Etruscan histories that emerged in the literary and archaeological discourses of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, Chapter 3 will discuss the expression of the Etruscan past of Tuscany in the artistic production of Rome during the papacy of Leo X. The literature and art produced under the patronage of this Medici papacy hailed, in the early years of Leo's pontificate, the dawning of a new golden age under the auspices of a pope whose personal and civic history were grounded in the precedents of a glorious Etruscan past.

Focusing on the Capitoline theatre constructed for the 1513 celebrations of the *Parilia*, as well as on the images of the shared history of Etruria and Rome elaborated in the decorative programme of the Villa Lante, I will seek to demonstrate the ways in which the Etruscan histories and styles defined in the humanist discourses of the late 15th and early 16th centuries were utilised by this Medici ruler of Rome to legitimise the expansion of Florentine power into the Papal States, binding the people of Florence and Rome together not only by political alliance, but by a historical union of blood reinforced by the creation of a shared visual, architectural language. This exploration of the resonance of the Etruscan past in the artistic production of Rome constitutes a significant intervention made by this thesis in the scholarly discourse on Etruscan receptions, which focuses overwhelmingly (and somewhat unsurprisingly) almost entirely on the artistic milieu of Florence. Expanding on previous studies in exploring the ways in which this *maniera Etrusca* was disseminated to and received in the city of Rome, my research will look to remedy what has become a significant gap in the foundational literature of the field of classical reception studies, whose major treatments of the ancient Italian past have consistently elevated the Roman past and its artistic forms above all else.

The final chapter of my thesis will examine the reign of Cosimo I, a period often considered to represent the acme of Etruria's prominence in the visual and cultural landscape of Renaissance Florence. It was during the reign of this first Grand Duke of Tuscany that the outlines of the *maniera Etrusca* were drawn explicitly for the first time. In both the literary production of the Accademia Fiorentina and Cosimo I de' Medici's decorative programme for the new offices of the Palazzo Vecchio, the Etruscan histories developed over the previous decades in the expressions of local *campanilismo* of Tuscan authors and the personal self-fashioning of Medici papal power found their first systematic expression in the cultural

policies of the new Medici state. In the Scrittoio della Calliope in particular, the relics of the Etruscan past were placed side-by-side with the artistic achievements of contemporary Tuscany, emphasising not only the direct relationship between ancient Etruria and modern Tuscany, but also highlighting and elevating the progress made by Florentine culture under Medici rule. The image of a unified Tuscany, grounded in the revered precedent of the Etruscan past, was of particular importance for the legitimation of Cosimo's expansionist politics. Building on Andrea Gáldy's studies of the antiquities in the collections of Cosimo de' Medici and the records of their display in the Guardaroba Medici, this chapter will consider the contexts in which these artefacts were exhibited and their positions within the wider Tuscan/Etruscan decorative programme of the Palazzo Vecchio. Discussing the depictions of Etruscan history in this building in relation to earlier conceptions of the Florentine past, particularly in relation to the role of Etruscan Fiesole, I will examine this Florentine ruler's appropriations and transformations the Etruscan past for the promotion of his own cultural and political agendas. Rather than a Tuscan state created by military might and coercion, the creation of a shared Tuscan/Etruscan past through geographical, historical, linguistic and artistic ties, expressed in the Palazzo Vecchio and beyond, allowed Cosimo I to fashion an image of his rule as a predestined continuation of the Tuscan past.

Overall, this thesis should not be considered as a comprehensive survey of all the numerous ways in which the so-called *maniera Etrusca* was manifested in the artistic production of the Florentine state, nor as providing a definitive answer to the question of the ways in which this culture was classified and categorised, a study which would require more extensive considerations of the precise organisation of and language used within inventories of the most major Florentine collections in this period.

What this thesis will seek to achieve, however, is a thorough analysis of the ways in which knowledge of the art and histories of ancient Etruria was created and disseminated, and how this was utilised in the production of a distinctly Tuscan civic identity, which found its most notable expression in the artistic language of the Medici. Given the broad chronological period covered by this thesis, some periods and sources have inevitably received greater emphasis than others. Alongside the periods in which the art of Etruria reached the heights of its prominence in Florentine artistic expression, most significantly the reign of Duke Cosimo I (Chapter 4), this thesis has sought to bring to light a number of periods in which there is a notable gap in research, namely the period of Medici exile between 1494 and 1512 (Chapter 2), and the papacy of Leo X (Chapter 3). In examining not only the ways in which the *maniera Etrusca* was manifested in visual art, but also its relationship to the conceptions and classifications of the Etruscan past in the numerous historical writings and humanist correspondences concerning Etruscan antiquities

(Chapter 1), my research will seek to elucidate the ways in which the Etruscan past and its artistic production was constructed as an expression of an idiosyncratically Tuscan, and specifically Florentine, vision of antiquity that at different times rivalled or complimented the dominant image of the Renaissance inheritance of the ancient past, shaped and defined by the city of Rome.

CHAPTER 1: Historiography: The Origins of Florence and the *Maniera Etrusca*

In the linguistic and aetiological texts of 16th century Tuscan humanists, we encounter an exceptional preoccupation with a carefully constructed Etruscan past, tied closely to a desire to cast the city of Florence as the birthplace of art. Drawing extensively on the surviving works of ancient authors, most notably Pliny, Livy and Virgil, these texts wove the history of Etruria tightly into their narratives on the origins of the city of Florence, supplanting the long-held supremacy of Rome. For a city and a nobility seeking to present itself as standing at the absolute epicentre of human cultural achievement, but lacking the cultural authority imbued upon Rome by its highly conspicuous ancient past, historical narratives of Florence's mythical origins in the cities of Etruria justified claims to a revered antiquity not immediately evident in the city's visual landscape.[19]

Though the earliest texts concerning Etruscan origins centred largely around the historical narrative of the city's Roman foundation and its union with Etruscan Fiesole, often positioning the federal structure of the Etruscan state as a model for the organisation of the Florentine Republic,[20] in the later 15th century there emerged alongside these histories a growing interest in the artistic production of this civilisation. Once classified and described in the works of these later humanists, most notably Giorgio Vasari, this Etruscan *maniera* provided Renaissance authors and artists with a convenient and flexible means for the production of a uniquely Tuscan visual identity, bolstering the historical narratives developed over the course of the preceding century.[21] The legitimating function of this Etruscan history and *maniera* achieved particular significance during the reign of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici. In response to the instability of his position both within the Medici dynasty and as ruler of a city still suffused with support for the Republic, Cosimo sought to seamlessly integrate his own dynastic past with the history of the Florentine state, as well as asserting Florentine cultural and political supremacy both within Tuscany and across the Italian

[19] Van Veen 2006, p. 183.

[20] The exact nature of the political organisation of the Etruscan city-states and the existence of an 'Etruscan league' remains a contentious topic in scholarship. Early scholars on Etruscan civilization based their judgements on their readings of ancient authors, primarily Livy, who describes a *concilium* or *foedus* meeting at Voltumnia. Some modern scholars, including Massimo Pallottino, have characterised the league as a largely religious body of independent states, though occasionally fulfilling a political or military function. The term 'Etruscan' was poorly defined both geographically and culturally in antiquity, as in the Renaissance. See Pallottino 1974, p. 124., Gillet 2010, p. 1. and Banti 1973, p. 15-16. For ancient references to the 'league' see Livy 1.8.3, 4.23.5, 4.61.2., and 5.33.9. See also Livy 5.1.5 for the Etruscan disdain for kings.

[21] Gáldy 2009, 117.

peninsula. The Etruscan antiquity of Florence, which cast the city as heir to the oldest and most venerable of ancient civilisations, allowed Cosimo to express these claims in a manner that not only legitimised Medici ducal power, but challenged also the hegemony of the city of Rome and its own revered ancient past.

1.1. 15th Century Florentine Myth-Making: The Roman/Etruscan Origins of Florence

Far from an exclusively Medicean phenomenon, however, the Etruscans had featured prominently in Florentine literature from as early as the 13th century. Though the memory of this civilisation had been maintained (albeit for a limited audience) in the Middle Ages by the surviving texts of Roman authors, it was not until the Renaissance that humanists began to distinguish the Etruscans as a people possessing their own idiosyncratic political and artistic culture, often employed as a model for the organisation of the Florentine state. In two of the earliest accounts of the city's Etruscan origins, the *Chronica de Origine Civitatis* of c. 1200 and Giovanni Villani's (1280 - 1348) *Nuova Cronica* of c. 1300, the same narrative is recounted. In these chronicles, the city began as the Roman colony of *Florentia*, established by Julius Caesar in the wake of his destruction of nearby Etruscan Fiesole, a hilltop village around eighty kilometres northeast of Florence. Widely accepted in the early histories of the Etruscan past, this narrative was joined also by a number of variations, which attributed *Florentia*'s foundation sometimes to Sulla, or the Triumvirs Mark Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian. All versions agreed, however, on the destruction of Fiesole by the Romans and the following integration of its people into the newly formed colony.

Though Villani made no explicit mention of the 'Etruscans', typical for such early accounts, he nonetheless dedicated considerable space in his *Cronica* to the 'might and sovereignty' of the Tuscan people 'before Rome came to power.'[22] That Villani recognised Fiesole as forming part of a larger, flourishing pre-Roman power at all in this early period is notable, elevating the ancient of the Tuscan region as formidable ancestors of Rome. His native Florence was cast, thereby, as heir to an illustrious antiquity rivalling the age and esteem of the Eternal City.

It was in Leonardo Bruni's *Historiarum Florentini Populi Libri XII* in the 15th century, however, that the Etruscans were recognised for the first time in Florentine literature as a culturally distinct people among the civilisations of pre-Roman Italy.[23] Both Bruni and his teacher, Coluccio Salutati (1332-1406)

[22] Villani, *Nuova Cronica,* 2.7.
[23] Hillard 2013, p. 1024.

emphasised the 'republican' organisation of the Etruscan state, contrasting later authors writing under Medici rule, who would extol the monarchical power of the Etruscan *lucumones* as a paradigm for Medici ducal rule.

This enduring literary preoccupation with the Etruscan past of Tuscany accelerated significantly in the later 15th and 16th centuries, particularly following the restoration of Medici rule in 1512. Invigorated by the works of Giovanni Nanni (1437-1502), a Dominican friar and prolific forger of antiquities later and better known as Annius of Viterbo, these histories were rapidly taken up in the first decades of the 16th century by the cultural programmes of the rehabilitated Medici. In the years that followed Annius' *Antiquitates*, therefore, the Etruscan heritage of Tuscany had become an essential aspect of Florentine self-fashioning and patriotic panegyric, and a means for the legitimation and aggrandisement of the ambitions of the state and its rulers.[24]

1.2. 15th Century Florentine Myth-Making: The Forgeries of Annius of Viterbo

The works of Annius presented, by far, the most enthusiastic expression of this literary interest in the Etruscan heritage of Florence. Inspired by the Etruscan origins and artefacts of the author's hometown, the promotion of the Florentine state was of little significance in Annius' conception of the Tuscan past. More important to the formation of his histories were two key motivations: the promotion of the role of Viterbo in the history of antiquity,[25] and the promotion of the author's own position within the Roman Curia by means of appealing to the interests of the Borgia pope. The latter ambition goes some way to explain the prominence of Egyptian mythology, and particularly the Apis Bull, in the *Antiquitates.* Providing a revered, mythical aetiology for the Borgia emblem, this aspect of the *Antiquitates* was a direct reflection of Annius' desire to ingratiate himself with Pope Alexander VI.[26] Despite these distinctly local and personal aims, Annius' approach to Etruscan antiquities and the conceptions of history he developed would provide a crucial methodological and narrative basis for the authors who shaped, in the 16th century, the definition of a *maniera Etrusca* and its appropriation for the self-fashioning of the Medici state.

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[24] Mazzocco 2012, p. 258.

[25] Though towns like Arezzo, Mantua, and Bologna (Felsina) could trace their Etruscan origins in the works of ancient authors, the earliest documents recording the town of Viterbo do not appear until the time of Charlemagne. Despite the relative importance of this town in the Middle Ages, when its position as the last stop on the Via Francigena and brief stint as official papal residence in the 12th century assured its renown, there was little to support its claims to an Etruscan past. Annius' forgeries sought to resolve this lacuna. See Rowland 2016, p. 433-435.

[26] Collins 2001, p. 118.

Following his return to Viterbo from Genoa, where he had spent several years teaching grammar and astrology, in the 1480s, Annius began to compile his Etruscan 'discoveries', developing a conception of Tuscan history that diverged notably from the narratives of his predecessors.[27] Claiming to have acquired during his time in Genoa two manuscripts preserving the *Annals* of Berosus the Chaldean, Annius, in both his *Viterbiae Historiae Epitoma* of c.1491/2 (unpublished until 1981) and his *Antiquitates* of 1498, hailed the Etruscans as founders of both Viterbo and Florence, supplanting the previously widely accepted narrative of the city's Roman foundation.[28]

According to Annius, the manuscripts he had uncovered in Genoa contained Berosus' account of the colonisation of the postdiluvian world by Noah and his three sons, in which this biblical patriarch figured as the founder of 'Vetulonia' in Latium, a city which came to be known as 'Etruria', and much later as 'Viterbo'.[29] In the coming centuries, it was the descendants of this Noah who brought about the 'Golden Age' lauded in Greco-Roman myth. Annius thus assimilated all of Etruria to his hometown, deftly merging the pagan past with the Christian tradition of his own society: the biblical Noah became the father of Etruscan civilization, known to the Greeks and Romans as Janus.[30]

That Annius' formulation of Italian history received widespread support, at least in the author's own hometown, is suggested by the decorative programme of Viterbo's Palazzo Comunale. In Baldassare Croce's frescoes for Sala Regia, executed between 1588 and 1592, the foundation of the city was attributed unambiguously to Annius Noah-Janus, rendered before a map of Etruria (Figure 7). Annius' successor in this tradition, Giles of Viterbo, also found a place among the Viterban cardinals celebrated in this room (Figure 8).[31] In Teodoro Siciliano's 1559 cycle of *uomini illustri* for the Sala dei Consiglio of the same building, Annius himself figured, too, among the most famous scions of the city (Figure 9), alongside Iasius and Hercules, both prominent characters in his histories.

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[27] Della Fina 2017, p. 54.

[28] Rowland 1998, p. 55.

[29] Rowland 1998, p. 56. The notion that the cities of Etruria were the earliest foundations not only within the Italian peninsula, but of the human world, was a frequent feature of histories of Etruria, albeit in different forms. Indeed, Villani's *Cronica* opens with an aetiology for the name 'Fiesole', claiming that it was founded by Atlas as the first city 'in the third division of the world called Europe', and named, therefore, *Fia Sola* ('it shall be alone'). See Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, 1.7.

[30] Rowland 1998, p. 56.

[31] Collins 2001, p. 136.

Indeed, the appearance of Hercules in the Sala dei Consiglio referred undoubtedly to Annius' rewriting of the narrative of the foundation of Florence. Rejecting the canonical Roman foundation myth, in Annius' version of Etruscan history the actors involved in the foundation of this city were purely Etruscan. Though the earliest inhabitants of the area remained the people of Fiesole, it was through a union of this town with nearby Etruscan Arignano that Florence came into existence, facilitated by the draining of the swamp between these cities by Libyan Hercules.[32]

The Roman role in the history of the Florentine state was thus supplanted by a narrative in which the Etruscans alone comprised the earliest inhabitants of the city, imbuing Florence with an ancient past independent from and predating that of the Eternal City. Annius supported his version of Italian history with numerous references to and commentaries on ancient texts, many of which he had heavily doctored, if not entirely forged. Though a number of more popular and widely available sources were left untouched, even in these the Etruscan content was frequently dramatically exaggerated.[33] Though his works can therefore tell us little about the ancient sources he claimed to analyse, his image of the Etruscan past nonetheless marked a remarkable shift in constructions of the history of Tuscany, as well as in literary approaches to both ancient texts and material remains of this civilisation, uncovered with increasing frequency, in this period, from the Tuscan soil.

Indeed, though the reception of Annius' forgeries in his own time was varied- in one early 16th century manuscript of the *Antiquitates* a reader wrote of the text's much-admired and reviled author: 'This man went insane twice and died in chains… and now he teaches all Viterbo his art of going crazy'- it was Annius's commentaries, and his image of the Etruscan past, that more than any other text would come to form the basis of the numerous 16th century meditations on the origins and identity of the Florentine state.[34]

Annius' treatments of the material remains of Etruria in particular set the stage for the later categorisations and definitions of the *maniera Etrusca* that entered into Florentine art theoretical

[32] Hillard 2018, p. 939.
[33] Collins 2001, p. 113.
[34] Rowland 1998, p. 53. The reference to Annius going 'insane twice' likely refers to the two long illnesses that afflicted this author as a result of a brain abscess in the late 1480s. Despite this denigration, Annius' history found widespread resonance, as we shall see in section 1.3, in the works of the Florentine authors who succeeded him. The persistence of Annius' histories in the cultural memory of Florence suggests that this forger's historiographical methods were far from universally dismissed or reviled. See Moyer 2020, p. 737-738.

discourse in the decades that followed his death. Antiquities and ancient monuments appeared already in many of the earliest accounts of the Etruscan history of the Tuscan region. One of the most notable and widely repeated examples of this is Villani's identification of the Baptistery of San Giovanni as a Roman Temple of Mars, commemorating the victory over Fiesole, a notion that was remarkably pervasive in the Florentine cultural imagination throughout the Renaissance.[35] Annius' use of the extensive archaeological remains of Viterbo in the construction of his histories was therefore not new, and it may be argued that his accounts differed from those of his predecessors only in their remarkable scale.[36] For this author, however, the antiquities uncovered from the Viterban cityscape, genuine or forged, provided not only a means by which he could legitimate his claims of Viterbo's legendary age, but were also artefacts of genuine scholarly value in their own right. Not merely curiosities, relics of a mysterious and little understood civilisation, Annius (ostensibly) employed and classified the remains of the Etruscan past to reconstruct the histories and lives of the people who had made them. That some antiquities and their histories were undoubtedly forgeries is of little importance: Annius' methods achieved remarkable renown. Accepted and taken up by many of his successors, the *Antiquitates* marked a pivotal development in a scholarly discourse that would culminate in Vasari's definition of an Etruscan *maniera* almost a century later.

1.3. 16th Century Florentine Myth-Making: Mythic Archaeology, The Accademia Fiorentina, and Medici Self-Fashioning

In the wake of the restoration of Medici hegemony over the Florentine state in 1512, and the election of Giovanni de' Medici as Pope Leo X in the year following, the narratives on the origins of Florence that had developed over the previous century largely as expressions of the legitimacy of the Republican state and of the local *campanilismo* of their authors (and patrons) were taken up by the new Medici rulers, who sought not only to intensify thereby the image of Florentine cultural supremacy both within Tuscany and in the city of Rome, but also to weave into these histories their own dynastic past, framing the ducal power of the Medici as the heir of the Etruscan *lucumones*.[37] The earliest, and perhaps most notable, example of this appropriation of the narratives developed by Annius and his predecessors for the self-fashioning of

[35] Gáldy 2005 a, p. 45. In Vasari's painting of the foundation of Florence for the *soffitto* of the Salone dei Cinquecento, discussed in-depth in Chapter 4, the Temple of Mars, precursor to the Baptistery, appears among the buildings being constructed for the new colony of *Florentia*.

[36] Rowland 1998, p. 53.

[37] *Lucumo* (pl. *Lucumones*) was the title of the early rulers, or 'kings', of Etruria, likely abolished around the time of the Roman Republic and replaced by elected magistrates.

the Medici can be found in the literature produced for the *Parilia* of 1513. Discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, this celebration of the birthday of Rome saw the bestowal of Roman citizenship on Giuliano de' Medici, ruler of Florence, and his son Lorenzo, by the newly elected Leo X. For this event, one Giles of Viterbo, an Augustinian friar who would, in 1515, be appointed to the cardinalate by this pope, produced a uniquely Medicean image of the Etruscan, and human, past. Taking Annius' conception of the origins of Etruscan civilisation in the foundation of Viterbo by Noah/Janus as the starting point for his *Historia Viginti Saeculorum Per Totidem Psalmos Conscripta*, Giles laid out a quadripartite division of history into four golden ages.[38] Eschewing the traditional association of the 'Golden Age' with the legendary Age of Saturn lauded by Greco-Roman mythology, Giles followed Annius' attribution of this appellation to the age of Noah/Janus and the Etruscans as supreme heirs of antediluvian wisdom, justice, and religiosity.[39] Invocations of the greatness of the Etruscans appealed directly to the desire for legitimation of the newly empowered Medici rulers in both Florence and Rome, casting them as divinely predestined heirs of Etruscan monarchical rule over both Tuscany and Latium.

It was also on the basis of the works of Annius of Viterbo, as well as those of Giles, that Giambattista Gelli (*Dell'origine di Firenze,* c. 1544) and Pierfrancesco Giambullari (*Il Gello*, 1546) developed their own conceptions of the origins of Florence. Working as members of the Accademia Fiorentina under the patronage of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, both authors produced narratives of Florence's Etruscan heritage that dedicated, for the first time, significant attention to the numerous Etruscan artefacts that had emerged with increasing frequency from the Tuscan soil over the course of the preceding century.[40] Founded in late 1540 as the *Accademia degli Umidi*, this group of initially independent humanists formed in response to the Paduan *Accademia degli Infiammati*, which had promoted the Tuscan vernacular of Boccaccio and Petrarch celebrated in the linguistic works of Pietro Bembo as the ideal model for contemporary literature.[41] The A*ccademia Fiorentina* sought to reclaim the works of these authors as a uniquely Florentine cultural achievement. Recognising the ideological potential of this aim for his own

[38] Collins 2001, p. 120. Alongside the age of the Etruscans, the three other 'golden ages' identified by Giles were: the age of Lucifer, which preceded the Etruscans, followed by the ages of Creation and the coming of Christ to Earth.

[39] Hillard 2016, p. 495. The Etruscans were widely admired in both antiquity and the Renaissance for their extreme devotion. See Livy 5.1.5, *'And so the nation which was devoted beyond all others to religious rites (and all the more because it excelled in the art of observing them).'*

[40] For more on the Accademia, see the works of Ann Moyer, who specialises on the intellectual world and humanists of 16th century Italy, and John M. Najemy, whose works on Florentine history and Italian authors include several treatments of the politics of the Accademia and Florentine civic humanism.

[41] Sherberg 2003, p. 27.

self-fashioning, Duke Cosimo I de' Medici seized control of the *Accademia* a mere three months after its foundation, changing its name to the *Accademia Fiorentina*. Under the patronage of this Duke, the primary aim of the *Accademia* continued to be the promotion of the Tuscan vernacular. Seeking to define this aspect of a unified Tuscan identity, and to integrate the Medici seamlessly into Florentine civic identity, the question of shared Tuscan language and history was transformed into an instrument of the imperial propaganda of the Medici.[42] It is unsurprising, therefore, that many of the linguistic treatises produced under the aegis of this *Accademia* mediated frequently also on the Etruscan origins of the city and its material culture.

Though their attributions of Etruscan origins to various Florentine antiquities and monuments were often misguided and erroneous, their desire to utilise these artefacts in the moulding and legitimation of an Etruscan Florentine foundation legend represents a striking departure from previous treatments, in which material culture was featured sporadically, if at all, and with little critical evaluation. Annius' myth of the Etruscan foundations did not, in the works of these authors, supplant the canonical Roman foundation of the city, but operated alongside it in a cultural milieu that actively encouraged scholarly debate. The Roman myth continued to loom large in Florentine conceptions of their civic history, promoted by Vincenzo Borghini, whose hand was visible in the depiction by Vasari of the foundation of the city by the Triumvirs on the *soffitto* of the Salone dei Cinquecento during Cosimo's renovation of the Palazzo Vecchio (Figure 10).

The cultural milieu of Florence in this period therefore proliferated with various, sometimes competing versions of the city's ancient past. That Gelli and Giambullari chose to expand on the histories of Annius was, therefore, not remarkable, particularly in the political context of the early decades of Cosimo's reign. Indeed, with the papacy no longer in Medici hands following the election of the Farnese Pope Paul III in 1534, Medici cultural policy, which had previously stressed the brotherhood between Etruria and Rome, no longer sought so emphatically to promote this unity. The decentering of Rome in the city's foundation myths is therefore hardly surprising in a cultural climate that saw Florentine nobles eager to minimise the impression of their city's cultural debt to the Eternal City.[43] Indeed, the Etruscan civic mythology expounded by Gelli and Giambullari brought Florence in line with the self-mythologising of other Tuscan cities who laid claim to an Etruscan past, appealing to a sense of Tuscan unity consistent with the expansionist politics of Cosimo. Thus, in the early years of Cosimo's reign, before the consolidation of his

[42] Sherberg 2003, p. 26-27.
[43] Hillard 2016, p. 497.

power over the region as *Magnus Dux Etruriae* from 1569 on, Roman heritage was usurped by Florence's ambitious but insecure ruler in favour of a narrative that celebrated Tuscan cultural and political supremacy above all else.

1.4. Gelli, Giambullari and the Origins of the Florentine Baptistery

Most remarkable in the writings of Gelli and Giambullari, however, was their desire (not always fully realised) to develop critical methods for the identification and classification of Etruscan material culture. From Villani's Roman Baptistery to the forgeries of Annius, antiquities and ancient monuments appeared in many of the earliest accounts on the origins of Florence. That Gelli and Giambullari turned to antiquities in their construction of a Florentine and Medicean civic mythology was, therefore, by no means revolutionary. What was notable, however, was their willingness to reclassify as Etruscan objects or sites which had previously been firmly established as Roman or Medieval in origin, including the Baptistery itself, as well as their introduction of new critical methods for making these attributions.[44] The accuracy of their judgements is questionable. More often than not the artefacts they identified as Etruscan were, in fact, Roman or Medieval. Indeed, references to truly Etruscan antiquities in these texts remain remarkably rare, despite the fact that these must have been known to the authors- numerous Etruscan artefacts were pulled from the Tuscan soil in this period, from *bucchero* vases to the remarkable bronze Chimaera (Figure 11) and Minerva of Arezzo (Figure 12), identified primarily by their inscriptions.[45] Nonetheless, the methods developed by these authors, as well as their increasing interest in Etruscan material culture not only as support for historical theories but as objects of artistic value in their own right, were essential to later discourses and definitions of a uniquely Etruscan *maniera* in art that would be taken up later in the century by Vasari.

Of the two authors, the treatise composed c. 1544 by Giambattista Gelli, *Dell'origine di Firenze*, takes the more radical approach in this regard. Drawing unabashedly on the works of Annius of Viterbo, in contrast to Giambullari's more cautious approach (though he, too, used this author extensively), Gelli employed numerous 'Etruscan' artefacts to bolster his historical narrative. As was typical for historiography of this period, these objects were often attributed and classified with little or no accompanying justification.[46] Only in cases in which these attributions challenged established tradition did Gelli depart from this

[44] Hillard 2016, p. 501.
[45] Gáldy 2009, p. 123.
[46] Hillard 2016, p. 503.

approach. Perhaps the most notable example of this is his reconsideration of the origins of the Florentine Baptistery.

Believing that Etruscan civilization predated the refinement of the art of writing, their limited written records recorded on perishable wax tablets, Gelli saw the absence of a record of the construction of the Baptistery as evidence of its Etruscan construction.[47] Particularly notable is Gelli's recognition of the fact that the Baptistery had been constructed from the spolia of earlier buildings. Though his identification of these spolia as Etruscan is erroneous, his visual, stylistic analysis of the Baptistery marks a striking departure from the methods of his predecessors, presenting us with the earliest surviving attempt to develop a critical method for the identification of a distinct Etruscan artistic style that did not base its conclusions solely on the presence of inscriptions. The unusual lengths to which Gelli went to justify his attribution may be explained by the long-established Florentine belief in the Baptistery's Roman origins, which demanded a convincing argument to dislodge. Gelli was thus compelled to adopt a form of stylistic analysis rarely seen in Tuscan literature until the second edition of Vasari's *Lives*. Unlike Vasari, however, Gelli does not go as far as attempting to describe a universally Etruscan *maniera*, nor does he expound on its defining features. Though the antiquities discussed by Gelli continued to be useful to him largely insofar as they advanced his theories on the heritage of Florence, his *Historia* nonetheless offered an invaluable glimpse of a new critical method.

This was true also for Giambullari's *Il Gello*, a primarily linguistic treatise composed two years later, concerned largely with establishing the primacy of the Florentine vernacular over Latin- the *questione della lingua* that preoccupied so many of his contemporaries in the Accademia Fiorentina. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Etruscan antiquities with inscriptions were considered in this text largely in their capacity as models of Etruscan writing.[48] Like Gelli, after whom his treatise was named, Giambullari too provided an account of the origins of the Florentine Baptistery. Building on Gelli's arguments, his account contains little visual analysis, but cautiously accepts that the structure was constructed from the spolia of older monuments. He does not, however, go as far as attributing to the monument purely Etruscan roots. Though the materials of Giambullari's Baptistery were Etruscan, its architects remained Roman.[49] Indeed, less interested, for his rhetorical purposes, in the Baptistery's historical or artistic value, Giambullari employed its eclectic spolia largely as a metaphor for the Florentine vernacular: 'a mixture of various

[47] Hillard 2016, p. 499.
[48] Hillard 2016, p. 513.
[49] Hillard 2016, p. 514, Giambullari, *Il Gello*, 74.

languages, and not only one… it is made up of Etruscan, Greek, Latin, German, French, and a few others similar to these.'[50]

Giambullari's contributions to the new critical methods developed by Gelli did not, therefore, relate to stylistic analysis, but rather to his use of textual sources to bolster his claims. The *questione della lingua* and its desire to develop and promote a uniquely Tuscan vernacular were thus echoed in considerations of the architectural language and past of the new Tuscan state.[51] The need for a new, nationalistic form of visual representation developed in literature alongside the Accademia's desire for a unifying, idiosyncratic Tuscan language, asserting in both cases Florence's independence from the city of Rome. The antiquity of the Etruscans, visible in the Tuscan landscape and already closely tied to the origins of Florence, provided an ideal source for both these goals.

1.5. Identifying a *Maniera Etrusca*

Indeed, it was not until the second edition of Vasari's *Lives* (1568) and his *Ragionamenti* (first drafted in 1558, published posthumously in 1588), that these critical methods were applied to Etruscan antiquities with the unambiguous purpose of identifying and describing the precise features of a distinct Etruscan *maniera* in art, with a particular focus on the features that set it apart from the artistic production of Greece and Rome. That Florentine authors and art theorists had discerned already a distinction between the styles of the various ancient civilisations whose material culture was uncovered in this period from the Tuscan landscape is evident in the works of Gelli and Giambullari, as well as in Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Commentarii* of c. 1477, where the Florentine sculptor spoke in laudatory tones of Etruscan skill in painting: 'I believe that, in that time more than any other, the art of painting flourished in Etruria- and even more importantly than it ever did in Greece'.[52] The precise stylistic aspects that allowed Ghiberti to make this distinction were, however, not expounded on.[53] Vasari's definition of a distinct Etruscan

[50] Giambullari, *Il Gello*, 50 and Hillard 2016, p. 515.
[51] Donetti 2018, p. 93.
[52] Ghiberti, *I Commentarii,* 2:8. (Trans. Bule 1996, p. 310.)
[53] Given the near absence of surviving ancient Greek painting in the archaeological record even today, it is likely that the comparison was based largely on the substantial literary accounts of Greek painters and their works that survived in the ekphrastic ancient accounts of Pliny, Vitruvius, Lucian and Philostratus, rather than on detailed comparative stylistic analysis of extant artworks. The paintings on the vast number of Greek vases uncovered from Etruscan tombs may also have provided an insight into the painterly production of this civilisation, though it is not clear that the Greek origins of vases discovered in Etruria were recognised during the Renaissance. See McHam 2013, p. 13-16. and Chastel 1959, p. 65.

maniera, therefore, provides a remarkable and novel insight into the ways in which Renaissance viewers conceived of the art of Etruria as distinct from the forms and iconographies of Greco-Roman antiquity, representing, ostensibly, a landmark in Renaissance connoisseurship. In both the *Lives* and the *Ragionamenti* it was the Chimaera of Arezzo, discovered in Vasari's hometown in 1553, that formed the basis for the author's definition of this *maniera*.

In the *Ragionamenti*, the narrative takes the form of a tour of the Palazzo Vecchio given by Vasari to the curious Medici prince Francesco. As these two interlocutors move through the newly refurbished interior of the Palazzo, Vasari has Francesco inquire as to whether the Chimaera was executed in the *maniera Etrusca*:

> *Certainly- and I am not saying this because it was found in Arezzo, my homeland, in order to grant it greater praise- but because, in truth, I have always believed that the art of sculpture began to flourish in Tuscany at that time, and I think (the Chimera) demonstrates this, because the hair- the most difficult thing to do in sculpture- was rendered better by the Greeks, and perfectly by the Latins in Rome. Yet although this animal is large, the hair of its mane is more awkward than that depicted by the Greeks, indicating that they (Etruscan artists) knew less about it, like those who just started to do art, not yet having discovered the true way.*[54]

Thus, after defending himself against the accusations of bias that had plagued the works of many Tuscan humanists before him, Vasari recognised and described a somewhat crude and schematic style in the rendering of the Chimaera's hair that belonged, in his linear and teleological conception of the history of art, to an earlier stage of artistic development than the idealised form of the Greeks and virtuosic naturalism of the Romans. It is notable that Vasari makes no mention at all of the prominent Etruscan inscription that appears on the foremost leg of the Chimera. Focusing instead explicitly on the stylistic aspects of this sculpture, Vasari applied with much greater depth and nuance the same critical methods employed by Gelli and Giambullari in their revision of the origins of the Baptistery. Repeated in the second edition of the *Lives*, there emerged in the works of Vasari an early canonical definition of a *maniera Etrusca* as a style possessing an awkwardness absent in the later works of ancient Greece and Rome. It is striking, however, that in the first edition of the *Lives,* published eighteen years earlier in 1550, the same passage that would later make this distinction conflates, instead, the Etruscan *maniera* with that of ancient Rome:

[54] Vasari, *Ragionamenti,* p. 163-164.

> *And though it [sculpture] might be damaged by fire, ruin, and the fury of war, buried and transported to different places, and despoiled of its fine workmanship, those who are knowledgeable about it may nonetheless recognize the differences between the styles of each region; as, for example, the Egyptian is thin and long in the figures; the Greek is skilful and very studied in the nudes while all the heads have almost the same appearance; the most ancient Tuscan and Roman is lovely in its expressions, poses, gestures, and for its nudes and drapery, so much so that surely they extracted the beautiful from all of these provinces and combined it into a single style, in order to make it the most divine of them all.*[55]

The distinction is clear, however, in the second edition, in which the 'roughness' of ancient Tuscan art is conceived of in opposition to the perfection and beauty of the artistic production of Rome:

> *… ancient Tuscan shows difficulty in the depiction of hair and is somewhat rough; the Roman (I call Roman, for the most part, those who, after Greece was conquered, went to Rome, where everything good and beautiful in the world was brought), I say, is so beautiful in its expressions, poses, gestures, nudes, and drapery that one can say that they extracted the beautiful from all these provinces and combined it into a single style, so that it could be, as it is, the best, or rather, the most divine of all.*[56]

In the original Italian, Vasari's description of the Etruscan *maniera* reads: 'e l'antichissima toscana difficile nei capelli et alquanto rozza'. Key to Vasari's classification was the word 'rozza', describing the 'roughness' of execution which distinguished Etruscan from the perfection of Roman art with which it had previously been conflated. In the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, the earliest dictionary of the Italian language, published in 1612, 'Rozza' was defined as 'unclean, rough' or 'lacking perfection', suggesting ignorance and inexperience, as well as simplicity.[57] In describing Etruscan art as 'rozza', therefore, Vasari sought to evoke the relative inexperience and immaturity of this artistic tradition, especially as compared

[55] Vasari, *Lives*, Life of Andrea Pisano, 1st Edition, p. 139. Translation Hillard 2013, p. 1026.
[56] Vasari, *Lives*, Life of Andrea Pisano, 2nd Edition, p. 134.
[57] Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca, Prima Edizione, 1612, search for 'Rozza', Available at: http://www.lessicografia.it/ricerca_libera.jsp. (Accessed 09 June 2024). The Vocabolario refers to uses of this term by Boccaccio, n. 60. 12.: *Anzi durandovi ancora la rozza onestá degli antichi.* (*Indeed, the rough honesty of the ancients still endures*)

to the art of ancient Rome. Not merely denigrating the Etruscans, Vasari emphasised through this description an aspect of Etruscan civilisation that had been celebrated with fervour in Florentine literature from Villani on, namely, its remarkable and unrivalled antiquity, crucial to the notion of the supreme cultural authority of Tuscany. Similar terms are used to refer to the Etruscans elsewhere in the art theoretical texts of Renaissance Florence: in Alberti's treatise on architecture the Etruscans and their city walls are possessed of 'un certo sentore di arcaica e severa durezza', and are described repeatedly using the adjective 'vetus' or 'vetissimus', emphasising the same 'antique severity' described almost a century later by Vasari.[58] Alberti's identification of the 'ruggedness' of Etruscan art suggests that these qualities were well-recognised decades before the publication of the second edition of the *Lives*, manifesting itself in particular with regards to the Tuscan emulation of the 'vast, squared stone' of Etruscan city walls for the rustication of their own constructions. Nonetheless, Vasari's description represents a significant development in the manner in which this observation was discussed, codified for the first time into an ordered and methodical attempt to define the features of an Etruscan *maniera* distinct from the art of ancient Rome.

In the seven years that passed between the first edition of the *Lives* and Vasari's drafting of the *Ragionamenti*, therefore, something prompted a notable shift in Vasari's conception of Etruscan style. Given the focus in the *Ragionamenti* on the Chimaera, discovered in these intervening years, it is likely that the uncovering of this remarkable Etruscan bronze led him to reconsider his characterisation of the artistic production of these ancient peoples. These years saw also a general increase in interest in the Etruscan past of Tuscany within the circles of Duke Cosimo, likely amplified by the intensification of the duke's expansionist policies, with the absorption of Siena into the Duchy of Florence in 1554 reinforcing the need to promote and legitimate the shared past of a unified Tuscany. These Medici ideologies undoubtedly played no small role in the increased prominence of the Etruscans in Vasari's second *Lives*, with the author's identification of an Etruscan *maniera* paving the way for the construction of a shared Tuscan artistic language, parallel to the shared language which had preoccupied the humanists of the Accademia from the very beginning of Cosimo's reign.[59] The *maniera Etrusca* thus provided a means for the visual expression of the legitimacy of both Medici ducal rule and Tuscan unification under Florentine hegemony, rooted in an illustrious Etruscan past.

[58] Gáldy 2009, p. 125, Alberti, De re aedificatoria 7.2.
[59] Sherberg 2003, p. 27.

Considering Vasari's conception of the *maniera Etrusca* against the tangible archaeological and ancient literary evidence for an Etruscan style in art, the heavy influence of Medici ideology on this author's characterisation is made eminently clear. Indeed, already in antiquity the Etruscans were recognised for their mastery of bronze, appearing in the writings of Pliny and numerous Greek authors as craftsmen unrivalled in this art, their products highly desired throughout the Mediterranean world: 'But none the golden bowl can chase, or give to brass such varied grace, as that renowned hardy race, that dwells by Arno's tide'.[60]

Far from sober, methodical connoisseurship, therefore, Vasari's emphasis on the ostensible 'roughness' of Etruscan art, imbuing it with the admired patina of legendary age, was undoubtedly informed by the need to serve the larger cultural and imperialist agendas of the Medici court, as well as his own patriotic desire to promote Tuscan art, bolstered by recent discoveries in his own hometown, Arezzo.[61] The position of Etruscan art within the chronological scheme of antiquity further necessitated this characterisation, fitting neatly into Vasari's teleological conception of artistic development which required the progressive movement of artistic progress towards the acme of idealised naturalism achieved in classical antiquity and revived by the Tuscan artists of the 15th century. Inseparable from the political milieu in which his works were composed and read, Vasari's judgement of the Etruscan *maniera* drew on the same impulse to create an idiosyncratic civic mythology for the city of Florence that had suffused also the works of many of his contemporaries in the court of Duke Cosimo, transmuting Etruscan art into Medici political supremacy.[62]

Though these authors operated under the patronage of Duke Cosimo, it would be somewhat reductive to cast them merely as assistants to this duke's aggrandizing aims.[63] Indeed, to see the Accademia Fiorentina as a straightforward machine for the production of Medici propaganda would be to ignore the diversity of the works produced within it.[64] No single image of the city was promoted by the authors of the Accademia, nor did Cosimo reserve his support for works which accorded with the ideologies of the Medici state.[65] Much of Florence's image as the centre of Renaissance scholarly

[60] Fragment of Kritias, Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae 1.50.
[61] Hillard 2013, p. 1023.
[62] Hillard 2013, p. 1023.
[63] Moyer 2006, p. 46.
[64] For in-depth discussions of the Accademia and its relation to the cultural politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici see Najemy 2004 and Moyer 2006.
[65] Moyer 2006, p. 47.

excellence relied on the perception of the remarkable accuracy and critical skill of its authors. It is unsurprising, therefore, that Cosimo, seeking to maintain this image, pursued an approach that encouraged, rather than circumscribed critical debate.[66]

The promotion of the Etruscan origins of Florence within this institution, therefore, was not a command imposed from above, but a self-conscious continuation of narratives that had existed in Florentine popular thought since the 13th century, and which had found support at the highest levels of Florentine society. The *maniera Etrusca* as defined by these authors functioned to provide a highly flexible means for the visual expression of this esteemed civic past that asserted simultaneously the glory and unity of Tuscany, and Florentine cultural independence from the city of Rome. In the definition of this *maniera*, however, little attention was paid to experiences with real Etruscan antiquities. Indeed, the connection between humanist interest in an ancient and rustic Etruscan *maniera* for the purposes of fashioning an admired heritage for their native city and a true 'revival' of interest in the actual archaeological remains of ancient Etruria by Florentine artists and their patrons was rarely straightforward.[67]

[66] Moyer 2006, p. 48.
[67] Hillard 2009, p. 11.

CHAPTER 2: Etruscan Tombs and Republican Receptions

Over the course of the 14th century, increasing urban expansion and the concomitant clearing of land saw a steady increase in the pace of archaeological discovery in Tuscany and the northern regions of the Papal States.[68] These discoveries only increased in momentum over the ensuing centuries: a document preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena records that one 16th century excavation near Florence uncovered two hundred Etruscan bronzes in a single day, followed by another five hundred antiquities in the next week.[69] Discovered in the fields of this region both intentionally and by chance, the people of Tuscany were undoubtedly well acquainted with the remains of the Etruscan past.

In the collections and texts of 15th century artists, antiquarians and their patrons, however, the material remains of Etruria aroused significantly less interest than the written histories of this civilisation had elicited among contemporary linguists and historians. Though no longer regarded primarily as curiosities, the Etruscan artefacts uncovered from the Tuscan soil in the late 15th and early 16th centuries were nonetheless received initially with limited artistic interest. Though we may discern clear patriotic admiration in the works of Villani, Bruni and Salutati for the 'republican' organisation of the Etruscan state, little, if any, connection was drawn between the political model offered by this civilisation and the works of art discovered in the Florentine soil. Indeed, though the discovery of Etruscan tombs had become almost quotidian by this period, those who recorded these excavations rarely identified the Etruscan origins of the antiquities found within. The celebratory, nostalgic attitude of the Romans towards their Etruscan past, attested by Horace, who states that the collections of the Roman nobility abounded with 'gems, marble, ivory, Tuscan vases, paintings, plate, robes dyed in Gaetulian purple',[70] had long been replaced by a Mediaeval fascination with the mysterious, subterranean settings of the rock-cut tufa tombs that still marked the landscape of Tuscany.[71] Not objects of scholarly interest but remnants of a mystical and sumptuous past, in this literary fantasy the Etruscan origins of these tombs was of little relevance. Though some attempts were made to study Etruscan antiquities in a scholarly context- as early as 1282 one Ristoro of Arezzo, author of *Della Composizione del Mondi Colle Sue Cascioni*, had produced a detailed

[68] Bule 1996, p. 312.
[69] Bule 1996, p. 312.
[70] De Grummond 1986, p. 19 and Horace, *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry,* Epistle II.II.181.
[71] Giles, 1911, p. 178. See excerpt from William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, c. 1148, in which this 12th century author described an anecdote related to him during his childhood by a Spanish monk, narrating a journey into a *perforated mountain, beyond which the supposed treasures of Octavian were hidden.*

description of the Etruscan vases unearthed in his hometown- reception of these artworks by their Republican audiences continued to vary considerably into the mid late 15th century.[72]

An anecdote recorded by Sigismondo Tizio (1548-1528), author of the *Historiae Senenses*, recounting the gifting of an Etruscan urn (not extant) to Lorenzo *il Magnifico* by the people of Siena in 1489, provides a brief insight into the reception and perceived meanings of Etruscan antiquities in the noble collections of the 15th century. Bearing a Latin inscription identifying it as the cinerary urn of the semi legendary Etruscan king Lars Porsenna,[73] the bestowal of this gift on Lorenzo suggests that the symbolic resonance of Tuscany's Etruscan past for the self-fashioning of Medici power was well understood. The legendary tomb of this Etruscan king would come to loom large in Medici conceptions of the Etruscan past. In the 16th century, the tomb was sketched by Antonio da Sangallo (Figure 13), its pyramidal forms echoed in this artist's designs for the *campanili* St Peter's Basilica (Figure 14). A colossal terracotta image of Porsenna sculpted by Andrea Sansovino (1486-1570) for the citizens of Montepulciano, further exemplifies the wide resonance of this legendary Etruscan king in the civic self-fashioning of the Tuscan region, in Florence and beyond (Figure 15).[74]

In spite of the widely held notion that Lorenzo 'escaped the mania for all things Etruscan'[75] that suffused the cultural programmes of his Medici successors, it should not be overlooked that a number of antiquities identified as Etruscan, primarily vases, do appear to have entered into the Medici collections during the his rule.[76] In Vasari's account of the career of Lazzaro Vasari, his grandfather, he recounts an episode from the life of his father, who discovered, 'at the time when Messer Gentile of Urbino, Bishop of Arezzo, was dwelling in that city', a number of ancient Etruscan furnaces, alongside which he uncovered four intact vases. According to Vasari, these vases were presented by the Bishop of Arezzo to Lorenzo during his visit to the city.[77] Echoing Tizio's anecdote, these accounts indicate both that Lorenzo's interest in the remains of ancient Etruria were widely recognised among the people of Tuscany, and that the symbolic value of these antiquities, too, was thoroughly understood. Despite these sporadic and tentative identifications of Etruscan antiquities among the possessions of *il Magnifico*, and despite the often-cited

[72] De Grummond 1986, p. 25.
[73] Fusco and Corti 2006, p. 339: The inscription reads: *Porsennae cinis hac tegitur, quam cernitis, urna.*
[74] Vasari, *Life of Andrea Del Monte Sansovino*, Vol.1, p. 790.
[75] Stenhouse 2008, p. 120.
[76] An exhaustive study of the documents recording Etruscan objects in the collection of *il Magnifico* is outside the scope of this thesis. For further discussion of the ancient, possibly Etruscan ceramics owned by Lorenzo see Fusco and Corti 2006, p. 72-73 and Pacini 1999, p. 38-43.
[77] Vasari, Life of Lazzaro Vasari, p. 422-423.

(tenuous) affinities between a number of this Florentine ruler's architectural projects- including, most notably, the decorative programme of the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano- and the art of the Etruscans, the connection between the Etruscan past and the visual self-fashioning of a Florentine and Medicean civic and cultural mythology was not made in any meaningful, systematic sense until the 16th century.[78]

2.1. 15th Century Artistic Interest in the Etruscan Past: The Tomb at Castellina in Chianti

Artistic interest in the visual culture of ancient Etruria did not, however, emerge in the late 15th and 16th centuries solely in the context of Medici collecting and self-fashioning. Though it was certainly the expansionist and dynastic ambitions of the Medici that catalysed, in this period, the remarkable intensification of artistic and scholarly interest in the Etruscan past and its expression in the artistic landscape of the Florentine state, one of the earliest examples of the enthusiastic artistic reception of the contents of an Etruscan tomb falls notably into the period of Medici exile from the city between 1494 and 1512.

In 1546, Pierfrancesco Giambullari described, in his *Il Gello*, the discovery of an Etruscan tomb made almost forty years before at Castellina in Chianti, around 35 kilometres south of Florence:[79]

> *In 1507, on January 29, near Castellina, during the digging of a vineyard, an underground chamber was discovered, twenty braccia long, five high, and three wide, with certain parts found protruding on either side, where statues, ashes, ornaments and Etruscan inscriptions were found. And I would be happy to show you, if you like, a copy of them, which our most learned Piero Vettori has shown and given to me.*[80]

The same discovery was recorded by a contemporary of Giambullari in the unpublished *Dialogo in defensione della lingua Toschana* of the Dominican friar Santi Marmocchini, composed in 1542 and now

[78] For the Etruscan aspects of the Villa at Poggio a Caiano see De Grummond 1986, p. 26. The ribbon motif of the pediment, as well as the semi-open door and serpent-holding figure (compared to the Etruscan demons Charun and Tuchulcha) depicted in Bertoldo di Giovanni's glazed terracotta frieze, have been frequently attributed to Etruscan influences. The appearance of Vertumnus in the fresco of the Salone, painted by Jacopo da Pontormo following the restoration of Medici power in 1512, has also been interpreted as a reference to the Etruscan history of the region. For a comprehensive discussion of the fresco see Cox-Rearick 1984, p. 122.

[79] The tomb at Castellina in Chianti has sometimes been associated with the tumulus now known as Montecalvario, though this identification is contentious. For the debate on this identification see Martelli 1977 and De Grummond 2018, p. 113-118.

[80] Giambullari, Il Gello, 1546, p. 45. For translation see Hillard 2018, p. 931.

preserved in manuscript form in the National Library of Florence.[81] Dedicated to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, Marmocchini's linguistic treatise, and that of Gelli, demonstrate the continued importance of this tomb in the construction of the Etruscan past almost four decades after its discovery. Already from the moment of its discovery, however, the tomb at Castellina in Chianti became one of the best documented and most widely discussed Etruscan discoveries of the 16th century, remarkable for the extensive correspondence and literature it inspired. The tomb therefore offers an idiosyncratic insight into the nature of scholarly discourses on the Etruscan past beyond the interests of the Medici. More than solely Medici propaganda, the Etruscan mythology of the Florentine state emerged at Castellina as a prime concern among the humanists, artists and antiquarians who contributed to the discussion that followed the tomb's discovery.

In a letter composed to the 'Cardinal of Volterra'- at the time one Francesco Soderini, brother of the *Gonfaloniere* Piero- in Florence on the 10th of February 1507, an anonymous author employed the tomb, like Marmocchini and Giambullari after him, as evidence for the greatness of the Etruscan, and therefore also the contemporary Tuscan, state. A transcription of this letter is preserved in a codex compiled by the Dutch antiquarian Stephanus Winandus Pighius, now in the Berlin State Library. Recounting the contents of the tomb, the author marvelled at the 'endless' earthenware urns, and described images of 'youths sporting and kissing one another' that decorated the walls, including two reclining figures and an image of a woman ornamented with gold leaf.[82] The presence of women among the reclining figures of this tomb accords well with what is known of the position of women within Etruscan society and the conventions for their depiction in Etruscan sympotic art. Though women are not entirely absent from the sympotic scenes of ancient Greek vases, appearing as musicians and *hetairai*, on the walls of Etruscan tombs women appeared as symposiasts in their own right, occupying the same positions as their male companions (Figure 16-17). Thus Athenaeus, quoting Aristotle, wrote of the Etruscans around AD 200 (not without disdain): 'the Tyrrhenians dine with their wives, lying down under the same robe.'[83] Though no paintings have survived at Castellina, the description provided in this letter thus concurs broadly with what is known

[81] Santi Marmocchini, *Dialogo in defensione della lingua Toschana*, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo Magliabechiano, Classe XXVIII, cod. 20, foglio 14, ca. 1541-47.
[82] Conestabile 1863, p. 46. For translations see De Grummond 2018, p. 117.
[83] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.23d.

of the decorative schemes of Etruscan tombs, in which sympotic scenes proliferated both on tomb walls and on the vases preserved among their *corredi*.[84]

The author of the letter was unmistakably impressed by the quality of the artworks he observed, praising them as 'brilliantly carved and scarcely believable as works carved in those times.'[85] The identity of the author of this letter is indicated by two letters composed by Cardinal Soderini, addressed to 'Lord Marcello, Secretary of Florence, my dear friend' and 'Lord Marcello Virgilio' respectively. A student of both Cristoforo Landino (1424-1498) and Poliziano (1454-1494), Marcello Virgilio Adriani (1464-1521) was appointed as first chancellor of the Florentine Republic ion 1498, and served in this post until the return of Medici rule in 1512. His letter thus reveals an active interest in the Etruscan past among the highest magistrates of the Florentine Republic, and the dissemination of information regarding its contents among the political and artistic classes of the early 16th century.

Soderini's response to the letter further reinforces the notion that patriotic admiration for the Etruscan past was far from a uniquely Medicean ideology. Having failed to find someone in Rome with the skill to translate the inscriptions discovered at Castellina and related to him by Adriani (in spite of Annius' grandiose claims, the Etruscan alphabet remained largely mysterious to scholars and antiquarians of the 15th and 16th centuries), the cardinal offered Adriani as consolation several lines from the *Annals* of Tacitus, encouraging the humanist to 'rejoice with me in the antiquity of our fatherland.'[86] As in the forgeries of Annius of Viterbo before them, both Soderini and Adriani regarded the art of ancient Etruria as proof of the glory of their native city. Unlike Annius, however, whose works referred primarily to the antiquities and glory of Viterbo, expressing a markedly local *campanilismo*, these authors laid claim to an Etruscan past that stretched beyond the boundaries of the city of Florence, anticipating the expansionist ideologies and the notion of Tuscan unity promoted aggressively during the reign of Cosimo I. Imbuing the city with a patina of revered antiquity, the Etruscan past appealed directly to Florentine patriotism, justifying the desires of its rulers, Republican or Medici, for pre-eminence and providing them with an antique heritage independent from and surpassing that of the city of Rome.

[84] Krauskopf 2006, p. 70, 83. Extant examples of sympotic tomb paintings can be seen at the Tomb of the Shields and the Tomb of the Leopards/Lionesses at Tarquinia (see figures 16-17), among many others. The numerous reclining figures on urns and sarcophagi likely also alluded to the banquet in the hereafter or in the tomb.
[85] Conestabile 1863, p. 46
[86] Hillard 2018, p. 938.

Though it was undoubtedly among Florentine humanists and scholars that the opportunities presented by these discoveries for civic adornment and aggrandisement were seized upon with the greatest enthusiasm, the discourses that surrounded the discovery of this tomb were not confined to Tuscany. A second letter, composed in 1508 by one Giovanni di Lorenzo Cavalcanti to Luigi Guicciardini, thanking the recipient for sending a drawing of the tomb at Castellina, suggests the participation of Etruscan antiquities in the discourses that saw the dissemination of antique forms and artefacts throughout the cities of the Italian peninsula and beyond. Having sent Gucciardini notice of the discovery of the Laocoön in 1506, Cavalcanti, a merchant from a prestigious Florentine family, now received from Guicciardini in return a drawing of an Etruscan tomb.[87]

2.2. Leonardo at Castellina in Chianti

Interest in this tomb by artists and antiquarians outside of Florence, and beyond the historical and linguistic treatises of the 15th century, is demonstrated further by a drawing attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, now in the Louvre (Figure 18). Depicting a tumulus-shaped mausoleum surmounted by a centrally planned temple with a circular colonnade, this drawing has been associated with the tomb at Castellina in Chianti since Marina Martelli's identification of numerous similarities between the two in a 1977 article, 'Un disegno attribuito a Leonardo e una scoperta archeologica degli inizi del Cinquecento'.[88] Alongside the drawing of the façade of this tomb, Leonardo rendered additionally a birds-eye plan of the central chamber and six surrounding, cross-shaped tombs. Each of these secondary tombs, as drawn by this artist, consisted of a large, single room with a long corridor (*dromos*) leading to two antechambers on either side. Previously identified as a design for a princely tomb of a fanciful study, Martelli argued that Leonardo's drawing represented a study of the Castellina tomb, suggesting that the artist's journey from Florence to Milan in 1507 would have provided him with ample opportunity to visit this newly uncovered site. Given the excitement and enthusiasm with which this discovery seems to have been met in humanist circles, it would have been more unusual, perhaps, had Leonardo missed the opportunity to pass through Castellina in this year.

The tomb rendered in the drawing is, however, far from a typical Etruscan funerary monument, resembling no other extant tomb. The temple crowning the tholos adheres considerably more closely to

[87] Hillard 2018, p. 938.
[88] Martelli 1977.

the architectural ideals of Roman antiquity and the Renaissance than to the forms of the Etruscans, evoking in its colonnade Bramante's Tempietto (Figure 19) and by its low stepped dome the Roman Pantheon, which would acquire, in this period, a funerary character (though the first burial here, that of Raphael, did not take place until c. 1520).[89] The form of the tomb as a whole, with its central chamber surrounded by concentric circles and radiating chambers, evoked additionally the forms of the Roman mausolea, namely those of Augustus (Figure 20) and Hadrian (Castel Sant'Angelo).[90] Renaissance knowledge of Etruscan tomb architecture was unquestionably less comprehensive than our own modern understanding. 15th and 16th century conceptions of the art and architecture of all ancient cultures were shaped, as we have seen, heavily by both regional pride and contemporary artistic conventions, and conflations between the art of ancient Etruria and that of Greece and Rome were frequent. Though the drawing should not, therefore, be used as archaeological evidence for the appearance of Etruscan tombs, it nonetheless provides a valuable insight into the circulation of and interest in Etruscan forms in the artistic circles of Republican Florence and beyond.

Despite the unusual appearance of the tomb, a number of its features do appear to correspond with the Montecalvario tumulus at Castellina, with which the 1507 discovery has been associated. Though Leonardo's cross-section of a lateral tomb chamber appears to echo the corbeled vaulting and cinerary urns described in the accounts of Marmocchini and Adriani and present at Montecalvario (Figure 21-22), in its other features the resemblance to the extant tomb remains tenuous at best.[91] Despite Caroline Hillard's argument that a number of smaller discrepancies, such as the six tomb chambers depicted by Leonardo in comparison to the four extant at Castellina (though only one of these hypogea had been uncovered before the 20th century) (Figure 23),[92] may be explained by the possibly indirect nature of Leonardo's knowledge- it is possible he knew that the tomb had multiple chambers, but did not depict the exact number- the resemblance between the tomb and the drawing remains somewhat general.[93] Though Leonardo was undoubtedly inspired by the appearance of an Etruscan tomb, this drawing should not be treated as a straightforward, scholarly study.

[89] De Grummond 2018, p. 118.
[90] De Grummond 2018, p. 118.
[91] Martelli 1977, p. 60-61.
[92] De Grummond 2018, p. 114. The earliest modern excavations at Montecalvario took place in 1904 and 1915.
[93] Hillard 2018, p. 945.

The basic assumption in attempts to categorise this drawing in scholarship posits that Leonardo, having observed the tomb, formulated from the architecture he had observed a new, hypothetical construction that combined the remains at Castellina with his wider knowledge of ancient architecture, both from literature and from his personal experience with the structures of ancient and modern Rome. Most commonly categorised as a study or fanciful exercise motivated by a general interest in the forms of the ancient past, a convincing, alternative characterisation is provided in Caroline Hillard's 2018 reconsideration of the tomb. Identified by this author as a drawing produced by Leonardo for a patron or collector, the image would therefore fit into the broader Renaissance tendency of collectors to seek consultation from artists on the antiquities they purchased or admired.[94] Leonardo himself produced numerous such works: in 1502, seeking an artist to produce drawings of four antique vases formerly in the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici, Isabella d'Este instructed her agent in Florence to seek an artist 'such as Leonardo', refering undoubtedly to his artistic skill, but also, perhaps, to his reputation for producing similar works for other patrons.[95]

Given the enthusiastic response of the Florentine scholarly elites to the discovery of this tomb, it would be highly plausible to suppose that Leonardo's services may have been called upon in this regard, particularly in light of his presence in the city at the time of its discovery. The drawing itself is in any case remarkable as the first tangible evidence of artistic engagement with Etruscan forms and iconographies. Though this may not have been a creative or even theoretical exercise for the artist, produced rather in the service of a Florentine clientele whose ideological convictions concerning the greatness of their city drew them to this remarkable display of Etruscan artistic achievement, the drawing, and the creative liberties taken by Leonardo in its rendering, nonetheless demonstrates that ideas about Etruscan forms had begun to circulate in artistic circles alongside the dominant conceptions of Roman antiquity already at the start of the 16th century. The Bramante-esque temple, crowning an Etruscan tomb, exemplifies the encroachment in Florentine art of a new, alternative view of the artistic production of antiquity, bolstering and elevating the self-image of the Florentine state and its people.

A drawing by Michelangelo in the Buonarroti archives, depicting a figure wearing a wolf or boar-like headdress, often identified as an Etruscan Aita/Hades (Figure 24-25) and emulating, perhaps, similar figures rendered among the frescoes of the Tomba dell' Orco at Tarquinia (Figure 26), or the Golini tomb at Orvieto-Volsinii (Figure 27), demonstrates that this artistic interest in the contents of Etruscan tombs

[94] Hillard 2018, p. 930.
[95] Hillard 2018, p. 930.

reached also beyond the immediate circles of Leonardo and his patrons.[96] Interest in the frescoes discovered in Etruscan tombs is sometimes traced, in scholarship, as far back as the early 14th century, particularly in the works of Giotto, whose depictions of demons and Satan, particularly those of the *Last Judgement* of the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua (Figure 28), have been said to resemble Etruscan images of the demon Charun.[97] It is, however, unclear whether Giotto himself had access to the images of Etruscan demons preserved in tombs like that of the Blue Demons at Tarquinia (Figure 29), or whether, if these tombs were known, their Etruscan origins were recognised. The connection between the Etruscans and the infernal, however, is echoed in the poetic works of Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), who either ignored or denigrated this civilisation, blaming the Etruscans of ancient Fiesole for the factional conflict that afflicted 14th century Florence.[98] Leonardo's drawing, however, remains remarkable as the earliest deliberate artistic appropriation of antiquities explicitly recognised as Etruscan by their Renaissance viewers.

2.3. Discovery or Plunder?

Despite the enthusiasm of the Florentines for the remains of the Etruscan past, not everyone who came across Etruscan tombs in this period saw value in their design or content, nor did they find much resonance outside the works of Tuscan artists and patrons. At Tarquinia, replete with Etruscan antiquities, tombs were repeatedly plundered by officials of the Papal States. In 1489, one Cornelio Benigno da Viterbo visited the town with a papal brief to view a 'marble sepulchre', but found on his arrival that it had already been sold, and the proceeds used to repair the city wall.[99] The lack of care shown for these antiquities may reflect the vast amounts of artefacts that Tarquinia had to offer more than a straightforward disregard for the artistic and scholarly value of Etruscan art. Yet this episode nonetheless demonstrates that the intensity of humanist and artistic focus on the Etruscan past in Tuscany was far from the rule in Renaissance Italy. Nor did episodes of plunder occur exclusively at the hands of local populations: in 1546, on the orders of Farnese Pope Paul III, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese collected from Tarquinia 'six million pounds of metal… of ancient objects and fragments', which were melted down used to plate the columns of the Roman church of San Giovanni in Laterano.[100]

[96] Chastel 1959, p. 173 and Panofsky 1964, p. 249.
[97] Shipley 2013, p. 4.
[98] Shipley 2013, p. 3.
[99] Bule 1996, p. 313.
[100] Greenhalgh 1982, p. 21 and Camporeale 2018, p. 35. The ornamentation of this church would demand, in 1573 and 1599, further plundering of this necropolis.

This is not to say, however, that no interest in the Etruscan past was shown by the rulers of the Papal States. During the reign of Leo X in particular the forms and histories of the Etruscans so revered by the cities of Tuscany came to be closely intertwined with the self-fashioning of this Medici pope, expressed in a distinctly Roman setting. It remains important to note that not all examples of 'interest' in Etruscan tombs in this period were focused on the scholarly or artistic value of the antiquities discovered within. Rather, the intrinsic value of these antiquities, particularly those of bronze, gold and stone, resulted in their melting down or reuse. The active scholarly interest that can be discerned at Castellina, as well as the numerous other Etruscan tombs unearthed in this period from the Tuscan soil was, therefore, without question remarkable.

CHAPTER 3: Etruria and the Medici in Rome

> *In each of these paintings exemplary history was represented in this regard, noting that between the Etruscans and the Romans not only the bond of friendship, but also a union of blood, took place.*[101]

Outside of Tuscany, interest in the forms and iconographies of the Etruscans was notably limited. Lacking the universal resonance possessed in this period by the artworks of ancient Greece and Rome, interest in the Etruscans often appears to have been restricted largely to its local appeal as a tool for the self-fashioning of Tuscan towns and their nobility. It should not be forgotten, however, that the boundaries of Etruria once extended as far south as the Tiber. The earliest history of the city of Rome, and most importantly of its religious institutions and practices, was closely intertwined with conceptions of the Etruscan past. Appearing at different times as rivals or brothers of the Roman people, in the histories of Annius and his followers the Etruscan people became crucial players in the history of Rome, and particularly in the foundation of the Roman church. In the history of Etruria laid out by Annius, the syncretic figure of Noah/Janus founded the first settlement of the postdiluvian world on the west bank of the Tiber, at the future site of the Vatican. Here, he became the first Pontifex Maximus, prefiguring St. Peter as founder of the Christian church, a saint who shared with this divinity the attributes of doorways and keys. The affinity between Noah/Janus and St. Peter drew heavily on Renaissance notions of the mythical piety of the Etruscans, drawn from ancient texts, and reinforced the notion that the religion of the Etruscans had come closer to the ultimate divine truth represented by Christianity than the pagans of Greece and Rome. Not only the earliest civilisation of the Italian peninsula, therefore, the Etruscans were cast also as enlightened forerunners of the Renaissance church.

The notion that Etruscan rule over Tuscany had marked both a religious and cultural golden age in this sense appealed directly to the calls for rebirth and renewal that permeated Roman literature of the 15th and 16th centuries. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Florentine fascination with Etruscan history and architectural forms began, in this period, to slowly infiltrate the artistic production of the Eternal City. In the wake of the election of the Medici pope Leo X in 1513, the notion of St. Peter as heir of the Etruscan

[101] Altieri, *Avviso*, p. 8: *'… et in ciascun di questi quadri si rappresentava historia esemplare a questo proposito, denotando che era Etrusci e Romani non solo il vincolo d'amicizia ma ancora coniuntione di sangue intravvenire.'*

Noah/Janus gained new force, casting the encroachment of Florentine power on the Papal States as the herald of a new Tuscan/Etruscan golden age.[102]

3.1. Bramante's Tempietto: The Doric Order and an Etruscan Architectural Language in Rome

The Vatican was not the only site in Rome imbued with an Etruscan significance: in the long, shared history of the people of Etruria and Rome, the Janiculum hill stands out as a key setting for the encounters between these two civilisations. Located, like the Vatican, on the west bank of the Tiber, this hill stood outside of the ancient boundaries of the city of Rome, within the lands associated by ancient and early modern historians with Etruria. It was here that Janus first met Saturn, marking the beginning of the golden age of antiquity, and where the legendary Lars Porsenna set up his camp during his war against the Republic of Rome. When peace was finally settled between these two great powers of ancient Italy, it was the Janiculum, once again, that served as the site for this meeting. The choice of this site by Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon for the construction of a circular shrine in c. 1502, therefore, accorded well with their apparent interest in the Etruscan past, displayed also through their patronage of Annius' *Antiquitates*.[103] Commissioned through the agency of the Spanish cardinal Bernandino Caravjal, the shrine was designed by Bramante, and constructed inside the cloisters of the Franciscan church of San Pietro in Montorio on the Janiculum (Figure 19). The Etruscan associations of the Janiculum may not have been the only aspects of its history that drew Ferdinand and Isabella to this site. Though the conventional story of St. Peter's martyrdom placed his death at the hands of Nero unambiguously on the Vatican hill, the enthusiastic Latin linguistic discourses of the 16th century saw the identification by the humanist Maffeo Vegio of an alternative site for this event at the Janiculum hill.[104] The site thus held dual significance for both the Etruscan past and Christian tradition, as well as personal meaning for the Spanish monarchs as patrons.

Recognising, therefore, the remarkable significance of this site, and the interest of the Tempietto's patrons in the works of Annius, present in Rome during this period as Alexander VI's 'master of the sacred

[102] Rowland 2006/2007, p. 235.
[103] Rowland 1998, p. 59.
[104] Vegio's argument hinged on the interpretation of the Latin words used by early accounts to describe the crucifixion of St. Peter: 'Inter duas metas'. The word *meta* had various interpretations, refering both to the *metae* located along the *spinae* of ancient circuses, and various other uprights, including obelisks and tombs. The most visible *metae* in the Roman landscape until the late 15th century had been the *Meta* of Romulus (demolished in the 1490s) and the *Meta* of Remus (now known as the Pyramid of Cestius). A line drawn between these tombs crossed at the Janiculum. See Rowland 2006/2007, p. 226.

place', Ingrid Rowland suggests, rightly, that the decision to construct on the Janiculum the first Doric temple of the Roman Renaissance warrants further consideration.[105] Designed by Bramante, this circular martyrium is surrounded by a colonnade of unfluted Tuscan columns with Attic bases, supporting a frieze of alternating triglyphs and metopes, the first use of such Doric entablature in the Roman Renaissance. The metopes of this Doric frieze depict papal insignia and liturgical devices, including the keys of St. Peter, an attribute connected also to Annius' Noah/Janus (Figure 30).

The ancient Roman landscape provided Bramante with a number of models of this order, including the Theatre of Marcellus (Figure 31) and the lowest storey of the Colosseum (Figure 32). The remains of the Basilica Aemilia (Figure 33), located at the north-eastern corner of the Roman Forum, however, appear to have been of particular importance to the design of the Tempietto. Indeed, no other monument, nor the theoretical writings of Vitruvius, who associated the Attic base with the Ionic order, could have provided Bramante with a model for the doric entablature (Figure 34) and attic bases (Figure 35) of the Tempietto.[106] The association between these buildings is strengthened by Bramante's involvement, from 1496, in the construction of the Palazzo Castellesi, near the Vatican. Commissioned by Cardinal Adriano Castellesi, a native of Tarquinia, the Palazzo was built, in part, from the spolia of a small temple of Janus that had once stood beside the Basilica Aemilia, demolished to provide building materials for this project.[107] Incorporating numerous references to the Etruscan hometown of its patron, the Palazzo Castellesi displayed an 'embryonic Tuscan style'.[108] Indeed, a drawing from Thomas Ashby's *Codex Coner* indicates that the decoration of this Palazzo included, at one time, an antique Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes with alternating rosettes and bucrania, possibly taken from the Basilica Aemilia (Figure 34).[109] That Bramante was familiar with the Doric features of this ancient Roman basilica is therefore clear, as is the possible association of this order in the mind of this architect with the Etruscan past, evoking at the Palazzo Castellesi the admired heritage of his patron's native Tarquinia.

[105] Rowland 2006/2007, p. 231.
[106] Denker Nesselrath 1990, p. 20.
[107] Borsi 1989, p. 245.
[108] Borsi 1989, p. 244.
[109] Borsi 1989, p. 250., Rowland 2006/2007, p. 231. The *Codex Coner* was first published by Thomas Ashby, former director of the British School at Rome, in 1904. It contains numerous architectural studies of details from ancient and contemporary Roman buildings that had formerly been attributed to the artist Andreas Coner. Now in the collection of Sir John Sloane's Museum, London.

That the Doric was associated with the Etruscan past beyond this Palazzo is attested by a passage in Alberti's treatise on architecture, in which the author established the Etruscans, in place of the ancient Greeks, as the original creators of this order: 'Thus three types of capital had now been established and incorporated into the vocabulary of the experienced architect: the Doric- although I have discovered that this was already in use in ancient Etruria- the Doric, then, the Ionic, and the Corinthian.'[110] The use of the Doric was, moreover, not the only aspect in which a connection could be drawn between the Basilica Aemilia and the Etruscans. Located at the head of the *Vicus Tuscus*, the Basilica sat at another key site in the shared history of Etruria and Rome. Associated by Livy with a settlement of the defeated veterans of Lars Porsenna's army in the aftermath of the war between Clusium and Aricia in 508 BC, and by Tacitus with the Etruscans who came to the aid of the Romans against the Sabine king Titus Tatius following his invasion of Rome in 750 BC, the name of this ancient road thus possessed, in the minds of both ancient and Renaissance Romans, two different, distinctly Etruscan aetiologies.[111]

Regardless of the exact origins of the *Vicus Tuscus*, it is clear that both the location and architectural forms of the Basilica Aemilia connected it closely, in the minds of Renaissance Romans, to the Etruscan past. The notion that Bramante's choice of the Doric order for the Tempietto, drawing on the forms of the Basilica Aemilia and the architectural theories of Alberti, evoked the Etruscan roots of the Janiculum, presenting not only a revival of the art of ancient Greece but also an attempt to define a distinctly Etruscan architectural style, is therefore certainly convincing.[112]

A second antique frieze, housed until the 16th century in the church of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura (now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori) and depicting a series of cult symbols and objects interpreted in the Renaissance as Egyptian hieroglyphs, may also have provided Bramante with a source for the decoration of the Tempietto's metopes.[113] If Bramante's aim was to evoke the lost architecture of ancient Etruria for patrons well versed in the histories of Annius of Viterbo, these 'hieroglyphs' may have alluded to the prominent role played by the Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris in the foundation myth of the *Antiquitates*. Bramante's interest in these symbols is attested by Vasari, who recounts the architect's experimentation with hieroglyphs in his designs for the Vatican, inspired by a 15th century hieroglyphic frieze by one 'Maestro Francesco', preserved in Viterbo:[114]

[110] Alberti, De re aedificatoria 7.6.
[111] Livy, History of Rome II.14.7-9. and Tacitus, Annals IV.LXV.
[112] Rowland 2006/2007, p. 235.
[113] Rowland 2006/2007, p/ 232.
[114] Rowland 2006/2007, p. 232.

The fancy took Bramante to make, in a frieze on the outer façade of the Belvedere, some letters after the manner of ancient hieroglyphs, representing the name of the Pope and his own… saying that he copied this folly from a door in Viterbo, over which one Maestro Francesco, an architect, had placed his name, carved in the architrave, and represented by an S. Francis (S. Francesco), an arch (arco), a roof (tetto), and a tower (torre), which, interpreted in his own way, denoted, 'Maestro Francesco Architettore.'[115]

Thus, the architectural language of the Tempietto, intensified by its position on the Janiculum hill, was remarkably and deliberately Etruscan, closely entwined with the histories of Etruria and Rome as described by Annius, as well as with the perceived Etruscan character of the Doric order in the landscape of Rome.

Written under the patronage of the Spanish monarchs, Annius' *Antiquitates* was also deeply concerned with the promotion of Spanish interests. Casting his Spanish patrons as descendants of his founder of Florence, the Libyan Hercules, Annius tied the prosperity of Spain closely to the position of the Etruscans as a divinely favoured people.[116] On the Janiculum, therefore, the reconstruction of an Etruscan architectural language served to bolster the authority of both the Spaniards and the Papacy, who figured in Annius' account as the heirs of Noah/Janus as *Pontifex Maximus*, rooting their power in the most ancient and most sacred civilisation of Italy.

3. 2. A Bond of Friendship and a Union of Blood: The Capitoline Theatre and the *Parilia* of 1513

The Janiculum continued to serve as a foremost locus for papal self-fashioning throughout the pontificate of Leo X, favoured both for its Etruscan roots and for its connection to Numa Pomphilius, the legendary second ruler of Rome whose tomb had been discovered at the hill's foot in 181 BC. Seeking to present the election of Leo X as the beginning of a new golden age in the wake of the conflict-filled pontificate of Julius II, Giles of Viterbo wrote in 1513 that Leo, described as an 'alter Numa', would lead the church 'ad quietem felici saeculo.'[117] The same image of this pope was expressed during one of the comic performances staged at the Capitoline theatre constructed for the bestowal of Roman citizenship on Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici in 1513. Composed by the antiquarians Mariangelo Accursio (1489/1490- 1544/1546) and Tommaso Pietrasanta, this play, which featured as its protagonists the Etruscan-named Oscus and

[115] Vasari, Lives, p. 664.
[116] Rowland 1998, p. 59.
[117] Jacks 1993, p. 176.

Volscus, included a closing soliloquy delivered by an allegory of Eloquentia, in which this figure declared: 'Divine will has designated his most holy Pope Leo X another Numa Pomphilius.'[118] The appearance of this theatre has been preserved by a number of sources, including a drawing preserved in the *Codex Coner* of Thomas Ashby (Figure 36). All these sources, however, omit to mention the order of the columns that decorated the façade of this building. A letter composed by an eyewitness to these events, the 'Judge of the Capitoline', Paolo Palliolo di Fano, however, may provide an insight into the nature of its entablature. Refering to a frieze of 'logs' or 'trunks' on the façade and interior of this theatre, interspersed with symbols alluding to the Medici and Rome, Palliolo seems to describe a Doric frieze of triglyphs and decorated metopes.[119] Given the focus of the events on the Capitoline in 1513 on asserting the union between Etruria and Rome as an ancient precedent for the new Medici papacy, the use of this order continued the celebration of the pope's Etruscan origins into the very structure of the building.

Indeed, with the election of Giovanni de' Medici as Pope Leo X in 1513 came a marked shift in the ways in which the Etruscan legacy of the Florentine state was utilised both in the visual landscape of Florence itself, and in the expression of Florentine power within the city of Rome. We have seen, with the profusion of humanist and artistic interest in the tomb at Castellina in Chianti, that the Etruscans did not fade from Florentine public interest during the years of Medici exile (1494-1512) as much as is sometimes asserted. The early years of the papacy of Leo X, however, saw an unprecedented surge of interest in the Etruscans in the city of Rome. Faced with the need to consolidate his new position, Leo X drew extensively on the shared histories of Etruria and Rome, rooting the increasing power of Florentine officials, scholars and artists at the papal court in an admired ancient precedent.[120] The nascent fascination with the Etruscan heritage of Florence that had developed slowly during the political and social turbulence of the Republic of Savonarola and Soderini was seized upon in full force by this new Medici pope for the assertion of his authority and legitimacy as head of the Roman church. In doing this, Leo sought simultaneously to bolster the position of his brother Giuliano, whose restored rule in Florence was somewhat tenuous. The security provided by this new Roman power was essential in assuring the continued dominance of the Medici in their newly recovered state.

[118] Jacks 1993, p. 177.
[119] Cruciani 1968, p. 148.
[120] Rowland 1998, p. 213.

In the diverse artistic and literary works that accompanied the coming to power of this Medici pope, therefore, the example of the Etruscans, and their long-held and abiding relationship with the Roman people and cityscape, as well as the golden age heralded by their return to power, dominated the celebrations of the new pontificate. This notion of the divine providence that lay behind the power of Leo X and his Etruscan ancestors was exemplified in the *Historia Viginti Saeculorum* of Giles of Viterbo. Dedicating his treatise to the new pope, Giles wielded the history of the Etruscans as a pretext for a near-hagiographic panegyric to Leo's pontificate.[121] Appealing to the Medici desire for self-legitimation, Giles wove this princely family into the history of the Etruscan people, presenting the papacy of Leo X as the culmination of the sacred destiny bestowed on the Etruscans by God himself as reward for their piety and devotion.[122]

The Etruscans were not the only antique precedent called upon to bolster the new papacy. The language employed in the humanist circles of this pope to declare the arrival of a new golden age was well known from the ancient texts of Augustus' principate, and Giles himself called upon the example of Numa to exalt the renewal of peace heralded by the new pontificate after the bellicose policies of Julius II, himself a 'new Romulus.'[123] Yet the presence of the Etruscans in the literature and artistic production of this pope remains remarkable. As Medici power in Rome waned towards the end of the 16th century, Etruscan motifs too, were contained once again largely to the works of Florentine authors and artists.

The exceptional heights reached by this ancient civilisation in the years of Leo X's pontificate are exemplified best by the temporary theatre constructed on the Capitoline in 1513 for the bestowal of Roman citizenship on his brother Giuliano and nephew Lorenzo. In the early days after his election, Leo X took, alongside the traditional confirmation of the concessions made by previous popes to the Roman people, a number of steps intended to expand the authority and autonomy of the municipality, seeking to curry the favour of a municipality so often subject to the domination of papal power.[124] In return, he requested that the city confer citizenship on Giuliano, recently restored as ruler of Florence, and his son Lorenzo, the future Duke of Urbino. In doing so, he not only sought to consolidate the new Roman power base of the Florentine state, but also to honour and recognise (in word, if not in deed) the authority of

[121] Collins 2001, p. 134.
[122] Collins 2001, p. 134.
[123] Jacks 1993, p. 176.
[124] Cruciani 1968, p. xxxiv.

the municipality. As a gift only the municipality could bestow, the request amounted to a simultaneous recognition of the dignity and glory of the Roman commune and the new Florentine state. The petition was thus readily granted.[125]

The year 1513 saw also the restoration of the *Parilia*, the celebration of the anniversary of Rome's foundation, largely neglected during the papacy of Julius II. Presenting Leo with yet another opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Roman state, the *Parilia* provided also an opportune pretence for the lavish celebration of the conferral of citizenship on the two Medici scions. Responsibilities for the planning of these celebrations were divided among a number of nobles, both Roman and Florentine. The construction of the theatre was entrusted to Tommaso (Fedra) Inghirami (1470-1516), a Volterran humanist raised in the court of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*. Aside from the abovementioned drawing preserved in the *Codex Coner,* the construction and appearance of this theatre, as well as the events of the celebrations, were described in a number of surviving literary sources, ranging from manuscript reports and letters to poetry, often composed by witnesses for their noble patrons in Italian states further afield. One particularly notable source is the *Avviso* of the Roman noble Marcantonio Altieri, a letter to Lorenzo Orsini (Renzo di Cere), which provides a relatively short but dense report, describing the festivities as having been organised 'with as much pomp and circumstance as was possible for us.'[126]

From these accounts we may reconstruct an itinerary of the two days of festivities that took over the city in September 1513. On the first day, celebrations began with a procession of Giuliano and his entourage to the Capitol (Lorenzo was not in Rome at the time), followed by a sung mass and orations in honour of the new ruler of Florence.[127] The conferral of citizenship then took place in the wooden theatre constructed on the Capitol, after which a banquet was prepared. An allegorical triumph, featuring a parade of floats, concluded the day's activities, which resumed the next morning with a procession that included floats depicting Clarice Orsini, mother of both Giovanni and Giuliano, and daughter of a noble Roman family, as well as allegorical representations of the Tiber and Arno.[128] Etruria and Rome were thus

[125] Cruciani 1968, p. xxxiv.
[126] Altieri, *Avviso*, p. 6: *con quel maggior fasto e pompa che fusse possibile a noi.* Alongside the account of Altieri is preserved also the Narratione of Palliolo, a letter to the Bolognese noblewoman Lucrezia Zachini, wife of Giacomo Bovio, senator of Rome, as well as the letter of the Mantuan Francesco Chierigati (1479-1539) to Isabella d'Este (1474 -1539), providing a detailed and laudatory description of the theatre's decoration.
[127] Cruciani 1968, p. Lxvii.
[128] Martinez 2010, p. 81.

depicted side by side as one people, bound by ties of blood, both contemporary and ancient, as well as by friendship.

The theatre in which these events took place was a temporary, wooden structure, constructed, according to Altieri, by the Tuscan architect Pietro Roselli (1474-1521), closely linked to the circles of Giuliano da Sangallo.[129] The drawings of this architect, and his involvement with the Sangallos, suggest a keen interest in the reconstruction of ancient architecture. It is on the basis of this connection to the Sangallo workshop that Fabrizio Cruciani suggested, in his careful reconstruction of the Capitoline theatre (Figure 37), that other artists in the same circle may have been involved in the design of the theatre, with Roselli as material executor.[130] The involvement of another artist in the project is attested by Vasari, who names Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536) as painter of the panels that decorated the structure's outer walls (Figure 38).[131] Highlighting Peruzzi's design for the façade of the Villa Chigi (Farnesina) in 1511, Cruciani suggests that this building, with its five arches, framed by two wings and once adorned with paintings, closely resembled the similarly organised façade of the theatre (Figure 39).[132] According to Altieri, the façade of the theatre was divided into five parts by a series of fluted columns, with arches in the intercolumniations. Each of these contained a painting of a Roman subject, with the exception of the central intercolumniation, which took the form of a Roman triumphal arch. Aside from Vasari's statement that one of these paintings, 'showing the betrayal of the Romans by Julia Tarpeia', had been executed by Peruzzi, no sources refer definitively to the involvement of other artists in the design of the theatre.[133]

Alongside the image painted by Peruzzi, a number of additional scenes of Roman history decorated the façade of the theatre, including the Sabine capture of the Tarpeian Rock, Romulus with Jove, the dedication of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, and, most importantly for our purpose, the meeting of Saturn and Janus. This meeting of the foremost of the Etruscan gods with Saturn, who had governed the golden age of antiquity, marked for its Renaissance viewers both the union of Etruria and Rome and the beginning of a new golden age, brought forth under the auspices of the new Medici pope. In the attic storey above these panels, also divided into five, were painted images of the Roman Lupa and Florentine Lion, as well as personifications of the Arno and Tiber, further emphasising

[129] Cruciani 1968, p. Lvii
[130] Cruciani 1968, p. Lviii.
[131] Vasari, Lives, p. 812.
[132] Cruciani 1968, p. Lviii
[133] Vasari, Lives, p. 812.

the ancient union of these cities.[134] The theme of this harmonious union between the two cities was carried into the interior in full force (Figure 40). Entering the theatre, the visitor was faced again with a tableau of kinship: Flanking the entrance, two statues were displayed on pillars. On one side stood a large bronze hand holding a ball (Figure 41), a fragment of a colossal Roman statue evoking both the globe and the Medici emblem. On the other, a bronze Lupa (Figure 42) looked towards the hand with 'longing.'[135]

The paintings that decorated the walls of the interior made explicit the themes alluded to by those of the façade, depicting scenes of the ancient friendship between the Etruscans and Romans. Alongside a number of 'historical' scenes, including the Roman peace with Lars Porsenna and the foundation of Florence by the second triumvirate, these paintings depicted also the bestowal on the Roman people by the Etruscans of the knowledge of a number of arts, including the art of letters, augury, divination, and theatre itself.[136] The notion that Roman theatre traced its origins to Etruria dates back to the Roman empire itself, recorded in the histories of Livy and Tacitus, and echoed in Alberti's description of the Vitruvian theatre.[137] Thus, not only did images of the shared Etruscan history of Florence and Rome proliferate in this building, its very form and the performances it staged were linked inextricably to the Etruscan past. The somewhat paternal, pedagogical role assumed by the Etruscans in these images, where they figure as the guides of Roman cultural and religious achievement, reinforced the same message that had been put forward by Annius and his followers in their dating of the foundation of Etruria to the time of Noah: that of the unparalleled antiquity of the Etruscans.

The festivities of 1513 thus asserted forcefully, both in the images displayed and the form taken by the celebrations, the pre-eminence of Etruria in Rome, bolstered by a vision of history that placed the Etruscans at the forefront of Roman cultural achievement. The alternative ancient mythology and *maniera* that had, in the Florentine Republic and during the rule of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*, begun to be appropriated by Tuscan authors and artists for the formulation of a new civic identity for the increasingly powerful Florentine state, rooted in the precedent of the Etruscan past, was now wielded to define Florentine civic identity within the city of Rome. Simultaneously exalting the revered antiquity of the Florentine state and

[134] Cruciani 1968, p. Lxii.
[135] Cruciani 1968, p. Lxiv. Quoting Altieri, 'Monstrando vagheggiare quella palla, con desiderio di balzarla over lambirla.' This may refer to the bronze *Lupa*, believed in the Renaissance to be of Etruscan origin, transferred to the Capitoline in 1471 by Pope Sixtus IV.
[136] Jacks 1993, p. 176.
[137] Martinez 2010, p. 82., Livy, *History of Rome* 7.2, Tacitus, *Annals* 14.21 and Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, 8.7.

weaving this admired history so tightly into the mythology of the Roman past that the two seemed wholly inseparable, the Etruscan self-fashioning of Leo X served to justify the new power over the Papal States held by the Medici, presenting their rise, and the rise of Florence, as the inevitable outcome of divine destiny, rooted in an ancient Etruscan precedent. The power held by the Tuscan/Etruscan Medici in Rome was, in the Etruria-centric vision of history promoted by the new pope, nothing new, and their burgeoning power not a disturbance nor infringement on Roman authority, but the continuation of a path drawn for these two, unified peoples already in antiquity.

3.3. Etruria in Rome at the Villa Lante

Though the Capitoline theatre was remarkable for the highly conspicuous and publicised nature of its display, this vision of Etruria found resonance also beyond this temporary structure and event, particularly in the commissions of Florentine officials in Rome. One notable example of the expression of this Medici ideology in Rome is the decorative programme of the Villa Lante on the Janiculum. Commissioned by Baldassare Turini, who served Leo X from 1518 as papal Datario, Vasari attributes the design of the villa to a student of Raphael, Giulio Romano.[138] The construction of this villa, situated on the purported former site of the home of the Roman poet Martial, likely began c. 1520.[139] Interrupted briefly by the death of Leo X in 1521, the continuation of work on the villa is attested by a letter of 1523 from Baldassare Castiglioni to his agent in Rome, requesting that he enquire as to whether Giulio Romano was 'thinking of continuing to build his *vigna*.'[140] A *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the *Salone* frescoes, painted by Polidoro da Caravaggio (Figures 43-47), is provided by the 1527 sack of Rome, during which this artist abandoned the city.[141]

It was with these frescoes, now housed in the Palazzo Zuccari, as well as the rest of the decorative programme of the main Salone, that Turini expressed in his home on Rome's most Etruscan hill the same union so forcefully professed by the panels of the Capitoline theatre. Illustrating a number of episodes from the histories of these civilizations, especially those relating to the Janiculum hill, the fresco cycle on the *soffitto* of the Salone began with the meeting of Saturn and Janus (Figure 43), evoking the golden ages hailed by Giles and the renewal brought by the papacy of Leo X. In the centre of the composition, set in the bucolic landscape of the ancient Janiculum, Janus stands to the right, holding the key that marked

[138] Vasari, *Lives*, p. 125.
[139] O'Gorman 1971, p. 133.
[140] O'Gorman 1971, p. 133.
[141] O'Gorman 1971, p. 133.

both him and Saint Peter as *Pontifex Maximus* and as founders of their respective religions, a comparison evoked repeatedly in the works of Giles of Viterbo. To the left, Saturn greets his Etruscan counterpart. The two men approach each other, shaking hands in a gesture of friendship and peace. Behind each god stand their respective retinues, each consisting of three men and a youth attending to a single mount. Alongside the key, Janus' Etruscan identity is reinforced by his long, non-classical hairstyle, contrasting the markedly classical curls of Saturn. Typical of depictions of this god, Saturn's curls are accompanied also by the long beard and mature age that traditionally characterise his image.

A preliminary sketch for the fresco, now in the collection of the Louvre, shows that Polidoro initially furnished his image of Saturn with a scythe, another familiar attribute of this agricultural god (Figure 48).[142] The absence of this rustic attribute from the completed fresco suggests that the legibility of the fresco was suitably guaranteed by the other distinguishing features, namely Janus' keys and its setting on the Janiculum. Comprehension of this fresco thus rested, in part, on familiarity with the Etruscan histories of Annius and Giles. Henrik Lilius, director of the Finnish Institute in Rome at the Villa Lante from 1972 to 1976, suggests that the position of Saturn's hand in the finished fresco, with its upturned palm and grasping fingers (Figure 49-50), indicates that the omission of the scythe may have been a result of a mistake during the execution of Polidoro's design.[143] While it seems unlikely that the artist/s of this fresco simply forgot to include the scythe, it is possible that the decision to remove this attribute was made after the figure of Saturn had already been painted. Given the popularity of the works of Annius and Giles in the circles of Leo X, it is perhaps unsurprising that Polidoro may have concluded that the attribute was less important for the clarity of the scene that Janus' key, which was increased in size significantly in the translation from the Louvre design to the Salone.[144] Either way, the message of the fresco was unambiguous: as in antiquity, the papacy of Leo X and the unity it had forged between the peoples of Etruria and Rome heralded the inauguration of a new golden age. The presence of Janus' key evoked prominently the Tuscan origins of the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, now returned by divine will to its intended Etruscan bearers, the Medici.

Moving chronologically through the history of Etruria and Rome, the second fresco illustrates the escape of Cloelia from the camp of Lars Porsenna on the Janiculum during the war between these neighbouring

[142] Lilius 1981, p. 136.
[143] Lilius 1981, p. 137.
[144] Lilius 1981, p. 136.

civilisations (Figure 44). As Cloelia and her fellow hostages flee across the Tiber, the soldiers at the Etruscan camp in the upper right-hand corner begin to take notice. With the monuments of the city of Rome looming in the background (including, anachronistically and with no regard for topography, the Pantheon, Colosseum, Trajan's column, and the pyramid of Cestius), the composition is dominated by the Tiber. Traditionally identified as the boundary between Rome and Etruria, the river emphasises the division of these civilisations. A third fresco depicts the bridging of this disunity: Cloelia, returned to the Etruscans by the honourable Romans, is freed by the figure of Lars Porsenna, who sits enthroned and clad in Roman armour, chlamys and crown (Figure 45). Here, again the image of peace and friendship between Etruria and Rome evoked the alliance between these regions under the papacy of Leo X. In the figure of Lars Porsenna, moreover, the dynastic and expansionist ambitions of the Medici were provided with an admired antique precedent, both celebrating Leo's papacy and legitimising Medici rule in Tuscany.

The final fresco of the Salone does not refer to an Etruscan subject, but nonetheless reinforces the ideological message evoked by the rest of the fresco cycle (Figure 46). Depicting the uncovering of the tomb of Numa at the base of the Janiculum, with the Villa Lante itself in the background, the fresco links plainly to Giles' characterisation of Leo X as an 'alter Numa.' In the fresco, Numa's coffin is unearthed alongside another sarcophagus containing his law books, invoking the order and harmony brought to Rome by its second king, and, by extension, by its new Medici ruler. Like Porsenna, Numa offered the Medici a monarchical model for their own authority, rooting the legitimacy of their new hegemony over Rome and Tuscany in the authority of respected ancient exemplars.

The importance of Porsenna to the self-fashioning of the newly emboldened Medici is particularly evident in the decorative programme of the villa. Beyond the *soffitto* frescoes, images of this Etruscan king appear throughout the images that decorate the walls of the Salone, including scenes of the castration of Jupiter, Janus praying to Pax, the construction of the temple of Janus by Numa, the defence of the Pons Sublicius against Porsenna by Horatius Cocles, and the appearance of Mucius Scaevola before this same king. The monarch appears again among the stucco portraits that ornament the *soffitto*.[145] On the southern side of the Salone, both Porsenna, identifiable by the same armour and beard that characterise his image in Polidoro's fresco, and Cloelia are rendered again in stucco.[146] Numa, too, reappears in these portraits, depicted above the mantelpiece alongside a female figure variously identified as Vesta, whose cult had its

[145] Steinby 1954, p. 18.
[146] Lilius 1981, p. 135.

origins in the reign of this legendary king, or his wife, Egeria.[147] Among the other figures depicted in stucco in the Salone are a two-headed Janus and a Saturn (Figure 51), as well as, on the loggia at the eastern end of the room, Bacchus and Ariadne, overlooking the villa's vineyards.

The messages of the union of Rome and Etruria and celebration of Leo X's papacy are reinforced in the villa by the emblems that appeared alongside the decorative programme of the Salone. On Turini's own emblem, his motto (Altore Alto in Fides Altius') is painted alongside a greyhound who stands beneath a Medici lion (Figure 52).[148] Turini's greyhound is connected to this symbol of the pope's own house by a beam of light emanating from the lion's heart. The loyalty to the Tuscan/Etruscan pope that suffused the decorative programme of this villa thus took on explicit form.

It was not only in the interior of the villa, however, that the unity of the Roman and Tuscan people under the new papacy of Leo X was celebrated. Indeed, the decision to construct the villa on the Janiculum constituted in itself a statement of the Etruscan nature of the Tuscan papacy and its supporters. Hardly coincidental, the location of this villa on the ancient lands of Etruria, so close to the 'Etruscan' architecture of Bramante's Tempietto, formed part of a wider history of this hill that was woven tightly, in this period, with that of the Etruscans and the Medici.

Though the decorative programme of this villa incorporates extensively subjects which refer directly to the Etruscan history of Rome, little attempt is made inside the building to adapt and appropriate an Etruscan *maniera*, whether observed from authentic artefacts or drawn from the descriptions of ancient authors. On the exterior and in its plan (Figure 53-55), however, it may tentatively be argued that elements of the villa's design sought to recall, like Bramante's Tempietto, a distinctly Etruscan architectural language. Despite the involvement of Raphael's workshop in the project, Turini's villa has little in common with contemporary projects of this workshop, namely the Villa Madama, nor with any other Roman villas constructed during this period.[149] Instead, the building took on a notably 'Tuscan' appearance, finding a close parallel in the Medici villa at Fiesole (Figure 56-57), as well as in a villa painted in the background of Masaccio's c. 1425 painting, *The Distribution of Alms and the Death of Ananias*, for the Brancacci chapel

[147] For identification of this bust as Vesta, see Lilius 1981, p. 184. For identification as Egeria see 'Salone', *Institutum Romanum Finlandiae*, Available at: https://irfrome.org/en/villa-lante-4/architecture/salone-en/ (Accessed: 8 June 2024).
[148] Steinby 1954, p. 13.
[149] O'Gorman 1971, p. 137.

of the Florentine Santa Maria del Carmine (Figure 58).[150] The arched loggias of these buildings, overlooking terraces in traditional Tuscan form, appear also at the Villa Lante, though this building overlooks instead the city of Rome.[151]

Aside from the 'Tuscan' typology of this building, the Doric pilasters and columns of its façade and loggias appear to resemble those of Bramante's Tempietto. Unfluted, and with Attic bases (Figure 59-60), it is conceivable that the lowest pilasters on the building's façade drew on the same Etruscan associations as this martyrium, also on the Janiculum. There are, however, significant discrepancies between these two buildings. The Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes that decorate the Tempietto is absent from the villa's entablature, which omits a frieze entirely. Nonetheless, for a patron so immersed in the Etruscan heritage of his hometown, the Etruscan associations of this order may well have been in the forefront of Turini's mind, especially given the proximity of the villa to Bramante's first use of the Doric in the city of Rome. Indeed, though Romano had likely not yet ventured beyond Rome prior to the villa's construction, limiting his knowledge of Florentine prototypes, he would certainly have known the Tempietto.[152]

3.4. Florence as 'New Rome'?

In any case, what emerges in both the architecture and ornamentation of Turini's villa on the Janiculum is a decorative and ideological programme near-identical to that of the Capitoline theatre of 1513. With the papacy of Leo X came an influx of Etruscan history and iconography into the city of Rome, primarily in the commissions of loyal Florentines who came to this city in his service. The message propounded by these images was not only one of union, but also of Florentine dominance. Not merely a sister or daughter of Rome, the Florentine state and its Medici rulers positioned themselves through the conceptions of the Etruscan past promoted by Giles of Viterbo, as the predecessors of Roman civilisation, older and more sacred than their successors on the eastern bank of the Tiber. Both Medici rule in Rome and the

[150] O'Gorman 1971, p. 137-138.
[151] O'Gorman 1971, p. 138.
[152] O'Gorman 1971, p. 137. Turini's interest in the forms and iconographies of ancient Etruria is perhaps attested further by his funerary monument, sculpted by the Florentine Raffaello di Montelupo in the Cathedral of Pescia, Turini's hometown. The monument takes the form of a half-reclining effigy of the deceased, raising his upper body into an unusual and somewhat awkward position, surmounting a sarcophagus-shaped tomb. This curious pose may find its origins in the figures of Etruscan urns, well-known in the Renaissance. Though the Etruscan taste for reclining funerary figures was adopted also by their Roman successors, given the unusual pose of Turini's monument, a feature almost wholly unique to Etruscan urns, combined with the patron's preoccupation with the Etruscan heritage of his native Tuscany elsewhere, it does not seem too far-fetched to suggest that this monument took as its model one of the numerous Etruscan urns uncovered in this period from the Tuscan soil.

expansionist ambitions in Tuscany were positioned, thereby, as God's ultimate purpose for the people of Etruria.[153] The city of Florence, so often seen as seeking to present itself as a 'New Rome', evoking its Roman roots through the identification of the Baptistery as a Roman temple of Mars, or echoing the Pantheon in the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, achieved instead, through the visual expression of the histories of Annius and Giles in Rome, the transformation of the Eternal City into a state rooted in a Tuscan/Etruscan past.[154] In this uniquely Tuscan and Medicean construction of the past, Florence did not seek to elevate itself solely through the canonical, admired forms of Roman antiquity, but carved out instead a distinctly Tuscan/Etruscan identity, predating and surpassing the glory of Rome. In these histories, the union with Rome was frequently a relationship in which the Etruscans took on an almost paternalistic role: the greatness of the Roman state was handed down to these neighbours of Etruria by their divinely favoured predecessors, who had now returned to their rightful position as rulers of Rome in the form of a predestined Medici pope.

[153] Collins 2001, p. 135.
[154] De Beer 2022, p. 216.

CHAPTER 4: Etruria and The Self-Fashioning of Cosimo I de' Medici's Tuscan State

In the city of Florence, it was undoubtedly under the cultural programmes of Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici that the Etruscans reached the highest point of their prominence in both the civic ideology and artistic production of the Medici state. In the years between the election of Leo X in 1513 and the accession of Cosimo in 1537, the Medici golden age touted by the supporters of the Medici pope in the early 16th century had failed to materialise. The state inherited by this future Grand Duke of Tuscany following the assassination of his predecessors, Alessandro de' Medici, was one wracked by internal discord and the renewed threat of Republican unrest. Though the victory at the Battle of Montemurlo against the pro-Republic Florentine exiles led by Filippo Strozzi in late July 1547 had removed the immediate threat of war, Cosimo's position remained somewhat tenuous.[155] His own descendance from a lesser branch of the Medici family, combined with the tumultuous conditions of his succession, heavily informed the direction of his political and cultural policies in the early years of his reign.[156] The primary aim of these policies was the unification of the Tuscan state under Cosimo's rule, an objective that saw a renewal, or redirection, of interest in the Etruscan origins of the region. In literature, this Etruscan element of Cosimo's cultural policy focused primarily on the vigorous promotion of the Florentine vernacular as a symbol of unified Tuscan identity. Not only was the accessibility of knowledge facilitated by the translation of Latin texts into the vernacular essential to the proper functioning of a centralised state reliant on a complex network of regional officials, but the advancement of this shared language played also into the construction of a unified regional Tuscan identity, with Florence at its centre.[157]

The intensified focus in this period on the Etruscan origins of Tuscany went hand-in-hand with this advancement of the vernacular. Just as the Etruscans had provided for Leo X an ancient and revered precedent for the dominance of the Medici and Florentine state in Rome during his pontificate, so did the same Etruscan past present for Cosimo a shining historical exemplar of monarchical rule over the Tuscan region. Both proclaiming the glory of Cosimo and the singular political and cultural status of Tuscany as the birthplace of art, language, religion, and civilisation itself, the histories and material culture of Etruria provided the new Duke of Tuscany with an ideal foundation for his increasingly expansionist and aggrandizing policies. In striking contrast to the Etruscan self-fashioning of Leo X, the Etruscans and their

[155] Cipriani 1980, p. 75.
[156] Cipriani 1980, p. 75.
[157] Van Veen 2006, p. 27.

visual culture were, for Cosimo, a means by which the ruler could distance himself from the city of Rome and the political and cultural power of a papacy with whom he was frequently at odds.

Indeed, Cosimo's relationship with Rome was crucial in determining the direction of his cultural policies and visual self-fashioning in the early years of his reign. Until the election of Giovanni de' Medici, a scion of the Milanese branch of the Medici but nonetheless favourably inclined towards his Florentine relatives, as Pope Pius IV in December 1559, the acquisition of any large-scale Roman antiquities like those that decorated the prestigious Roman displays of the Roman Belvedere and the d'Este villa at Monte Cavallo, was near impossible for the Florentine ruler.[158] Without papal *lasciapassare*, Cosimo was forced to rely on small-scale copies or gifts of famous Roman sculptures, as well as on discoveries from within his own territories.[159] The pace of Medici interest in and acquisition of Etruscan artefacts thus increased significantly in this period. This was not, however, a straightforward case of a 'revival' of interest in the Etruscan heritage of Florence that followed the Florentine Republic's focus on the Roman foundation of the city and the exemplar of the Roman Republic. As discussed in the previous chapters, both the literary and artistic production of the Florentine Republic demonstrated a flourishing interest in the Etruscan past.

At the level of state ideology, however, Cosimo's promotion of Tuscany's Etruscan past was certainly singular. The influence of Roman antiquity was not, however, rendered marginal. A statue of Cosimo in the guise of Augustus, carved by Vincenzo Danti in c. 1568-72 (Figure 61) and intended, initially, for the cross-arm of the Uffizi, exemplifies the ruler's identification with this Roman ruler. Like Augustus, Cosimo had fashioned himself in the new Tuscan state as *primus inter pares*, bringing peace in the wake of a long period of civil unrest brought about by a declining republic.[160] These aspects of the Duke's self-fashioning were far from contradictory, displayed at different times, in different contexts, and for different audiences. As we will see, the difference between the displays of antiquities in Cosimo's Sala delle Nicchie at the Pitti Palace and the 'Tuscan museum' in the Scrittoio della Calliope of the Palazzo Vecchio (Figure 62-63), presented in these two buildings on opposite sides of the city for distinct audiences, embody these two images of Medici power advanced by Cosimo in the mid to late 16th century. The Duke was thus cast variously as a *personaggi grandi* in the Roman tradition, as a new Augustus in continuity with Republican ideology, and, most notably for our purposes, as King of a unified Tuscany, following in the footsteps of

[158] Gáldy 2009, p. 51.
[159] Gáldy 2005 a, p. 47.
[160] Gáldy 2009, p. 46.

an Etruscan civilisation that figures in the artistic and literary production of this period as founders of Florence, Italy, and, occasionally, of art itself.[161]

4.1. The *Apparati* of Eleonora of Toledo and Joanna of Austria

In the first years of Cosimo's reign, the tumultuous nature of the state he inherited meant that there was little space for the formation and definition of any form of civic ideology. By 1539, however, having secured the relative stability of both the state and his own position by the victory at Montemurlo and his betrothal to Eleonora of Toledo, the situation in Tuscany settled, giving Cosimo the necessary space to develop an ideological programme for the celebration and legitimation of his newly centralised state.[162] It was in the *apparato* constructed for the celebration of the marriage of Cosimo to Eleonora and the entry of the bride into the city that we find one of the earliest visual expressions of Cosimo's nascent political ideology and Etruscan self-fashioning.[163]

The entire city was ornamented to mark the procession of Eleonora into the city from the Porta a Prato. The decoration itself drew heavily, still, on the Roman imagery favoured under the Republic. At the Porta a Prato, Giambullari, providing an account of the festivities, described an image of Augustus enthroned and flanked by the personifications of rivers and countries, including the river Betis and Danube, as well as Germany, Africa, and Spain, evoking the expansive reach of the empires of both Augustus and the ambitions of his successor Cosimo. In the homages paid to the new couple by the cities of Tuscany, described by Giambullari, however, we may discern the emergence of many of the key features of the Etruscan cultural and political policies of Cosimo I. References to Janus as founder of Tuscany abound in these panegyrics to the new Florentine state, replete with references to Annius' history and emphasising the unity of Tuscany under its new Tuscan/Etruscan king. Thus, in their homage, the people of Arezzo spoke of the creation of their city by the eponymous wife of Annius' Noah/Janus, Arezia:

D'Armenia Arezia con Noè suo sposo
Che dagli antichi Iano è nominato
Venne in Toscana e dove disdegnoso
Torce Arno il muso a guisa d'adirato

[161] Vasari, Lives, p. 30.
[162] Cipriani 1979, p. 75.
[163] Cipriani 1979, p. 75.

Arezzo pose a piè d'un monte ombroso[164]

The Etruscan heritage of the Tuscan state as described by Annius was thus appropriated by Cosimo for the purpose of imbuing his reign with historical legitimacy, appealing to revered Etruscan exemplars. The city of Arezzo was thus created by the wife of Noah/Janus, ruler of all Etruria, in whose footsteps the future *Magnus Dux Etruriae* sought to follow. Cosimo's desire to distance himself from Rome may also be discerned in these homages. In one of these, the river Tiber itself addresses the Duke: '... today he abandons his old Rome and comes to honour you…'[165] Already in the early years of Cosimo's reign, therefore, there emerged a clear outline of the preoccupation with the Etruscan past and the precedent it provided for a unified Tuscany that would guide the visual expression of the Duke's cultural policies. Rejecting the hegemonic conceptions of antiquity emanating from a Rome dominated by pope Paul III, hostile to Cosimo's expansionist ambitions and their infringement on the northern borders of the Papal States, Cosimo drew on the Etruscan histories developed at the start of the century for the legitimation of his new state.[166] As Cosimo's position as ruler of Florence was consolidated, his Etruscan civic and cultural ideologies intensified. Thus, in the *apparato* constructed by Vasari and Borghini for the entry of Joanna of Austria,[167] bride of Cosimo's son Francesco, in 1565, the glorious Etruscan origins of the city found increasingly concrete visual expression.

As part of the series of arches and ornament which marked the procession of Joanna through Florence, from the Porta al Prato to the Palazzo Vecchio, a temple was erected outside of the Santa Maria del Fiore, dedicated to Tuscan religiosity[168] This ephemeral Temple of Religion was dedicated to the expression of the origins of piety in Tuscany, where the ancient Etruscans had been the first civilisation to see the emergence of a devout, monotheistic religiosity, nurtured on the banks of the Arno more than anywhere else in the world.[169] The remarkable religiosity of the Etruscans was a frequent feature of ancient Greco-

[164] Cipriani 1979, p, 79: *From Armenia, Arezia and her spouse Noah, who by the ancients is called Janus, came to Tuscany, where disdainfully, she twisted the snout of the Arno as if in anger, and placed Arezzo at the bottom of a shady mountain*. 'Twisted the snout of the Arno' refers to the location of Arezzo on a tributary of the Arno, the Canale Maestro della Chiana. Translation by the author.
[165] Cipriani 1979, p. 79: *…Oggi la vecchia sua Roma abbandona e viene ad honorarti…*
[166] Camporeale 2018, p. 35.
[167] Overpelt 2022, p. 211.
[168] Van Veen 2006, p. 93.
[169] Donetti 2018, p. 95 and Van Veen 2006, p. 183

Roman literature concerning this civilisation.[170] In the Renaissance, this deep religious devotion of the Etruscans was associated by Annius with their foundation by the biblical Noah/Janus. In this version of history, the earliest peoples of this civilisation were pious and monotheistic, closer to the Christian tradition than their pagan neighbours.[171] Depicting the founders of the monastic orders of the Tuscan region, including Cosimo, the temple celebrated not only the pious acts of the city's ruler, who had established in 1561 the Order of Saint Stephen, but also relied for its ideological efficacy on its viewers' understanding of the Etruscan past as set out by Annius and his followers. The inscription displayed on the east side of the temple expressed this connection between Florentine piety and the city's Etruscan origins unambiguously:

For inventing grain learned Athens is famed/ Rome for being fierce at war and powerful in empire. / But this out mild province of Etruria is known/ For its divine practice and superior worship of God, / Which they say uniquely possessed the skills of honouring/ The deity and teaching sacred practices; / Now it is the site of true piety and from it/ This reputation never will be taken any time.[172]

The dynastic ideology and artistic self-fashioning of Cosimo's new state thus embraced, from its earliest years, the civic mythologies developed and promoted in the first half of the century by Tuscan historians and linguists, most notably Annius of Viterbo. Though these highly public displays of the Duke's power did not draw for their form or iconography directly on an Etruscan *maniera*, the messages they expressed brought the Etruscan heritage of Tuscany to the forefront of display. The mythology of the Etruscan heritage of Florence and its surrounding towns underlay and justified the elaborate claims to dynastic supremacy represented by these marriages and their *apparati*.

4.2. Etruscan Antiquities in the Collection of Cosimo I de' Medici

In 1540, a year after his marriage to Eleonora of Toledo, Cosimo's confidence in his position had grown significantly, allowing him to move his residence from the Palazzo Medici on the Via Larga (now the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi) to the Palazzo Vecchio, usurping this former heart of Republican power.[173]

[170] Livy 5.1.5: *And so the nation which was devoted beyond all others to religious rites (and all the more because it excelled in the art of observing them)...*
[171] Hillard 2016, p. 495.
[172] Van Veen 2006, p. 184.
[173] Rubinstein 1995, p. 46.

Though the ducal residence was moved again to the Pitti Palace in 1550, Cosimo continued to focus much attention on his building activities at the Palazzo Vecchio, where he had ordered the construction of a new complex of offices, alongside extensive renovations to the existing Republican rooms.[174] Planned by Vincenzo Borghini and executed by Vasari, the Etruscans figured as a crucial and constant component in the decorative programme of this Palazzo. In the Quartiere degli Elementi, where construction began under the direction of Giovanni Battista del Tasso (1500-1555), and was continued after his death by Vasari, a small study was constructed beside the Sala di Cerere. This room, referred to as the Scrittoio della Calliope for the fresco of this muse on its *soffitto* (Figure 64), became a space for the display of Cosimo's Etruscan antiquities.

The Etruscan collections of the Medici had grown significantly since the days of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*, enlarged in 1542 by the discovery of the Minerva of Arezzo (Figure 12), and again in 1552 by the uncovering in Arezzo of numerous small bronze statuettes and the remarkable Chimaera (Figure 11). Both the Minerva and the Chimaera appear to have been identified as Etruscan almost immediately, and rapidly became the subject of much scholarly attention. Their discovery in the town of Arezzo, described by Livy as one of the twelve *capitae Etruriae*, likely contributed significantly to the clarity and rapidity of this classification.[175] For Vasari, the Chimaera, characterised by the 'rough' rendering of its mane and its Etruscan inscription, soon came to exemplify the *maniera Etrusca*.[176] Though its contribution to the study of Etruscan art was minor in comparison, the Minerva was nonetheless discussed enthusiastically in contemporary Florentine literature, featuring prominently amidst the celebration of Arezzo's admired Etruscan past in Massimiliano Alessi's *Libellus de Antiquitate urbis Arretii* (1552).

The clarity with which these artefacts were classified as Etruscan was not reflected everywhere throughout the collections of the Medic. Discovered near Lake Trasimene in 1566, and now recognised ubiquitously as an Etruscan bronze of the late second to early first century BC, the Arringatore (Figure 65) was identified by Vasari and many of his Renaissance contemporaries as an image of the Roman general Scipio the Younger (185-129 BC).[177] Given the togate appearance of the Arringatore, who wears also the *calceus senatorius* of Roman magistrates, and the outstretched *adlocutio* gesture of his right hand, it is

[174] Van Veen 2006, p. 80.
[175] Livy, History of Rome 9.37.12: *And so, from Perusia and Cortona and Arretium, which at the time might be the chief cities of the nations of Etruria…*
[176] Vasari, *Lives*, Life of Andrea Pisano, 2nd Edition.
[177] Hillard 2013, p. 1031. Vasari refers to the Arringatore as a Scipio in a letter written to Borghini.

easy to understand Vasari's misattribution of a Roman subject to the statue.[178] Remarkable, however, is the failure of Vasari and his contemporaries to take note of the statue's prominent Etruscan inscription (Figure 66), particularly in light of the period's preoccupation with the origins of the Tuscan vernacular and its origins in the autochthonous Tuscan language of the Etruscans.

In his letter to Borghini, Vasari makes no mention of the Arringatore*'s* culture of origin, identifying only its subject and *adlocutio* pose. It is possible, therefore, that for Vasari, the attribution of a Roman subject to the sculpture did not preclude its Etruscan origins. By Scipio the Younger's lifetime, the balance of power in the Italian peninsula had shifted definitively in favour of the Roman Republic. Nonetheless, though the destruction of Veii by the Romans in 396 BC had marked conclusively this turning point in the relationship between Etruria and Rome, heralding the gradual waning of Etruscan influence across the peninsula, the artistic production of this civilisation remained, for a time, dynamic and flourishing under the dominion of Rome.[179] Vasari may have assumed, therefore, that the Etruscans could well have produced an image of this famed Roman. It remains striking, however, that no explicit reference was made to the Etruscan origins of such a large scale and well-preserved bronze, particularly when compared to the fervent interest shown in the circles of Cosimo I for the distinctively Etruscan *maniera* of the Chimaera, discovered thirteen years prior. Though the sculpture was not overlooked, displayed in the Duke's private rooms at the Pitti Palace, in the public sphere, the Arringatore never achieved the same renown as the Chimaera. Given the distinction achieved by the Etruscan past in the cultural ideology of Cosimo's Tuscan state, as well as the interest displayed in the definition of an Etruscan *maniera* by Vasari himself two years after the Arringatore*'s* discovery in the second edition of his *Lives*, it is striking that the Etruscan origins of this statue, if recognised, seem to have gone unmentioned.

It is possible, however, that the true origins of the Arringatore were overlooked in favour of an interpretation that provided the Duke with another revered exemplar for his personal glory and military power. Indeed, the military conquests of the Republican general Scipio, which had resulted in the destruction of Carthage and the realisation of peace thereby between Rome and its greatest enemy, provided an ideal model for the expansionist and unifying aims of a Duke who sought to present himself

[178] The *adlocutio* is one of the most frequently employed conventional poses in public, Imperial Roman art, and appeared on many Roman monuments still visible in the landscape of the Eternal City in the 16th century. See several episodes on Trajan's column, the column of Marcus Aurelius, and numerous imperial Roman coins. See Elsner 2000, 158.

[179] Hemingway and Hemingway 2000.

as *primus inter pares*. It was perhaps the ideological efficacy of this identification, therefore, and not merely Vasari's failure to reconcile the sculpture with the ostensible 'roughness' of the Etruscan *maniera* later described in his *Lives*, that led Renaissance viewers to overlook its Etruscan origins.[180] The Arringatore was, moreover, not the only Etruscan antiquity in the Medici collections to draw comparisons with the art of ancient Greece and Rome. Despite the emblematic status of the Chimaera in Vasari's definition of the *maniera Etrusca*, the sculpture was at times explained by comparisons to Greek coins from the Peloponnesian *polis* of Sicyon, examples of which were housed in the Medici collections.[181]

4.3. Etruria in Medici Collections: The Scrittoio della Calliope

The displays of antiquities in the Scrittoio della Calliope, as well as the writings of Vasari, nonetheless demonstrate that the Etruscan origins of many of these artefacts were of foremost importance to their positioning and ideological resonance within the collections of Cosimo I. It was during the reign of this Medici duke that the first substantial collection of Etruscan antiquities, comprising not only the vases and urns that had been unearthed frequently from the Tuscan soil during the preceding centuries, but also rare, high-quality bronzes, was assembled, their Etruscan origins not only explicitly recognised, but celebrated. Pursuing an ever more expansionist political and military policy in Tuscany that culminated in 1554 with the defeat of the Republic of Siena at the Battle of Marciano, Cosimo looked increasingly to the Etruscan past for justification of his hegemony over the former lands of this civilisation, driving the increased pace of acquisition in these years. Cosimo's fraught relationship with the Papal States in the early decades of his reign, and the resulting inaccessibility of Rome, too, influenced this focus on the native antiquities of Tuscany.

The vast majority of these Etruscan antiquities, with the exception of the Arringatore and Chimaera, were displayed by Cosimo in the Scrittoio della Calliope. *Scrittoii*, small study or exhibition rooms similar in function to *studioli*, had been fashionable in Italy since the 15th century, with notable examples found at Ferrara, Urbino, Gubbio, Belfiore and Mantua.[182] The Quattrocento Medici residence on the Via Larga, too, contained several such rooms, including the scrittoio used by both Piero di Cosimo de' Medici and Lorenzo *il Magnifico*. In constructing such a room, therefore, Cosimo emphasised the continuity of his reign with the main branch of his family, reinforcing thereby the perceived strength of the Medici dynasty,

[180] Hillard 2013, p. 1031.
[181] Bocci Pacini 1999, p. 40.
[182] Gáldy 2005 b, p. 701.

so recently threatened by extinction.[183] Construction on the Scrittoio began in c. 1555, built as part of Cosimo's new offices at the Palazzo Vecchio. The main exhibits, including the Arezzo Bronzetti, were not moved there, however, until after the scrittoio*'s* completion in 1559, housed until this date in a *stanzino* on the floor above.[184] In a series of articles, Andrea Gáldy has convincingly put forward an interpretation of the display of the scrittoio as a 'Tuscan museum', giving visual expression to the notion of the cultural and political continuity between Etruria and Renaissance Tuscany.[185] The use of this room for the restoration of the Arezzo Bronzetti by Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571) in the years between its construction and the installation of this so-called 'Tuscan museum' may have provided the Duke with the inspiration for setting up this space as a museum for his Tuscan/Etruscan works of art. Very little of the original appearance of the scrittoio survives today, save for the frescoes *soffitto* depicting the eponymous nymph Calliope. The best surviving descriptions of the appearance and instalment of antiquities in the scrittoio are provided by Vasari, in both his *Lives* and the *Ragionamenti* (See Appendix 1 and 2).

The description of the Scrittoio in the *Ragionamenti*, presented as a dialogue between Francesco de' Medici and his guide, Vasari, tells us that the Arezzo Bronzetti were arranged on a shelf that ran along the walls of the room, supported by pilasters (Figure 63). Between these pilasters, in 'cedar wood boxes', the scrittoio was fitted with drawers for the storing and display of numerous small antique and *all'antica* objects, including coins, gems, medals, cameos and paintings by the famous miniaturist Giulio Clovio.[186] In his earlier account of the scrittoio in the 'Life of Bronzino', Vasari elaborated on the decoration of the walls above these shelves, recounting that 'on some little panels made of sheet-tin, and all of one same size, the same Bronzino has painted all the great men of the House of Medici… all which portraits are set in order behind the door of the little study that Vasari has caused to be made in the apartment of the new rooms in the Ducal Palace, wherein is a great number of antique statues or marble and bronzes and little modern pictures…'[187] Thus, above the artworks of the revered Etruscan past, contemporary Tuscan artistic achievement was exhibited through the portraits of the Medici (Figure 67-70), visually weaving this family into the history of Etruria and grounding their rule in the precedent of a legendary and glorious age.

[183] Gáldy 2005 a, p. 51.
[184] Gáldy 2005 a, p. 50.
[185] Gáldy 2005 b, p. 699.
[186] Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, p. 58.
[187] Vasari, *Lives*, p. 875.

By 1555, when work began on the scrittoio, Cosimo had already conquered Siena, effectively bringing Tuscany under Medici hegemony. The display in the scrittoio thus functioned additionally to reinforce the image of a unified Tuscany, united not only by Medici military force and political coercion, but by a shared ancient past, bringing the inhabitants of Tuscany, past and present, together as a singular and exceptional people whose skill in art had surpassed that of Rome from earliest antiquities. The scrittoio thus presented a visual embodiment of the ideological framework of Cosimo's new Tuscan state. Functioning as a museum of Tuscan achievement, where the Etruscan past was employed to bolster the Medici present, the collection of the scrittoio emphasised and justified the increasing reach of Medici power, in Tuscany and beyond.[188]

It is notable that the Chimaera of Arezzo, despite its exemplary status in Vasari's definition of the *maniera Etrusca*, was not displayed in the scrittoio. Placed instead in the *Sala di Leone X* on the floor below, part of the more public reception quarters of the Palazzo, the Chimaera could be viewed by a much larger audience than the antiquities displayed in the scrittoio. This highly public nature of the Chimaera*'s* display was appropriate in light of its function as a Florentine *Lupa*, providing an Etruscan origin for the contemporary *Marzocco*.[189] The decorative programme of this room, celebrating the life of Pope Leo X (Figure 71), who undertook, himself, a remarkable programme of Etruscan self-fashioning in the early years of his papacy, moreover, provided an appropriate backdrop for this symbol of the legendary age and civic pride of the Florentine state. Like the scrittoio, therefore, the *Salone di Leone X* grounded Cosimo's new Tuscan state in both the immediate Medici past and the legendary heritage of the Etruscans.

Though significantly less public than the Sala di Leone X below, *scrittoii* were not wholly private spaces. Noble visitors frequently toured the *scrittoii* of princely families during their travels, though there is little record of visitors to Cosimo's scrittoio. The narrative of Vasari's *Ragionamenti* may provide an insight into the kind of curiosity displayed by such visitors, though here the perspective is not that of an outsider, but of a Medici prince and the designer of the scrittoio himself. Though passage from Borghini's *Il Riposo* appears to provide the only extant testimony of a non-Medici visitor to the scrittoio, the close resemblance between his text and that of Vasari suggests that the work may have consisted primarily of paraphrase.[190] Despite the absence of written accounts, it would certainly have been unusual, given the

[188] Gáldy 2009, p. 78.
[189] Cohen 2010, p. 3.
[190] Gáldy 2009, p. 79.

importance of the antiquities contained within this room for Cosimo's Etruscan self-fashioning, however, if the scrittoio had not seen a considerable number of visitors, albeit of an exceptionally restricted class.[191]

The restricted visitorship and restrained nature of display at the scrittoio, as well as the marked Florentine focus of the works exhibited throughout the Palazzo Vecchio as a whole, may, however, also have been deliberate choice on the part of its designers and patron, a reflection of the building's continuing associations with the Republican past. Indeed, Cosimo may have feared, reasonably, that an ostentatious display of the glory of his new ducal state in the former centre of Republican power might have caused offence among the citizens of Florence, as well as clashing with his self-representation in the Palazzo's decorative programme, and elsewhere, as a new Augustus, *primus inter pares*.[192] From 1550 on, however, the ducal residence was transferred to the Pitti Palace. Here, distant, geographically and historically from the centre of the Republican city, Cosimo's self-fashioning took on increasingly regal form.[193] It is therefore no surprise that, when Florentine relationships with Rome improved after the election of Pope Pius IV in 1559, Cosimo's attention turned in this building from the Etruscan past of Florence to the grandiose displays of Roman antiquities that had emerged, over the course of the 16th century, in the Eternal City, many of which the Duke had visited during his visit to Rome in 1560.

Joined on his journey to Rome by the sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592), who would later be appointed by the Duke as architect for the renovation of the Pitti Palace, it is likely that Cosimo's experiences in the Eternal City greatly informed the remodelling of the Palazzo's Sala Grande. Under the direction of Ammannati, the Sala delle Nicchie was transformed into a Florentine Belvedere.[194] The now outdated scrittoio form, restricted in the size of the antiquities it could display and the number visitors it could admit, was consigned to the past. Filled with large-scale antiquities, many of which had come from the Vatican itself, the scale of this space and the access to Roman antiquities it professed provided a powerful symbol of the Duke's quasi-royal status.[195] Indeed, exhibited here without any discernible programme, in contrast to the distinct Tuscan ideology set out in the displays of the Scrittoio della

[191] Gáldy 2009, p. 79.
[192] Van Veen 2006, p. 136.
[193] Gáldy 2009, p. 89.
[194] Gáldy 2005 a, p. 51.
[195] Gáldy 2009, p. 88

Calliope, the antiquities in the Sala delle Nicchie seem to have been selected primarily for their value as aesthetic objects and supreme symbols of ducal wealth.[196]

At the Palazzo Vecchio, however, the focus of Cosimo's cultural ideologies remained firmly focused on the independence of Florence and the unity of the Tuscan/Etruscan state. The remarkable increase in the collecting and understanding of Etruscan antiquities in the first decades of Cosimo's reign was not merely a result of exigency. Though Rome was inaccessible, both politically and financially, in this period, Etruscan antiquities functioned as more than convenient replacements for antiquities from the Eternal City. Providing Cosimo with visual exemplars for the legitimacy of his new Florentine state, the artistic remains of this ancient civilisation allowed the Duke to root his contentious political and military ambitions in the revered authority of the Etruscan past. In the Scrittoio della Calliope, this Tuscan/Etruscan heritage was placed alongside the contemporary cultural achievements of the city of Florence, not only elevating the remarkable skill of its artists as surpassing that of the ancients, but emphasising also the historical unity of the Tuscan state.

4.4. Florence and Etruscan Fiesole in the *Salone dei Cinquecento*

In the *Salone dei Cinquecento* of the Palazzo Vecchio, the message of Tuscan unity was professed through the remarkable prominence in the paintings of the *soffitto* of the town of Fiesole. From Bruni's *History of the Florentine People* to the treatises of Gelli and Giambullari, this Etruscan town in the Florentine hills had long figured as an essential component in the foundation of Cosimo's city. Planned and designed by Vasari, with the assistance of Borghini, the renovated *soffitto* of this vast audience hall (Figure 72), originally constructed by the Florentine Republic in 1494 to accommodate the new Great Council, constituted a map of Tuscan history, with Cosimo I at its absolute centre. Divided into three longitudinal bands, the *soffitto* depicts several key episodes of Florentine history, including the wars against Pisa (1494-1509) and Siena (1554-1555). In a central, circular panel is rendered the apotheosis of Duke Cosimo (Figure 73). Around this semi-divine image of the Duke unfold images from the Tuscan/Etruscan past of his city, woven inextricably into the fabric of his reign.

At either end, the images of Florentine history that fill the central band are bounded by two panels, divided into quarters and depicting allegories of the cities of Tuscany. Among these allegories appears the

[196] Gáldy 2009, p. 88.

town of Fiesole, represented by the goddess Diana holding a banner bearing the crescent moon emblem of this town, with a personification of the river Mugnone at her feet (Figure 74). The town appears again, most prominently, to the left of the central apotheosis panel, in a painting by Vasari depicting the foundation of *Florentia* by the Roman triumvirs (Figure 10). Rejecting the wholly Etruscan origins of the city in the union of Fiesole and Arignano by Hercules which had appeared in Florentine literature with increasing frequency since the *Antiquitates* of Annius, in Vasari's painting the three triumvirs appear seated before the city of Florence in the process of its construction, with Fiesole rising in the hills of the background. Despite the Roman role in Florence's foundation emphasised here, perhaps a result of the Palazzo's Republican past and Cosimo's promotion, in this building, of his role as a new Augustus, the importance of this Etruscan town in Cosimo's cultural programme is reinforced in the *Salone* by its appearance three times across the panels of the central band of the *soffitto*.[197]

Indeed, alongside its depiction in the *Foundation of the Roman Colony of Florentia*, Fiesole features also in the image of *The Defeat of Radagasius and his Goths Below Fiesole* (Figure 75), as well as in a smaller panel showing the *Union of Florence and Fiesole*, and bearing the inscription 'Florentia Crescit Faesularum Ruinis.' (Figure 76).[198] The significance of this Etruscan town for the history of Florence as imagined by Vasari, Borghini and Cosimo thus emerges unambiguously in the decorative programme of the *Salone*. The emphasis on union, here represented by personifications of Florence and Fiesole as aged, bearded men flanked by two large flags emblazoned with the Florentine *fleur-de-lis* and the Fiesolan crescent moon respectively, was reflected in the arrangement of Etruscan antiquities and contemporary Tuscan works of art in the scrittoio on the floor above. In the Palazzo Vecchio, therefore, Cosimo positioned Etruscan antiquities and histories to bolster the legitimacy and continuity of his new Tuscan state. This Tuscan/Etruscan self-fashioning was appropriate for, and crucial to, a building that had so long served as the centre of the Florentine Republic. In Cosimo's vision of the Etruscan past, his new Florentine state was represented not as an uprooting of the established Republican order, but as a return to the original political organisation of the Tuscan region, imbued with the authority of a revered ancient past. Integrating his reign not only into the visual programme of this building, but also into the shared history of the Tuscan region, Cosimo sought to present himself not as an upstart ruler but as one King of Tuscany in a long line of Etruscan kings, whose long-awaited rule was preordained by god as the proper state of this region.

[197] Gáldy 2009, p. 89.
[198] *Florence grows in the ruins of Fiesole.*

Given Vasari's preoccupation, in this period, with the definition of a distinct *maniera Etrusca*, it is hardly surprising that it was not only the Etruscan history of Fiesole, but also the stylistic qualities of antiquities unearthed in this ancient town, that were appropriated by the artists and architects of the Florentine Renaissance. The late 15th century construction and renovation of the church of Santa Maria Maddalena di Cestello is illuminating in this regard.

Obtained by the Cistercian confraternity of Sant' Antonio in March 1490, the cloister of this building (Figure 77) incorporated into its design a number of evidently deliberate allusions to the architectural language of the Etruscans, for which it drew specifically on columns discovered at Fiesole. A contract for a model, likely of this front cloister, from a year after the Cistercian acquisition of Cestello, suggests that Giuliano and Antonio da Sangallo were responsible for its design.[199] The cloister eventually constructed by the Sangallo workshop was a trabeated Ionic structure, similar in form to the Ionic loggia of the villa at Poggio a Caiano (Figure 78), also designed by Giuliano.[200] The capitals of the cloister's columns find their closest parallel in a marble capital now in the Casa Buonarroti, which may have served as a model (Figure 79).[201] The bead and reel ring around the neck of this capital was copied exactly by one column in the cloister (Figure 80), while the others emulated this pattern in a simplified form, displaying a ring of uniform beads (Figure 81).[202] Sixty years after the construction of the Cestello cloister, the Casa Buonarroti capital is mentioned by Vasari in his *Life of Giuliano da Sangallo* (1550): 'This capital was copied from a very ancient one of marble, found in Fiesole by Messer Leonardo Salutati, Bishop of that place', adding that it was 'now in the possession of Messer Giovan Batista da Ricasoli, Bishop of Pistoia.'[203]

A letter written by Duke Cosimo to Vasari in 1560, indicates that the capital may once have been in the possession of Giuliano da Sangallo. Though the letter reminds Vasari to 'procure, together with the Bishop of Pistoia' a column formerly in the possession of 'Sangallo', it does not mention to which member of this family this refers.[204] Cosimo could have been alluding here to either Francesco, Giuliano's son and heir, or, perhaps more likely, his nephew Antonio the younger, whose collection of antiquities in Rome

[199] Luchs 1977, p. 23.
[200] Morolli, Luchinat and Marchetti 1992, p. 161.
[201] Luchs 1977, p. 25.
[202] Luchs 1977, p. 25.
[203] Vasari, *Lives*, p. 698.
[204] Luchs 1977, p. 146.

contained several columns, and whose drawings displayed a marked interest in the Etruscan past.[205] Regardless, it is clear from Vasari's description that the column was regarded as possessing a great age. A number of capitals now found in the crypt of the Duomo of Fiesole display a striking resemblance to the Casa Buonarroti example, indicating that it may have originated in this town, or was at least associated with it.[206] Though the antiquity of the Fiesole capitals cannot be confirmed, it is nonetheless clear that the model chosen for the capitals of the cloister of Cestello was one well-known and widely admired for its legendary, Etruscan age.

The ostensible provenance of this capital at Fiesole reinforces the notion that this model may have been selected to allude deliberately to an antique style that differed from the forms of ancient Rome.[207] Indeed, regardless of the true origin of the capital, we have seen that Fiesole was inextricably connected in the literature and art of this period with the Etruscan ancestors of Florence. Any antiquities discovered here were likely linked inevitably, in the minds of their Renaissance viewers, to the admired Etruscan past of this town. Despite Giuliano da Sangallo's notable preoccupation, throughout his career, with the architectural remains of the city of Rome, the decision to draw on a Fiesolan model thus reinforces the notion that the architects of Cestello sought to evoke a native and idiosyncratically Tuscan/Etruscan architectural language. Like Cosimo's decorative programme for the *soffitto* of the *Salone dei Cinquecento* decades later, these Tuscan architects looked to Fiesole for the formation and legitimation of a distinctly Etruscan history and *maniera*.

4.5. Etruria in the Palazzo Vecchio: The Triumph of Camillus

In the context of Cosimo's Etruscan self-fashioning in the Palazzo Vecchio, it is also worth mentioning briefly one of the Duke's earliest projects in his renovation of this building: Francesco Salviati's fresco of the *Triumph of Camillus* in the Sala dell'Udienza (Figure 82). Depicting the triumphal procession of Camillus following his destruction of the Etruscan city of Veii, the choice of this subject for such a public and substantial commission is seemingly remarkable.[208] Widely condemned in Roman literature as an episode emblematic of this semi-legendary Roman statesman's dictatorial excess and arrogance, the topics of Camillus' triumph and his victory over Veii were generally avoided in art in favour of his depiction

[205] Luchs 1977, p. 146.
[206] Luchs 1977, p. 146.
[207] Luchs 1977, p. 26.
[208] Hillard 2018, p. 35.

within the cycles of *uomini famosi*.[209] Yet in the Sala dell'Udienza, the most controversial aspects of this episode- the spoils of war and the chariot, described by Plutarch as 'a thing no commander had ever done before or afterwards did. For they thought such a car sacred and devoted to the king and father of the gods'- appear with remarkable prominence in the composition.[210] The image has therefore frequently been interpreted as rendering Cosimo's identification with the dictatorial and imperialist ambitions of Camillus, a complete rejection of the Republic.[211] Indeed, in a recent reconsideration of this fresco, taking into account the importance of Etruria throughout the decorative programme of this palazzo, Caroline Hillard has suggested that the image of defeated Veii, made conspicuous in the composition by the bound Etruscan prisoners in the procession, often clad in the Phrygian caps that marked the Dacian prisoners of Trajan's column and the Arch of Constantine, alluded directly to Cosimo's own desire to bring all of Tuscany under his personal rule.[212] As in the *soffitto* of the *Salone dei Cinquecento*, and in the displays of the Scrittoio della Calliope, therefore, this fresco brought together the Etruscan past with the imperial Tuscan present to provide a historical model for his own unified Tuscan state.

A study of the cultural self-fashioning of Cosimo I de' Medici, particularly in the decorative programme he developed for the Palazzo Vecchio, therefore, demonstrates clearly that the Florentine, and specifically Medicean, interest in the heritage of the Etruscans grew significantly under his auspices. Cosimo drew on the foundations built over the previous decades by authors, artists and archaeological discoveries unearthed continuously from the Tuscan soil to provide the increasingly expansionist ambitions of his Tuscan state with an admired ancient precedent. Like Leo X, he found in the Etruscans a shining model for the justification of the Medici golden age he sought to bring about. In defining and constructing a distinct *maniera Etrusca*, Medici rulers were able to express this cultural and political ideology in distinctly Tuscan terms, appealing to the unity and independence of the region from the cultural hegemony of Rome. The emulation of the Casa Buonarroti capital at Cestello, as well as in the later explosion of humanist interest in the Tomb at Castellina in Chianti, discussed in Chapter 2, however, demonstrate that this appropriation of the artistic forms and iconographies of the Etruscans was not restricted to the Medici. It was in the artistic and humanist circles of this princely family, particularly under Leo X and Duke Cosimo I, however, that general interest in the Etruscan past of Tuscany, expressed prior to this primarily in terms of local

[209] Hillard 2018, p.35-37. For ancient accounts of the triumph see Plutarch, Life of Camillus, VII and Livy V. XXVIII.
[210] Plutarch, Life of Camillus, VII.
[211] See Van Veen 2006, p. 15. and Cheney 1963, Vol. 1, 163.
[212] Hillard 2018, 38.

campanilismo, was imbued with a state and region-wide significance, woven tightly into the fabric of all Tuscan and Florentine history.

CONCLUSION

This research set out to explore the ways in which Etruscan histories and antiquities were identified, classified and utilised in the artistic production of Tuscany in the late 15th and 16th centuries, seeking to understand the development in this period of a distinctly Florentine image of antiquity that diverged strikingly from the Rome-centric vision of the ancient world that otherwise dominated the artistic and literary milieu of the Italian peninsula. The motivations of the patrons and artists who drove this 'Etruscan revival' have been discussed primarily in the context of the 16th century artistic production of the Medici, whose collection of antiquities and programmes of visual self-fashioning saw the proliferation of Etruscan themes and (primarily architectural) forms. To understand the epistemological conditions in which this Medici intensification of Florentine Tuscan/Etruscan civic ideology occurred, however, a consideration of the earlier literary and linguistic developments that saw the construction of the myth of Florence's Etruscan past from the 14th to the 15th century has also been crucial.

Additionally, the archaeological discoveries and artistic responses of Republican Florence have been discussed as the vital foundations upon which the 16th century Medici image of a unified, Etruscan Tuscany was constructed, giving material expression to the histories of early humanists. What emerged from the subsequent consideration of the 16th century self-fashioning of Leo X in Rome and Cosimo I in Florence was a clear image of the remarkable prominence, from the late 15th century onwards, of Etruscan histories, forms and 'style' in the artistic production of Tuscan artists and patrons, underpinned both by the monarchical aims of the Medici and by a desire to construct for Florence an alternative vision of antiquity that distinguished this city from the hegemony of Rome and the Papal States. To apply the term 'revival' to this phenomenon, as has been done widely in scholarship since the mid 20th century, requires the recognition, however, of a number of notable caveats regarding this term.

Etruscan 'Revival'?

Like the concomitant 'revival' of ancient Greece and Rome in the literature and artistic production of the Italian Renaissance, the increase in the importance and awareness of Etruscan antiquity took place gradually, and was often inconsistent. Reinforced by centuries of archaeological (re)discovery and writing on Florence's Etruscan past, the construction of the myth of the Etruscan origins of this city was built on foundations laid as early as the 13th century with the works of Villani. The Etruscan cultural programmes so forcefully promoted by Leo X and Cosimo I were not miraculous reappearances or 'rebirths' of a culture long lost in the ostensible cultural stasis of the Middle Ages, and overshadowed

amidst the fervent passion for all things Roman that defined the works of Italian artists and art theorists from the 14th century onwards. Though archaeological discoveries of Etruscan vases and tombs do not seem to have been recognised as distinctly Etruscan until around the mid to late 15th century, the extensive literature produced on the Etruscan origins of the city of Florence and the prominence of Etruscan Fiesole in these histories, demonstrate that an awareness of this civilisation and its cultural significance within the region of Tuscany was, from at least c. 1300, never wholly absent from Florentine humanist and artistic thought. The artistic programmes of Leo X and Cosimo I represented, therefore, not so much 'revivals' as ideological and politically motivated shifts in the ways in which artists, patrons and theorists responded to histories and images already present in their cultural milieu, bolstered by the Etruscan *campanilismo* that had produced remarkable new Etruscan histories at the end of the previous century, particularly that of Annius of Viterbo.

The accounts of Annius and others who followed him in elevating their hometowns by their claims to Etruscan heritage were motivated and facilitated in part by the same urban expansion and accompanying archaeological discovery from the 14th century on that had spurred on also the intensified focus on the remains of classical antiquity in Rome. Building on ideas of revival and rebirth that had begun to emerge already in the writings of Trecento humanists, authors like Annius responded to the increase in the prevalence of Etruscan antiquities brought on by the clearing of land for habitation by lauding their own contemporary Tuscan towns and cities as remnants of a glorious, powerful Etruscan empire. In their Tuscan/Etruscan self-fashioning, both in Florence and in Rome, Leo X and Cosimo thus responded to well-established currents in the definition of Tuscan civic identity. Indeed, this thesis' consideration of both the imagery and literature produced for the 1513 conferral of Roman citizenship on Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici by Pope Leo X and the decorative programme developed by Cosimo I and Vasari for the Palazzo Vecchio has shown that both of these Medici rulers drew extensively on the conception of Tuscan/Etruscan history laid out by Annius for the visual legitimation of their power. Yet it was not until the publication of the second edition of Vasari's *Lives* in 1568 that an explicit attempt was made to classify and define the characteristics of an Etruscan *maniera* in the visual arts, rather than merely depicting Etruscan histories.

Developing and Defining a Tuscan/Etruscan *Maniera*

Nonetheless, this thesis' consideration of the documentary sources recording 15th century excavations of Etruscan artefacts, particularly those concerning the discoveries at Castellina in Chianti, has

demonstrated that the humanists, artists and antiquarians sought to make judgements on the stylistic and chronological classifications of Etruscan antiquities well before the publication of Vasari's second *Lives*. Though these were often based on the presence of Etruscan inscriptions, or on the venerable Etruscan histories of the towns in which these discoveries were made, it is nonetheless clear that both the artistic and symbolic value of Etruscan antiquities was beginning to be understood.

Indeed, if not yet systematically utilised in the artistic production of the Florentine state, we have seen that the recognition and creation of an Etruscan artistic language had begun to take shape also in the art theoretical literature of the mid 15th century, particularly in the writings and designs of Leon Battista Alberti and the Sangallo workshop. There can be no doubt that the Etruscans figured prominently in Alberti's treatise on architecture. The architect cast these ancient inhabitants of Tuscany as the instructors of all Italy in the art of building, celebrated for their 'labyrinths and sepulchres' as well as for their excellence in the art of sculpture.[213] Most remarkable for the reception of Etruscan forms in the architecture of the city of Florence were Alberti's comments on the rustication of Etruscan walls, on temples and on the Tuscan order,[214] which found numerous resonances throughout this architect's own commissions, as well as in those of the Sangallo workshop and beyond, reaching even the city of Rome.

Alberti's insistence on the legendary age and rusticity of the Etruscans, celebrating this civilisation for the somewhat crude but powerful quality of its art, imbued with the authority of singular antiquity, would be manifested in the striking Florentine taste for rustication, particularly in the early years of Cosimo I's reign, and echoed by Vasari in his pivotal definition of the *maniera Etrusca*. For the monarchical legitimation of Medici dynasty and the visual expression of Tuscan unity under their rule, both Leo X and Cosimo I thus drew on and gave material expression to conceptions of Etruscan style and history that had suffused Tuscan literature from the 15th century on. Professing both a shared Tuscan artistic heritage, and asserting the independence of Florentine cultural achievement from the Rome-centric formulation of antiquity that emanated in this period from the Papal Sates, these 16th century Medici rulers laid claim to the Etruscan past to declare both their own cultural, religious and political supremacy, and that of a Florentine state which became, under their guidance, once again the centre of Italian cultural achievement and imperial power. Thus, for a city and a princely family seeking to establish its place in the balance of power of the Italian peninsula, the Etruscans provided an admired

[213] Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria* 6.3.94-95.
[214] For further discussion of Alberti and Vitruvius' image of the Etruscan temple, see Potts 2015, p. 87-99.

model for the production of a distinctly Tuscan language of power that appealed both to local *campanilismo* and to the wider, imperial aims of the Medici.

Despite the prominence of Etruria in the painted commissions of both Leo X and Cosimo I, the expression of Etruscan identity in this medium was limited largely to the depiction of episodes from Etruscan history. The *maniera Etrusca* as defined by Vasari- a rough, immature, but admirable style, bearing the inexperienced crudeness this author associated with the earliest stages in the development of art- found little expression in the art of painting, manifesting itself primarily in the architectural projects of these Florentine rulers. This may be explained, however, by the relative rarity of Etruscan fresco in the archaeological record, as well as its minimal mention in the writings of art theorists, both ancient and early modern, who focused rather on Etruscan skill in bronze working and temple building. A similar tendency is reflected in the reception of Greco-Roman art and antiquities in the same period.

This is not to say that Etruscan painting did not leave its mark on the art of the Florentine Renaissance. While Tuscany did not experience a 'rediscovery' of Etruscan painting comparable to the Roman unearthing of the Domus Aurea and the subsequent proliferation of the grotesque throughout the artistic production of the Italian Peninsula, Etruscan frescoes and the Greek figured vases discovered frequently among the *corredi* of tombs, were not ignored by their excavators, as Michelangelo's Etruscan Hades attests (Figure 24-25).[215] Nonetheless, the predominance of architecture over painting in the case studies selected for this thesis accords well with the nature of the archaeological record, as well as with humanist and art theoretical notions concerning the value of antique models for the art of painting. The artists, antiquarians and patrons of the late 15th and 16th century thus perceived of a *maniera Etrusca*, defined by its austerity and legendary age, largely through the mediums of sculpture and architecture. Vasari's identification of a 'roughness' or 'crudeness' in the artistic production of this civilisation was reflected also in the descriptions of Alberti and in the architectural projects of the Sangallos, who focused on the rustic strength of Etruria's ancient city walls, as well as on the ostensible restrained simplicity of its architectural orders. In the literary construction of this *maniera*, which relied more on Renaissance ideology and the writings of ancient authors than on a connoisseurship rooted in observations of the archaeological record, both Leo X and Cosimo I were provided with a distinctly Tuscan architectural language which apparently owed little to the forms and styles of ancient Rome. As

[215] Panofsky 1964, p. 249.

with the Tuscan vernacular, therefore, the *maniera Etrusca* allowed these rulers to assert their own supremacy in relation to the Eternal City, and to give visual expression to the inherent unity of Tuscany, presenting unity as the proper and inevitable state of the people of this region.

The primary aims of the Etruscan self-fashioning of the Medici in this period can be summarised, therefore as follows: In this Florentine, and Medicean, conception of the Etruscan past, the individual histories of these Etruscan cities of Tuscany were elided in favour of an image of an all-encompassing Tuscan unity, presided over by the absolute power of the Medici Duke.[216] This unity was made visible in the artistic landscape of the city of Florence under Cosimo I, not only through the repeated images of the cities of Tuscany, particular Fiesole, and their union with Florence throughout the decorative programme of the Palazzo Vecchio, but also through the promotion of a distinctly Tuscan/Etruscan architectural language, through which Etruscan identity was claimed as the prerogative of the Florentine state. At the same time, as seen in the comparison between the displays of the Scrittoio della Calliope and the Sala delle Nicchie, the Etruscans, with their history of both federal republican and monarchical politics, provided the Medici with a remarkably malleable model for their own rule. Thus, in the Palazzo Vecchio, the former seat of Republican power, the emphasis on the Etruscans served to placate a populace still brimming with Republican convictions, presenting a milder image of Ducal power than the Roman displays at the Sala delle Nicchie. Yet the fame of the *lucumones* of ancient Etruria, particularly Lars Porsenna, allowed the Medici to simultaneously reinforce their own monarchical designs. Far from contradictory, it was this very malleability of Etruscan histories and forms that made this civilisation an opportune exemplar for the Medici, balanced as they were between the old Republican city and the formation of a new Ducal state.

Recommendations for Future Research

In order to allow sufficient scope within this thesis for the exploration of the impact of the ostensible 'rediscovery' of Etruscan antiquity in the late 15th and 16th century on Tuscan, and particularly Florentine, civic self-fashioning, there has regrettably been little space to discuss the resonance of these discoveries elsewhere in the Italian peninsula. The boundaries of what had once been ancient Etruria were as malleable in this period as they had often been in the imagination of ancient Rome. At the height of its power, this civilisation expanded far beyond the reaches of modern Tuscany, beginning on the west bank of the Tiber and extending as far north as the Po River, encompassing the Etruscan cities

[216] Loriga 2019, p. 243.

of Felsina (Bologna) and Mantua in modern day Emilia-Romagna and Lombardy. A glance at building and decorative programmes like Alberti's church at Sant'Andrea in Mantua, the remarkable gardens of Pier Francesco (Vicino) Orsini at Bomarzo, and the frescoes of the Viterban Palazzo Comunale (Figures 7-9) shows that these cities, and their nobility, too, were well aware of their own, individual claims to Etruscan heritage, and the symbolic value of this ancient past.[217] Though Etruscan forms and histories did not achieve in these Italian cities outside the influence of Medici cultural policies the same deliberate and systematic expression as in Florence, the symbolic and ideological potency of fashioning close civic and personal links to this venerable past was not overlooked. A consideration of the role of the Etruscan past in both inter-state competition and noble self-fashioning in the former lands of this civilisation outside of Tuscany would certainly provide a valuable addition to scholarly discourses on Etruscan receptions.

The ways in which Etruscan forms and histories functioned in competition with the dominant image of antiquity emanating from the city of Rome within the towns and cities of the Papal States themselves, too, has received little attention in scholarship in this field, which displays a marked tendency to dismiss the idea that Etruscan art found much resonance outside of Florence.[218] The list of exceptions to this is remarkably long, however, and warrants therefore further exploration, particularly in relation to the competing expressions of antiquity and competition with Rome touched on by this thesis through the artistic production of Leo X's papacy. Indeed, little ink has been spent on explorations of the reception of Etruria on the smaller-scale, civic level of local *campanilismo*, separate from the grandiose iconographic and ideological programmes of the Medici, who have decidedly dominated scholarly discourses in this field.

Alongside extending the scope of this study geographically, paths for further research may be uncovered by considering, too, a broadening of the chronological scope. The collecting activities of Lorenzo de' Medici have been very briefly examined in this thesis, with the conclusion that this Medici prince expressed limited interest in Etruscan civilisation, nor did he make any attempt, in his collections, at the classification of Etruscan antiquities. Further considerations of Lorenzo's correspondence, particularly

[217] For a thorough discussion of the Etruscan features of the church of Sant'Andrea and the implications of this for Alberti's patron, Ludovico Gonzaga, see Ytterberg 2015, p. 219-229, Braghirolli 1986, p. 3-31, Mazzocco 2012, p. 257-263, and Hillard 2016, p. 490. For the gardens at Bomarzo see Lefaivre 2005, p. 41 and De Grummond 1986, p. 30.
[218] Collins 2001, p. 136.

with Poliziano, as well as the inventories of the Medici collections, demonstrate that knowledge of the Etruscans remained, in this period, primarily literary.[219] In light of this conclusion, it is perhaps understandable that a comprehensive treatment of these sources, and Lorenzo's attitude towards the ancient past of Florence and Tuscany, is all but absent from scholarship on Etruscan receptions. Given this lacuna, an extensive and focused reconsideration of these sources, as well as a number of the artworks and architectural projects often associated in the period of Lorenzo with Etruscan influences, many of which have been accepted into scholarly canon with little critical reflection,[220] would provide invaluable background for understanding the ways in which the cultural policies of the Medici shifted and developed in these centuries.

Similarly, though more extensively studied than the reception of the Etruscan past under Lorenzo, the continuation of Cosimo I's Etruscan cultural policies during the reigns of his successors Francesco I and Ferdinando I de' Medici, may also offer an opportunity for further investigation. Indeed, the heritage of Etruria remained a prominent aspect of the civic and ducal self-fashioning of these rulers of Florence- at Ferdinand's wedding feast in 1589, a painting by Jacopo Ligozzi, depicting Cosimo I crowning a female personification of Tuscany, flanked by Porsenna holding a broken crown, was installed above the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio, emphasising the continuity between Medici rule and the ancient kings of Etruria.[221] The period that followed Cosimo has often been regarded as one characterised by a striking decline in the prominence of ancient Etruria in the visual and political expression of the Tuscan state, with interest in this civilisation subordinated to Rome until the second 'revival' of Etruria in the 18th century. Further investigation of the expression of Etruscan style and motifs under Cosimo's successors could, however, nuance this image of revival and sudden, definitive decline, remedying the understandable but significant tendency of scholarship on Etruscan receptions to focus its efforts almost entirely on the reign of Cosimo I. Further analysis of the later 16th century is necessary for understanding how the classifications and values attached by Renaissance patrons and artists to this civilisation in this period might influence our own modern approaches to the Etruscans, as well as elucidating the nationalist attitudes that frequently pervade contemporary scholarship on the material culture of antiquity.

[219] For Lorenzo's correspondence with Poliziano on Etruscan vases see Bocci Pacini 1999, p. 38.
[220] In particular, the arguments for Etruscan influences at the Medici Villa at Poggio a Caiano, see De Grummond 1986, p. 26-28, Hillard 2009, p.5 and Cox-Rearick 1984, p. 117-125.
[221] Haack 2013, p. 1137.

In the wake of the emergence in the scholarship of the 20th and 21st centuries of 'post'-colonial approaches to the study of art history, which placed concepts of nationhood and national identity under increasing scrutiny, the intersections between the reception of antiquity, including the Etruscan past, and the definition and formation of notions of national/regional identity have been studied with increasing frequency. Going beyond this thesis' exploration of the role of Etruscan art in the creation of a 'national' Tuscan identity in the Renaissance, a further study could consider the ways in which studying these 15th and 16th century receptions might illuminate and provide not only a greater understanding of the antique forms and iconographies that shaped the choices of Florentine artists and patrons of this period, defining the visual production of Tuscany, but also the conceptions of national identity and claims to the ownership of antique heritage that underpinned the policies of the Medici, and which continue to pervade modern Museological debate. The importance of Etruscan antiquities and the myth of Etruscan autochthony in the development and promotion, during this period, of a shared 'Italianness' inherited from these most ancient ancestors has been remarkably overlooked in scholarly discourses, and warrants further, comprehensive consideration.[222]

The issue of who laid claim to ownership of the Etruscan past is undoubtedly worth re-examining in light of contemporary debates surrounding the relationship between antiquities and national identity. In contrast to the overtly ideological displays of Etruscan heritage under the Medici, antiquities housed in modern museums have been repeatedly positioned by curators and scholars of the 20th and 21st century as detached and aloof objects of universal value: 'humanity's heritage… and therefore no one's'.[223] In recent years, however, calls for restitution have increasingly brought the unique histories and cultural identities of these objects back to the forefront of discussion. At the same time, calls to reunify these antiquities with their idiosyncratic, individual historical and cultural 'origins' have been frequently denounced as nationalist rhetoric, and therefore a danger to the ostensibly neutral aim of the museum to preserve cultural heritage for the good of all humanity (overlooking, arguably, the origins of many of these institutions in the virulent nationalism of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the colonial structures that enabled the building and maintenance of their collections).

In the context of these ongoing Museological debates, future re-examinations of the responses of the artists and patrons of the Renaissance to their Etruscan past may wish to consider not only the

[222] For the Etruscans in the Risorgimento and, in particular, the Bolognese carnival of 1874, a remarkable expression of Etruscan/Italian nationalism, see Sassatelli 2011, p. 20. and Loriga 2019, p. 241.
[223] Jones, 2015.

value of these studies in providing a greater understanding of the choices made in the formation of the visual language of the Florentine state in this period, but also the motivations of modern cultural institutions in their treatment of ancient cultural heritage, as well as on the question of who, if anyone, can lay claim 'justifiably' to the heritage of the ancient past, Etruscan or otherwise.

Appendix 1: Description of the Scrittoio della Calliope in Vasari's Lives, Life of Bronzino

'On some little panels made of sheet-tin, and all of some same size, the same Bronzino has painted all the great men of the House of Medici, beginning with Giovanni di Bicci and the elder Cosimo down to the Queen of France, in that line, and in the other from Lorenzo, the brother of the elder Cosimo, down to Duke Cosimo and his children; all which portraits are set in order behind the door of a little study that Vasari has caused to be made in the apartment of the new rooms in the Ducal Palace, where in is a great number of antique statues of marble and bronzes and little modern pictures, the rarest miniatures, and an infinity of medals in gold, silver, and bronze, arranged in very beautiful order.'[224]

Appendix 2: Description of the Scrittoio della Calliope in Vasari's *Ragionamenti*

'**P:** Ho tutto intesto, e mi sono piaciute assai; ora finiamo questo ragionamento. Vogliamo entrare in questo scrittoio per finire questo che manca?

G: Entriamo. Questo scrittoio, Signor Principe, il duca se ne vuole servire per questi ordini di cornice che gira attorno e che posa in su questi pilastri, per mettervi sopra statue piccolo di bronzo, come Vostra Eccellenza vede, che ce n'è una gran parte, e tutte antiche e belle; e fra queste colonne e pilastri, ed in queste cassette di legname di cedro vi terrà poi tutte le sue le greche s'aranno tutte in un luogo, quelle di rame in un altro, le d'argento da quest'altra banda, e le d'oro saranno divise da quelle.

P: Che si metterà in questo quadro di mezzo fra le colonne?

G: Si metterà tutti I mini di Don Giulio e di altri maestri Eccellenti, e pitture di cose piccolo, che sono stimate gioie nell'esser loro; e sotto queste cassette appiè di tutta quest'opera staranno gioie di diverse sorti, le concie in questo luogo, e quelle in Rocca in quest'altro, e in questi armari di sotto grandi I cristalli orientali, I sardoni, corniuole, e cammei staranno; in questi più grandi metterà anticaglie, perché, come sa Vostra Eccellenza, n'ha pure assai, e tute rare.

P: Mi piace assai, ed è bene ordinato; ma saracci egli tante figure di bronzo che empino tanti luoghi, quanto rigira tre volte questo scrittoio e questi ordini, che avete fatti per quelle?

G: Sarannovi, e non vi voglio altro che quelle che sono state trovate a Arezzo, con quel lione, che ha appiccato alle spalle quel collo di capra, antico.

P: Non dicono costoro, Giorgio, che ella è la chimera di Bellorofonte fatta da'primi etruschi antichi?

[224] Vasari, *Lives*, p. 875.

G: Signor sì; ma attendiamo a questo quadro, che di questo ne ragioneremo altra volta, come ne darà l'occasione, quando saréno nella sala di sotto, dove la è posta.'[225]

[225] Vasari, Ragionamenti, from Gáldy 2009, p. 62-63.

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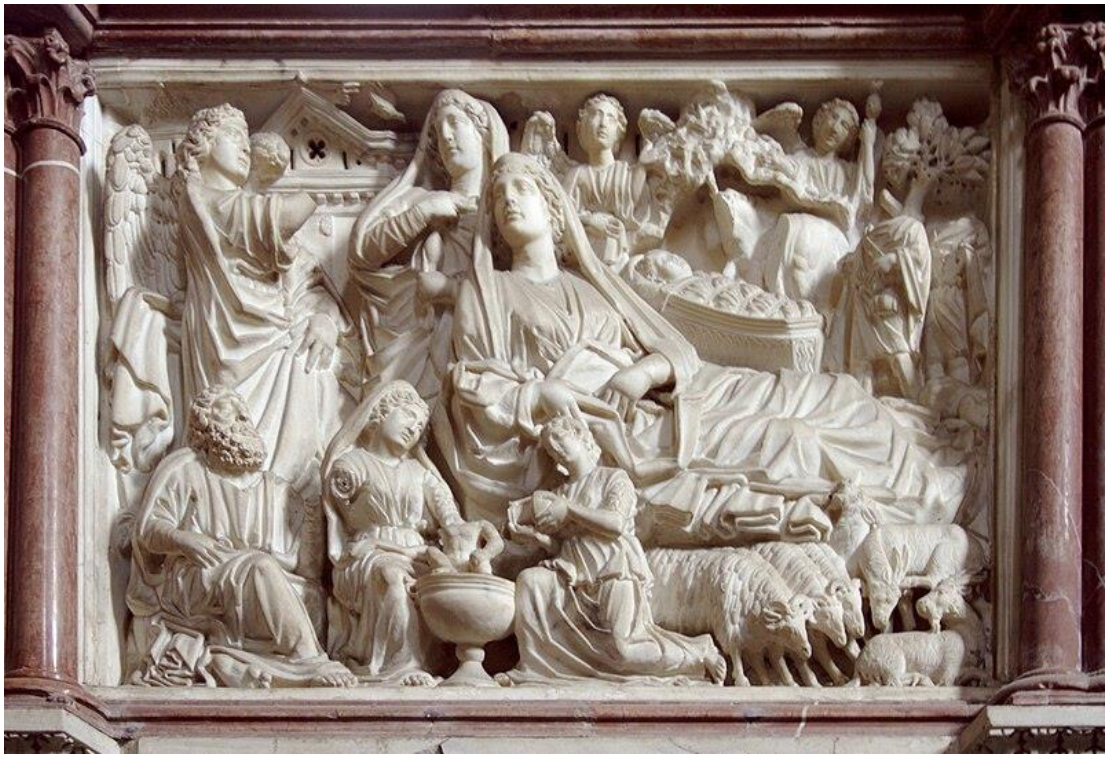

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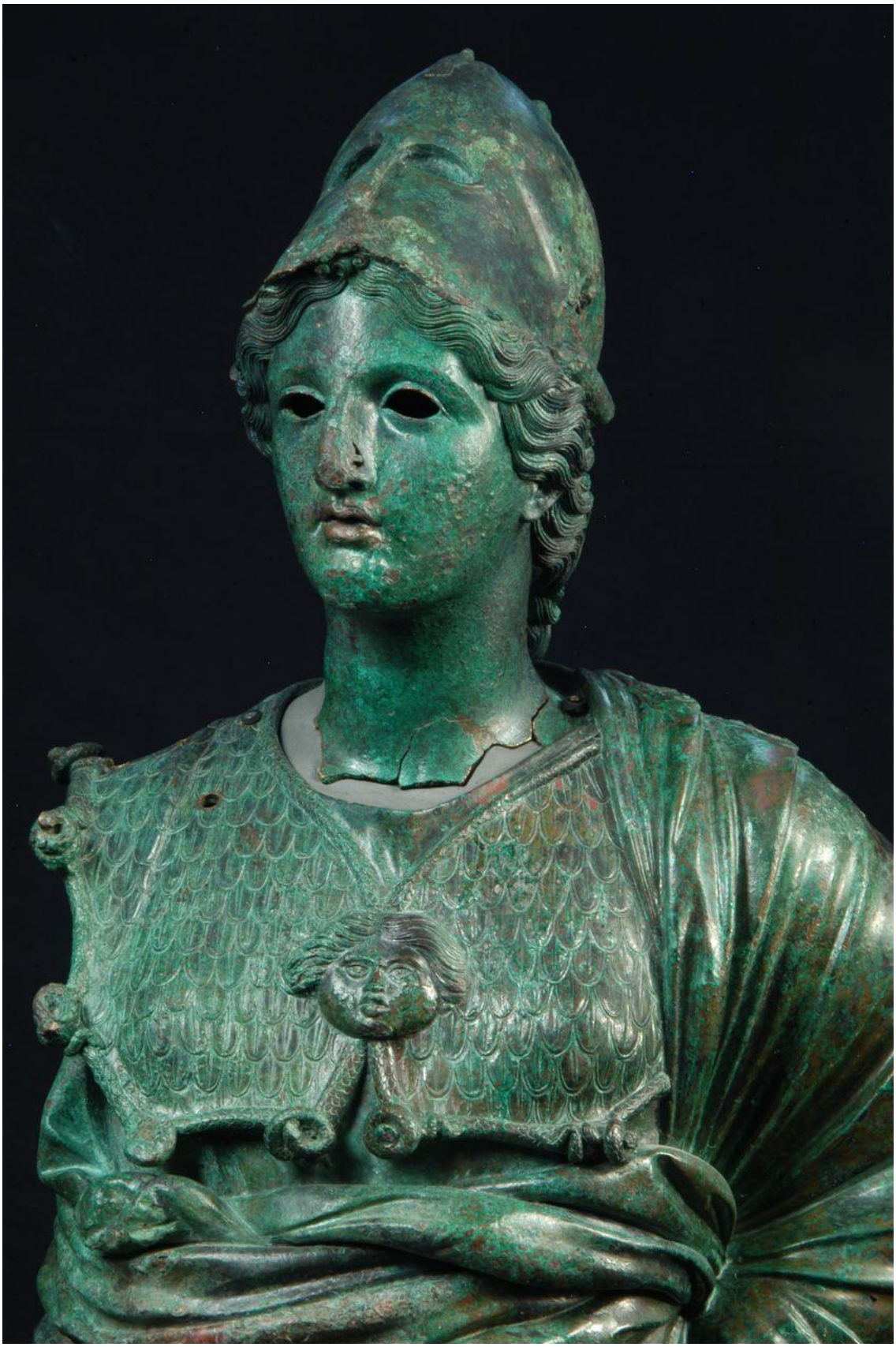

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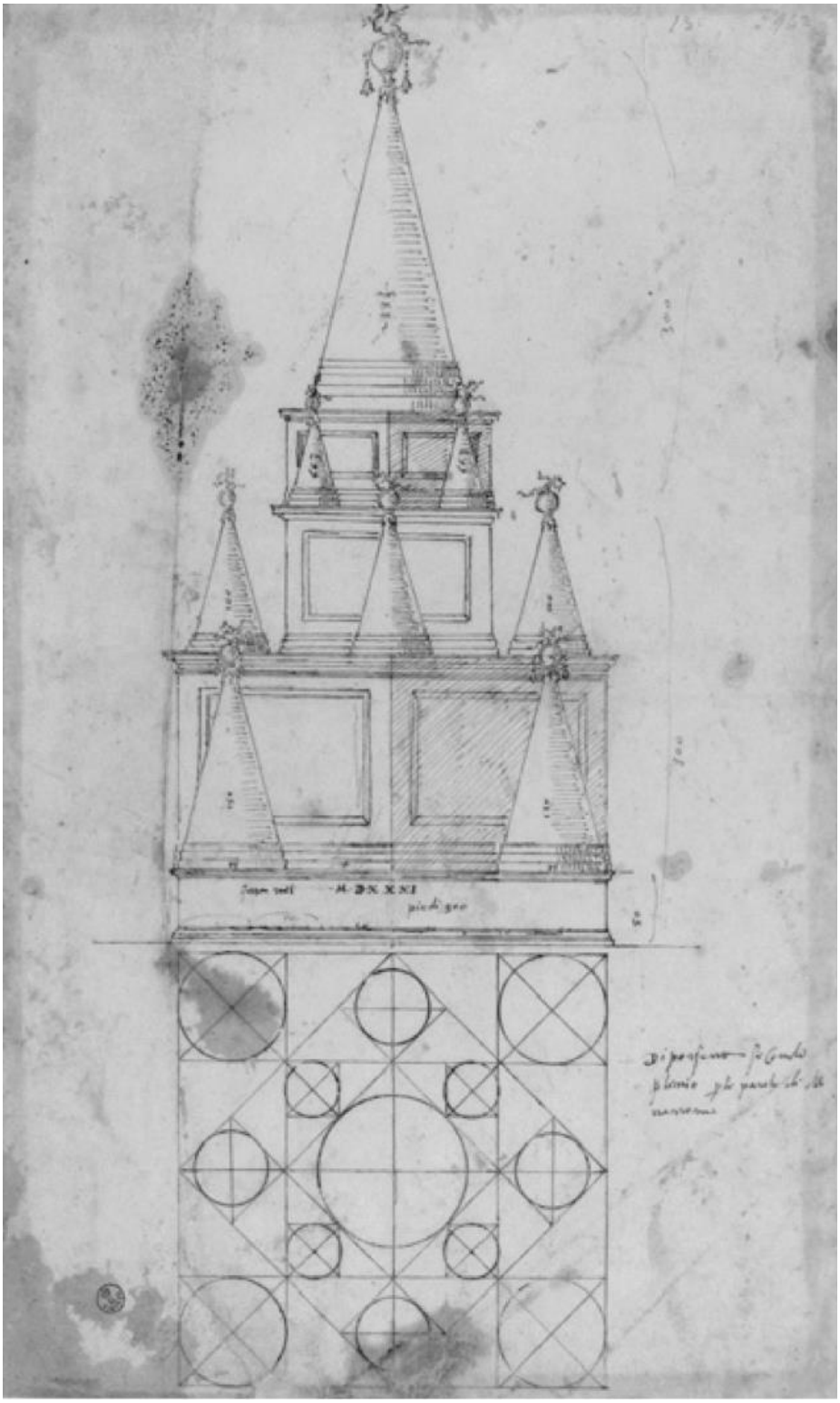

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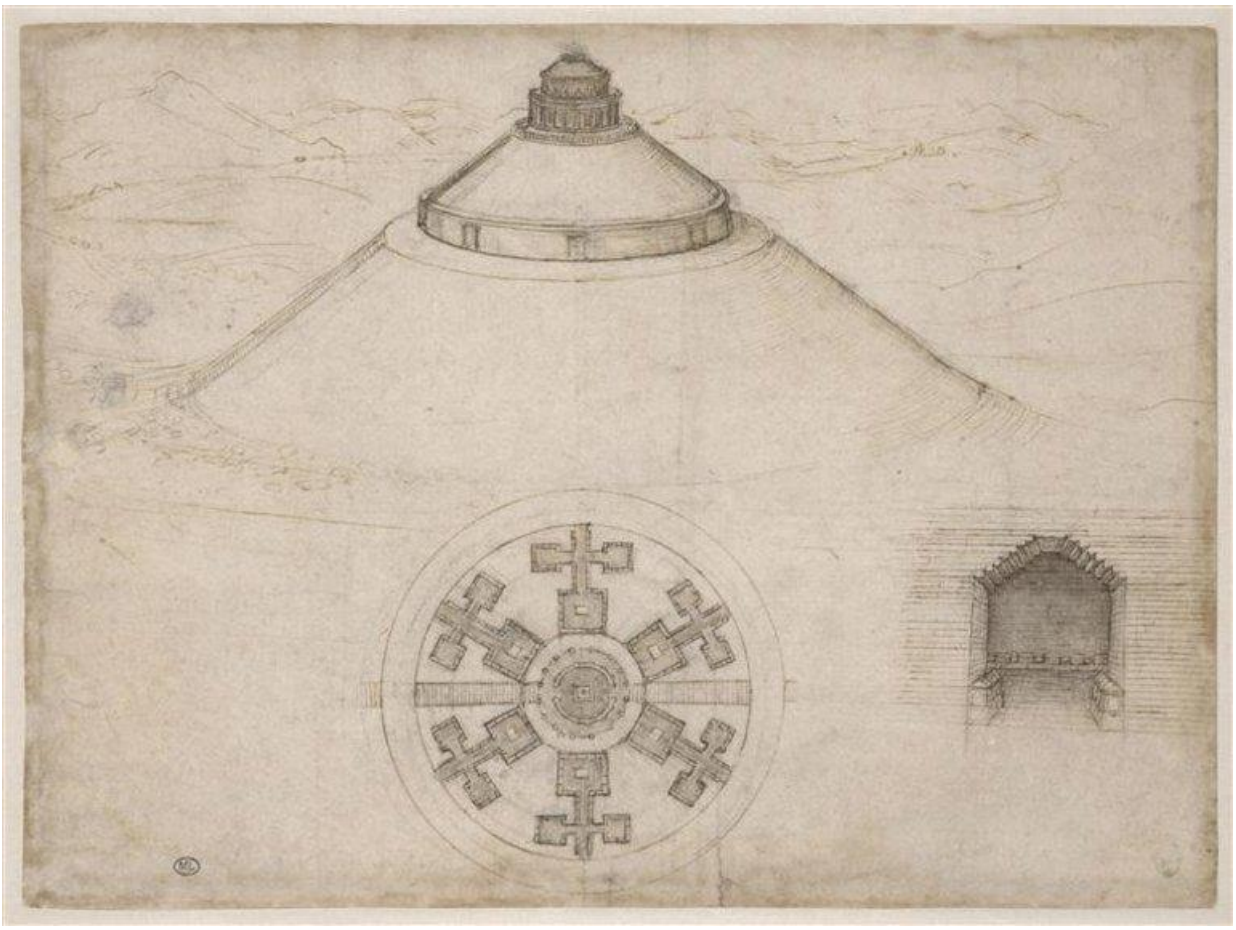

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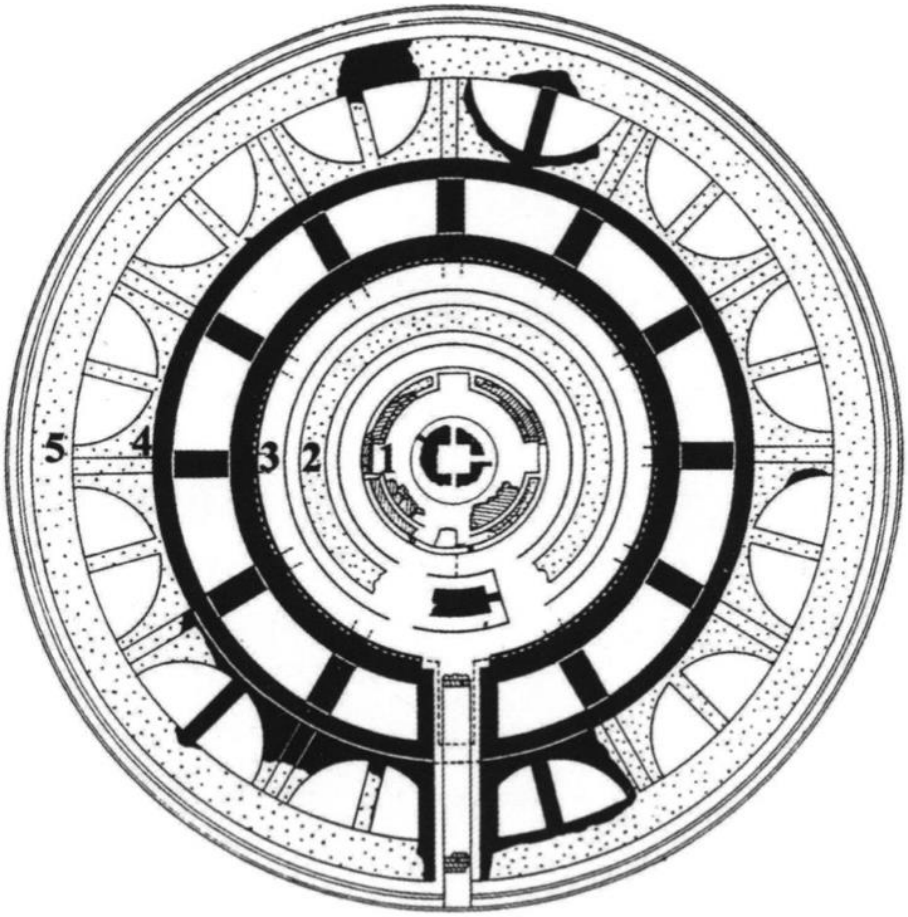

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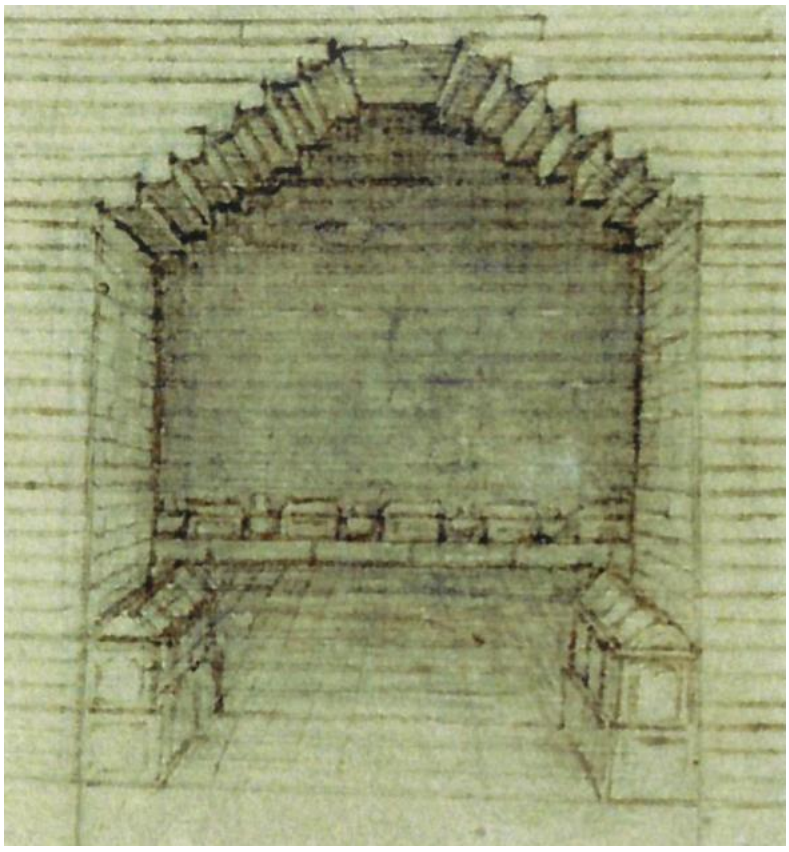

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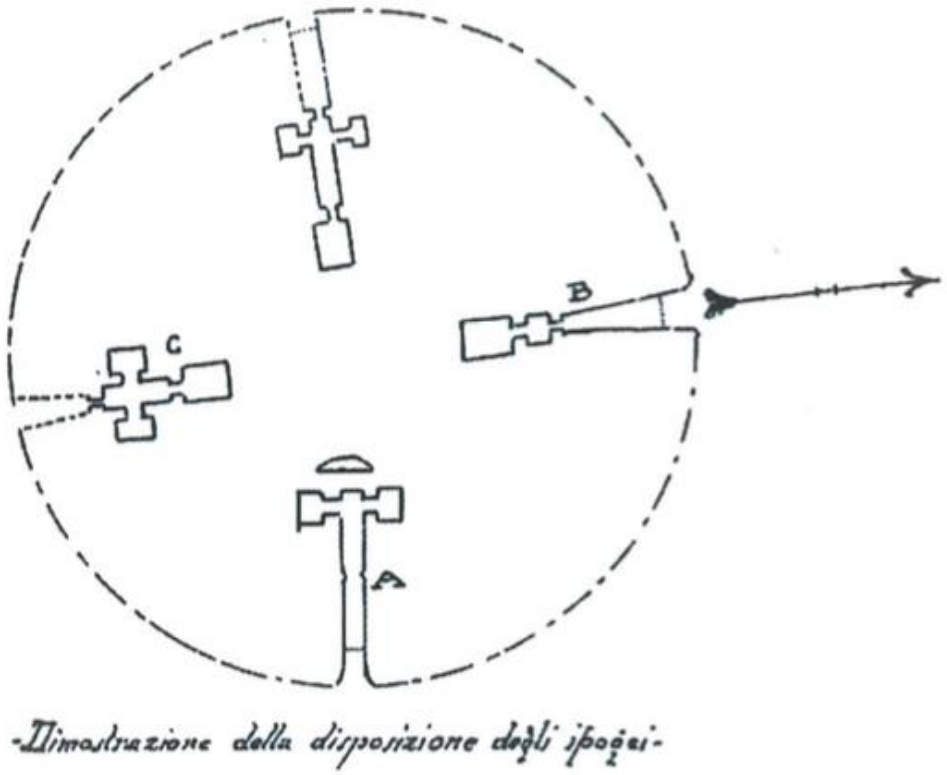

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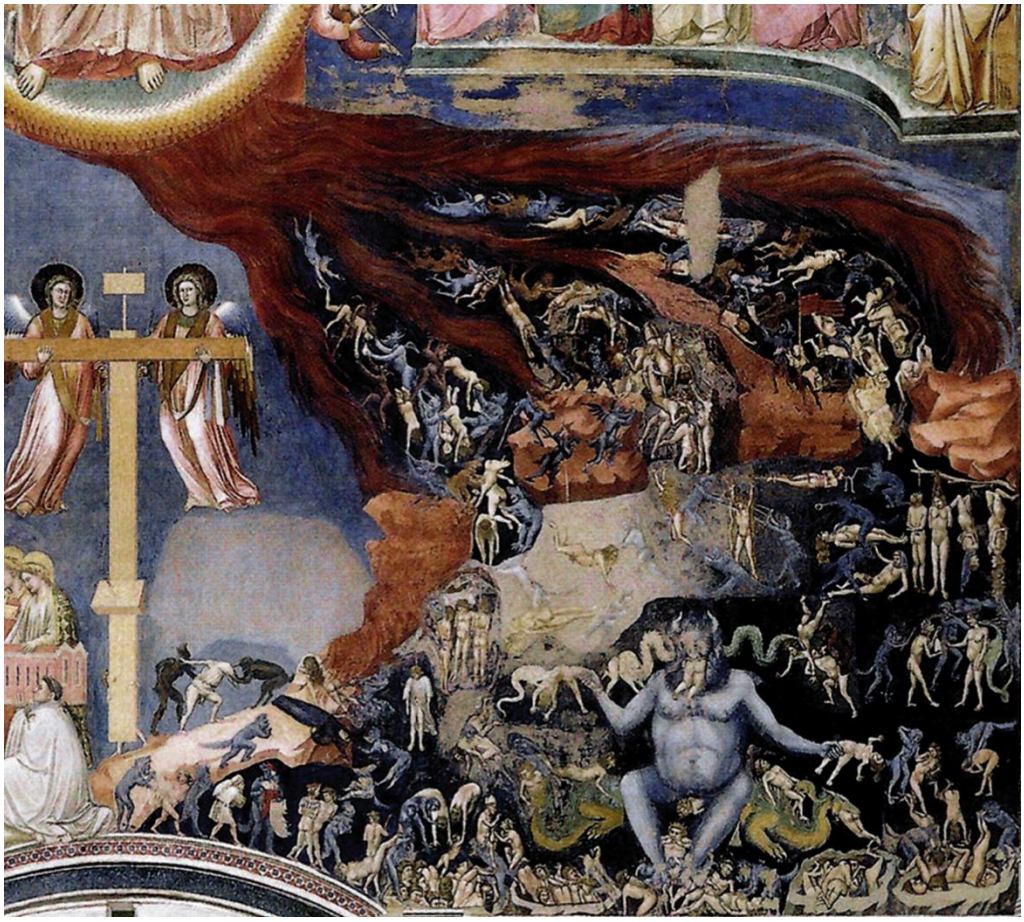

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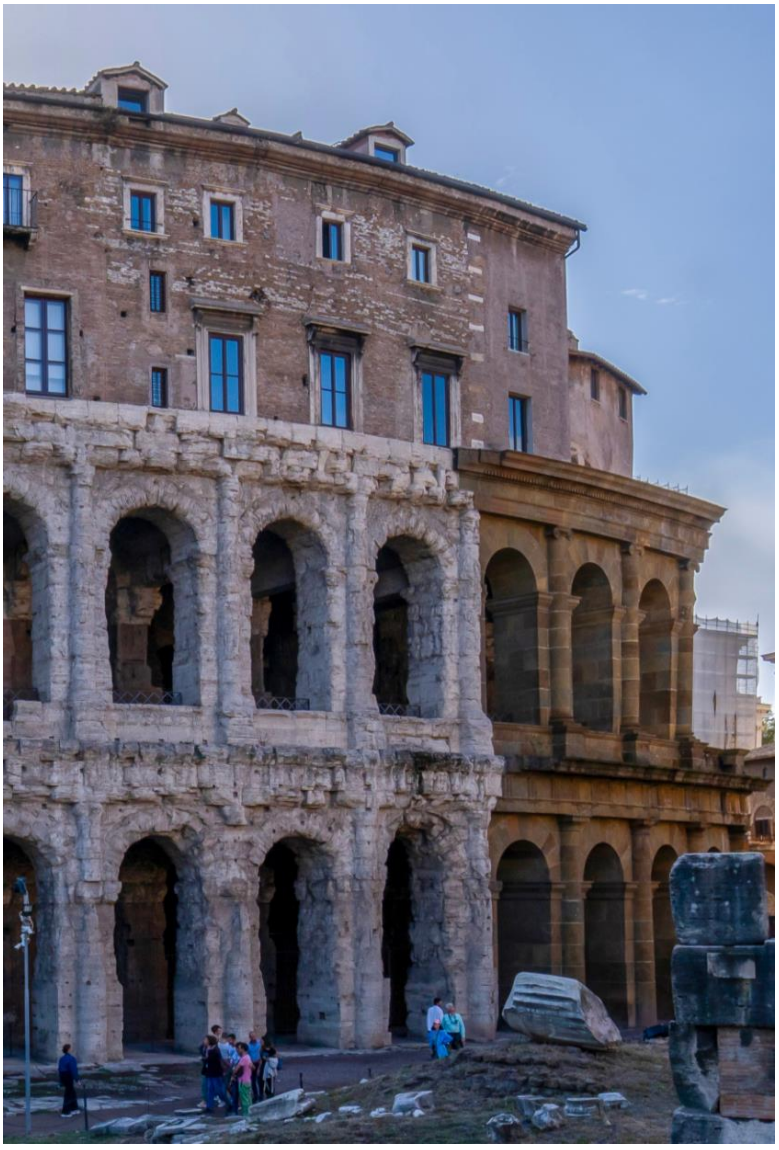

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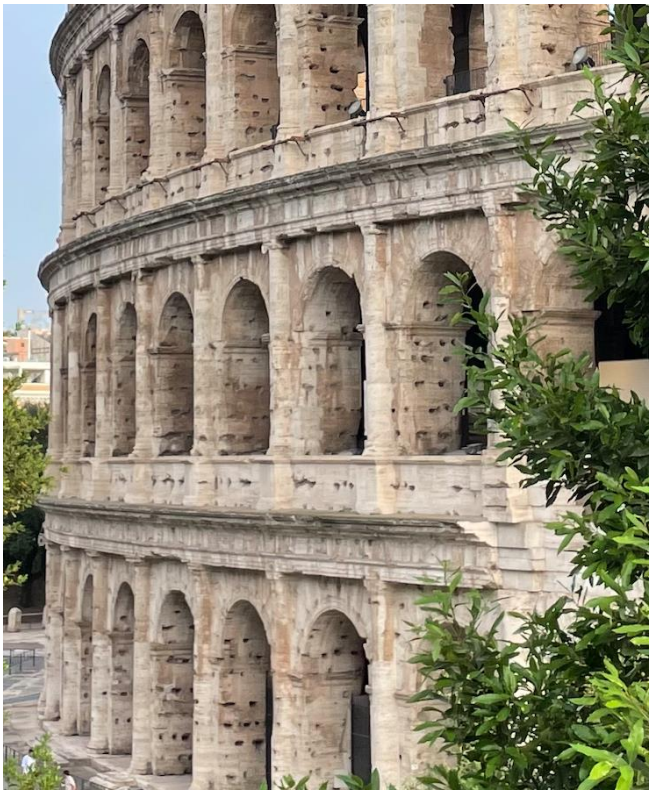

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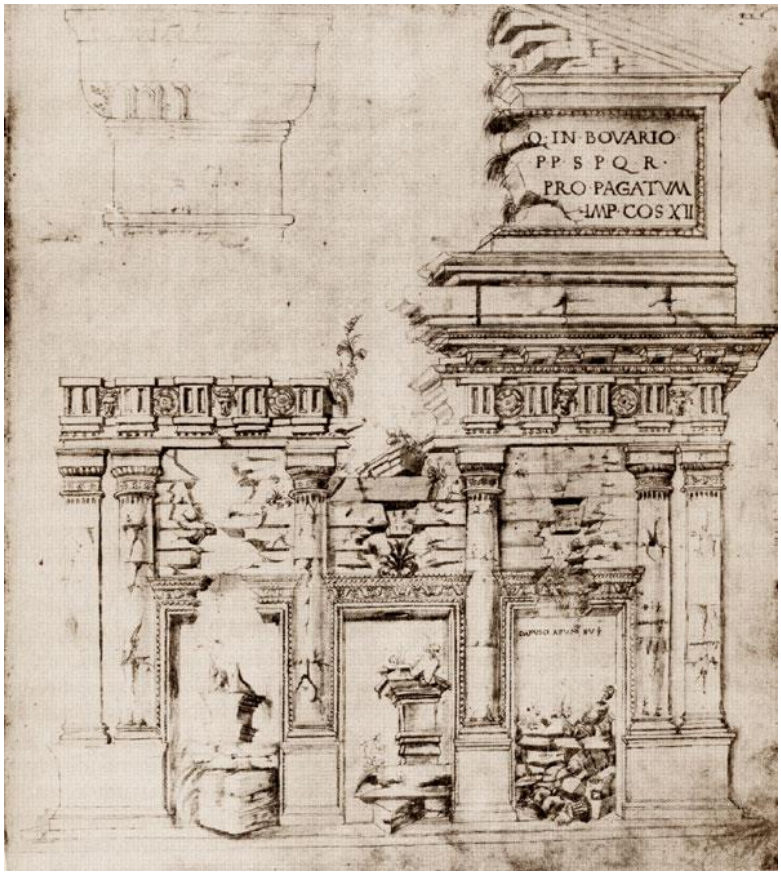

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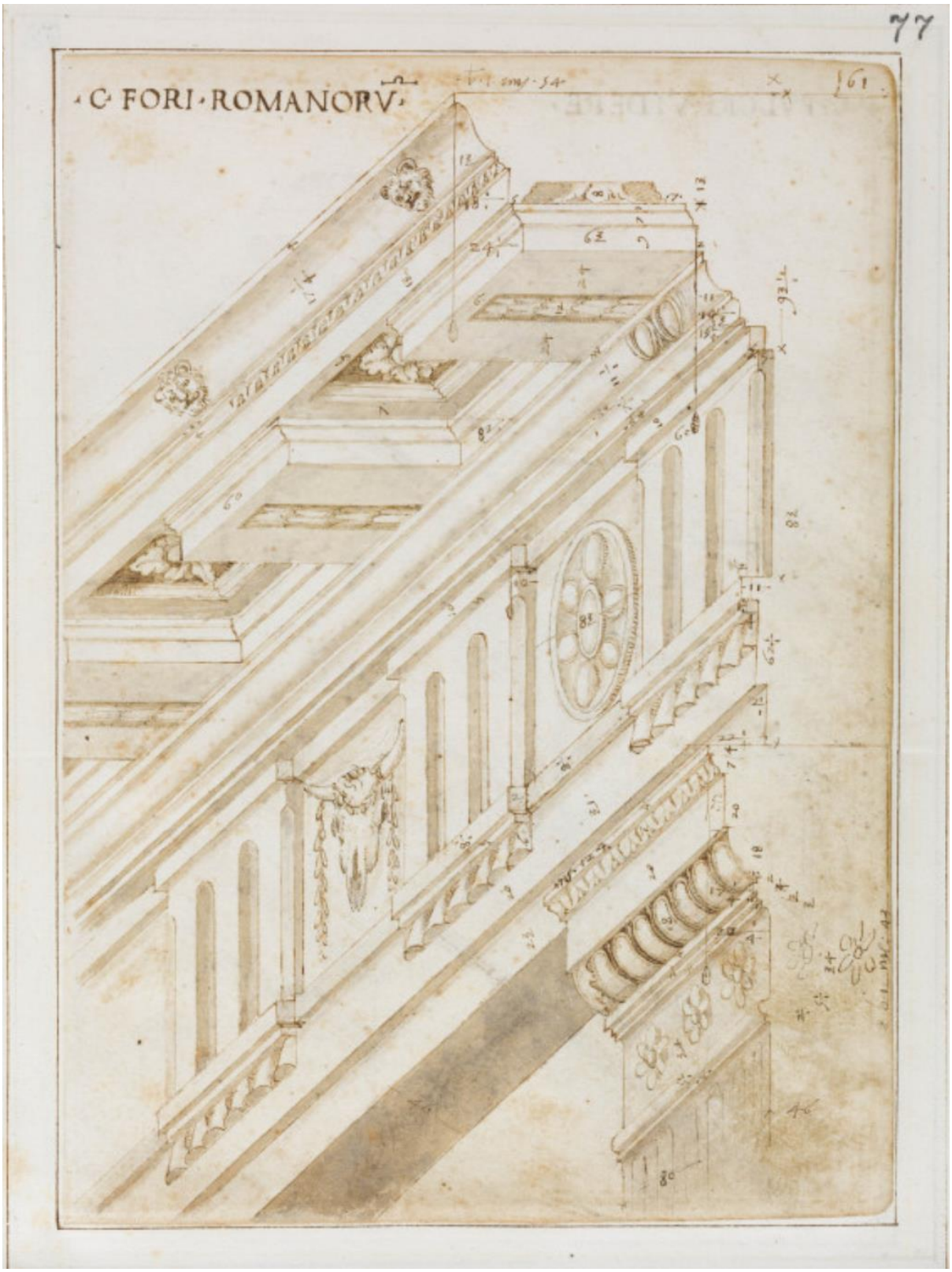

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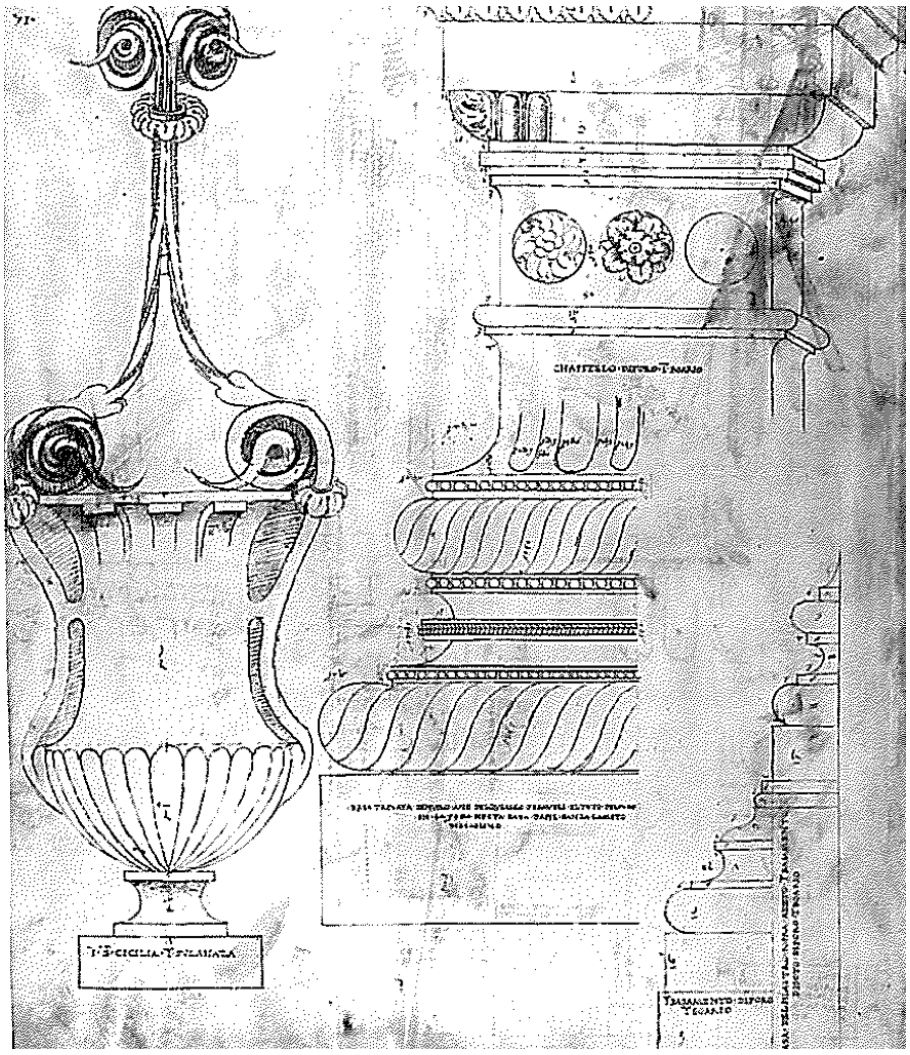

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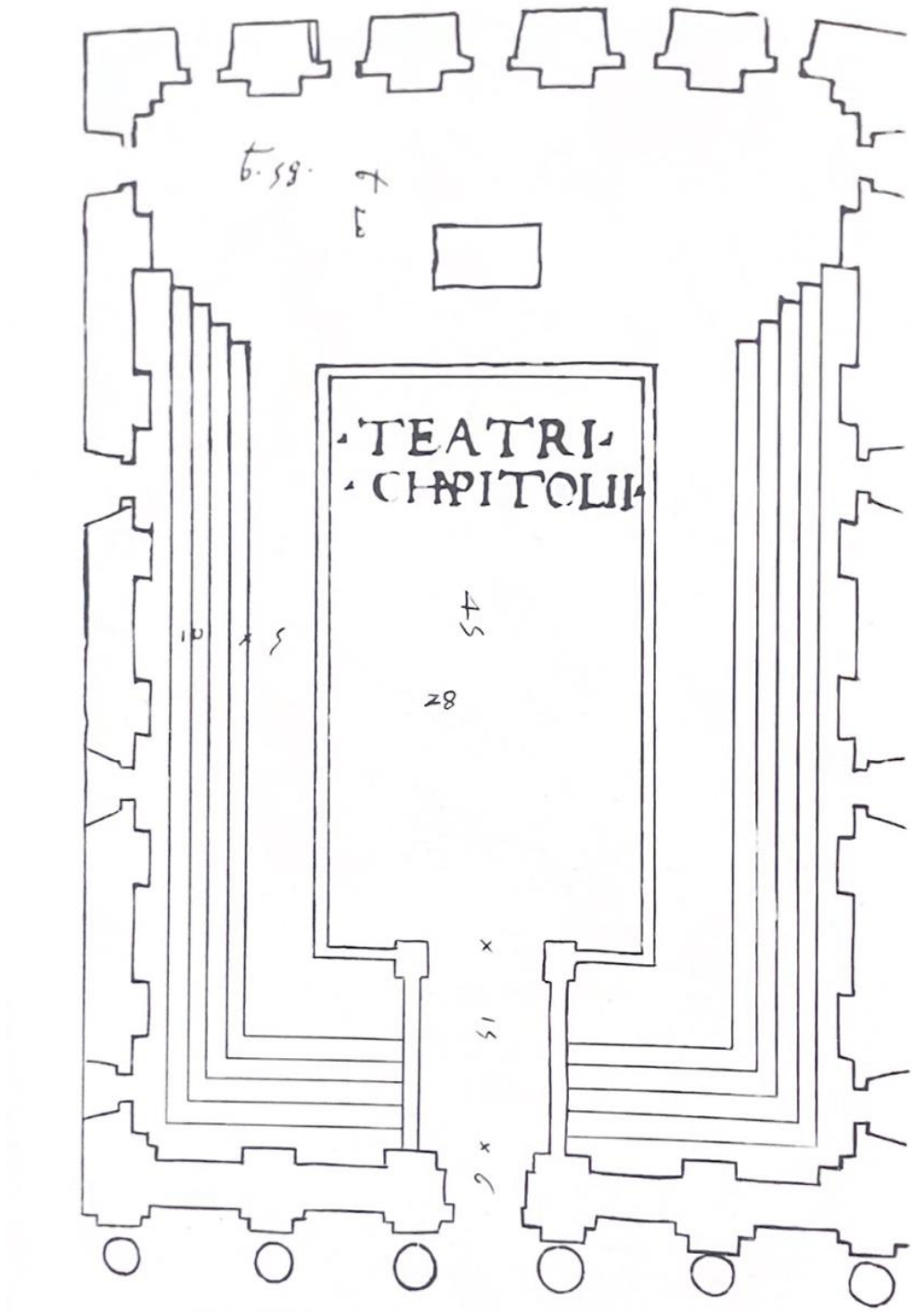

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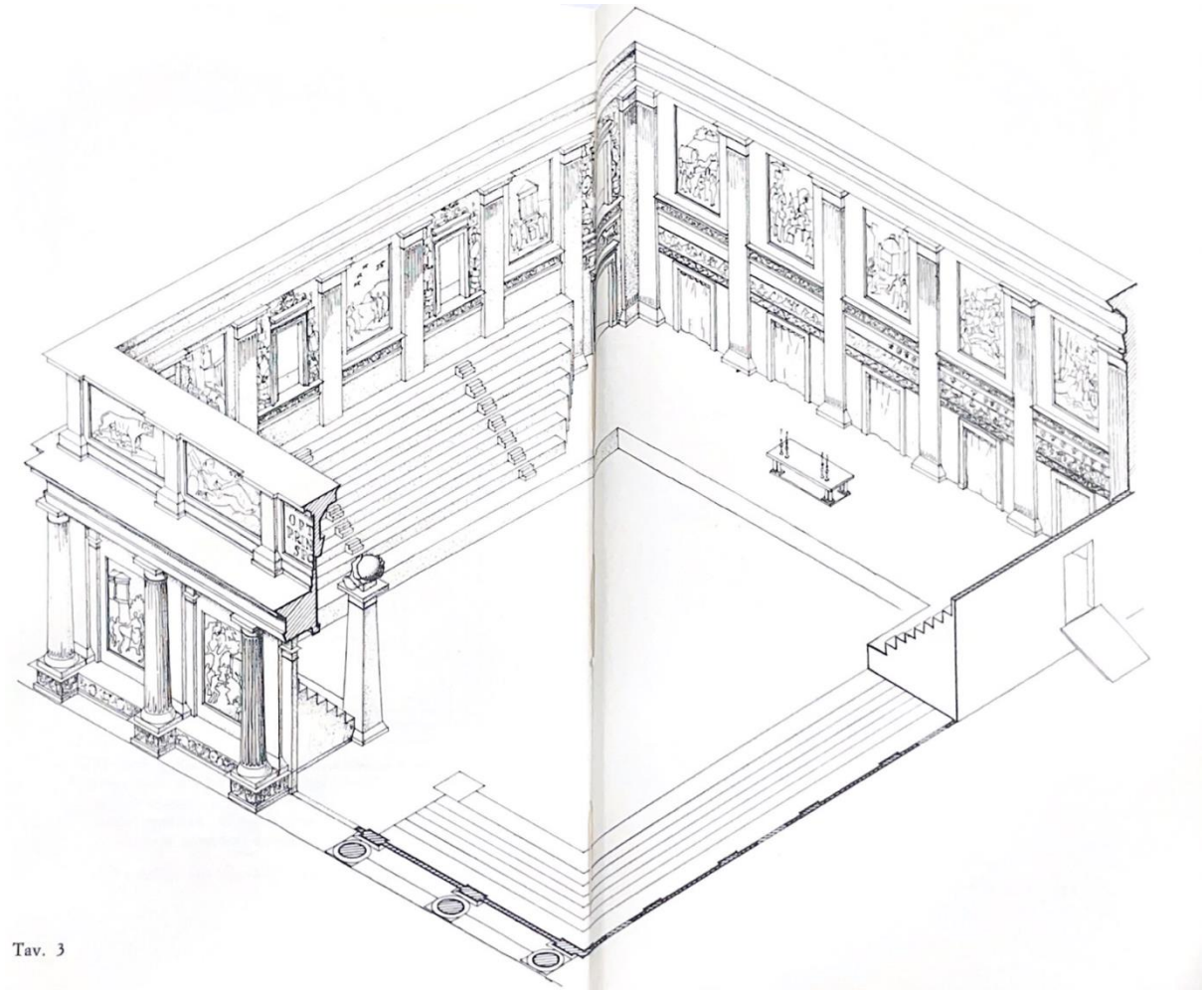

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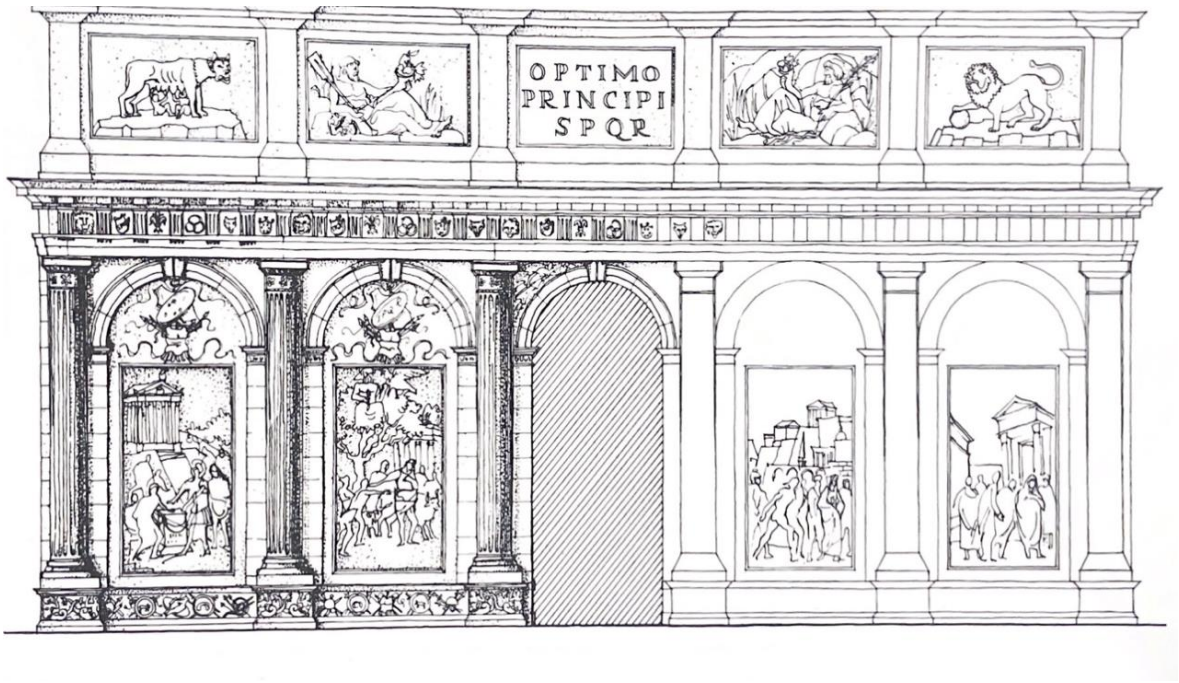

Figure 38: Reconstruction of the façade of the Capitoline theatre by Fabrizio Cruciani, showing the arches decorated by Peruzzi, the Doric frieze with Florentine and Roman emblems, and the Attic panels with the Lupa, Tiber, Arno and Marzocco.

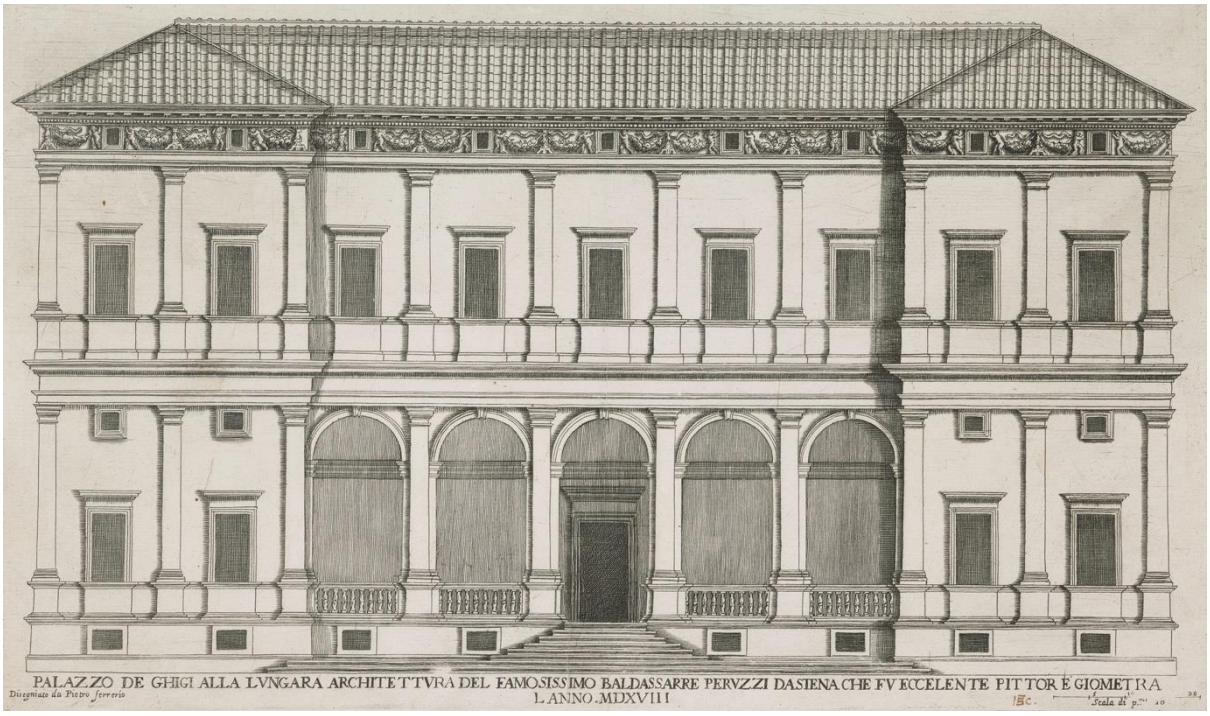

Figure 39: Pietro Ferrerio (after Baldassare Peruzzi), Elevation of the façade of the Villa Chigi (Farnesina) with five arches, engraving, 1518, 22.90 cm x 38.70 cm, Rome.

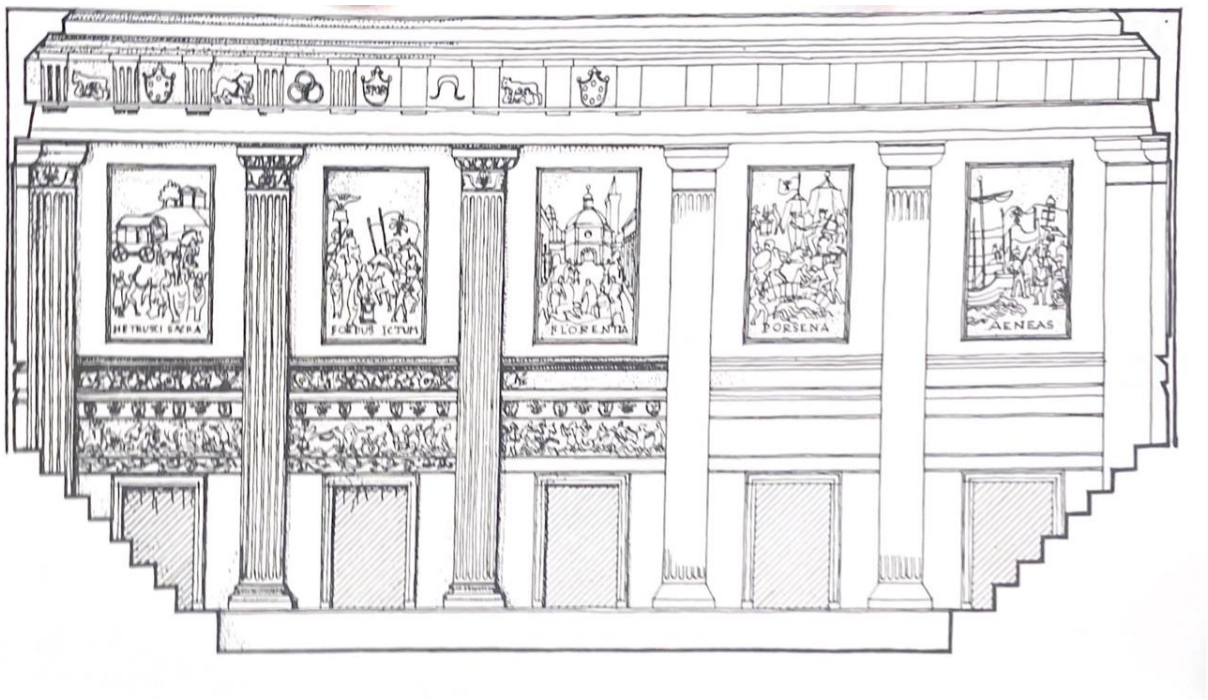

Figure 40: Reconstruction of the interior of the Capitoline theatre by Fabrizio Cruciani, showing panels with scenes from Etruscan and Roman history, including Aeneas and Porsenna, and the Doric frieze with Florentine and Roman emblems.

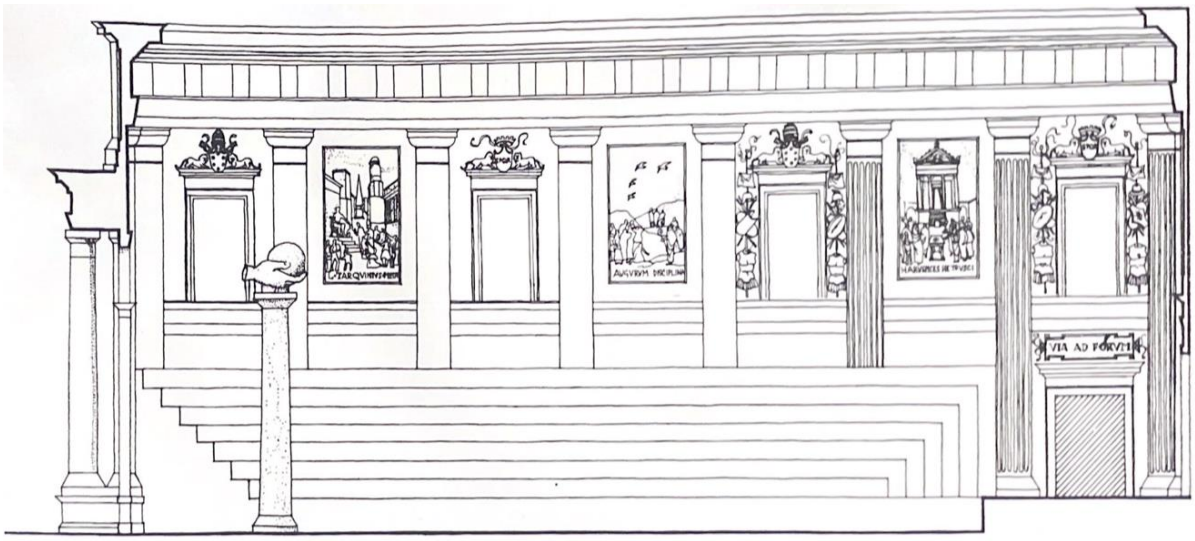

Figure 41: Reconstruction of the interior of the Capitoline theatre by Fabrizio Cruciani, showing panels with scenes from Etruscan and Roman history, including the Etruscan teaching the arts of haruspicy and augury to the Romans, and the marble statue of a hand holding a ball.

Figure 42: *The Capitoline Wolf* (Lupa), 5th century BC or 11-12th centuries BC (dating disputed), bronze, twins added in the late 15th century by Antonio del Pollaiuolo, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

Figure 43: Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Janus meets Saturnus*, c. 1520-1527, fresco, *Salone* of the Villa Lante, Janiculum, Rome, now in the Palazzo Zuccari.

Figure 44: Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Cloelia's Escape*, c. 1520-1527, fresco, *Salone* of the Villa Lante, Janiculum, Rome, now in the Palazzo Zuccari.

Figure 45: Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Release of Cloelia*, c. 1520-1527, fresco, *Salone* of the Villa Lante, Janiculum, Rome, now in the Palazzo Zuccari.

Figure 46: Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Discovery of Numa Pompilius' Tomb*, c. 1520-1527, fresco, *Salone* of the Villa Lante, Janiculum, Rome, now in the Palazzo Zuccari.

Figure 47: Diagram of the *Salone soffitto*, c. 1520-1527, Villa Lante, Janiculum, Rome.

Figure 48: Polidoro da Caravaggio, preparatory sketch for *Janus meets Saturnus*, c. 1524, 19.7 cm x 28.4 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Figure 49: Polidoro da Caravaggio, detail of *Janus meets Saturnus*, Saturn's upturned palm, c. 1520-1527, *Salotto* of the Villa Lante, Janiculum, Rome, now in the Palazzo Zuccari.

Figure 50: Polidoro da Caravaggio, detail from preparatory sketch for *Janus meets Saturnus*, Saturn's upturned palm holding scythe, c. 1524, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Figure 51: Stucco portrait of Janus from the *Salone* of the Villa Lante, c. 1520-1527, Janiculum, Rome.

Figure 52: Emblem of Baldassare Turini in the *Salone* of the Villa Lante, c. 1520-1527, Janiculum, Rome.

Figure 53: Giulio Romano, façade of the Villa Lante, c. 1520, Janiculum, Rome.

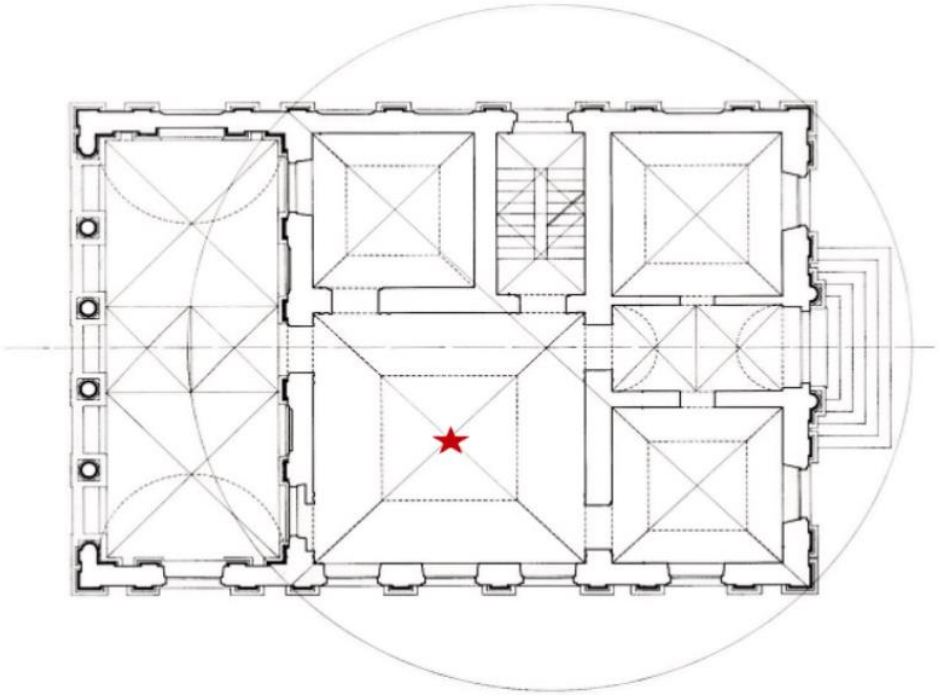

Figure 54: Floor plan of the Villa Lante, ground floor (*Salone* indicated by red star), c. 1520, Janiculum, Rome.

Figure 55: Scale model showing the loggia of the Villa Lante, c. 1520, Janiculum, Rome.

Figure 56: The Medici Villa at Fiesole, c. 1451-1457, Fiesole, Tuscany.

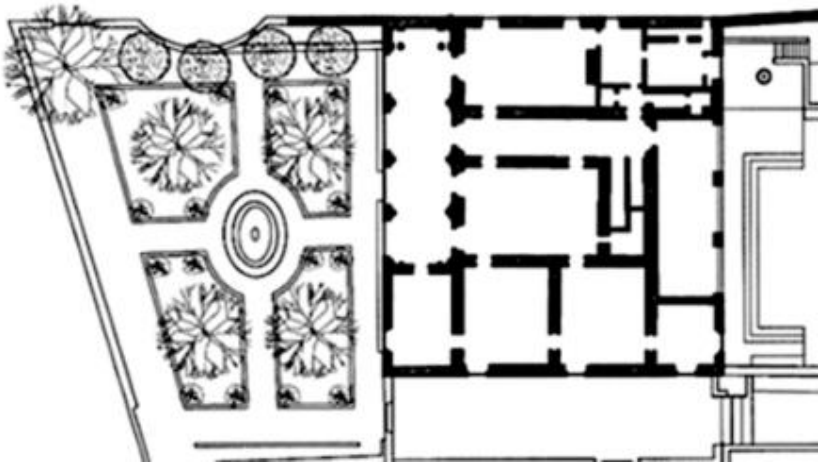

Figure 57: Floor plan of the Medici Villa at Fiesole, c. 1451-1457, Fiesole, Tuscany.

Figure 58: Masaccio, *The Distribution of Alms and the Death of Ananias*, 1426-27, fresco, 230 cm x 162 cm, Capella Brancacci, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.

Figure 59: Giulio Romano, detail of the façade of the Villa Lante, Tuscan columns, unfluted and with Attic bases, Janiculum, Rome.

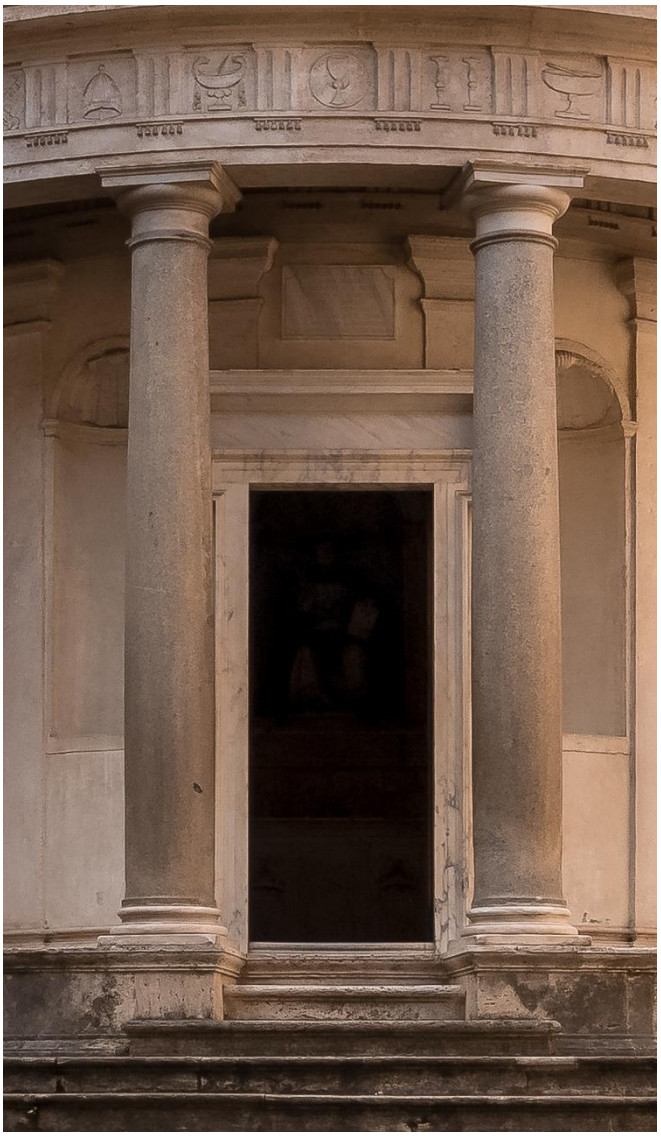

Figure 60: Bramante, detail of the Tempietto, Tuscan columns of the colonnade, unfluted and with Attic bases, Janiculum, Rome.

Figure 61: Vincenzo Danti, *Cosimo I de' Medici in the guise of Augustus*, c. 1572, 280 cm x 74 cm, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

Figure 62. Giorgio Vasari, the *Scrittoio della Calliope,* c. 1555, two views of the interior, Palazzo Vecchio.

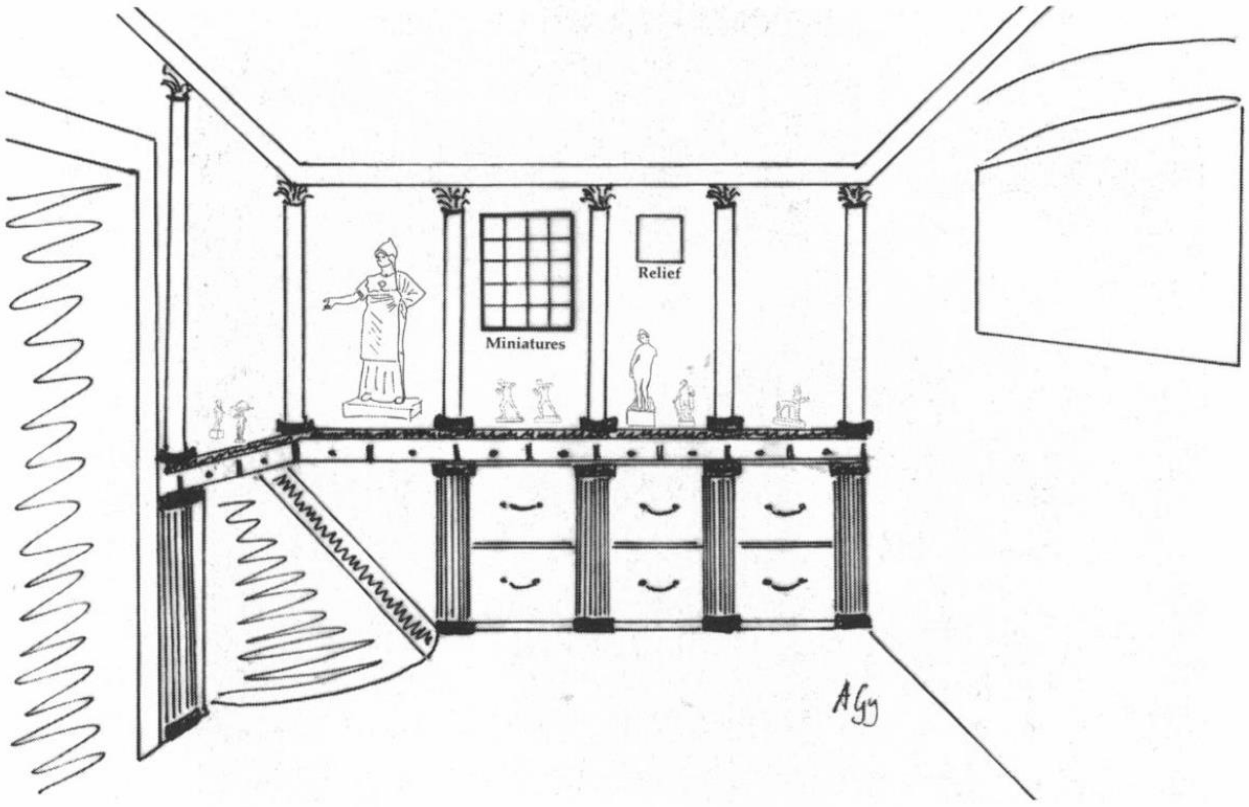

Figure 63: Reconstruction of the appearance of the Scrittoio della Calliope in 1559.

Figure 64: Giorgio Vasari, Cristofano Gheradi and Marco Marchetti da Faenza, *The Muse Calliope with the Attributes of her Sisters*, c. 1555, *Soffitto* fresco, oil on wood, Scrittoio della Calliope, Palazzo Vecchio.

Figure 65: *The Arringatore* (The Orator), Etruscan, c. 110-90 BC, bronze, Perugia or Cortona, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

Figure 66: Detail of the inscription of *The Arringatore*.

Figure 67: Bronzino, miniature portrait of Cosimo *il Vecchio*, Scrittoio della Calliope, Palazzo Vecchio, now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi.

Figure 68: Bronzino, miniature portrait of Lorenzo *il Magnifico*, Scrittoio della Calliope, Palazzo Vecchio, now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi.

Figure 69: Bronzino, miniature portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici, Scrittoio della Calliope, Palazzo Vecchio, now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi.

Figure 70: Bronzino, miniature portrait of Pope Leo X, Scrittoio della Calliope, Palazzo Vecchio, now in the Gallerie degli Uffizi.

Figure 71: Giorgio Vasari, Giovanni Stradano and Marco da Faenza, *Leo X Confers Roman Citizenship on his Brother Giuliano*, 1553, oil on wood, *soffitto* of the Sala di Leone X, Palazzo Vecchio.

Figure 72: Giorgio Vasari and workshop, *Soffitto* of the Salone dei Cinquecento,1563-1565, Palazzo Vecchio.

Figure 73: Giorgio Vasari and workshop, *Apotheosis of Cosimo I,* 1563-1565, Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio.

Figure 74: Giorgio Vasari and workshop, *Allegory of Fiesole,* 1563-1565, Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio.

Figure 75: Giorgio Vasari and workshop, *The Defeat of Radagasius and his Goths Below Fiesole,* 1563-1565, Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio.

Figure 76: Giorgio Vasari and workshop, *The Union of Florence and Fiesole,* 1563-1565, Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio.

Figure 77: Giuliano da Sangallo, cloister of Santa Maria Maddalena di Cestello, c. 1490, Florence.

Figure 78: Giuliano da Sangallo, façade of the Medici Villa at Poggio a Caiano, with Ionic loggia, c. 1480, Poggio a Caiano, Prato.

Figure 79: Capital from the Casa Buonarotti, Florence, possibly Etruscan, possibly from Fiesole.

Figure 80: Giuliano da Sangallo, capital with bead and reel ring from the capital of Cestello, Santa Maria Maddalena di Cestello, Florence.

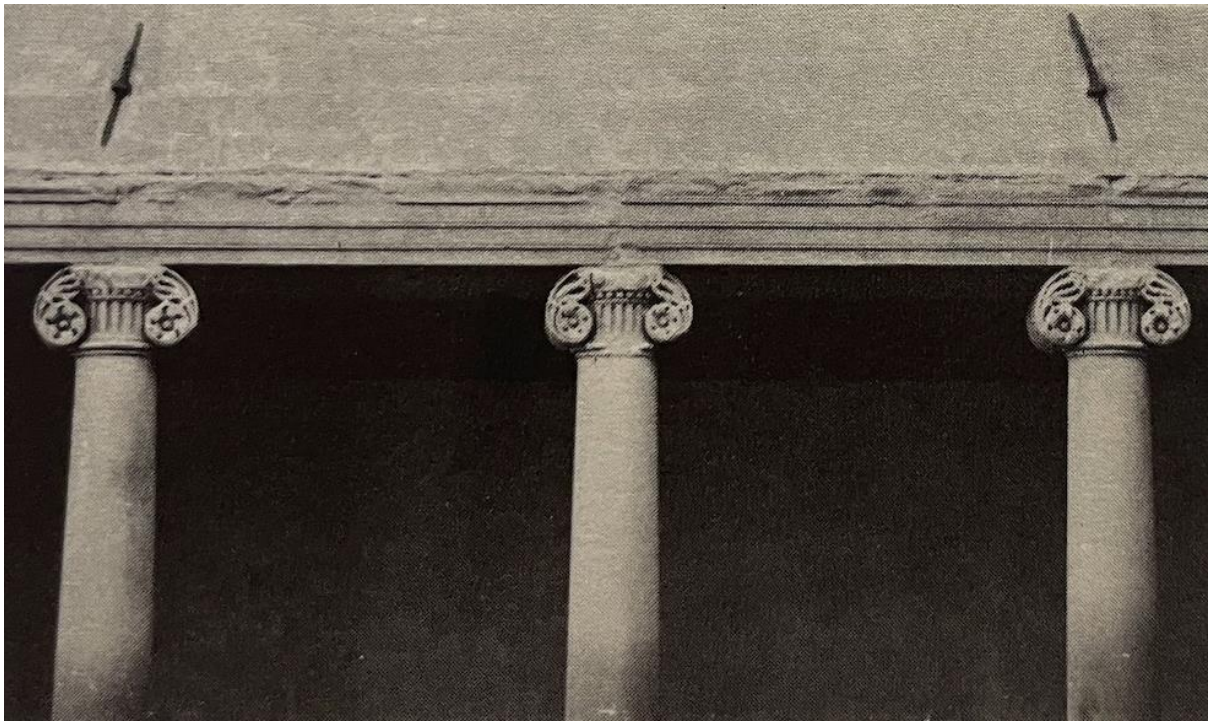

Figure 81: Giuliano da Sangallo, three capitals with a ring of uniform beads from the cloister of Cestello, Santa Maria Maddalena di Cestello, Florence.

Figure 82: Francesco Salviati, *Triumph of Camillus,* fresco, 1545, Sala dell'Udienza, Palazzo Vecchio.