



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

History, origins, recovery : Michelangelo and the politics of art

Keizer, J.P.

Citation

Keizer, J. P. (2008, June 12). *History, origins, recovery : Michelangelo and the politics of art*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/12946>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/12946>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

HISTORY, ORIGINS, RECOVERY: MICHELANGELO AND THE POLITICS OF ART

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 12 juni 2008
klokke 10.00 uur
door

Joost Pieter Keizer

Geboren te Winschoten
op 15 december 1978

Promotiecommissie:

Promotores:

Prof. dr. R.L. Falkenburg

Prof. dr. H.Th. van Veen (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Referent:

Dr. E. Grasman

Overige leden:

Prof. S.J. Campbell (Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, VS)

Mw prof. dr. C.A. van Eck

Prof. dr. B. Kempers (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Prof. dr. G.J. van der Sman (Universiteit Leiden
en Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch
Instituut in Florence)

Voor
&

Eva
Chris (I.M.)

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>		vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>		xv
Introduction:	THE POLITICS OF ART	1
Chapter 1:	HISTORY	23
	Broken History	23
	The Material of Memory	37
	The Antiquity of Sculpture	58
	Comparison and Contrast	73
	A Political Icon	83
Chapter 2:	ORIGINS	87
	Marks of Invention	87
	New David	94
	What's in a Name?	105
	The Absent Hand	113
	Gifts of Liberty	116

Chapter 3:	RECOVERY	135
	The Time of Painting	135
	The Time of the World	143
	The Gaze	158
	Not the Things of This World	163
	A New Vision	174
	The Restoration of Painting	181
	Michelangelo's <i>Parergon</i> , or: The	
	Culture of Excess	187
	Doni's Possession	193
	Postscript to a Certain End	206
Chapter 4:	A MODEL FOR HISTORY	211
	The Subject of History	216
	Art's Future History	227
	Drawing as End	234
	Not History Proper, But a Theory	
	of History	239
	The Subject of Art	244
	The Politics of Education	252
Coda		257
<i>Abbreviations and Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources</i>		267
<i>Nederlandse Samenvatting</i>		283
<i>Curriculum Vitae</i>		295
<i>Illustrations</i>		297

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Birth of the Virgin*. Fresco. Florence, Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella.
- 2 Michelangelo, *David*. Marble. Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia.
- 3 Detail Fig. 2
- 4 Michelangelo, *Study for the Right arm of the David and Copy after Donatello's bronze David*. Drawing. Paris, Louvre.
- 5 Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence.
- 6 Bertoldo di Giovanni, *Pazzi Conspiracy Medal*. Bronze. London, British Museum.
- 7 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *David*. Fresco. Florence, Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinità.
- 8 Donatello, *David*. Bronze. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.
- 9 Bartolomeo Bellano, *David*. Bronze. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 10 Donatello, *David*. Marble. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.
- 11 Verrocchio, *David*. Bronze. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.
- 12 Detail Fig. 8
- 13 *Spinario*. Bronze. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori.
- 14 Detail of Fig. 8
- 15 Michelozzo(?), *Fall of Icarus*. Stucco relief. Florence, Palazzo Medici.

- 16 Benedetto da Maiano, *Commemorative Portrait of Giotto*. Marble. Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore.
- 17 Donatello, *Judith*. Bronze. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.
- 18 Donatello, *Jeremiah*. Marble. Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.
- 19 Donatello, *Habakkuk*. Marble. Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.
- 20 Detail Fig. 2
- 21 Detail Fig. 8
- 22 Donatello, *Christ before Pilatus* (detail). Bronze. Florence, San Lorenzo.
- 23 Filippino Lippi (?), *Story of Lucrezia*. Panel. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.
- 24 Filippino Lippi, *Saint Philip before the Altar of Mars*. Fresco. Florence, Strozzi Chapel, Santa Maria Novella.
- 25 Michelangelo, *Bacchus*. Marble. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.
- 26 Maarten van Heemskerck, *The Gallo Sculpture Garden*. Drawing. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.
- 27 *Nude with Genitals Erased*. Illumination. London, British Library (The Oscott Psalter).
- 28 *The Abominations Witnessed by Ezekiel and their Interpretations*. Illumination. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Bible Moralisée).
- 29 Attributed to Francesco Granacci, *Portrait of a Man* (detail). London, National Gallery.
- 30 Bellini, *Transfiguration*. Panel. Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte.
- 31 Detail Fig. 17

- 32 Michelangelo, *Pietà* (detail). Marble. Vatican, Saint Peter's.
- 33 Michelangelo, *Studies for an Apostle Statue*. Drawing. London, British Museum.
- 34 Giorgione, *Self-portrait as David*. Panel. Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.
- 35 Michelangelo, *Saint Matthew*. Marble. Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia.
- 36 Ciuffagni, *Saint Matthew*. Marble. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.
- 37 Donatello, *Saint Matthew*. Stucco relief. Florence, Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo.
- 38 Ghirlandaio, *Saint Matthew*. Florence, Tornabuoni Chapel, Santa Maria Novella.
- 39 Michelangelo, *Ignudo*. Fresco. Vatican, Sistine Chapel.
- 40 *Laocoön*. Marble. Vatican, Vatican Museums.
- 41 Vincenzo de' Rossi, *Saint Matthew*. Marble. Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore.
- 42 Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, *Saints Peter and Paul*. Panel. Florence, Galleria Palatina.
- 43 Fra Bartolommeo, *Saint Anne, the Virgin and Saints*. Panel. Florence, Museo di San Marco.
- 44 Andrea Sansovino, *Baptism of Christ*. Marble. Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.
- 45 Michelangelo, *Holy Family with Saint John* (The Doni Tondo). Panel. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

- 46 Leonardo, *Saint Anne*. Cartoon. London, National Gallery.
- 47 Andrea del Brescianino, *Copy after Leonardo's Saint Anne Cartoon*. Panel. Madrid, Prado.
- 48 *Copy after Leonardo's Saint Anne Cartoon*. Panel. Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum (destroyed).
- 49 Michelangelo, *Saint Anne*. Drawing. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
- 50 Michelangelo, *Saint Anne*. Drawing. Paris, Louvre.
- 51 Detail Fig. 45
- 52 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna Lactans*. Panel. Siena, Palazzo Arcivescovile.
- 53 Leonardo, *Madonna of the Yarnwinder*. Panel. Collection of the Duke of Buccleuh.
- 54 Leonardo, *Anamorphosis of a Baby's Face and an Eye*. Drawing. Milan, Ambrosiana (Codex Atlanticus, fol. 35v).
- 55 Leonardo, *Studies for a Saint Anne and a Leda*. Drawing. Windsor, Royal Library.
- 56 Reconstruction by Jonathan Nathan of Fig. 55.
- 57 Raphael, *Portrait of Bindo Altoviti*. Panel. London, National Gallery.
- 58 Michelangelo, *Study for the Face of Mary*. Drawing. Florence, Casa Buonarroti.
- 59 *Alexandrian head*. Marble. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
- 60 Benozzo Gozzoli, *Adoration of the Magi*. Fresco. Florence, Palazzo Medici.
- 61 Masaccio, *Trinity*. Florence, Santa Maria Novella.

- 62 Titian, *Jacopo Pesaro Being Presented to the Madonna*. Canvas. Venice, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari.
- 63 Detail Fig. 45
- 64 Michelangelo, *Crucifixion* (detail). Wood. Florence, Santo Spirito.
- 65 Giotto, *Madonna and Saints*. Panel. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
- 66 Detail of Fig. 45
- 67 Detail of Fig. 65
- 68 *Madonna*. Fresco. Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore.
- 69 *Neriods and Sea-Centaurs*. Sarcophagus relief. Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.
- 70 Detail of Fig. 45
- 71 Raphael, Portraits of Agnolo Doni and Maddalena Strozzi. Panel. Florence, Galleria Palatina.
- 72 Maestro di Serumido, *The flood and Pyrrha and Deucalion* (verso's of Fig. 71).
- 73 Donatello, *Spiritello*. Bronze. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.
- 74 Michelangelo. *Studies after Donatello's Spiritello*. Drawing. London, British Museum.
- 75 Michelangelo, *Madonna and Child and Saint John the Baptist* (Taddei Tondo). Marble. London, Royal Academy of Arts.
- 76 Raphael, *Holy Family* (The Canigiani Madonna). Panel. Munich, Alte Pinakothek.
- 77 Raphael, *Entombment*. Panel. Rome, Galleria Borghese.
- 78 Leonardo, *Mona Lisa*. Panel. Paris, Louvre.

- 79 Raphael, *Study after the Mona Lisa*. Drawing. Paris, Louvre.
- 80 Aristotile da Sangallo, *Copy after Michelangelo's Cascina Cartoon*. Panel. Norfolk, Holkham Hall.
- 81 *Copy after Michelangelo's Cascina Cartoon*. Drawing. London, British Museum.
- 82 Filippo Lippi, *Virgin Adoring the Christ Child with Saints Johns and Bernard*. Panel. Berlin, Staatliche Museen.
- 83 Michelangelo, *Study for a Battle Scene*. Drawing. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
- 84 Detail of Fig. 80.
- 85 Paolo Uccello, *Battle at San Romano*. Panel. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
- 86 Sixteenth-Century Italian Artist, Reworked by Peter Paul Rubens, *Copy after Leonardo da Vinci's Battle of Anghiari*. Drawing. Paris, Louvre.
- 87 Raphael, *Study after Michelangelo's Cascina cartoon*. Drawing. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- 88 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Copy after Michelangelo's Cascina Cartoon*. Engraving. London, British Museum.
- 89 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Copy after Michelangelo's Cascina Cartoon*. Engraving. London, British Museum.
- 90 Raphael, *School of Athens* (detail). Fresco. Vatican, Vatican Museums.
- 91 Andrea del Sarto, *Presentation in the Temple* (detail). Fresco. Florence, Santissima Annunziata.
- 92 Andrea del Sarto, *Modello for an Adoration*. Drawing. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

- 93 Rosso Fiorentino, *Assumption of the Virgin* (detail). Florence, Santissima Annunziata.
- 94 Michelangelo, *Copy after Masaccio's Tribute Money*. Drawing. Munich, Graphische Sammlung
- 95 Masaccio, *Tribute money* (detail). Fresco. Florence, Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine.
- 96 Michelangelo, *Copy after Giotto's Ascension of Saint John the Evangelist*. Drawing. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
- 97 Giotto, *Ascension of Saint John the Evangelist*. Fresco. Florence, Peruzzi Chapel, Santa Croce.
- 98 Michelangelo, *Study for the Battle of Cascina*. Drawing. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.
- 99 Michelangelo, *Nude study*. Drawing. Haarlem, Teylers Museum.
- 100 Michelangelo, *Nude study*. Drawing. Haarlem, Teylers Museum.
- 101 Michelangelo, *Nude study*. Drawing. Vienna, Albertina.
- 102 Michelangelo, *Nude study*. Drawing. London, British Museum.
- 103 *Horse's head*. Bronze. Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi.
- 104 Baccio Bandinelli, *Hercules and Cacus*. Marble. Florence, Piazza della Signoria.
- 105 Michelangelo, *Study for a Hercules and Antaeus*. Drawing. Washington (DC), National Gallery of Art, O' Neal Collection.
- 106 Michelangelo, *Model for Samson and two Philistines*. Clay. Florence, Casa Buonarroti.
- 107 Michelangelo, *Brutus*. Marble. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would have looked completely different without the stimulating intellectual environment and support of the Universiteit Leiden. Protocol prevents me from mentioning the senior faculty members who have guided me. In the almost four years I spent at Leiden, I had the pleasure of sharing an office with Todd Richardson, first critic of my ideas. Pallas, the university's Institute for Art Historical and Literary Studies, furnished the necessary interdisciplinary intellectual environment that my research demanded and provided further financial support.

Much of the research presented here was done in Florence, while staying at the Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut. I thank the institute's director Bert Meijer for his hospitality and its librarian. It would be hard to forget Tjarda Vermeyden's practical help at the Instituut, but impossible to forget her loving care and sense of humor.

In Florence, I also benefited from the sources at the Archivio di Stato, the Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, the Archivio Arciconfraternità della Misericordia, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, the Biblioteca Riccardiana, the Kunsthistorisches Institut, the library of the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento at Palazzo Strozzi and the Biblioteca Berenson at Villa I Tatti, the Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies. I thank the staff of all these institutions. In Amsterdam, I exploited the collection of the Rijksmuseum Research Library. I am grateful to its staff for their assistance.

Many of the ideas forwarded in this dissertation were first tried out in informal research group meetings at Leiden and conferences there and in Florence, Nijmegen, San Francisco, Toronto, and Chicago.

Jessica Buskirk checked my English with accuracy and intelligence.

Gratitude to my parents knows little bounds: I first explored Italy with them and my brother and sister. Their support has been a stimulating force throughout the writing of the dissertation.

Two months before I started this dissertation, my uncle, Chris, died. But much rather than showing him the completed dissertation, I would have liked to introduce him to Eva – not just supportive but critical, and able to pull me out of my usual self-involvement. I dedicate this study to them both.