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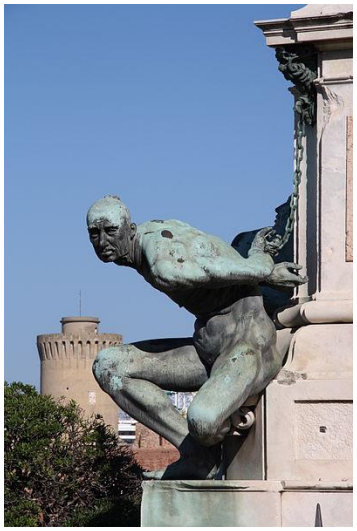

FERDINANDO I AND THE FOUR MOORS. RECONSIDERING A MONUMENT TO MEDITERRANEAN SLAVERY

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MA Thesis Arts and Culture

Museums and Collections

Leiden University 2021-2022

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19 June 2022

Arianna Rinaldo

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INTRODUCTION

> A space of ground between the harbour and city wall is thought to be ornamented with a colossal statue of a proud-looking Ferdinand I. Of white marble, standing fiercely erect on a high pedestal; at the four corners of which, in attitudes of submission and terror, sit four bronze Asiatic, whose chains descending from the corners of the pedestal, were intended, by a graceful sweep, to ornament this disgusting monument.[1]

The words of the American painter Rembrandt Peale in 1830, described the monument as "disgusting", however he did not explain why he spoke about the statuary complex with such hatred. One can assume that the four bronze Moors evoked a sense of discomfort in the viewer because of the crudity of its depiction. Almost two centuries after Peale, the statue keeps receiving even stronger critiques. In June 2020, the Black Lives Matter Movement reached Livorno, and the monument of Ferdinando I and the Four Moors became a meeting spot for the activists. This was not a casual choice, as the statuary group was considered by them a universal symbol of enslavement. The monument received attention in the press, and this led to renewed discussions about its imagery. Completed in 1626, it was executed by Giovanni Bandini and Pietro Tacca, in two separate phases. The statuary group depicts the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando I De Medici, in the role of Admiral of the military and religious Order of Saint Stephen, standing on a high pedestal, below him Four cuffed Moors are tied with chains to its base. The crudity of this monument has been pointed out by many people throughout history.[2] Therefore, it is extremely relevant, considering the topic at hand, to connect the monument of the Four Moors, as it is generally referred to, to its socio-historical context, starting from the specific term which appears in the name of the monument. "Moor", as Lucio de Sousa points out in his book regarding the Portuguese slave trade, is a misnomer and an offensive term. The original term from the Greek via Latin means "black". The Greeks and the Romans used to distinguish "black" and "white" inhabitants of Maghreb by the term "Berbers" deriving from the word barbarians. This indicated a certain cultural and linguistic agglomeration of Asian-

[1] Rembrandt Peale , *Notes on Italy* (Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1956), 245.
[2] For other negative description of the statue during the nineteenth century, see Mark Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany', *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 1 (2015): 34–57.

African population. The Romans connected the definition of Moor to the inhabitants of Mauritania, thus associating it with black Africans. When Islam conquered Africa, Maghreb, and Europe, the term Moor was broadly used to indicate a Muslim individual. However, the term was used incorrectly as not all the Muslims were dark skinned. This ethnical agglomeration into one term spread through Spain, Portugal, and Italy and made its way in the European languages. For this reason, it is worthy to bring attention to this old misnomer, as it is racially, religiously and ethnically offensive.[3] The aim of my research is to analyse if the monument of the Four Moors showcases a message of ethnic inferiority. In order to unfold this answer, one must answer the following three sub-questions:

- To what extent was the commissioner's intention that of showcasing the humiliation of the Muslim slave in the monument of the Four Moors?

- How does the monument of the Four Moors reflect the socio-historical context of seventeenth-century Livorno and the conditions of the people enslaved in that city?

- To what extent does the Four Moors constitute the symbol of the anti-Ottoman propaganda promoted by the Order of Saint Stephen?

The monument received the attention of several art historians. Scholars such as Anthea Brooke researched the monument of the Four Moors focusing on the history of the commission and construction of the monument. [4] Mark Rosen, instead, decided to focus his research on the conditions of the *Bagni dei Forzati*, the building where the slaves were housed in Livorno, and their relation to the identity of the slaves depicted in the monument. His study focused on providing the historical context of Mediterranean slavery in Livorno and connecting the latter with the execution of the sculptures.[5] However, I believe that the monument has not been analysed in its controversial conception of race and as a purposefully degrading sculpture. Although Nabil Matar did investigate the issue of Islamophobia related to Pietro Tacca's monument in his research, I will focus on the motif of ethnic inferiority of the Four Moors and place it within the artistic tradition of the Seventeenth century and the iconography related to

[3] Lúcio de Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan: Merchants, Jesuits and Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Slaves*, Studies in Global Slavery, Volume 7 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2019). For further information on slavery in early-modern Italy consult Steven Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery: Color, Ethnicity, and Human Bondage in Italy*, Conjunctions of Religion & Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).
[4] Anthea. Brook, *Pietro Tacca a Livorno : il monumento a Ferdinando de' Medici* (Livorno: Comune di Livorno, 2008).
[5] Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany'.

the commissioners.[6] Furthermore, my research will counter-argument Steve Ostrow's art-historical interpretation.[7] The scholar recently stated that the slaves represented in the monument were meant to evoke, through the beauty of their bodies, a sense of compassion in the viewer. Conversely, the aim of my research will be to demonstrate that the artist's intention was to portray the Four Moors in a humiliating manner and ultimately, that the monument of the Four Moors constituted an anti-Ottoman symbol.

The methodology that will be adopted is comparative visual analysis that will be used to create juxtapositions of relevant themes that appear in the paintings and sculptures. In the first and third chapter, this analysis will allow to find parallelisms and divergences with the iconography of the Four Moors. Moreover, the third chapter will provide an iconographical analysis, by focusing on specific symbols and elements of the statuary group to explain the monument's original meaning and intent. The research is divided in three chapters, each of them addressing one of the sub-questions listed above.

In order to provide context for this enquiry, the first chapter titled "The representation of the Turk slave" will provide an in-depth analysis of the four bronze sculptures of the slaves. Pietro Tacca's biography and style, together with an overview of the construction of the monument of the Four Moors, will give a better understanding of its execution. The statuary group will then be placed in the tradition of seventeenth-century slave imagery: a visual and comparative analysis of their appearance, bodies, positioning and facial features will illustrate the intention of the commissioners of representing the Turk slaves in a degrading manner.

In the second chapter, "The history of Ferdinando I and Livorno", the historical and political background will be investigated, in order to provide a full understanding of the statuary group in the context in which it was located. This chapter will examine the economic growth of Livorno under the rule of Ferdinando I De Medici, as well as the urban expansion of the city. Furthermore, its role in the Mediterranean slave-trade will be addressed and the monument of the Four Moors will be analysed in relation to the conditions of the slaves in the *Bagni* of Livorno. This will provide a complete understanding of how the slaves in Pietro Tacca's sculptures reflect the *status* of the Muslim slaves in Livorno and the Mediterranean.

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[6] Nabil Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes, 1517-1798* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020).
[7] Steven F. Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His "Quattro Mori": The Beauty and Identity of the Slaves', *Artibus et Historiae* 36, no. 71 (2015): 145–80.

Lastly, the third chapter titled “The monument as an anti-Ottoman symbol” will focus on analysing the iconography used by the religious and military order of the Knights of Saint Stephen. Moreover, it will place the monument of the Four Moors within the visual language that was meant to promote the Order in the Seventeenth century. In fact, the enforcement of this artistic language reached its summit under the reign of Ferdinando I De Medici, who distinguished himself for the dedication to the privateering activities in the Mediterranean. This was reflected in the Stephanian propaganda, which glorified the military actions of the Grand Duke in order to assert the dominance of the order and of the Medici dynasty. By analysing the monument of the Four Moors in the broader context of Medicean and Stephanian propaganda, its role as an anti-Ottoman symbol will be highlighted.

1. THE REPRESENTATION OF THE TURK SLAVE

Introduction

The name of Pietro Tacca's monument in Livorno, "Ferdinando I and the Four Moors", is not an uncontroversial one. In fact, the terms used to describe the artworks and define the slaves are neither historically correct nor contextually accurate. As previously noted, the term "moor" is a misnomer that referred to Muslim individuals throughout Europe. The term Turk was also a generalised term, which indicated a member of the Ottoman Empire.[8] From these words is clear how the coast of Northern Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean under the rule of Istanbul, although crossroads of several different cultures and ethnicities, were subject to a European generalization which often intersected race and religion. This was partly due to the historical context of early-modern Mediterranean, deeply marked by the long-lasting conflict between Catholicism and Islam. Although incorrect, these terms will be used in this chapter to describe and understand the European view of the Islamic world, which played a decisive role in the process of making of the Four Moors.

The goal of this chapter will be to assess the intention of Pietro Tacca of showcasing the subordination of the Turk in the monument of the Four Moors. The first part will include Pietro Tacca's biography and his stylistic choice. Understanding the life of the artist is crucial to our artistic analysis and sharpen the focus on the four bronze statues he executed in 1626, together with the monument object of this study. Secondly, the analysis of the bronze sculptures will be placed in the context of Seventeenth-century slave statuary in Tuscany and the Italian Peninsula. Often overlooked by the scholarship on the early-modern Mediterranean, slavery

[8] Ingmar Karlsson, 'The Turk as a Threat and Europe's "Other"', *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs* 15, no. 1 (2006): 62–72; Eva Johanna Holmberg, 'The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism', *English Studies* 96, no. 7 (2015): 841–42; Simon Hadler, 'Europe's Other? The Turks and Shifting Borders of Memory', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 24, no. 4 (2017): 507–26.

was a very important feature of coastline cities like Livorno, where Pietro Tacca's monument. Ultimately, the analysis of the monument of Ferdinand I and the Four Moors will allow an understanding of how the artist racialised the image of the slaves, demonstrating how the monument showcased a message of ethnic inferiority. The view of the Turk in the public commissions of Medicean Tuscany will be explored and the role of Pietro Tacca's monument in Livorno as a model for seventeenth-century slave statuary will be made evident. The visual analysis of slaves' bodies in early-modern European sculpture will highlight the issues related to racialisation, nudity, and beauty. This contextualization is crucial in order to counter-argument the ideas forwarded by Steve Ostrow on Ferdinand I's monument.[9] According to the art historian, the beauty of the Moors was meant to humanise the suffering of the slaves. However, our analysis will illustrate how the physical strength portrayed in the slaves' bodies was actually intended to glorify the victories of the commissioners: the Medici family and the Knights of Saint Stephen. Similarly, Ostrow's interpretation of the slaves' nudity, considered as creating a direct connection with a classic idea of beauty, will be discussed and questioned. In his analysis, the slaves' bodies were sculpted in reference to Greco-Roman gods or heroes. This analysis seems not to consider how the crouched-like positions of those enslaved bodies were not meant to represent them in a heroic fashion, but rather to splay and expose them to derision at the entrance of one of the main slaving markets of early-modern Italy.

As mentioned above, the first paragraph will focus on Pietro Tacca's biography. It will discuss his formation with Giambologna and the development of his style, as well as a brief history of the monument of the Four Moors.

Pietro Tacca, biography, style and construction of the monument.

The *sculpture of Ferdinando I and the Four Moors* is situated in Piazza Micheli, one of the most important squares in Livorno. The monument depicts Ferdinando I De Medici standing on a high plinth holding a baton of command.[10] Below him, the *Four Moors* (one older slave and three visibly younger men) are chained to each angle of the pedestal (fig 1.). The sculpture was erected to celebrate the military victories of the Grand Duke and the Order of the Knights

[9] Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His "Quattro Mori"'.
[10] A small section of the baton was found at the base of the monument on January of 2013, initially an act of vandalism was suspected but a later investigation by the Soprintendenza of Pisa proved that the breakage was the result of corrosion.

of Saint Stephen, against the Turks.[11] It was built in two phases: the marble monument to Ferdinando I was executed by Giovanni Bandini between 1597 and 1599 and completed in Carrara. The bronze sculptures were added between 1623 and 1626 by Pietro Tacca da Carrara.[12] The latter was an influential sculptor at the Medici court. Pietro Tacca's main biographer was Filippo Baldinucci, who includes his biography in his text *Notizie del professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* and was relevant to Mariano Santelli, who also wrote Pietro Tacca's complete biography in the eighteenth century.[13] The artist was born at Massa Carrara on the 6th of September 1577. At the age of fifteen, Tacca moved to Firenze, where he worked in Giovanni Bologna's workshop. Tacca's skills allowed him to surpass all Giambologna's collaborators. When Pietro Francavilla (Bologna's right-hand) moved to Paris, Pietro Tacca took his place, and he commenced his successful career. He became Giambologna's main helper. Giambologna was aware of his pupil's artistic prowess, so he entrusted him with every major enterprise and leadership.[14] Tacca's work followed his master's footsteps and style. [15]

Tacca was commissioned by the powerful Medici family for public monuments, he was also commissioned by other European courts, such as Spain and France. The execution of the equestrian statue of Philip III of Spain marked the end of Giambologna's style in Tacca's sculptures.[16] In 1615 the artist began to design a statue of Louis XIII. The *Dauphin* was represented on a rearing horse. The imagery of the horse standing on its hind legs is traceable to the classic period. It is relevant to note that the artist gave the horse an impetus and a dynamic

[11] The monument does not celebrate a single particular battle or achievement. The construction of the monument occurred in parallel with growth of the Order. The greatest military achievements will be discussed in the following chapters. The activities of the Knights also involved privateering in the Mediterranean, the conquest of riches, ships and slaves were also numerous.

[12] Simonetta Lo Vullo-Bianchi, 'Note e Documenti Su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca. (Con 10 Illustrazioni)', *Rivista d'Arte* 13, no. 1 (1931): 133.

[13] Filippo Baldinucci, Francesco Saverio Baldinucci, and Ferdinando Ranalli, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue : in qua, per le quali si dimostra come, e per chi le bell' arti di pittura, scultura, e architettura lasciata la rozzezza delle maniere greca, e gottica, si siano in questi secoli ridotte all' antica loro perfezione* (Firenze: Per V. Batelli e Compagni, 1845); Nicola. Magri Santelli, Agostino., Santelli, Mariano., Agostino Santelli, and Mariano Santelli, *Stato antico e moderno ovvero origine di Livorno in Toscana dalla sua fondazione sino all'anno MDCXXXXVI* (In Firenze: In Firenze : Nella Stamperia di S.A.R. per Gaetano Cambiagi, 1769).

[14] "… ebbe il Tacca gran parte delle ultime operazioni dell'ottuagenario maestro, il quale conoscendo l'abilità dell'allievo suo prediletto, gli confidava ogni maggior carico di lavoro e di direzione", Piero Torriti and Pietro Tacca, *Pietro Tacca Da Carrara* (Genova: Sagep, 1984).

[15] Frits Scholten, 'Giambologna. Florence and Vienna', *The Burlington Magazine* 148, no. 1243 (2006): 712–15; Katharine Johnson Watson, 'Pietro Tacca Successor to Giovanni Bologna: The First Twenty-Five Years in the Borgo Pinti Studio, 1592-1617' (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1973), https://www.proquest.com/docview/302716114/citation/3EB746D48A9F493CPQ/1.

[16] Torriti and Tacca, *Pietro Tacca Da Carrara*.

tension which closely recalls the Baroque. This is a key aspect of Tacca's artistry. This stylistic choice will be discussed further on. He is able to overcome the classic Renaissance culture as he attempts a more naturalistic approach without leaning excessively towards the extravagance which defines the Roman Baroque style. The resonance of his abilities allowed him to obtain the commissioning of the *Four Moors.* The statuary complex was completed subsequently representing various military achievements of Ferdinando I De Medici. This intervention resulted in one of Pietro Tacca's more notable works. It is without a doubt the most well-known of his sculptures.

A clear picture of the history and the development of the statue is relevant, to fully understand the significance and its socio-political role of the monument in the city of Livorno. Its construction was analysed by many historians such as Anthea Brook whose research has presented a complete reconstruction of the monument's life. [17] Historians had to consult a great number of original documents. Some of the documents overcomplicate the history of the monument. Steve Ostrow, however, provides a precise overview of the creation of the statue. The first phase of construction saw the completion of the marble statue of the Grand Duke Ferdinando in 1599, it was erected in 1617. The statue was kept in Piazza della Darsena from 1601-1617 for unknown reasons, this was confirmed by the accounts of Mariano Santelli's Eighteenth-century book on Livorno.[18] From whom the idea of representing the Moor slaves, to complete the monument derived is still unclear. In the Nineteenth century Giuseppe Piombanti wrote the *Guida storica ed artistica della città e dei contorni di Livorno.*[19] He stated that Ferdinando De Medici saw a father and three sons while looking at the Turk captives after a battle in 1602 and this gave him the idea for the four statues, but because of a Malaria outbreak the project was not finalised. This account cannot be proven to be true, and Steve Ostrow suggests this account might be fiction. The earliest direct evidence of Pietro Tacca being commissioned to finish this work is held in the letter by Ferdinando I's *segretario,* Lorenzo Usimbardi. In the letter he states that the Grand Duke was sending the master to Livorno in order to conduct a study on a slave with the help of a wax mould.[20] Some historians believed that Pietro Tacca's trip to Livorno was not to finalise Ferdinando's monument but rather was to complete the monument dedicated to Henri IV of France (fig.2) which Pietro Tacca had been

[17] Brook, *Pietro Tacca a Livorno : il monumento a Ferdinando de' Medici*.
[18] Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His "Quattro Mori"', 149.
[19] Giuseppe Piombanti, *Guida storica ed artistica della città e dei contorni di Livorno* (Livorno: G. Marini, 1873).
[20] Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His "Quattro Mori"'.

working on with Giambologna's workshop from 1604. The more recent idea suggested by Veronica Carpita, supported by Steve Ostrow and Anthea Brook is that Pietro Tacca went to the *Bagni* of Livorno specifically to create a wax mould for the Four Moors surrounding Ferdinando's statue. Proof of this can be found in a directive addressed to the *Provveditore Generale delle Galere della Religione di S. Stefano* which grants access to the *Bagn*i to Pietro Tacca, the directive clearly states the purpose of his visit. A further case can be made for the direct study; Although the statues which were created to surround the image of Henri IV depict three physiognomically different men (three are younger and one has a more fatherly appearance) their features are generalised. The same cannot be said about Pietro Tacca's Moors. Confirmation of this can be found in Filippo Baldinucci's *Notizie dé Professori del disegno*, he writes:

> At the end of 1615 our Pietro Received the commission from the Grand Duke to set his hand on the completion of another project of his Highness, which was to decorate the mole of Livorno with the great marble colossus made by Giovanni dell'Opera to commemorate the Grand duke Ferdinand I and with four Turkish slaves chained to the beautiful base; having applied himself to this noble task, he had embarked on many studies, of which the chief was to visit Leghorn (Livorno) in the company of his pupil Cosimo Cappelli, who from boyhood modelled in a most excellent way. Here he was able to study many slaves and to select those most suited for imitation to form an absolute perfect body, and he modelled very many of them in their most beautiful parts. One was a Turkish slave, named Morgiano, who for his size and lineaments was especially beautiful, and he was of great assistance to Tacca in modelling the beautiful figure which we will see today. I who record these things saw him in boyhood at the age of ten, and young as I was, I enjoyed talking to him as I compared the beautiful original with Tacca's likeness.[21]

These accounts, written by Baldinucci, Tacca's main biographer, confirm that Pietro Tacca went to Livorno and his anatomical studies were used to create the bronze sculptures, which are still visible today in Piazza Micheli. The documents surrounding the installation of the sculpture are more straightforward. Taddeo di Michele (Tacca's assistant) created a larger pedestal. The statues were added in pairs, the first group was installed in 1623 and in 1626 the last two sculptures were positioned. The completion of the complex was delayed as the artist still had to put the "batt" in place. Accounts by Mariano Santelli state that these objects were: a turban, a mantle, a scimitar, a bow, a quiver and arrows among others. The bronze additions

[21] Baldinucci, Baldinucci, and Ranalli, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue*; The quote can be also found in Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing, eds., *The Slave in European Art: From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem* (London: Warburg Institute, 2012).

are no longer in place as they were melted down during the Napoleonic invasion. This is ultimately proven by Baldassare Franceschini's *Allegory of the Sea Power of Florence* in Villa Petraia in 1646.[22] The addition of the trophies completed the monument in 1638. This representation influenced a great number of artists and became central to the Medici imagery.[23]

Slave statuary of the defeated Turk: the body

This paragraph will analyse the artistic tradition of Mediterranean slave statuary in the Italian territory during the seventeenth century. The iconography of the defeated taken captive by the victors to be enslaved appears very early in the artistic tradition. It is common, for instance, already in the Greco-Roman world. The image of bounded men at the feet of the conqueror is visible in Trajan's column (II a.C), picturing the defeated population, the Dacians, being enslaved, with their hands tied behind their backs. In the early modern Mediterranean context, the representation of the enslaved, generally Turkish, recorded an intensification after the battle of Lepanto in 1571. In this period, the image of the Turk increasingly appeared in monuments, churches and tombs, fountains, paintings and so forth. In the artistic tradition of the Seventeenth century, the Turk is represented almost exclusively as a slave. It is relevant to note that throughout this paragraph, the term "Turk" will be used to refer to all the members of the multi-ethnical Ottoman Empire. As previously mentioned in the introduction, this is not a historically correct term as the empire controlled by Istanbul had different cultural, linguistic and religious groups.[24] The Turkish Ottomans were only one of these ethnic groups.[25] This term was commonly used in Europe, and for the purpose of discussing the images in the perspective of their creators, this term will be used with no restrictions also in the text.

The sculptures that will be analysed represent enslaved Turks. By observing the positions of their bodies and their appearance, one can fully understand how these images were meant to portray the subordination of the Turks to the Italic and European powers. In the Seventeenth century, the representations of enslaved Turks became popular in public monuments. The slaves that appear in these public representations all have similar features. As Nabil Matar

[22] Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His "Quattro Mori"', 151.
[23] McGrath and Massing, *The Slave in European Art*, 97.
[24] The Ottoman Empire was incredibly vast and stretched from from the outskirts of Vienna all the way to the Indian ocean and from the northern coast of the Black Sea to the first cataract of the Nile in the south. Therefore, there were different ethnic groups, for instance the Berbers, came from the coastal area of Northern Africa. The Berbers were known for their privateering practices in the Mediterranean.
[25] Hadler, 'Europe's Other?', 509.

pointed out, most of the slaves that were sculpted were generally strong young men, there were very few exceptions of children or women depicted as they did not fit in the narrative of the powerful enemy being defeated and forced into submission.[26] The slaves were never depicted as having deformed or mutilated bodies, even though the accounts state that fugitive slaves' ears were often severed, as well as nostrils, the bodies were meant to portray strength, this explains the musculature in Tacca's sculptures.[27] This differs substantially from other depictions of slaves, including Michelangelo Buonarroti's sculptures for the tomb of pope Julius II (1443-1513). Michelangelo's *Rebellious Slave* (1513) portrayed a captive with his hands tied behind his back. The bonds that restrict the slave are not physical but rather spiritual (fig 3). The representation of imprisonment is an allegory for the enslavement of the spirit inside the body, the struggle is mainly symbolic and the ropes that cuff the man's hands seems to be an artistic expedient to show the strength of the slave's muscles.[28] However, the physical strength of the Turk slave's bodies in Tacca's sculpture, and in other seventeenth-century monuments depicting analogue images, showcased the power of the conquerors, who had to subordinate the fearful Turks.

Placing the monument of the Four Moors within the artistic tradition of seventeenth-century statuary allows a full understanding of the cultural and historical context in which it is located. Turk slaves not only appear in celebratory and public monuments, but they also appear in churches commemorating the tombs of important men. The slaves were often added to the architectural composition in order to bring attention to their financial and military participation to the anti-Ottoman cause. In 1627 the tomb of the Doge Giovanni da Pesaro was built in the church of the Frari in Venice. The tomb was designed by Baldassare Longhena (1625-75) and perhaps executed by Melchior Bartel (1625-82).[29] Four Moors are depicted carrying the man's tomb, this was because the Doge had financed a military expedition against the Turks in Crete. It is evident that the artist models the slaves to resemble barbarians. Their clothes are tattered and torn and remind the viewer of galley slaves, testimony of the Doge's financial and military engagement against the Ottomans. The contrast of materials in the monument is immediately noticeable, the black stone of the skin contrasts the white marble of the clothes (fig 4). This is

[26] Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes*.
[27] Cesare Santus, 'Crimini, violenza e corruzione nel Bagno di Livorno: gli schiavi "turchi" in alcuni processi del XVII secolo', in *La città delle nazioni: Livorno e i limiti del cosmopolitismo (1566-1834)*, ed. Andrea Addobbati, Marcella Aglietti, and Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, Saggi e studi (Cosmopolitismo a Livorno tra conflitti e mediazioni (Conference), Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2016), 99.
[28] Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany'.
[29] McGrath and Massing, *The Slave in European Art*, 103.

traceable to the contraposition of the candid marble sculpture of Ferdinando I and the dark bronze sculptures of the slaves that can be also observed in the statuary group in Livorno. The reference to the iconography of the triumphal arch in Loghena and Bartel's sculpture becomes clear as he defines the Moors as "barbarici atlantes"[30].The slaves do in fact resemble the depictions of Atlas, who carried the weight of the world on his back. The figures have their necks bent as the heavy weight is pressing on their back. A similar role of carrying the tomb was given to the two sculptures of slaves executed by Nicholas Cotoner's tomb in the church of Saint John in la Valletta (fig 5). Cotoner was the Grand Master of the Order of Saint John, which was also involved in privateering against the Ottomans, between 1663 and 1680. Guido Domenici, the sculptor, used Pietro Tacca's sculpture as a model. The physiognomy of the slaves appears quite similar; one of the two slaves references the sub-Saharan slave that appears in the Livornese monument. Instead of being chained to the pedestal like in the Four Moors, the two slaves are holding the tomb on their backs. Domenici positioned some war trophies below the tomb. Unlike Pietro Tacca's sculpture, ultimately, the slaves are not part of the trophies[31] but they recall the caryatid role of carrying the architectonic structure.[32] Dispositions of the slaves more similar to Pietro Tacca's composition appears, instead, in other celebrative sculptures, such as the monument to Henri IV by Pietro Francavilla from 1614-1618. The sculpture features an equestrian representation of the ruler. Four figures of slaves were positioned on the pedestal (fig 2) The statue was destroyed during the Abolitionist movement, although the slaves were kept and put in the Louvre Museum. The physiognomy of the slaves differs from Tacca's Moors in one key way: the appearance of the slaves by Francavilla have generalised features, whereas Pietro Tacca's sculptures are visibly different individuals.[33] As already mentioned, it is evident that not only the ages of Tacca's Four Moors are different, as one slave is a much older man, but also that one of the slaves appears to be a sub-Saharan individual (fig 6). The depiction of four Moors represented as four sub-Saharan slaves appears in the fountain of San Marino (fig 7).[34] It was executed in 1632 to celebrate Marcantonio II Colonna's (1535-1584) victory in the Battle of Lepanto. The sculptures in volcanic rock were made by the artist Pompeo Castiglia and Pietro Tacca. The sculptures based on the Taccan model appear, though, to be less interested in representing the strength and struggle which was

[30] McGrath and Massing, 9.
[31] Pietro Tacca's sculpture considered as a trophy of arms will be analysed thoroughly in the second section of last chapter.
[32] McGrath and Massing, *The Slave in European Art*.
[33] Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany'.
[34] The racialisation of the sculptures of the four Moors both in Livorno and San Marino will be discussed in the following section.

been quite present in the works that have been previously discussed. The representation of a female slave also differs from usual depictions. The slaves' hands are tied behind their backs, but their body is not contorted in act of struggle like the Four Moors in Livorno. Instead, their bodies are splayed and ultimately their body-language suggests submission, as it is visible especially in the female slave. Ultimately, the depictions of the Moors were stylised and it becomes clear that the intention of this resolution is to draw attention to the overly accentuated somatic traits. The depictions that appear in the tombs of Doge Giovanni da Pesaro, in 1627 and Nicholas Cotoner in 1686 as well as the equestrian monument of Henri IV in 1618 and the Fountain of the Four Moors in San Marino in 1632 portray the image on the enslaved Turk. The analysis of the features of the slaves' body, its appearance and positioning allow a full understanding of this imagery of the Turk slave in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, it is possible to observe how the imagery of Pietro Tacca's Moors in Livorno greatly influenced the depiction of Turk slaves in public monuments and public sculptures.

The racialisation of the Four Moors: blackness, humiliation, beauty and sexualisation

In this paragraph the racialisation of the sculpture will be discussed. This will draw attention to the sculptures in the fountain of the Four Moors in San Marino and compare it to Pietro Tacca's Four Moors in Livorno. This section will analyse these statues taking into consideration the identity of the slaves and underlining the difference between the latter and how they were figured in these public monuments. The ethnicity of the slaves will be discussed as well as the commissioners' choice of portraying sub-Saharan individuals. This text will counter-argument the ideas forwarded by Steven Ostrow, regarding Pietro Tacca's intent in utilising beauty as a way to humanise the figures and ultimately move compassion for their condition of suffering, instead it argues that the artists' intention was that of sexualising the slaves bodies and exposing it with the purpose of humiliation. Firstly, one must address the issue regarding the ethnicity of the slaves in Pietro Tacca's Four Moors. The Ottoman individuals that were taken by Ferdinando I were for the most part from North-Africa.[35] There were indeed black individuals in the *Bagni* of Livorno[36] but the majority of the slaves probably had the same features and skin colour as the Turks depicted by Jacopo Ligozzi's *Return of the*

[35] Holmberg, 'The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750'.
[36] The *Bagni* of Livorno and their structure will be thoroughly explained in the second chapter

Knights of Saint Stephen (fig 22) or Titian's *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto* [37] Although the slaves depicted in Pietro Tacca's sculpture were meant to symbolise more than one victory accomplished by the Order in the Mediterranean, the statue was commissioned after the victory of Bona. This would have had great influence on the commission. The city of Bona, now Annaba, is located in Algeria, where the vast majority of inhabitants were not black and did not appear sub-Saharan. This confirms that Pietro Tacca's intention to include the slave was intentional and had a specific motif. The racialisation of the Turk slaves can be observed in the Four Moor in San Marino.[38] The monument was executed on Pietro Tacca's model in 1632. It depicts four slaves, with their hands behind their backs and with collars around their necks, the collar represents propriety and subjugation of the individual, this specific element is associated with black slavery.[39] Exclusively black individuals are usually associated with this type of imagery.[40] In the Seventeenth century Africa is depicted in European art mostly as being enslaved by the Turks.[41] A Turk holding a chained figure representing Africa appears in the painting *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto and the Glory of the Colonna Family* (fig 8). The depiction was executed by Sebastiano Ricci in 1680, The image of the Turk represents Asia, he is holding Europe by the hair and attempting to grasp everything that surrounds him, whilst trampling on Africa. The Turk, which is depicted as a slave, has a shaved head and top knot which resembles Tacca's bronze Moors. It is evident that the Turk is being blamed for Africa's enslavement.[42] The celebration of Marcantonio Colonna II's military victory in the Battle of Lepanto is the reason for the commission of the Four Moor fountain in San Marino. The image of the slaves appears stylised, ultimately the four collared slaves have over exaggerated facial features[43]. Furthermore, the slaves' bodies, as previously mentioned differ from other

[37] Mark Rosen notes that the older slave known as Ali Saletino was described as a Saletin (Moroccan) by Mariano Santelli. The scholar is improbable and notes that the man was probably Turkish or North African, a light-skinned Muslim, as the vast majority of the slaves in Livorno. The slaves' appearance is traceable to Titian's painting of the Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto. Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany'.

[38]Holmberg, «The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750». Holmberg, 'The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750'.

[39] for an overview in figurative representations of black individuals in Italy consult David editor Bindman, Henry Louis Gates, and Karen C. C. Dalton, *The Image of the Black in Western Art. Volume III, From the 'Age of Discovery' to the Age of Abolition. Part 1, Artists of the Renaissance and Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Belknap, 2010).

[40]Whereas shackles and chains are associated with all kinds of slavery, the collar is regularly related to the Atlantic slave-trade, especially in a domestic context. McGrath and Massing, *The Slave in European Art*.

[41] McGrath and Massing, 18.

[42] McGrath and Massing, 18.

[43]The overblown facial features in the slaves, are the same features that Europeans believed to be unattractive. Literature of that period describing the ugliness of the Turks confirm these beliefs. Both in Albrecht Duhrer's Vier Burcher von menschchlicher proportion (1528) and Histoire general de les Turcs, written in 1620 by Artus

representations, they seem to be exhibited in an act of total submission, their bodies are not figured whilst struggling but seem on display. The female slave appears to be quite sexualised, the other slaves are in crouched-like positions, with one of their legs bent. The woman is instead represented on her knees with her legs open, her breasts are exposed and pushing forward[44]. The same sexual connotations seem to appear in Pietro Tacca's bronze sculptures, Nudity in the depictions of the Moors is not meant to be a way to showcase their beauty like Steve Ostrow suggests, rather it sexualises the slaves' bodies. Illicit sexual practices and prostitution were frequent in the *Bagni* of Livorno especially before the intervention of the Capuchin Order which intervened in minimising these interactions between Christians and Muslim slaves.[45] However in the case of the older slave, in the statuary group the nudity that appears suggests a different notion. It is quite an exception that a sculpture depicting a Turk slave figure complete nudity. In no other statuary complex featuring slaves which have been previously analysed, does this appear. The portrayal of his exposed body is far from the classic and aestheticizing of the *Dying slave* (fig 9) of Michelangelo, instead the slave's genitals are exhibited with the intent of humiliation. In conclusion the monument by Pietro Tacca in Livorno was not meant to arise compassion in the viewer, rather the slaves were meant to showcase the submission of these individuals

Conclusion

The portrayal of the slaves was intentionally executed in a humiliating manner, the positioning of their bodies which are tied and splayed for derision is recurrent in slavery monuments in the Seventeenth century. The Turks are not only depicted as captured populations that had to submit to a conqueror, like the Dacians had to surrender to the emperor Trajan, but they are displayed and ridiculed. Although the population was defeated and enslaved, the Dacians were still represented in an honourable way, their leader Decebal is represented in the Trajan column as he courageously slits his throat avoiding the act of surrendering to the Romans. The Dacians are indeed represented kneeling in front of the soldiers who are constricting their hands, but

Thomas, the unappealing flat noses and fleshy mouths of the Moors are ridiculed. Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His "Quattro Mori"'.

[44] Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes*.

[45] Corruption and violence were quite frequent in the Bagni of Livorno, the captains often gained money thorugh extorsion and illecit activities, accounts of money exchange for sexual favours were stated in some confessions. During a large trial in 1648 the Grand Dukes' envoy interviewed the slave Ramadan of Tunisi, he confessed to have witnessed these exchanges profiting his captain. Santus, 'Crimini, violenza e corruzione nel Bagno di Livorno: gli schiavi "turchi" in alcuni processi del XVII secolo'.

the enemy is represented with dignity. Of course this is not to say that representing the Dacians as a brave and admirable enemy was a way to showcase the glorious victory of the Roman army and the Emperor Trajan.[46] The imagery of Pietro Tacca's Four Moors not only is a depiction of a four prisoners of war, it is a representation the victors superiority over the defeated, this superiority was militaristic but it was ethnic as well, ultimately the racialisation of the monument, underlines a message of ethnic inferiority. Furthermore, the intention was to denigrate the image of the Turk and not bring attention to the condition of suffering of the slaves.

[46] Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and Luisa Franchi Dell'Orto, *L'arte romana* (Roma: Editori riuniti, 1984).

2. THE HISTORY OF FERDINANDO I DE MEDICI AND LIVORNO

Introduction

> Before the sea is an ample piazza for the market, where are the statues in copper of the four slaves, much exceeding the life for proportion, and, in the judgment of most artists, one of the best pieces of modern work. Here, especially in this piazza, is such a concourse of slaves, Turks, Moors, and other nations, that the number and confusion is prodigious; some buying, others selling, others drinking, others playing, some working, others sleeping, fighting, singing, weeping, all nearly naked, and miserably chained.[47]

These words appear in the diary's entry of Sir John Evelyn, an English author who toured Italy and France in 1644, eighteen years after Ferdinando I's monument was erected. On the 21st of October, he entered Livorno, where he saw the monument of the Four Moors and the area in which it was located. From Evelyn's testimony, it appears clear how the monument was both part and symbol of the specific cultural context of early modern Livorno. This historical and cultural background, which will be described in this chapter, is crucial to the understanding of the monument within the broader iconography produced in the Tuscany by the Medici and the Order of Saint Stephen, which will be analysed further.

The majority of the people who wanted to enter Livorno during the seventeenth century were likely to arrive by sea through the harbour. At the entrance of the port, the imponent statuary complex supervised each ship passing by or docking in the city, with the four enslaved chained to a large marble column, on which the victorious Grand Admiral Ferdinando I De Medici stood proudly. As it will be pointed out, the monument, visible from afar, was located in a very important area of the city and sent a clear message: the enemies of the Knights of Saint Stephen will succumb to their power.

During the early modern period, the Mediterranean was a lively and multi-cultural trading area, where people from its shores and beyond transported their precious cargos of goods all over Europe and the Middle East. Such a vibrant environment of commercial and cultural exchange

[47] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn: With an Introduction and Notes*, ed. Austin Dobson, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

also created the perfect conditions for illicit activities like privateering and piracy.[48] The free port of Livorno was fully integrated into this two-faced environment. On the one hand, the harbour attracted merchants and traders from all over the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. On the other hand, the city was the main port of the fleet of the military order of Saint Stephen. The Order, founded by Pope Pius IV (1499-1565), was controlled by the Medici and kept its naval fleet in Livorno. As the Knights of Saint John in Malta, the Knights of Saint Stephen carried out military actions against the Ottoman empire, and organized privateering activities against Muslim merchant ships. In doing this, they participated in that "endemic" phenomenon that was the Mediterranean piracy, as Fernand Braudel stated.[49] The Order's ships assaulted merchant vessels, seized precious cargoes and, above all, captured thousands of slaves to be employed as galley rowers or sold in the slave market of Livorno. [50]

This chapter will explain in detail the historical context in which the monument of the Four Moors was executed. Starting from three of its features, the following paragraphs will illustrate how it can be considered as a monumental source for understanding Medicean Livorno during what Salvatore Bono defined the "golden age" of Mediterranean privateering.[51] The first section will address the port of Livorno, the area in which the statue is located, which can be considered as an integrant part of its symbolic message. A focus on Ferdinando I's urbanistic project which prompted the enlargement of the port, will explain how the city developed into a busy commercial harbour and a major slave market in the Italian Peninsula. Secondly, the sculpture of Ferdinando I, admiral of the Order of Saint Stephen, will highlight how the privateering activities of the Knights of Saint Stephen played a fundamental role in shaping seventeenth-century Livorno and its anti-Ottoman identity. Finally, the four enslaved Moors of

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[48] Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean*, Princeton Modern Greek Studies (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[49] Fernand. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1995).

[50] On Mediterrenena slavery also see Salvatore Bono, 'La schiavitu nel mediterraneo moderno storia di una storia', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, no. 65 (2002): 1–16; Salvatore Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio* (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1993); Salvatore Bono, 'Schiavi in Italia: maghrebini, neri, slavi, ebrei e altri (secc. XVI-XIX)', *Mediterranea. Ricerce Storiche*, no. 19 (2010): 235–52; Michele Bosco, 'Il Commercio Dei Captivi Nel Mediterraneo Di Età Moderna (Secc. XVI - XVIII). Orientamenti e Prospettive Attuali Di Ricerca', *Cromohs - Cyber Review of Modern Historiography*, 2014, 57–82; Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*, Early Modern History (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Robert Davis, 'The Geography of Slaving in the Early Modern Mediterranean, 1500-1800', in *Critical Readings on Global Slavery*, 2017, 861–79, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004346611_028; Bonazza Giulia, *Abolitionism and the Persistence of Slavery in Italian States, 1750-1850* (New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2019); for an overview on global slavery that includes the Mediterranean context, see Damian Alan Pargas and Felicia Roşu, eds., *Critical Readings on Global Slavery* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2018).

[51] Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio*.

the complex will allow to fully understand the significance of the city's involvement with the slave-trade. As Evelyn's entry in his diary made clear, the presence of slaves in the harbour and in the city of Livorno was visible by every visitor. Moreover, it played a significant role in the making-process of the monument of the Four Moors, as the relevance of the slaves' conditions in the Bagni for Pietro Tacca will demonstrate. The *Bagni*, was a large structure where thousands of galley slaves were housed. The building perfectly reflected the city's major involvement with the slave trade and its hostility towards the Ottomans. Unfortunately, the *Bagni* were destroyed by bombings during the II World War, erasing a crucial symbol of the city's active role in the Mediterranean slave trade. Studies related to slavery often overlook Mediterranean slavery, especially by American or English scholars, focusing exclusively on the Atlantic slave-trade.[52] Salvatore Bono refers to this as "radical historical censoring" of slavery studies.[53] Material testimonies of this rather hidden story represent a tangible way for bringing it to the fore. In absence of such tangible marks like the *Bagni,* the Monument of the Four Moors constitutes an important symbol and testimony of the legacy of Livorno as one the most important slave-trade centres in the Mediterranean.

The statue in the port of Livorno

The monument of Ferdinand I and the Four Moors is located in the harbour of Livorno, facing the dock area. This was one of the most vital sites of the city, where the ships were unloaded, loaded or repaired. The location of the monument is not a casual one. Conversely, the representation of the Grand Duke in the port had two strong symbolic meanings. On the one hand, the monument was intended to supervise the ships that entered the port and remind any observer of the maritime power of Tuscany. On the other hand, the statuary group was erected to celebrate one of the most important of Ferdinando I's renovations in the Tuscan city. In fact, once Ferdinando I de Medici became Grand Duke, he re-built Livorno almost ex-novo, transforming the city from a malaria-infested coastline into a populated and busy port.[54]

Ferdinando I De Medici was born in 1549, as the son of Cosimo I De Medici and Eleonora da Toledo (1522-1562). Directed to the ecclesiastical career, he became an important cardinal in

[52] Bono.
[53] Bono is mentioned in Stephanie Nadalo, 'Negotiating Slavery in a Tolerant Frontier: Livorno's Turkish *Bagno* (1547–1747)', *Mediaevalia* 32, no. 1 (2011): 275–324.
[54] Stephanie Nadalo, 'Negotiating Slavery in a Tolerant Frontier: Livorno's Turkish \emphBagno', *Mediaevalia* 32, no. 1 (2011): 275–324, https://doi.org/10.1353/mdi.2011.0004.

Rome. Here, he had numerous prestigious offices: he was Gregory XIII's (1572-1585) closest advisor and eventually would crown the pope Sixtius V (1521-1590). During his experience as a cardinal, he acquired a great number of diplomatic skills, which would later distinguish his political actions as Grand Duke of Tuscany.[55] After his brother Francesco's death, he took his place as ruler of the Medicean state.

Once Ferdinando I came back to Tuscany, he soon began to transform Livorno with a very important plan of renovations that drastically changed the urbanistic tissue of the city. The Grand Duke started by building a second fortress, and later on he commissioned the construction of the previously mentioned *Bagni dei forzati*[56]. However, one of the main goals of Ferdinando's project was the construction of a larger port for the city. The huge task started in February 1591: a very large dike was built in order to keep the seawater from interfering with the digging[57]. The image of these works was later depicted by the artist Jacques Callot, who took inspiration form Rosselli's paintings in the Casino of San Marco (fig 10). Under the regime of Cosimo II de' Medici, the illustration was added to The Life of Ferdinando I, published between 1614 and 1620. In Callot's image of Ferdinando I and the fortifications of Livorno (fig 10), Ferdinando is sitting in the front and directing the operations. In the distance, one can spot the workers charged of building the port, that is to say the slaves that populated the city of Livorno. Although represented far away, it is possible to see the slaves transporting materials on a footbridge. According to Anton Francesco Gori, about one thousand and five thousand Turkish slaves toiled for five days at the construction of the harbour, which could be supervised by the Duke's court from a grand tower, while Ferdinando I himself circled below to supervise advancement of his project.[58] The image of the construction of the port clearly shows how enslaved Moors also represented the work force which allowed the city of Livorno to grow in the years of Ferdinando's rule.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Livorno was one of the most active ports of the Mediterranean, from which the Medici traded not only throughout the Western Mediterranean and the Levant, but also in Africa, India, the New World.[59] This was achieved through an

[55] Giorgio Moroni, *Dizionario Di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica Da S. Pietro Sino Ai Nostri ...* (Tipografia Emiliana, 1854).
[56] The structure of the Bagni as well as their function and the conditions of the slaves will be discussed in the last section of the chapter.
[57] Anton Francesco Gori, *La Toscana illustrata nella sua storia con varj scelti monumenti e documenti per l'avanti o inediti, o molto rari. Volume 1.* (In Livorno : per Anton Santini e compagni, 1755, 1755).
[58] Gori.
[59] Cornelia Danielson, 'Livorno: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Town Planning in Italy' (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1986), https://search.proquest.com/docview/303414231?pq-origsite=primo&accountid=12045.

efficient policy of commercial development, which started by strengthening the trading routes and building new roads. The Grand Duke also introduced new cultures, such as many plantations of mulberry tree, in order to launch a new silk making industry. According to Marta Caroscio, the effects of Ferdinando's policies are still visible in the Tuscan landscape, both urban and rural. As she herself put it, Ferdinando "correlated the public spaces of major cities with the Medici family until the two were synonymous; the whole territory reflected his investments in technical innovation and the development of trade networks".[60] In this process, the construction of the port played a pivotal role. In fact, the demographic and economic growth of the city occurred in 1591, when the port of Livorno became a *porto franco*: a free port open to traders from every nation. This happened after Ferdinando I stipulated the so-called *Livornine* laws in 1591 and 1593. These decrees were meant to protect merchants from excessive taxation and to grant them religious freedom, as they guaranteed protection from the persecution of the Roman Inquisition and permitted cults practice. These policies earned the city of Livorno the fame of being a tolerant city and allowed many communities of merchants to grow. These included "any nation: Eastern Levantines and Westerners, Spanish, Portuguese, Greeks, Germans, and Italians, Jews, Turks, and Moors, Armenians, Persians, and others".[61] As a result of the *Livornine*, Livorno also offered protections to criminals that committed crimes outside the Tuscan Duchy. This included protecting people participating in privateering and piracy, like the members of the Order of Saint Stephen, who plundered commercial ships and captured Muslim slaves in the Mediterranean.

To sum up, we showed how the location where the statue of the Four Moors was erected was charged of a strong symbolic meaning. Together with other projects of urban and rural development, the port renovated by Ferdinando played a key role behind the development of Livorno as one of the most vital commercial cities of the Mediterranean. The demographic and economic growth experienced by the city could have never happened without the legal reforms introduced by the *Livornine*, which opened Livorno's port to merchants from every country. In turn, this process completely transformed the face of the city and boosted the reputation of the Grand Duke: Livorno started being known for its religious freedom and cultural tolerance, Ferdinando I for his liberal policies in Tuscany. However, this chapter highlighted how the

[60] Marta Caroscio, 'Nelle Parti Di Romagna: The Role and Influence of the Apennine Lords in Italian Renaissance Politics', in *Florence in the Early Modern World: New Perspectives*, ed. Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Maxson, Themes in Medieval and Early Modern History (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 92–114.
[61] Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, *Le leggi Livornine: 1591-1593*, Percorsi nella storia (Livorno: Debatte, 2016).

material construction of this idea of economic and cultural liberalism was achieved through the exploitation of thousands of people who arrived in Livorno as slaves and worked on its renovation during Ferdinando's rule. Often overlooked by the scholarship on the city and the Medici, Livorno's legacy as one of the largest slave markets in the Mediterranean can be grasped through the images that represented this story of bondage and subjugation, like Callot's illustration of the construction of the harbour.

Ferdinando I and the Order of Saint Stephen

The grand marble sculpture of Ferdinando I De Medici stands proudly standing overlooking the Tyrrhenian sea. Not only did Ferdinando enlarge the port and fortify the city but he also commissioned monuments to celebrate the Medici and the Knights of Saint Stephen. It is important to note that Ferdinando I commissioned his own image to be depicted in the public space, for instance in the case of the marble sculpture by Giovanni Bandini. The Medici family did rely on the assertion of power through the arts. The Medici were a self-made banker family and through collecting antiquities and treasure they wanted to affirm their power and their lineage. During the cinquecento the Tuscan nobility had to compete with the greatest and richest courts in Europe. Their power and political strength was constantly conveyed in private or semi-private portraiture[62] and public spaces by grand equestrian statues that celebrated military victories, such as the *Equestrian Statue of Cosimo I De Medici* in Piazza della Signoria or the *Equestrian Statue of Ferdinando I de Medici* (fig 11) in Piazza Santissima Annunziata executed by Giambologna and Pietro Tacca in 1607. The image of the medici was carefully crafted, in the propagandistic effort to confirm their righteous position, next to the courts of Spain and France. Since the founder of Livorno was Francesco I De Medici, his son and successor Ferdinando had played an essential role in the modernization of the city. This is why to some extent he was considered to be the rightful founder of Livorno. The Order of Saint Stephen was founded by Cosimo I. Cosimo wanted to achieve better control over the Mediterranean Sea which was mainly under Spanish domain. In 1588, Philip II (1527-1598) presided over the seven main ports in the Mediterranean. This left Tuscany in control of Livorno and Pisa. The Order of Saint Stephen allowed the Medici to increase their prestige in the European context. The Pope Pius IV had authorised the creation of this military-religious order, which until this moment had been reserved to the royal families. On the 2nd of August

[62] Keith Christiansen et al., eds., *The Medici: Portraits and Politics, 1512-1570* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2021).

1562 the Order of the Knights of Saint Stephen was officially founded. The Order followed the footsteps of the Order of Malta, from its organisational structure to the emblem, which represented a cross. The Order was created to increase the status of the Tuscan nobility and the rulers. Only noble men could take part in the organisation, the Grand Dukes often simply ennobled aspiring non-noble members of the Order. One thousand royals were recruited, including the Medici and the closest families at their court. Although the Order of Saint Stephen had a certain reputation for not having serious obligations; commercial activities were banned but there were no regulations enforcing this law. Furthermore, the knights were allowed to get married which was an exceptional norm as it was a religious order. They obtained some modest naval victories such as the defence of Malta in 1565 and took part in the Battle of Lepanto. These achievements were used in Cosimo I and Ferdinando I's propaganda machine. One of the clearest examples is in the previously mentioned monument in Piazza Santissima Annunziata, where a great statue of Ferdinando I is depicted riding a horse. The statue celebrates the sequester of the Turkish ships by the hands of the Knights of Stephen. The bronze which was used in the execution of the monument was obtained by melting the cannons from the Turkish ships. The image of Ferdinando I De Medici as a powerful leader appears in the monument in Piazza Micheli. Mark Rosen states that "the monument simultaneously celebrates Medici authority, control of the seas, and defence against the Ottoman threat and it was directed to all who arrived in the Tuscan state from the sea".[63] The Order of Saint Stephen was a religious and military order. It consisted of a small but powerful fleet. It is relevant to contextualise how it operated in the Mediterranean. Salvatore Bono discussed the difference between pirates and corsairs. This difference in this context may be miniscule[64]. Muslim pirates raided the coastal cities and enslaved Christians as much as the Knights of Saint Stephen and the Knights of Malta. The monument of *Ferdinando I and the Four Moors*, therefore, is significantly linked to a strong anti-Ottoman propaganda which characterised sixteenth-century Livorno. Cosimo I De Medici's maritime policies were affected by the victories of the Ottoman fleets at sea from 1538 to 1541 against Charles V. The defeat of the Habsburg Empire at Preveza caused the number of Barbary corsairs to increase around the coasts surrounding the Italian and the Spanish peninsula. The safety of the Tuscan Republic was at risk and the duke wanted to showcase the relevance of the Republic in an international context.[65] The Duke's concern was to build an accord with the Ottomans in order to obtain privileged commercial

[63] Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany'.
[64] Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio*.
[65] Danielson, 'Livorno: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Town Planning in Italy', 171.

routes and peace treaties. The Order of the Knights of Stephen were not beneficial to this cause. The Ottoman-Tuscan relations were already strained by 1530. Florence had to face it's economical struggle after the fall of the last Florentine Republic and the Medici had many political debts and were relying on powerful allies, the Spanish, who were sworn enemies of the Ottoman Empire. The relations deteriorated when Cosimo I founded the Order of Saint Stephen. The political strategies of the Tuscan Republic were opposing. On the one hand the Order captured numerous corsairs and looted the ship's cargos. The booty was then displayed in a radical anti-Ottoman propaganda. On the other hand, the Republic of Tuscany tried to rebuild the ally-ship with the Sultan Selim II (1566-74). The Medici did this by sending ambassadors for political strategizing.[66] The constant enslavement of Turks at sea by the Order did not contribute to the creation of an alliance between Tuscany and the Ottomans. Although the ambassadors tried to argue that the Grand Duke did not have control over the Order's actions at sea (even though Ferdinando I was the Grand Admiral) on account of the fact that the orders were stipulated by the Pope Pius IV and the Spanish crown. An event in 1578 confirmed the Duke's involvement in the enslavement of the Muslims captured at sea. In October twenty-five slaves who had been ransomed, had been brought from Ancona to Istanbul. The men promptly confirmed that the Grand Duke did indeed control the galleys. The sultan immediately interrupted all the negotiations. The Medici were not able to rebuild the "ancient friendship" between Tuscany and the Ottoman Empire. The role of the corsairs in the delicate relations between the European states and the three Barbary states – Algeri, Tunisi and Tripoli – are not that dissimilar. The Muslim corsairs had the liberty to practice piracy as they wished and were also financed by the state.[67] The Medici Fleet in this case, was also financed by the Republic of Tuscany and they received orders from the latter. However, the corsairs could receive authorisation to conduct their own private activity, in this case they received a quarter of the booty. Sometimes the Christian corsairs were responsible for real acts of piracy (especially the Knights of Malta). The need for provisions pushed the Knights to raid coastal towns or ships. A number of corsairs also seized their ships and proceeded to become free adventurers with no licence from the order. For instance, in the case of Giovanni da Cannibus, a noble man from Livorno, he seized a cargo of leather and barley, as well as thirty enslaved Muslims who were mostly shepherds. Da Cannibus was arrested on the coast of Calabria.[68]

[66] Danielson, 143.
[67] Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio*, 22.
[68] Bono, 56.

Many cases like the latter were of common occurrence. Therefore, it becomes clear how the distinction between pirates and corsairs in the context of the Mediterranean is blurry.

The Knights of Saint Stephen had a major involvement in the piracy which occurred during the seventeenth century in the Mediterranean. They raided the Ottomans' coastal cities, and this allowed them to enslave Muslims who were used to row the ships. This showcased the navy's strength to the other European and Italian states. In 1607, the Order had eight ships. Subsequently to the battle of Lepanto, the number of Muslim slaves increased by 60% aboard the Tuscan ships, thus being 1617 galley slaves out of 1888 men. Before the battle of Lepanto, the ratio of slaves the overall crew was very high in ships run by Muslims. However, in Christian galleys this number was significantly smaller. Standard norms dictated that each galley had 1400 units, and this included slaves, but the number of *Bonavoglie* (freemen) had to be at least 130. This was because the Knights did not want to risk being outnumbered by the slaves. After the battle of Lepanto, the galleys hosted more slaves than any other ships, and this shows that the crew did not fear to be overpowered and felt that they had full control.[69] This shift was not only achieved by the military victory at Lepanto, but it also represented a cultural change. The idea was that the Muslims had been defeated and the supremacy of the Christians had been established. Therefore, one must bear in mind the complex dynamics in the Mediterranean while considering the maritime power conveyed strongly in the monument to Ferdinando I.

The slaves and the conditions in the *Bagni dei forzati*

The four slaves tied to the pedestal represented the Turks. These were the same slaves that were kept in the *Bagni dei forzati*. Livorno had a high slave population, which rose to eight percent at the beginning of the Seventeenth century. The slaves were both house-hold servants and galley slaves. This was quite a large percentage especially compared to larger cities such as Venice and Naples, whose slave population was about four percent. No other part of Europe at any point of history held so many Muslim slaves as rowers in their fleets as the Tuscan Grand Duchy. Over sixty percent of the ship's corpus was made up by Muslim slaves in 1616. This influenced the rebuilding of Livorno. A large complex was built for hosting the enslaved, which was completed in 1605. These structures housed the captives that worked in the galleys. The *Bagni* were a self-contained, fortified building, with commercial and military functions,

[69] Bono, 123.

dormitories, a penitentiary, a hospital, and bureaucratic offices that managed the slave-trade.[70] The largest *Bagni dei forzati* to be known were presumably in Algiers, holding more than twenty-five thousand Christian slaves. The architectural model of Livorno's *Bagni* was taken from the North-African structures. The largest *Bagno dei forzati* on the Italian Peninsula was in Livorno positioned near the port, and its three floors occupied one third of the fortified city, measuring 65.000 square feet (fig 12). The structure was quadrangular with dormitories that hosted a number of ship crews separately.[71] It was described as resembling a fortress, with high walls and four large rooms surrounding a courtyard. Each slave had two boards to sleep on.[72] The first slave barracks were built in the Cinquecento in a public bath, this gave these complexes the name *Bagni.* The term was taken from the Turkish word *Banyol*, which meant royal prison.[73] The statue of Ferdinando I and the Four Moors was built in direct proximity to the *Bagni*. The galley slaves kept there were not only inspiration for Pietro Tacca, but they were used as real-life models to create moulds for his bronze sculptures. This allowed the artist to create a bronze sculpture with the lost wax technique. The creation of wax moulds positioned the material on the areas of the body of different slaves, which then would compose extremely realistic sculptures.[74] The status of slave in the bronze sculpture is defined by the presence of the chains which constrict the men's wrists. Furthermore, the four individuals are depicted wearing a top knot, this is a defining feature of the Turkish slave. It was custom to shave the slaves head, leaving a small tuft of hair at the back of the skull. This was done to easily recognise fugitives.[75] It is not possible to avoid the connection between the individuals that were used as models and the sculpture. Furthermore, it is relevant to understand the conditions of these slaves in the context of the *Bagni*. One must note that the dual nature of the city is complex. On the one hand it was welcoming Jewish and Orthodox merchants and on the other it was largely populated by Turkish slaves which inhabited the *Bagni*. These large buildings often housed thousands of slaves in dire conditions. Scholars recently have been contrasting the notion that Livorno was in fact an early modern progressive cosmopolitan city *ante litteram.* Histography's general consensus was that Livorno was a liberal and open harbour, not only the policies of Ferdinando were enlightened but the city was renowned for the freedom it offered to foreign settlers. The *Leggi Livornine* were shaped around a great religious tolerance giving

[70] Nadalo, 'Negotiating Slavery in a Tolerant Frontier', 2011.
[71] Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany', 79.
[72] Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio*.
[73] Nadalo, 'Negotiating Slavery in a Tolerant Frontier', 2011, 278.
[74] Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His "Quattro Mori"'.
[75] McGrath and Massing, *The Slave in European Art*.

Jewish merchants the same rights as the Christian merchants. The settlers were free to profess their own religion. This was because Ferdinando wanted to attract a great number of merchants that could bring prestige to the city of Livorno. The idea that Livorno was a liberal state developed during the age of the Lumineers.

An aspect which allows us to gain a better understanding of the real conditions of the enslaved population of Livorno is the legal system and the crime records. The city of Livorno had the highest population of Muslim slaves than any other city in Italy. The structure of the *Bagni* was meant to keep the slaves in a prison-like condition. Even though sleeping in the port was better than sleeping aboard the ship for the galley slaves, the conditions were quite miserable. The slaves did receive clean water and some food during the week and could also sleep on a straw mattress, they also could pay in order to open a stall and sell products at the port (this occurred often in a system of corruption), they could learn to practice a skill such as cutting hair for instance. They could also earn with manual labour.[76] However they had to face diseases, difficult interpersonal tensions and intimidation from the guards and militia, the corruption was rampant. The housing conditions brought a high record of crimes. The legal repercussions for domestic slaves were more straightforward than the legal system surrounding galley slaves. The penal responsibility of the slaves during the Middle Ages fell on their owners. In Livorno, Muslim slaves were subjected to the same sentences as the citizens. If domestic slaves were caught stealing or committing other crimes they were processed by the Governor of Livorno, but this differed for galley slaves. The jurisdictional laws surrounding these slaves was more complex. They were subjected to the Knights of Saint Stephen on the galleys and when they were in the *Bagni*, under the control of the Galley Commissioner. One of the main reasons for high crime records is most likely wine. Part of the pension also included wine and the food was so scarce. The conditions of the *Bagni* were so difficult, the slaves killed each other for futile reasons. Extorsion and corruption were also quite common in these housing areas. Cases of religious dispute sometimes led to homicide. A popular punishment inflicted upon the slaves was to cut off the nose and ears. The level of corruption was also high and often the slaves were asked to pay money to be left alone or to have small privileges. [77] In 1648, the Grand Duke sent the chancellor Domenico Puccini to investigate after eleven slaves from the *Bagni*. The slaves had sent a letter denouncing that the Captain of the *Bagni* had stolen money from

[76] Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany', 41.
[77] Santus, 'Crimini, violenza e corruzione nel Bagno di Livorno: gli schiavi "turchi" in alcuni processi del XVII secolo', 103–7.

them. The chancellor questioned many sailors and slaves, and the system of corruption and extortion became clear. The captain Fabbroni was responsible for taking money from the slaves that wanted to lower their ransom (*Taglio*). This money depended on the status of the slaves and their property. Captain Fabbroni also took a percentage of a slave named Solimano Zoave that hid a large number of goods in the *Bagni*. Fabbroni was also guilty of hiding his extortions through the staging the suicide of a slave who wanted to denounce these activities to the authorities outside the *Bagni*. The network of corruption was uncovered by the chancellor. The jurisdictional system that the Order of Saint Stephen designed to regulate the slave quarters is very distant from the myth of the tolerant and open port city of Livorno. The conditions of the *Bagni* encompassed a world of abuse of power and violence. One must not forget that the individuals represented in the monument to Ferdinando I are with probability real slaves that were kept in the *Bagni*. As Elisabeth McGrath reminded: "All images of enslaved men and women, however abstracted in allegory or antique nudity, derive force from an awareness of slavery in a social reality."[78]

Conclusions

During the reign of Ferdinando I, the city of Livorno had flourished into a busy commercial port. The Medici's policies had opened the city to all merchants and allowed a significant economic growth. However, contrasting these ideas of religious tolerance was the thriving slave trade. One could say that slavery shaped the very urban tissue of Livorno: on one hand the enlargement of the port by choice of the Grand Duke saw the work of hundreds of slaves, on the other the presence of the large *Bagni*[79] that rose in direct proximity to the harbour points to their low value in the society they actively took part in shaping. Within the walls of these structures a world of violence and exploitation resulted in a network of corruption, perpetrated by the militia of Saint Stephen. The monument of the Four Moors by Pietro Tacca is a source for reconstructing this controversial story. Each element of the monument is a material representation of early-modern Livorno under the Medici and the Order of Saint Stephen's rule. In absence of other tangible reminders of the enslavement of thousands of people carried out by these rulers, Pietro Tacca's monument can be considered a memorial to this often-overlooked side of the city of Livorno.

[78] McGrath and Massing, *The Slave in European Art*.
[79] Santus, 'Crimini, violenza e corruzione nel Bagno di Livorno: gli schiavi "turchi" in alcuni processi del XVII secolo', 103–7.

3. THE MONUMENT AS AN ANTI-OTTOMAN SYMBOL

Introduction

The monument of the Four Moors has always been celebrated. According to Anthea Brooke, the beauty and the skilled execution of the bronze sculpture by Pietro Tacca are enough to be considered as a withstanding and "timeless" piece of art.[80] The sculpture is indeed referenced by many scholars investigating the socio-political context of seventeenth-century Tuscany and the Mediterranean.[81] However, the sculpture is not adequately framed in the iconographical tradition of Medicean representation of power, and more specifically in the propagandistic intention of Ferdinando I and the Knights of Saint Stephen.

Although Western European commercial activities shifted towards the Atlantic by the seventeenth century, the Mediterranean staged some major battles between the Catholics and the Ottomans. The small but aggressive army of the Knights of Saint Stephen raided the coasts of Northern Africa and affirmed their domain in the Mediterranean Sea. The military enterprises of the Order, although founded by Cosimo I De Medici, was heavily promoted during the reign of Ferdinando I De Medici. A large number of pamphlets were issued, explaining in great detail the victories of the knights.[82] Along these informative documents with a propagandistic nature, one must not forget the other means to promote the activities of the Order. Many authors composed lyrical texts, such as odes and panegyrics. A crucial role in this policy of celebration was played by the artworks commissioned by Ferdinando I and his son Cosimo II, both in private, semi-private, and in public locations. Paintings of the military victories of the Knights appeared in churches and palazzi in Tuscany, and sculptures celebrating the Grand Dukes were erected in the main squares of cities like Arezzo, Pisa, Florence, and Livorno. Because of this reason I will use the term "propaganda" whilst analysing these artworks, as these commissions were meant to for a large, non-specified public,

[80] Brook, *Pietro Tacca a Livorno : il monumento a Ferdinando de' Medici*.
[81] Danielson, 'Livorno: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Town Planning in Italy'.
[82] Giovanni Ciappelli and Valentina Nider, eds., *La invención de las noticias: las relaciones de sucesos entre la literatura y la información (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Trento: Università degli studi di Trento, Dipartimento di lettere e filosofia, 2017).

even though this term is not common referring to this period.[83] In the affirmation of the identity of the Order, the Duke Ferdinando I plays an essential role. Public monuments of a celebratory nature no longer figure him as the Grand Duke but as the Grand Master of the Knights. This distinguishes the depictions of Cosimo I, who represented himself wearing classical armour, creating a connection between himself and the splendour of the emperor Augustus. Ferdinando I is represented mostly in full armour, marked by the Cross of Saint Stephen, the symbol of the Order. Therefore, the Medicean representation of power under Ferdinando, became synonymous with the Stephanian affirmation. Furthermore, there emerged a strong anti-Ottoman component in the commissions from the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 and its presence increased in parallel with the most relevant military achievements of the Order, which were the themes of numerous commissions. This component constitutes an essential part of the Stephanian visual language. Following a series of elements in the imagery of these artworks related to the Duke and the Order of Saint Stephen, the monument of the Four Moors in Livorno clearly appears as the culmination of a strong political campaign.

In order to understand Ferdinando I's propagandistic intentions in the artworks he commissioned and how Tacca's monument encloses these intentions, one must trace the representations of the Christian and Muslim conflict in other propagandistic goals. In the first section of the chapter, the decorations of Palazzo Vecchio under the direction of Giorgio Vasari will be analysed, drawing attention to the representation of the battle of Piombino. The analysis will show that even though this depiction will be a model for further artworks the intention of the representation fits in a larger framework. The Medici and Cosimo I are celebrated as princes of the city of Florence and the paintings focus on the expansion and growth of the latter. The second paragraph will explore the summit of the Stephanian propagandistic language which will affirm itself with the ascent of Ferdinando I de Medici, who is responsible for the perpetration of artworks glorifying the Order. The view of the Turk as a religious, economic and cultural enemy intensifies after 1571 and even though more elaborate concepts emerge, such as the fascination for the "other", the Turk is depicted in Medicean art with clear negative connotations mostly of a religious nature. The military accomplishments of the Order allow new themes to enter the Medicean imagery. The interpretation of the monument of the Four Moors as a trophy of arms, confirms the ancient *Tropaeum* as a distinctive iconography in the visual language of the Knights of Saint Stephen. Ultimately, the importance of this statuary complex is reflected upon the presence of this iconography which is rooted in the cultural and

[83] Ciappelli and Nider, 136.

historical context of the time. The identity of the Knights of Saint Stephen and the monument of the Four Moors is perpetrated by the late generation of the Medici Dynasty. The persistence of this model can be identified in the commissions of Cosimo II, continuing his father's legacy.

Before Lepanto: Cosimo I and the Battle of Piombino

The Order of the Knights of Saint Stephen was founded by Cosimo I in 1561, eleven years before he was proclaimed Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1572. This religious order was created with the explicit military mission of fighting against Islam in the Mediterranean and protecting the coast of Tuscany from the incursions of Muslim corsairs. However, thanks to the pontificate of pope Pio IV (1559-1565), favourable to the Medici family, the Grand Duke of Tuscany was perpetually granted of the role of Grand Master of the Order, thus according to him a very significant control on its activities. His successor Francesco I was not as involved in the privateering activities in the Mediterranean Sea as Cosimo I. The Order's activities increased vastly under Ferdinando I De Medici. This feature of Cosimo and Ferdinando's policy also emerged in the artworks commissioned during their rule. More specifically, the use of great artistic commissions illustrating the feats of arms of Cosimo I, became a model for later works. A remarkable example of this is represented by Giorgio Vasari's painted ceiling in the Salone dei Cinquecento, commissioned during Cosimo I's rule, which greatly inspired Bernardino Poccetti's paintings in Palazzo Pitti from 1607-1609, featuring the Battles of Bona and Prevesa. Nevertheless the images that were used in these depictions significantly changed over the decades. The reason for these changes, can be associated with the patronage of these paintings, as they pertained to specific Medicean political campaigns. In this paragraph, the elements in Giorgio Vasari's military representation in the Battle of Piombino will be compared to that of Bernardino Poccetti's Sala di Bona, in order to demonstrate that although the Vasarian model was used by the latter, the composition did not reflect the same political and cultural message. This symbology will affirm itself after the Battle of Lepanto and this celebrative language will be adopted by Ferdinando I in the glorification of the Knights of Saint Stephen.

In 1555, Giorgio Vasari began to decorate the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, which had become the Ducal Palace in 1540 when Cosimo I De Medici made it his residence. During Cosimo's rule as Grand Duke the Sala dei Cinquecento, was decorated with images of battles which showed the expansion of the city. The main goal of these decorations was meant to showcase the alignment between the duke's interest and the city's interest. Therefore, Cosimo I De

Medici is exalted as a "citizen prince" who celebrated the "buon governo" of Florence. [84] On the wooden ceiling of the room, Vasari placed the battle of Piombino (fig 13), which represents the conflict between Cosimo I and the Franco-Ottoman forces guided by the admiral Dragut. In 1553 and 1555, the admiral attempted to invade Piombino, but was repelled by the Medici. In this battle, the Tuscan army won against the Turks and Piombino was annexed to the Medici's territories that Cosimo I relinquished in exchange for Siena and Cosmopoli. The painting represents the battlefield where the Medicean army fought against the Ottomans. In his *Ragionamenti* Giorgio Vasari described the details of the redecoration of Palazzo Vecchio, these paintings were executed from 1511-1574. The analysis of the dialogue between Vasari and the Grand Duke in his text, allows a better understanding of the composition. In the dialogue, Vasari states that he depicted the Turkish army being defeated and retreating to their ships. The Grand Duke then brings attention to the details of the arrangement; He notes that the city of Piombino is visible in the distance, he also remarks on the Turkish soldiers that are drowning at sea, while others are trying to save themselves by grasping the surrounding ships. The appearance of the fleeing men is characterised by their clothes and weapons. Most of the Turks have a Turban and some are holding shields. In the foreground, standing on a boat, a soldier has a very detailed and decorated scimitar hanging on his belt[85]. In the dialogue, the description of the painting ends with a clarification; the Duke asks Vasari to identify the large figure at the bottom of the scene, the artist notes that he added the figure of a triton holding a coral and a shell, to further ornate the composition.[86] It is clear by reading the words of Vasari that the divinity is inserted in the composition to beautify it. The decorative aspect of certain elements of Vasari's representation differs from the political meaning of images in Poccetti's composition. Fluvial divinities are represented, for instance, below the port of Livorno as allegories of the Tyrrenhian sea and the river Arno (fig 14). These figures are far from being purely decorative, as the deities represent the maritime power of the city of Livorno and moreover of the Grand Duke's naval activities. In the scene of Piombino, four standards appear in the distance, featuring the coat of arms of Florence. In later depictions these flags will be replaced with the red cross of Saint Stephen, symbol of the Order. The cross will appear in

[84] Gabrielle Langdon and Henk Van Veen, 'Review of Cosimo I de' Medici and His Self-Presentation in Florentine Art and Culture, Henk Van Veen', *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2007): 54.
[85] The attention to details in Islamic objects and the significance of this, will be discussed in the next paragraph.
[86]"P: …ma non so che si voglia dire quella figura grai de, che si vede dal mezzo in su.
G: È fatta per un mare, il quale sentendo questi romore, esce fuori con un ramo di corallo in mano, ce l'ho fatto per maggiore ornamento", Giorgio Vasari and Antonio Cavagna Sangiuliani di Gualdana, *Ragionamenti del Signor Giorgio Vasari sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in Firenze nel Palazzo Vecchio con Francesco Medici allora Principe di Firenze* (Pisa: N. Capurro, 1823), 254.

paintings and monuments celebrating military victories after 156. It will appear on standards, as well as in the peripheral decorations and on armours as it is visible in Poccetti's representation of the seizing of Bona (where the cross is on the banners carried by the soldiers as well as on the infantrymen's armour) and in public monuments such as Ferdinando I's chest armour by Giovanni Bandini in Livorno, to name a few. The decoration of the Salone dei Cinquecento figured the scenes of the major military achievements such as the Battles of Pisa and Siena, these victories allowed the city of Florence to expand under the reign of Cosimo I De Medici. The battle scene against the Turks is placed amongst other paintings which, not only represents the military victories but also celebrates the expansion of Tuscany, through the depiction of allegories representing the foundation of Borgo San Sepolcro, Anghiari and other Tuscan cities. In the centre of the wooden ceiling Vasari painted the Apotheosis of Cosimo I, the Duke is being crowned by the personification of the city of Florence. Although in the paintings decorating the Palazzo Vecchio there is conveyed a strong message, celebrating Cosimo I De Medici and the city of Florence, there is no distinct intention of showcasing an anti-Ottoman symbology. After Cosimo I founds the Knights of Saint Stephen, the rhetoric that had been part of the *invenzioni* of the artworks commissioned by the Medici, changes. This analyses, demonstrates how, although the images by Vasari create models for future military artistic commissions, they do not yet pertain to a specific visual language reflecting a strong hostility against the Ottomans.

The iconography of the trophy: the summit of the Stephanian propaganda

In 1587 Ferdinando I De Medici was proclaimed Grand Duke of Tuscany after the death of Francesco I, dismissing his vest of cardinal in Rome and assuming the role of Grand Master of the Order of Saint Stephen. When Ferdinando inherited the power, the Mediterranean Sea was allegedly at peace, as the treaty stipulated in 1577 by the two main political powers, the Spanish and the Ottoman empires, seemed to proclaim.[87] The years immediately after Lepanto highlighted the limits of the Catholic league and its glorious victory: in 1573, Venice stipulated a separate peace with the Ottoman empire; in 1574, the Ottoman admiral Uluj Ali re-conquered the barbaresque port of Tunis from Spain. This loss made clear how the finances of the Spanish empire were running short, seriously affected by the expensive war in the Low Countries, which will lead the crown to declare a bankruptcy in 1575. Starting from 1580, the foreign

[87] Phillip Williams, *Empire and Holy War in the Mediterranean: The Galley and Maritime Conflict between the Habsburg and Ottomans* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

policy of the Habsburg empire will shift its focus on the overseas possessions, after the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns. According to traditional scholarship, these political events marked the exit of the Mediterranean from the "great" European history. However, by the last decades of the sixteenth century the region was all but marginal in Western-European economy: the unprecedented flow of precious metals and goods arriving from overseas kept trade extremely alive in the Mediterranean. For these reasons, Cristian factions involved in privateering activities, like the Order of Saint John in Malta and Saint Stephen in Tuscany, entered what Salvatore Bono defined as their "golden age"[88]. During his government, Ferdinando I commissioned a series of redecorations and public monuments, which celebrated the major feats of arms of the Order. This paragraph will analyse the duke's redecorations, namely the Sala of Bona in Palazzo Pitti (1607-1609), the church of Saint Stephen in Pisa (1600-1615) and the armoury in the Uffizi (1588) in order to place the celebrative monument of the Four Moors in Livorno in the hight of Ferdinando's propagandistic language in the artworks of this period.

The year later Ferdinando's coronation, he commissioned the renovation of the armoury in the Uffizi, Ludovico Buti decorated the ceiling with frescoes of *grottesche* and battle scenes against the Ottomans.[89] These paintings are relevant as they allow an understanding of the anti-Ottoman nature of the works commissioned by the Medici. According to recent studies it was possible to trace a connection between Buti's figures to Jacopo Ligozzi's series of images that were popular in the second half of the XVI century featuring Turkish individuals that were represented in a stereotypical manner with the repetition of the same iconographical patterns.[90] The drawings of Turkish members of society by Jacopo Ligozzi often are depicted in proximity of an animal. The individuals are often placed next to or touching ferocious animals, both real or mythical. The choice of positioning the animals in the composition is not an arbitrary one, they carry a symbolic meaning. The animals depicted are not always fierce, for instance in the watercolour of *Turkish woman* (fig 15), she is depicted sitting down next to an unflattering

[88] Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio*.
[89] Ferdinando I De Medici commissioned the redecoration of the corridors in the Uffizi which was started seven years beforehand by Francesco I. The four rooms where the Medici kept their collection of weapons was redecorated by Ludovico Buti, the artist had already been active under the Medici. He had previously worked in the *studiolo* of Francesco I.
[90] These studies were conducted by Kyan Wilson who places the series by Ligozzi in the category of "Ottoman Costume Albums" which were popular in Germany at this time. The connection between Ligozzi's Turkish figures and Buti's Affreschi in the Uffizi was researched by Chiara Giulia Morandi. See, Chiara Giulia Morandi, 'L'immagine del Turco tra storia e allegoria. Riflessioni intorno a un foglio "ottomano" di Jacopo Ligozzi e al suo possibile contesto fiorentino', *Intreccid'arte* 7 (2018): 26–49.

image of dog, relieving itself.[91] It becomes clear that the intention is that of creating a direct association with these beasts. Buti's frescoes depict both Turkish and Mexican figures within the *grottesche*, the latter are probably represented on Ligozzi's model, as they are surrounded with animals such as winged serpents, or bizarre fictional creatures.[92] Both Buti and Ligozzi's images, incarnate the tendency of the time: it showed two concepts that coexisted; on the one hand, the images showed the fascination of the elite with the "other", on the other hand it never relinquished the vision of the Ottoman as a political and economic, but especially religious menace to the Western world. The intention of fascinating the viewer is also reflected in the figures' appearance. In Buti's frescoes these individuals are depicted wearing detailed and coloured clothing, reflecting the fashion of this period. It becomes clear that these drawings were meant to attract the viewers' interest. Pieces of clothing, namely, a colourful turban was meant to fascinate the intellectual elite. The same can be said of the weapons that appear in Ligozzi's figurines as well as in Buti's frescoes.

It is important to remember that the battle scenes and *grottesche* decorated the armoury, the area of the Uffizi where the Medici held their collection of weapons, some of which were prizes of war. Collecting spoils from the battles was also a way to gain material knowledge about their enemies, as well as a symbolic act of victory.[93] Particularly, the spoils of war were often represented as decoration in the celebratory commissions that followed the military victories against the Ottomans. This feature was also to be found in the monument of Ferdinand I and the Four Moors. Even though the trophies were subtracted from the monument at the beginning of the Nineteenth century, originally these weapons were also included in Pietro Tacca's statuary group.[94] The details that appear of the tokens in pictural testimonies of Pietro Tacca's trophies confirm that the intention was analogous to that of Buti or Ligozzi. Despite the viewing

[91] Morandi, 44.
[92] The depictions of Mexican figures are larger in number then the Ottoman figurines, Ludovico Buti used the illustrations of the book in the Biblioteca Lurenziana in Florence Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España by Bernardino de Sahagún, this was to obtain the most documentarised information on the representation of the Mexican world. See, Morandi, 46.
[93] Marco Merlo, 'Le Armi Islamiche Nelle Armerie Medicee', in *Islam e Firenze. Arte e Collezionismo Dai Medici al Novecento, Catalogo Della Mostra*, ed. G. Curatola (Firenze: Galleria degli Uffizi e Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 2018), 153–69.
[94] In 1799 the General Miollis entered the city of Livorno. Upon seeing the statuary complex, he sent a letter to the municipality of Livorno where he stated that the statue was an insult to humanity and should be removed immediately. The abolitionist movement in France in this period, was tearing down slavery monuments, such as the equestrian monument of Henri IV. The sculpture of the monarch was destroyed and the four prisoners which were tied to the pedestal were kept and are now in the Louvre. Even though the French troops never destroyed the monument of the Four Moors, the bronze trophies were taken from the monument. Accounts of the original appearance of the monument is known because of Mariano Santelli's account and as well as a painting by Volterrano. Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany'.

of the trophies is limited to certain angles of the pictural representations of the monument[95], it is possible, thanks to paintings and prints of the original monument, to see the pattern on the mantle, the elegant curve of the bow and what appears to be embroidery on the turban (fig. 16-17-18).[96] Nevertheless, the fascination that accompanied these objects was never separated from the constant consciousness of the Ottoman threat. This particular vision was enhanced radically after the battle of Lepanto. In 1571, The Holy League arranged under Pius V beat the Ottomans. Although Fernand Braudel stated that "Lepanto was only a naval victory"[97] on account of the fact that the Ottoman expansion was not altered, a large cultural change affected the view of the Turk in the Western world. Rick Scorza states that for instance the view on slavery changes drastically. Most of the written accounts of the time stop referring to the Turks that were captured as prisoners and instead refer to them as slaves. Scorza remarks that this is not just a semantic issue, but it constitutes a cultural change.[98] The cultural shift had an impact on the symbology used to represent the Turks in Western artworks. This phenomenon can be observed in Jacopo Ligozzi's figurine of *Sultan with dragon,* where the association between the animal and the Sultan has clear negative connotations.[99] The iconography of the Turk as a dragon appears in the Ottoman crusade propaganda throughout the battle of Lepanto. The Dragon represents the infidel (the Turk). The mythical animal has negative connotations, as it is conceived as an imminently an evil animal in Catholicism. Therefore, it was indeed used as an anti-Ottoman symbol of the Lepantine period, where religious allegories are vastly used.[100] In this context, Jacopo Ligozzi played an important role in the grand commissions of the Medici, more specifically of the Order of Saint Stephen. In 1604, Ligozzi decorated the wooden ceiling of the church of Saint Stephen in Pisa.[101] He completed two paintings, in order of the closest to the altar: *The Return of the Knights of Saint Stephen from the Battle of Lepanto (fig)* and *The Fall of the city of Prevesa*. In the first painting, the Tuscan army is entering the city of Livorno after the victory against the Ottomans in 1571. The Battle of Lepanto is the greatest

[95] The pictorial images and prints that feature Pietro Tacca's Four Moors before the removal of the trophies are: Volterrano's *Allegory of Victory* in Villa Petraia, Stefano della Bella's *Vedute di Livorno,* Gaetano Vascellini's *Veduta del Celebre Gruppo detto de quattro Mori. veduta di città*

[96] Accounts by Mariano Santelli state that these objects were: a turban, a mantle, a scimitar, a bow, a quiver and arrows among others Magri, Santelli, and Santelli, *Stato antico e moderno ovvero origine di Livorno*.

[97] Ciappelli and Nider, *La invención de las noticias,* 1.

[98] Rick Scorza, 'Messina 1535 to Lepanto 1571: Vasari, Borghini and the Imagery of the Moors, Barbarians and Turks', in *The Slave in European Art: From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, ed. Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing (London: Warburg Institute, 2012), 121–64.

[99] Jacopo Ligozzi, *Sultano with dragon*, ante 1588, Geneva, Jean Bonn collection.

[100] Morandi, 'L'immagine del Turco tra storia e allegoria. Riflessioni intorno a un foglio "ottomano" di Jacopo Ligozzi e al suo possibile contesto fiorentino'.

[101] The Church was built under the reign of Cosimo I de Medici in 1565, Vasari was the architect of this project.

maritime triumph of the Knights of Saint Stephen prior to the reign of Ferdinando I. The depiction represents the grand constable of the Order, on a rearing horse, while holding the baton of command, the symbol of the baton is usually held by a high-ranking military officer, and it underlines a status of power. It appears often in the representations of Ferdinando I, such as the equestrian monument in Piazza S.S Annunziata as well as the monument of *Ferdinando I and the Four Moors*. Ligozzi's painting features some Turkish men, taken as slaves to the port of Livorno. One of the slaves in the centre of the composition is holding some objects, taken as spoils. It is possible to identify: a turban, a silk mantle, a bow and quiver with arrows and what appears to be a standard. What is clear in Ligozzi's composition is his intent to glorify the important military achievement obtained by the Knights of Saint Stephen in the Holy League against the Turks. This is further evidenced by the large Cross of Saint Stephen, which is depicted on the Grand Constable's armour, a similar cross appears on Giovanni Bandini's marble sculpture of the Duke Ferdinando I. In conjunction with the intensification of the military activities of the Knights, numerous texts recounting the feats of arms were published from 1602-1609.[102] These battles were then featured in grand commissions in the major palaces and piazzas. This pattern gives a very clear idea of the propaganda machine represented by the order of Saint Stephen. For instance, this is what happened for the Battle of Bona in 1607, which was one of the most important expeditions for the Stephanian fleet. The ships left the port of Livorno in 1607. The seizing of Bona (current Annaba in Algeria) was a military operation that occurred in the Maghreb territories of the Ottoman Empire by the Tuscan army at the beginning of the XVI century. The knights of Saint Stephen were leaded by Ferdinando I, the mission was guided by the admiral Jacopo Inghirami and the High Constable of the Order, Silvio Piccolomini. The motivation of the expedition is reported by Vincenzo Piazza[103], who states that the city of Bona had killed some knights of Saint Stephen that had shipwrecked near the coast. Because of the privateering activities that the Tuscan army practiced along the African coast, their heads were impaled on stakes, and displayed on the city wall.[104] However the expedition was successful for Ferdinando I's army. The battle lasted six hours, the reports

[102] Ciappelli and Nider, *La invención de las noticias*, 136.
[103] Vincenzo Piazza, *Bona Espugnata Poema Del Cavalier Conte Vincenzio Piazza al Serenissimo Cosimo Terzo Granduca Di Toscana... Coll'Allegoria Estratta Dal Conte Marcantonio Ginanni ... E Cogli Argomenti Del Conte Fabbrizio Monsignani* (Firenze: nella Stampa di Corte di S.A.S., 1694), https://books.google.it/books?id=IIXT_QpizJ4C. Piazza.
[104] Olafur Eglisson witnessed the same in the city of Livorno in 1627. The enslaved man upon entering the city saw Pietro Tacca's monument and noted that the heads of Turks were positioned on pikes surrounding the statue on a wall. Karl Smari Hreinsson, Adam Nichols, and Olafur Egilsson, *The Travels of Reverend Olafur Egilsson: The Story of the Barbary Corsair Raid on Iceland in 1627* (Catholic University of America Press, 2018).

state that the army fought with courage and without acts of betrayal.[105] After this victory, in 1607 the artist Bernardino Poccetti decorated Palazzo Pitti in Florence with the military enterprises of Prevesa and Bona. In the large frescoes representing the siege of Bona depicted by Poccetti, the Knights of Saint Stephen are shown trying to enter the city walls. commanded by Jacopo Inghirami. The battle was in fact one of the most celebrated and important achievements of the Tuscan army.[106] The representation of *the Duke Ferdinando I Receiving the Turkish Prisoners and the Spoils of war*, shows the ruler receiving a procession, the Knights of saint Stephen accompanied by war prisoners captured during the invasion of Bona, the latter are holding the spoils. Near the Dukes feet, on the floor it is possible to see some weapons such as two spears and a scimitar. The image of the duke is also painted as a marble bust above the doorway. The bust is circumscribed in a medallion and is being held by two putti. Ferdinando is wearing a cape and an armour and has an austere expression. Above the medallion on the left section the medici coat of arms is surmounted by the symbol of the cross used by the knights of saint Stephen. Surrounding the medallion, a number of weapons are represented in grisaille (fig 19). The weapons appear to be trophies collected from the defeated enemies, one can observe the similarities between the types of weapons, that appear in other paintings representing Turkish accoutrements. For instance, the scimitar, as well as the bow quiver and arrows appear in the decoration. This type of images featuring the enemies' weapons, pertains to the representation of the trophy of arms, which has a revival in the Renaissance.[107] The ritual of the trophy of arms can be traced to the Greco-Roman world. After the battle the weapons of the defeated were taken as a symbol of the victory.[108] In the ancient iconography of the *Tropeaum* featured a cumulus of weapons accompanied by chained prisoners. The Renaissance revival of the motif can be also found outside Tuscany. As Anthea Brook suggested, the Four Moors was directly modelled on the monument celebrating Andrea Doria, the Genoan admiral, realised by Giovanni Montorsoli 1539. In this statue the admiral is dressed in an armour, he is standing on a cumulus of weapons (fig 20).[109] Therefore, it appears clear that the trophies below Ferdinando's feet in Livorno were put in place following this solution. The bronze trophies which were added to the statuary group are no longer present, as previously mentioned, they

[105] There is no way to assess the truthfulness of the accounts, as these texts had a strong propagandistic nature. Piazza, *Bona Espugnata Poema Del Cavalier Conte Vincenzio Piazza al Serenissimo Cosimo Terzo Granduca Di Toscana... Coll'Allegoria Estratta Dal Conte Marcantonio Ginanni ... E Cogli Argomenti Del Conte Fabbrizio Monsignani*.
[106] The Battle of Bona is also represented in the church of Saint Stephen by Greco Chimenti, known as l'Empoli.
[107]McGrath and Massing, *The Slave in European Art*.
[108] https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/trofeo-e-fregio-d-armi_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27-Arte-Antica%29/
[109] Brook, *Pietro Tacca a Livorno : il monumento a Ferdinando de' Medici*, 30.

were taken during the Napoleonic invasion. However, the importance of this iconography can be further highlighted by the fact that Vincenzo Borghini, the Medicean court iconographer, under Cosimo I, Francesco I and Ferdinando I. In fact, Borghini proposed to include the *signis receptis*, upon coining commemorative medals for the foundation of the Knight of Saint Stephen. These *signis* were the ancient model that figured the entrance of the troops in carrying the military insignia of the enemy.[110]

To conclude, this analysis illustrated how the Turkish weapons taken from the enemies constituted a powerful symbolic action that resounded throughout the Medicean imagery of this period. The representation of Ottoman spoils of war in Medicean commissions was functional to a glorification of the family and the Order of Saint Stephen through the subjugation of the Muslim threat. Not only they created fascination by representing a powerful and dangerous Other, but the revival of the trophy iconography had explicit propagandistic intentions. In this context, the artworks commissioned to celebrate the figure of Ferdinando I De Medici and the Knights of Saint Stephen can be considered the culmination of the artistic language that belonged to the Medicean propaganda. The placement of the monument of the Four Moors within the figurative artistic commissions extending from the period of the Battle of Lepanto allows an understanding of how the monument constitutes the summit of the Stephanian artistic language.

The legacy of the anti-Ottoman iconography: Cosimo II's commissions.

As we argued in the previous sections, the visual language of the Grand-Ducal identity and the dedication of the Medici dynasty in affirming their legacy through the political propaganda was dictated by a clear anti-Ottoman symbolism that appeared in the artwork they commissioned. The patronage of these artworks continued long after the death of Ferdinando I, who was responsible for creating this specific artistic language. This is clearly visible in the commissions of Ferdinando's successor as Grand Duke: Cosimo II De Medici (1590-1621). In this section the major artworks that evidence this trend will be analysed. Namely, the completion of the monument of the Four Moors (1621-1626), the Casino di San Marco (1621-1623), and the Fasti Medicei in Villa Petraia (1637-1646).

[110] Gino Belloni et al., eds., *Vincenzio Borghini: Filologia e Invenzione Nella Firenze Di Cosimo I* (Florence, Italy: L.S. Olschki, 2002).

After the death of Ferdinando I De Medici in 1609, his son Cosimo II De Medici was proclaimed Grand Duke of Tuscany. The artistic commissions that had been started by his father were completed under his reign. The completion of these artworks allowed the continuation of the legacy of the propagandistic language of hostility against the Turks promoted by Knights of Saint Stephen. First and foremost, Cosimo II was responsible for the erection of the marble sculpture of Ferdinando I by Giovanni Bandini in 1617, which for unknown reasons had not been installed and had been stored in Piazza della Darsena until this point.[111] In 1621, Cosimo II commissioned the four bronze sculptures to Pietro Tacca, completed in 1626. The duke wanted to replace the marble sculpture of Ferdinando I with the Allegory if Victory but this project was never completed.

In the same year Cosimo II requested the execution of the Four moors, the redecoration of the Casino di San Marco was inaugurated. Carlo De Medici, the son of Cosimo, commissioned a series of architectural works in the Casino. He then asked the artist Matteo Rosselli to decorate five rooms in celebration of the Grand Dukes, which were completed in 1623. The first two rooms were dedicated to Cosimo II who had passed away that year in February, the remaining rooms were assigned to the remembrance of Francesco I, Cosimo I and Ferdinando I. The paintings in the room dedicated to Ferdinando I, showcase the undertakings of the Grand Duke in the fortification of the city of Livorno and ultimately celebrate his military achievements as the Grand Master of the Order. In the lunette depicting the notorious battle of Bona, a female personification of the Knights of Saint Stephen is holding a chained prisoner. The reference to the monument of the Four Moors is clear, and the image appears more truculent than Pietro Tacca's as the figure is stepping on the slaves' head.[112]

The continuity of the Medici dynasty and the accretion of their power through the generations is tributed by the *Fasti Medicei* in Villa Petraia. Volterrano, the artist, depicted the splendours of the Medicean family. These works were commissioned by Don Lorenzo, Ferdinando I's youngest son. The painting of *Cosimo II receiving the victors of Bona* (fig 21) makes evident once again how this battle was central to the rhetoric of the Order of Saint Stephen. Furthermore, there is a seamless inheritance of the legacy of this rhetoric, that is confirmed by the presence of both Cosimo II and Ferdinando I. In the painting of the *Sea Triumph of Ferdinando I,* the monument in Livorno featuring the Four Moors is represented. In the

[111] Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His "Quattro Mori"', 134.
[112] Katherine M. Poole, 'The Medici grand dukes and the art of conquest: Ruling identity and the formation of a Tuscan empire, 1537–1609' (Ph.D., The State University of New Jersey, 2007), https://www.proquest.com/docview/304802601/abstract/828D6D674F674101PQ/1.

distance, the ships of the Medicean army are entering the Port of Livorno. The statue of Ferdinando I is being crowned by two winged Victories. Volterrano's painting depicts the dominance of Tuscany on the sea. In his work, it becomes evident that Ferdinando's legacy did not end with his death, but rather it continued during his successor's rule. The image of the Four Moors constantly appears in the Stephanian artistic language. For this reason, Anthea Brook correctly refers to the monument as a timeless piece of art, as its imagery resounds in the visual language of the Knights of Stephen and the identity of the Medicean dynasty.

CONCLUSION

The monument of the Four Moors was chosen as a symbol of enslavement by the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020. Gathered at the feet of the four chained individuals, the human suffering connected to the state of slavery was considered by the activists as universal. Regardless, the monument was mostly received positively by travellers, diarists and even slaves, as in the case of Olafur Eglisson, who admired the realism of the slaves as many did before during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth century.[113] At the beginning of the Nineteenth century, with the affirmation of the Abolitionist movements, the monument started to have a mostly negative impact of foreigners such as the American artist Rembrandt Peale who referred to the monument as "disgusting".[114] The image appeared offensive to these men, the slaves in crouched positions, the constrictions and the struggle in their faces must have had a strong impact.

In the first chapter of this thesis, we explained the reason why the appearance of the slaves and the portrayal of their naked bodies reveal the commissioner's intention of rendering the Turks in a humiliating manner. The bodies of the Turk slaves in Pietro Tacca are not just splayed in a degrading way, for example in exposing the genitals of the older slave, but also the facial features are racialised. The appearance of most of the slave population in Livorno was probably North-African. Nevertheless, Pietro Tacca depicts a sub-Saharan slave, and the same intention is traceable to the Four Moors in the fountain in San Marino. The sexualisation of the female slave in the fountain is also evident, her body differs from the positioning of the other male slaves and appears to be displayed with sexual intention, a similar intention can be seen in the sub-Saharan slave in Ferdinando I and the Four Moors. In order to execute the four bronze Moors placed below Ferdinando I's marble sculpture, Pietro Tacca entered the *Bagni dei forzati*, a large architectural complex that held the slaves: This prison to host galley slaves was built under Ferdinando I and was one of the largest of the Seventeenth century. Pietro Tacca accessed this building to create some models, these were made by creating wax moulds on different slaves as to create extremely realistic bronze sculptures.

[113] Hreinsson, Nichols, and Egilsson, *The Travels of Reverend Olafur Egilsson*.
[114] Peale, *Notes on Italy*.

This aspect of the monument's execution clearly shows how relevant is to analyse it in the context of early-modern Livorno and the Mediterranean slave-trade. For this reason, in the second chapter we illustrated how different elements of the monument represent tangible evidence to reconstruct this historical background often overlooked by the scholarship. The city of Livorno had a dual nature. It was a liberal and tolerant port city that had affirmed itself as free port, after Ferdinando I's *Livornine:* a series of regulations that protected from religious persecution and reduced taxation and greatly benifitted merchants. The liberal commercial city was contrasted by its slave market and the environment of corruption, crime and violence of the *Bagni*. This feature of Livorno is crucial for the purpose of understanding why the city was known for its hatred for the Ottomans. Founded by Cosimo I De Medici, the Knights of Saint Stephen were the main actors behind the city's involvement in the Mediterranean slave trade. When Ferdinando I became Grand Duke and Admiral of the fleet, the Order significantly intensified the privateering activities against the Muslims. A series of pamphlets were issued with the military enterprises of the order, and Ferdinando I published these for a propagandistic scope. The third chapter of this work showed how this propagandistic effort also extended to the contemporary artworks. Its main objective was to promote the power of the Order by highlighting its anti-Ottoman nature. The artistic commissions celebrating the enterprises of the Knights of Saint Stephen were depicted in the palazzi and monuments around the city of Livorno and in other Tuscan centres. The campaign against the Ottomans in the Mediterranean became a central theme in the Stephanian iconographic propaganda commissioned by the Medici family. This iconography was characterized by different elements that developed in the historical context of their production. Firstly, the shift in the European view of the Turks that occurred regarding after the Battle of Lepanto, promoted a series of symbols and iconographies in the artistic language commissioned by the family. Secondly, a key role was played by the iconography of the trophy of arms, which had a revival during the Renaissance. As it has been shown, this motif appeared in multiple Medicean artworks and represented the triumph of the conqueror celebrating the military victory with weapons and objects taken from the enemies. The monument of the Four Moors was an integrant part of this artistic language. When Pietro Tacca was asked to add the four bronze statues of the slaves to the marble representation of Ferdinando I by Giovanni Bandini, in 1609, the Knights of Saint Stephen had recently achieved some relevant victories against the Ottomans, like that of Bona in 1607. In this political context, the intention of the artist is to further glorify the leader of the Knights by expressing his dominance over the Ottomans. Placed at the feet of Ferdinando I, the four slaves clearly showcase an idea of subjugation of the infidels. The suffering of the Four Moors cannot be

considered a symbol of a universal condition of enslavement beautified by the aesthetic appearance of the bodies, as argued by Steven Ostrow. Conversely, Tacca's aim, as that of the commissioners, was to willingly place the different ethnicities of the Ottomans in a position of humiliation and degradation.

To conclude, this works aimed to reconsider this monument in the light of the specific historical context of its production. Whereas the initial goal of the monument was to glorify the figure of Ferdinando I, thus characterising it as a celebrative one, this aspect cannot suffice anymore to the modern viewers. The celebration of Ferdinando kept the bodies of the enslaved in a subjugated position until our days, leaving the story of Livorno's role in the Mediterranean slavery overlooked. Recent scholarship started pointing out how this aspect of the city's story should be taken more into consideration in order to question the idea of a totally liberal and tolerant port. Therefore, a re-reading of this artwork is necessary to understand its value as a material testimony of this social and cultural context, which constantly promoted an idea of glorification through the subjugation of a racialised other. The Four Moors should represent a memorial of the conditions experienced by the thousands of people enslaved in Livorno.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig 1. Giovanni Bandini and Pietro Tacca, *Ferdinando I and The Four Moors*, Piazza Micheli, Livorno

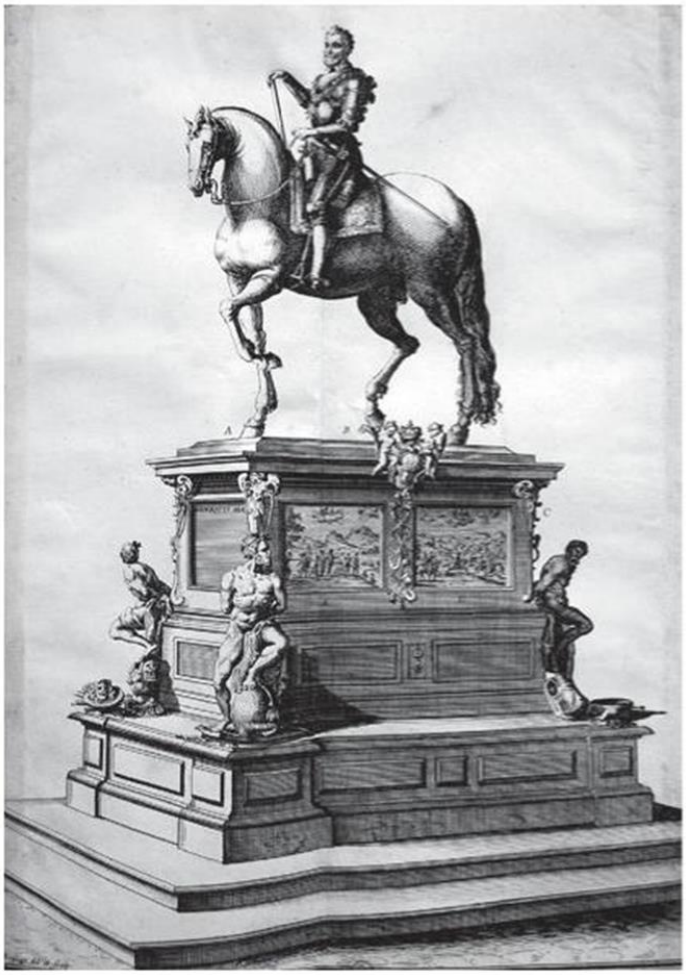

Fig 2 Pierre Brissart, *Equestrian statue of Henri IV*, Paris.

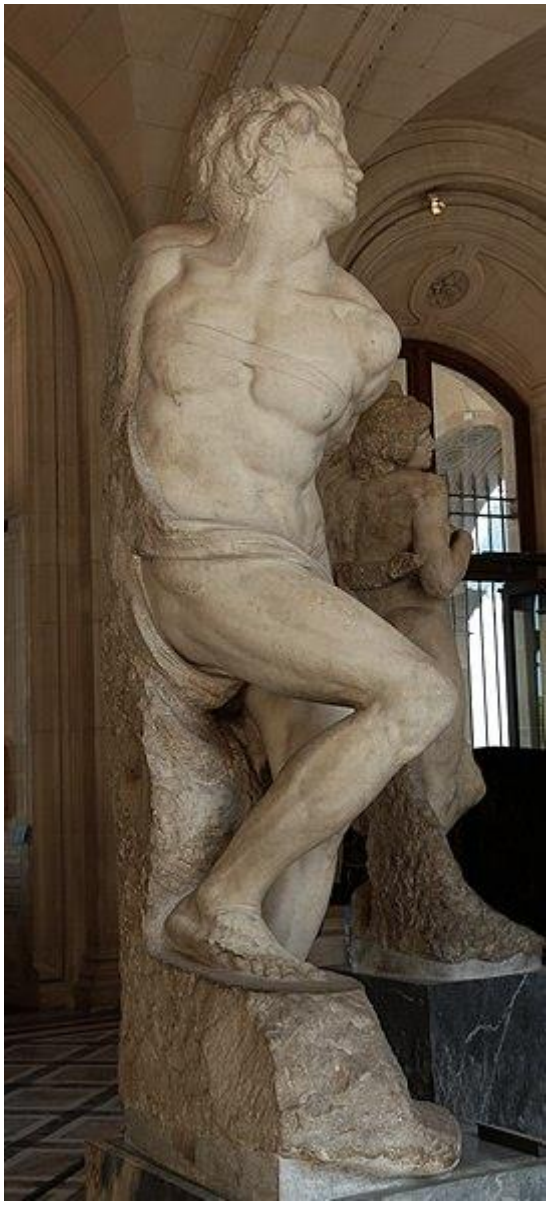

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Fig. 8. Sebastiano Ricci, *Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto*, 1695, fresco, Palazzo Colonna, Rome

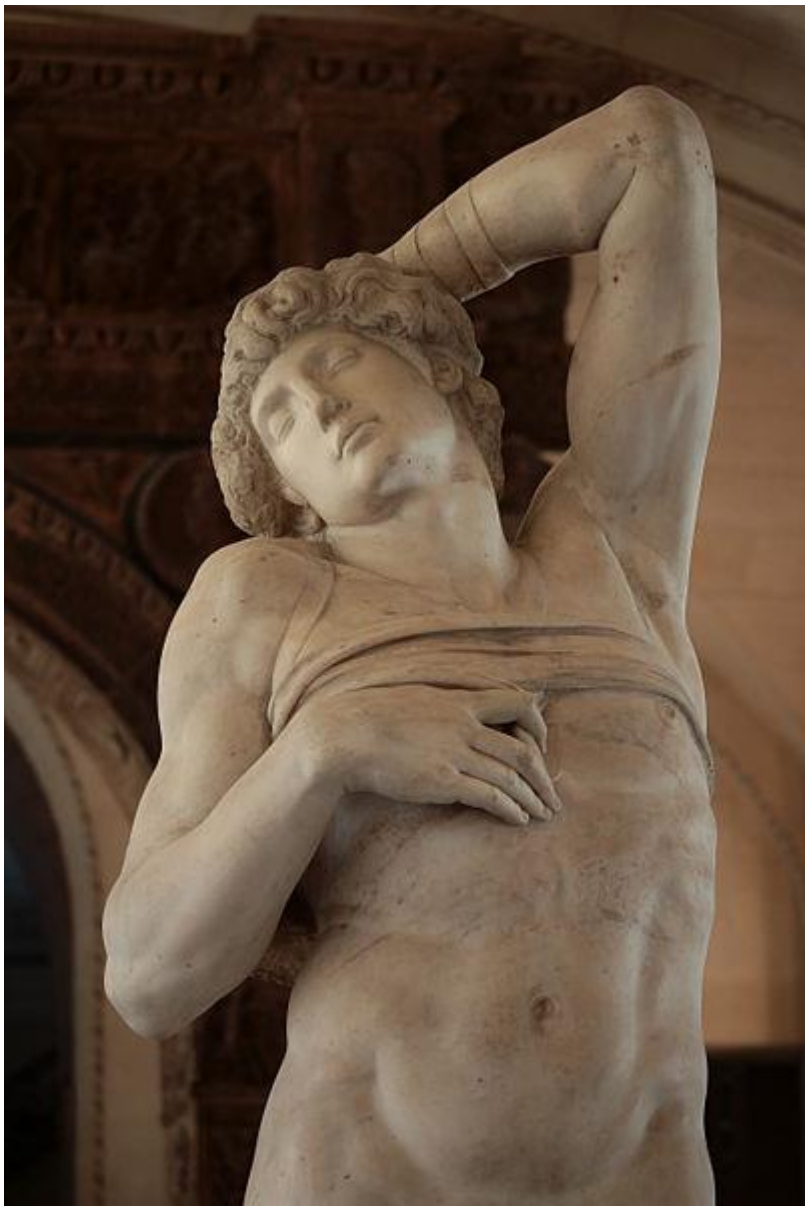

Fig. 9. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Dying Slave,* 1512, Louvres, Paris

Fig. 10. Jacques Callot, *Ferdinando I and the Fortification of the Port of Livorno*, 1600-1619, Capodimonte museum, Naples

Fig. 11. Giambologna and Pietro Tacca, *Equestrian sculpture of Ferdinando I De Medici*, 1602, bronze, Piazza Santissima Annunziata, Florence

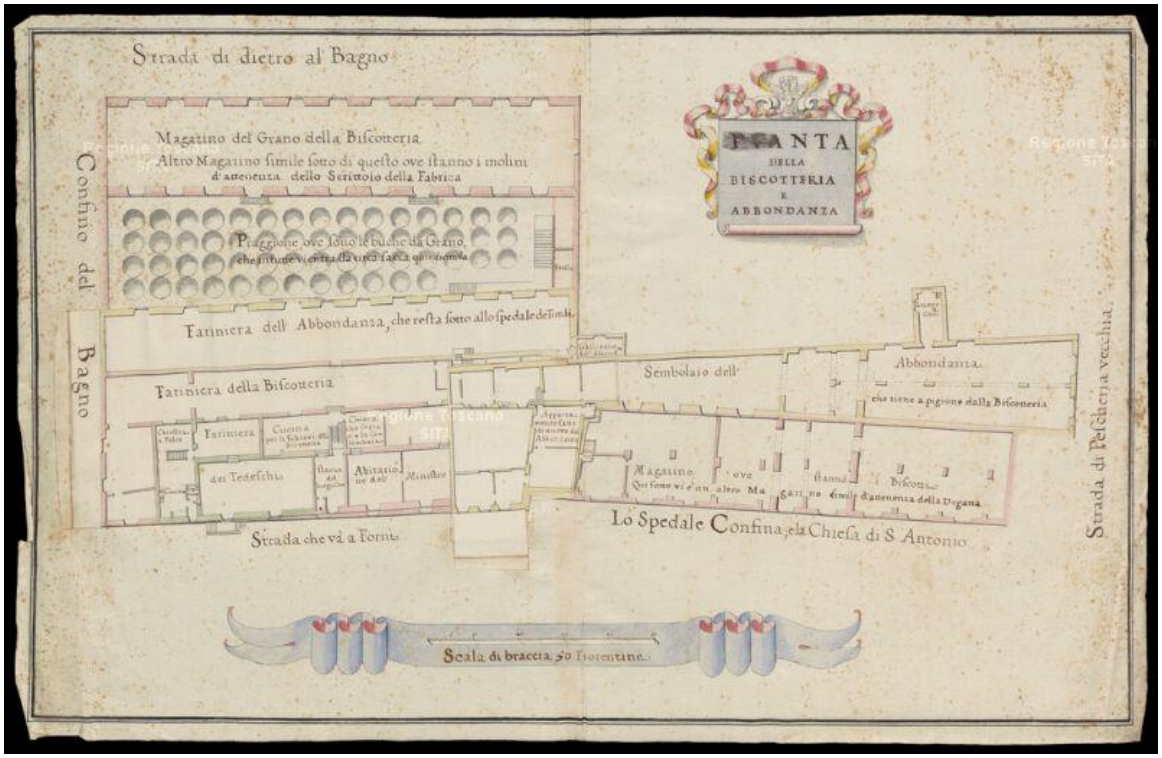

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Fig. 15. Jacopo Ligozzi, *Turkish Woman*, 1577-1587, Gabinetto Disegni e stampe Uffizi, Florence

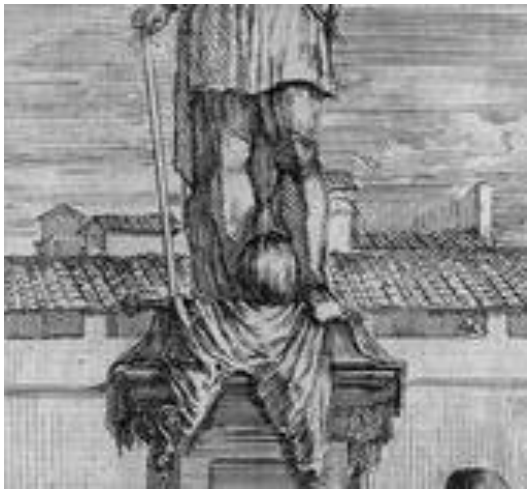

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Fig. 17. Volterrano, *Detail of trophies, Allegory of Victory*, 1637, fresco, Villa Petraia

Fig. 18. Gaetano Vascellini, *Veduta del Celebre Gruppo detto de quattro Mori*, 1750, Palazzo Rosciano

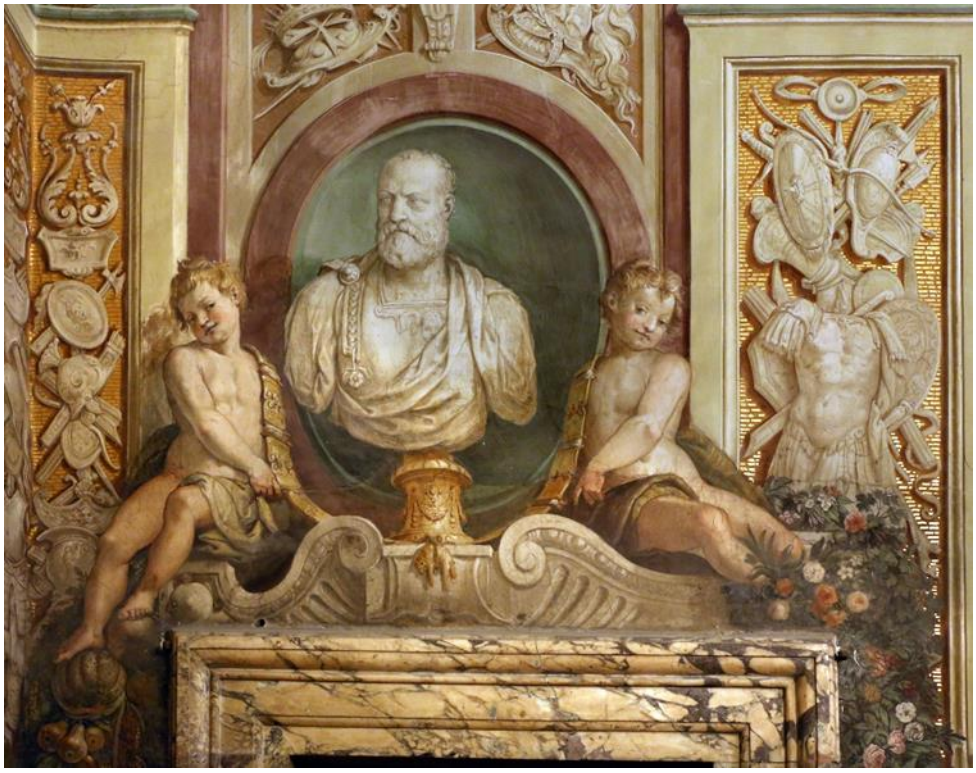

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Fig. 20. Giovanni Montorsoli, *Triumph of Admiral Andrea Doria*, 1540, Palazzo dei Doge, Venice

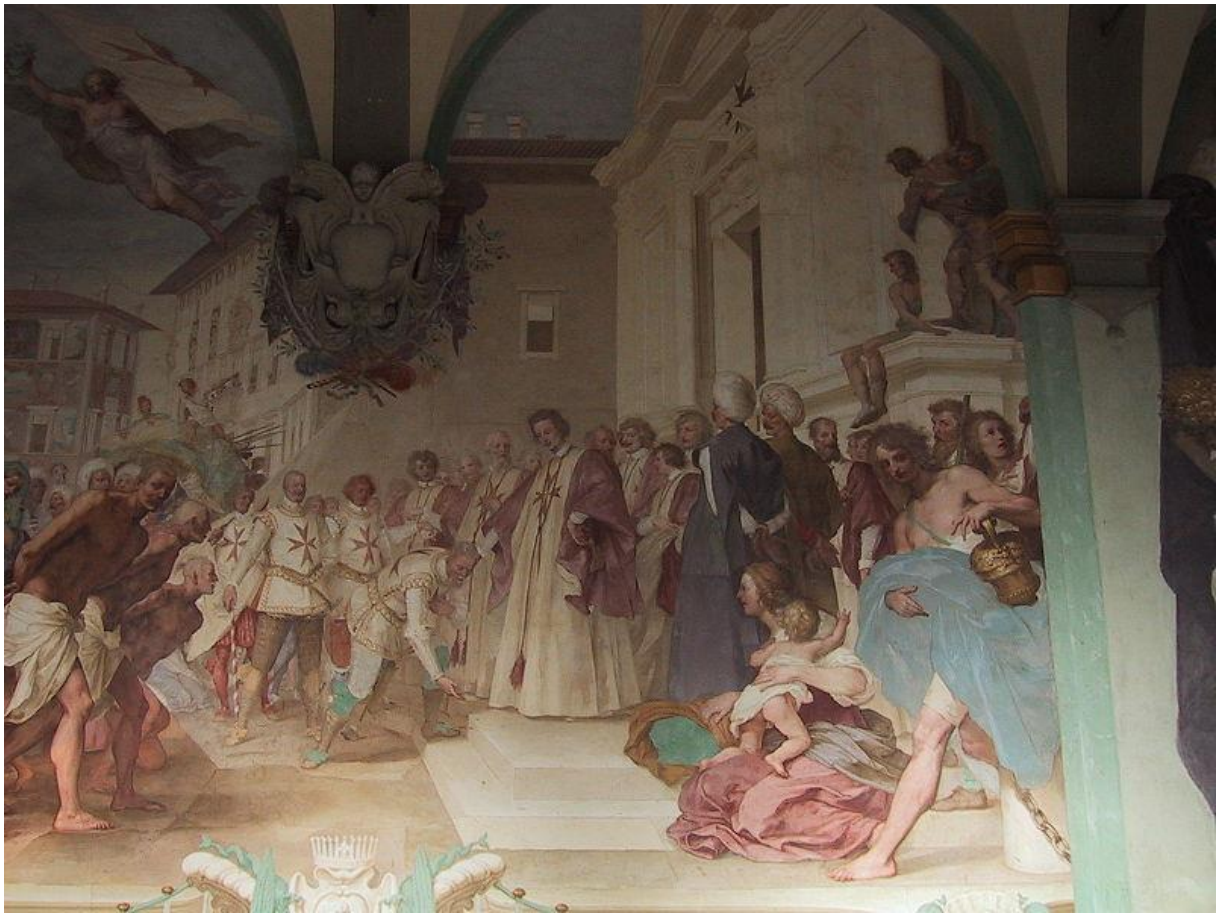

Fig. 21. Volterrano, *Cosimo II recieving the victors of Bona,* 1637, Villa Petraia

Fig. 22. Jacopo Ligozzi, *Return of the Knights of Saint Stephen after the battle of Lepanto*, 1604 1 oil painting, Church of Saint Stephen, Pisa

APPENDIX

Fig. 1. Giovanni Bandini and Pietro Tacca, *Ferdinando I and The Four Moors*, 1626, Marble and Bronze, 1,200 × 1,600 Piazza Micheli, Livorno

Fig. 2. Pierre Brissart, *Statue équestre d'Henri IV*, 1635, 40,1 × 28,3 cm, print, Paris, BnF, Dpt des estampes et de la photographie, détail.

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