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THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE
A study of its history and the problems associated with its creation

by

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PREFACE

The representation of the combination horse and rider is one of the most complicated and important themes in Art. It not only interests the sculptor but also the art historian and historian. To the sculptor it is a challenge to solve one of the most difficult formal problems in sculpture. This formal problem involves the balance of a vertical element on a large horizontal mass which in its turn rests on very slender supports. This leads to another problem namely that of combining the two forms into a structural unity. To complicate matters further most equestrian statues are portraits of a special kind, since the character of the rider must be suggested by the pose of the horse. A restful horse evokes a sense of authority and dignity while a prancing horse implies a man of action.

Artistic and technical problems have often hampered the artistic fantasy of the sculptor, who attempted the portrayal of man on horseback. Technical difficulties limited his choice of poses. The strong interdependancy between size and sculptural materials such as clay, wood, marble, stone and bronze limited his possibilities. He always had to bear in mind the slender limbs of the horse which, even when they were cast in bronze, required iron reinforcement inside. To cast the legs solid required too much bronze. All sorts of props under the hooves and bellies of the horses were devised in attempts to solve this problem. In marble equestrian statues a support under the belly of the horse was an absolute necessity. The tensile strength of marble was such that the back of the horse could never bear the weight of the rider without breaking. Technical problems associated with the pose showing a prancing horse were so formidable that sculptors avoided the form. When improved bronze casting techniques made this pose feasible, the horse still required a strong metal armature inside its legs as well as its tail. Solutions involving the law of statics were seldom attempted, because of the scientific and engineering skill involved.

Technical problems were just one side of the matter. Artistically the sculptor was confronted with equally difficult problems. He had to do with two dissimilar elements - horse and rider. By way of size and form the horse is the dominant element, yet from the artistic point of view they have to form a unity. As a whole the equestrian statue

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must reflect the character of the rider. The only way to unite the two successfully was to give them a common purpose, namely the portrayal of symbolic values.

In order to find solutions to the technical and artistic problems of the subject it has always been necessary for the sculptor to experiment. Because most equestrian statues are larger than life-size, sculptors generally cannot afford to make them for experimentation. Though many sculptors have made equestrian statuettes, few have attempted full-scale figures. History has shown that solutions which work perfectly in miniature, are seldom successful in monumental scale. For these reasons few sculptors have attempted equestrian statues on their own. Such statues were mostly commissioned by one or other monarch, wealthy person or institution.

Part of the artistic problem with which the sculptor of an equestrian statue had to contend was the designing of a suitable pedestal. Statue and pedestal have to be in harmony and form a unity. Michelangelo attempted to solve the problem by placing the Marcus Aurelius on a low oval pedestal - oval so that it would co-incide with the shape of the body of the horse and thereby form a unity. The artistic contradiction presented by the rider in movement on a traditional formalized pedestal has always been a problem. Various attempts were made to solve this problem by introducing a rock formation or natural pedestal.[1]

To the art historian the equestrian statue is a means to examine the history of complicated compositions and artistic form. Since most equestrian statues are inevitably public enterprises, they also serve to demonstrate the close involvement of Art history with other areas of historic research. Historians, in general, are interested in equestrian statues because they were bestowed upon outstanding kings, generals or officials in honour of victories or in gratitude for favours granted to a city.

The public prominence of and political associations attributed to equestrian statues through the ages have always threatened their very existence. Many have landed in the smelting oven in the past, while others are to this day in constant danger of destruction as a result of revolutions and wars. The fate of the equestrian statues of

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the kings of France bear witness to this fact. Another danger which has manifested itself during this century is the insidious corrosion from industrial pollution.

Through the centuries equestrian statues have been recorded by artists, writers, poets and travellers. Outstanding examples such as the Marcus Aurelius and Gattamelata have inspired countless artists who have interpreted this theme.

The earliest surviving literary references to equestrian statues were made by Cicero (106 - 43 B.C.). After him numerous ancient writers such as Livy, Pliny, Statius, Appian, Pausanias, Procopius and Libanius mentioned the equestrian statues of their times in their writings. Before the middle of the nineteenth century the equestrian statue received scant attention from scholars. After this, numerous specialist articles on various aspects of the subject were written but no general history.[2] The first general history of the equestrian statue in Western art was Quimby's The Equestrian Monuments of the World (New York, 1903). The main emphasis of this book was on equestrian statues in America at that time. Dr. August Diehl wrote a most informative book on one aspect of the entire field in 1921. This was his Reiterschöpfungen der Phidiasischen Kunst (Berlin, 1921) in which he discussed the equestrian figures of the Parthenon frieze. In 1931 two books appeared on the subject of the equestrian statue, namely Otto Grossmann's Das Reiterbild in Malerei und Plastik (Berlin, 1931) and Albrecht Schaeffer's Ross und Reiter, ihre Darstellung in der plastischen Kunst (Leipzig, 1931). Grossmann approached the equestrian figure in sculpture as well as painting chronologically in the light of the different breeds of horses. Schaeffer's book is a poetic approach with an excellent discussion of each picture presented by Dr. Robert Diehl.

In 1932 the only standard reference work up to date appeared in Danish. It was Hjalmar C. Friis' Rytterstatuens Historie i Europa fra Oldtiden indtil Thorvaldsen (Copenhagen, 1932). Friis gives a chronological survey of most equestrian statues from antiquity until the Neo-classicism. About this work Janson stated in 1967: "a book difficult to access, linguistically and physically, and by now out of date in many respects."[3] Although it was followed by numerous books

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on subdivisions of the main theme[4] no general history has appeared up to date in the scholarly literature dealing with this subject.

The purpose of this thesis is twofold. In the first place it is an attempt to show how the solution of certain technical and aesthetic problems determined the form of the equestrian statue through the ages. Secondly this thesis is also an attempt to provide a revised and up to date source on the general history of the equestrian statue in Western art. In order to clarify certain aspects of the theme it has sometimes been necessary to refer to statuettes in terra-cotta as well as in bronze. Because the horse is an integral part of the equestrian statue reference has also been made to a number of equine figures when it was necessary to explain the derivation of forms.

In a highly specialized field such as that of the equestrian statue, terminology always creates difficulties. For this reason it would be appropriate here to explain the use of certain terms relating to this theme. Terms such as "equestrian statue", "equestrian figure" and "figure of horse and rider" are in turn used to indicate a sculpture consisting of a rider on horseback. When the sculpture includes a pedestal the term "equestrian monument" is used. When reference is made only to the horse the terms "horse" or "equine figure" are used. For the rider only the words "horseman" and "rider" apply. Other words which might create confusion are "scale-model", "small-scale model", "bozzetto" and "full-scale model". The terms "scale model", "small-scale model" and "bozzetto" have in turn been used to indicate a small preliminary design in either clay, wax or plaster. The "full-scale model" is the completed or almost completed equestrian statue in plaster or clay.

Prominence has been given to certain sculptors for definite reasons. Leonardo da Vinci's designs and preparations for his two equestrian statues are discussed in the finest detail, because solutions which he found to problems while working on these projects, had a profound influence on all later equestrian statues. Prominence is given to the French Baroque equestrian monuments for the same reason. A mere synopsis of the equestrian monuments of the nineteenth century is given, because it would be impractical to discuss all the numerous examples in detail and because many of the basic problems with which nineteenth century sculptors had to contend, had already been

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satisfactorily solved previously. A chapter on South African equestrian monuments is included to show how the European tradition was taken to the different colonies and adapted there to suit environmental conditions and colonial taste.

A great deal of the information concerning the European equestrian statues was gathered during a visit to Europe in 1978/79. During this visit most of the famous equestrian monuments in Italy, Germany, England, Holland, Belgium, Austria and France as well as ancient examples in museums throughout Europe were examined. Many new facts which cast new light on the theme were accumulated. Technical information on bronze casting was obtained directly from the founder Luigi Gamberini of Renzo Vignali Foundries in Pretoria.

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FOOTNOTES

1. See Chapter 6, p. 209 below.

2. See bibliography on p. 335 below.

3. Janson, H.W.: The equestrian monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great, Sixteen Studies, p. 168.

4. Dahl, I.: Das barocke Reitermonument (Diss. Munich, 1935); Roques de Maumont, H. von: Antike Reiterstandbilder (Berlin, 1958); Siedentopf, H.B.: Das Hellenistische Reiterdenkmal, (Bayern, 1968) and Keller, U.: Reitermonumente Absolutistischer Fürsten (Munich, 1971).

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CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGIN OF THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE

The monumental equestrian statue originated in a political and cultural environment where autocracy and strict religiosity played an important role. Although the representation of man on horseback was known since early times[1], the monumental equestrian statue only became a well-known form of honouring people during the time of the tyrants in Greece. The representation of man controlling the powerful horse and looking down on his fellow men from his elevated position, fitted in very well with the autocratic ideas of the Greek tyrants.

The earliest monumental equestrian figures did not just spring from the minds of the early Greek sculptors in the manner that Cadmus' warriors had sprung from the earth. Many years of development were necessary before the first monumental equestrain figure was erected. The iconography of the horse and rider in early Greece is bound up in the mythical meaning which the horse had for the Greeks. According to Greek legend the horse originated as a result of the union between Demeter, goddess of the earth and Poseidon, god of the sea.[2] This belief gave rise to the Poseidon cult in which the horse and votive offerings in the form of bronze statuettes of horses and horsemen played an important role.[3] These votive offerings were placed in the temples at the great sanctuaries where they were seen by artists, who copied the outstanding examples. This encouraged experimentation with new techniques and at the same time enriched the iconography. Another important influence on the way that the horse was represented was the horse-races which were celebrated in honour of Poseidon. Thus between the myth and reality a schema was found to represent man's domination of this godly creature. The centuar became the ultimate idea of horsemanship - man and horse were one.

Another factor which influenced the early form of the sculptural representations of horse and rider was the riding conventions of the time. Dr. A. Diehl has pointed out that since the earliest Greek representations of man on horseback show the rider seated far back on the horse while he held the reins like a chariot driver, one can detect the transition from chariot driving to horse riding in these

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representations.[4] Later, at the beginning of the Archaic period (early seventh century B.C. - 480 B.C.), under the influence of the superior Assyrian example of horsemanship, the rider moved forward up against the neck of the horse. For the rider without stirrups this position on the back of the horse allowed more control over the animal.

In spite of the fact that the Greeks of the early Archaic period were acquainted with the monumental art of the Egyptians, no Greek example of monumental sculpture from this period has survived.[5] It is possible that the earliest monumental sculpture in Greece was not made of stone, but of wood.[6] This would explain the lack of existing examples and also the wooden appearance of the first monumental stone sculptures. Pausanias' reference to the wooden equestrian figures of the Dioscuri, which were made by Daedalus' pupils Dipoenus and Scyllis is of considerable importance in this respect.[7] It proves that monumental wooden figures of horse and rider already existed at an early date. The most famous wooden horse from this period is without doubt the Wooden Horse of Troy which was made by Epeus and to which Homer referred.[8] One of the earliest surviving representations of this legendary wooden horse is found on the neck of a relief pithos from Mykonos which dates from the middle of the eighth century B.C.[9]

The transition from wood to stone as a material for monumental sculpture took place shortly before the middle of the seventh century B.C. Stone sculpture appeared suddenly and simultaneously at different places in Greece and on the islands. An important example of monumental stone sculpture showing figures of horse and rider during this time is the Prinias frieze at present in the Herakleion Museum.[10] The importance of this frieze lies in the fact that in it one solution has been found for a problem with which the sculptors of figures of horse and rider would struggle throughout the Archaic period. They realized that while the human figure was seen to its best advantage from the front, the horse looked better from the side. To solve this dilemma the sculptor showed the horse from the side and turned the body of the rider towards the viewer. Technically the Prinias frieze is also a proof of the first steps away from the silhouette approach in the earlier sculpture.

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An excellent example of the sculptural technique during the seventh century B.C. is found in a fragment of an unfinished marble equestrian statuette which was found in the precincts of the temple of Artemis Orthia in Sparta.[11] The smoothly cut surface of the one side reveals a carved outline of a horse's body and the artist had started to chisel the horse's outline out of the stone. A thin line which hints at reins indicates that the horse was originally intended to bear a rider. Bluemel describes the technical process used by the Greek sculptor as follows: "The Greek sculptor worked at his block from all four sides and chiselled away one thin layer after another; and every layer thus removed from the block brought some new forms to light. The decisive point is, however, that the Greek sculptor always removed an entire layer right round the statue. He never worked at one leg or arm or head in itself but kept the whole in mind, and the figure was a unity at every stage of the work."[12]

Sculptors moved about freely in Greece and the islands at the time, thereby spreading influences from place to place. From the last decade of the sixth century B.C. Athens became the chief art centre in Greece. Artists were drawn there by the building projects of the tyrant Peisistratus and his sons. The Acropolis was covered with public buildings and private votive offerings.[13] Sculpture was increasingly used for grave monuments and cult figures in the temples. By 530 B.C. the tyranny of Peisistratus had been established long enough to dominate the art of Athens. The grandeur of Ionic sculpture appealed to the tyrant and his court. Conditions were ideal for the development of the monumental equestrian statue.[14]

Although other equestrian statues undoubtedly stood on the Acropolis in Athens by the middle of the sixth century B.C., the earliest surviving monumental equestrian figure is the so-called Rampin equestrian statue.[15] It was probably the first of a series of equestrian statues which were erected during the course of time on the Acropolis. Although most of these equestrian statues were erected as votive offerings to the goddess Athena and seldom served as commemorative monuments, they nevertheless must be regarded as the first free-standing equestrian monuments. Since present research has not identified any other monumental equestrian figure older than the Rampin rider, one must assume that it is a fine example of the earliest type in marble.

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The Rampin rider is all that remains of a double equestrian group. Only fragments of a second equestrian statue, the reverse counterpart of the first, remain.[16] This doubling-up of the equestrian statue probably was an attempt to disguise the uneasy narrowness of the frontal view while the slight turn of the heads of the riders and the horses acknowledge the side views. The sculptor must have been influenced by the head-on rendering of the two-horse chariot on the vases of the time.[17]

The sculptor of the Rampin rider is unknown.[18] The marble torso and part of the horse was found in 1886 on the Acropolis in the Persian debris of 480 B.C.[19] It was then placed in the Acropolis Museum collection. The marble head, which was discovered in 1875, was taken to Paris where it landed in the Rampin collection.[20] Later the head was donated to the Louvre and in 1935 the English archaeologist, Humphrey Payne, noticed that the head belonged with the torso in Athens.[21]

The statue is smaller than life-size. The head of the horse is turned to the right while the rider leans slightly forward and turns his head to the left. As mentioned previously this was an attempt to solve the problem of frontality.[22] These equestrian statues were erected in such a way that the main viewpoint would be head-on. This placement of the figures is verified by surviving pedestals with inscriptions on their narrow sides.[23] A similar pedestal which possibly belonged to the Rampin equestrian statues, still stands on the Acropolis.[24]

Formal analysis of the Rampin statue indicates that the sculptor was strongly influenced by wooden sculpture, as the statue shows the same angularity and stiffness common to early wooden figures. The sculptor of the Rampin rider remained close to the outlines of the marble block from which he carved the figure. There is no attempt to create a unity between horse and rider as was the case in the paintings of equestrian figures of the most important vase painter of the time, Exekias. It is possible that these shortcomings are due to the considerable formal problems with which the Archaic sculptor of free-standing equestrian figures had to contend. First there was the practical problem that the thin marble legs of a marble horse were not strong enough to support the weight of the rider as well as the body

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of the horse. It required an extra support under the belly of the horse, which naturally spoiled the aesthetic appeal of the figure. Initially the sculptor could do nothing about this support since it was absolutely necessary. Another problem was the emphasis of the different views from which the horse was seen. The fact that the marble horse had an unsightly support under its belly when viewed from the side, could easily explain why the Archaic Greeks rather chose the front of the horse as their main view.

Although the Rampin rider appears very primitive in comparison with later Greek equestrian figures, in its finish and solution to practical problems, it is without doubt the work of a master sculptor. The archaic smile of the rider and the delicacy of the curls in his hair and beard are proof of the skill of the artist. The right hand of the rider forms a fist which rests on his right thigh. Originally he must have borne a spear in this hand since there is a diagonal hole in it.[25] As was the custom at the time, the Rampin rider sits up against the neck of the horse. He is naked and rides bareback without a saddle.[26] The broad shoulders, back and chest of the rider is a typical Attic characteristic. The back is slightly flat and the spinal column is indicated by a broad depression. The shoulderblades are simple curves while the sides of the thorax are formed by pointed ovals. Especially noteworthy is the highly decorative rendering of the coiffure which is adorned with an ivy wreath and the short bead-like beard.

Judging from the importance of the site where this group was placed, the pair of riders must have belonged to the Attic nobility. For this reason various writers have claimed that the two riders were a memorial to Peisistratus' sons, Hippias and Hipparchus.[27]

FOOTNOTES

1. We can assume with a reasonable measure of certainty that the horse was first domesticated in South West Turkestan and that it was taken from there in small numbers to Mesopotamia. See Bissing, Fr. W. Freiherr von: Das angebliche Weltreich der Hyksos, Archiv für Orientforschung, 11 (1936/37), p. 332. We know that the horse had been known to the people of the antique Middle East since the fourth millennium B.C.. However,

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for these tribes the horse had no special meaning as it was surpassed by the donkey, mule and ox as a means of transport and as a draught-animal. The earliest literary reference to the horse as a domesticated animal in the antique Middle East appears on tablets from Chagar Bazar which were written during the reign of Iasmah Adad, son of Samsi Adad I, King of Assyria. Clay figurines which were probably meant to represent horses and riders on horses have been found at a number of excavation sites in Mesopotamia. A terra-cotta horse and rider from Kish which is at present in the Salle de Sarzec in the Louvre, Inv. No. P.71, is certainly one of the earliest representations of a man on horseback, c. 2700 B.C.. See Buren, E.D. van: Clay Figurines of Babylon and Assyria, p. 161. One of the earliest bronze horse and rider figurines was found in the vicinity of Gilan (Luristan) in Northern Iran and is at present in the Collection R. Haase in Paris. (See fig. 1.) A similar bronze figurine is found in the Adam Collection. (See. fig. 2.) See Pope, A.U.: A survey of Persian Art from prehistoric times to the present, vol. VII, p. 26 and the Catalogue of Antiquities from the Bomford Collection, Ashmolean Museum, 1966.

2. Schweitzer, B.: Greek Geometric Art, p. 159: "So there was a horse-form goddess in ancient times, wife of Poseidon later equated with central Greek Demeter, given the epithets of Melaina and Erinys. She gave birth to a super-stallion and then a human daughter, Despoina, the mistress of the underworld, or Soteira, the 'saviour' like the Kore of the Eleusinian cult. In a third stage, the Soteira finally becomes the Artemis Soteira of the Peloponnese. Images of Artemis Soteira on horseback now continue to the end of the Archaic Period."

3. A striking example of one of these early bronze votive offerings is the horse and rider at present in the Eric de Kolb Collection (See fig. 3.) See Mitten, D.G. and S.F. Doeringer: Master Bronzes of the Classical World, p. 35. Much later these votive offerings showed a new refinement as can be seen in the bronze rider from Dodone at present in the Carapanos Collection of the National Museum in Athens, Inv. No. 27. See Gjødesen, M.:

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Greek bronzes: a review article, American Journal of Archaeology, 67 (1963), p. 338, footnote 33. (See fig. 4.)

4. Diehl, A.: Die Reiterschöpfungen der Phidiasischen Kunst, p. 60: ".... er sitzt nicht an der richtigen Stelle auf der Sattellage hinter dem Widerrist des Pferdes und auch nicht in reiterlicher Haltung, sondern hinten fast auf der Kruppe und führt die Zügel wie ein Kutscher. So könnten wir uns etwa den Übergang vom Fahren zum Reiten vorstellen, indem man dabei versuchte, auf ruhigen eingefahrenen Pferden ein dem Fahren analoges Kutschieren auszuführen, wobei man sich statt auf den Wagen einfach auf das Pferd setzte."

5. We know from the writings of Herodotus that a number of Greeks lived in Egypt at the time of Psammetichus. See Herodotus, The History ii, 154: Rawlinson, G.: The History of Herodotus, Great Books of the Western World, vol. 6, p. 83: "To the Ionians and Carians who had lent him their assistance Psammetichus assigned as abode two places opposite to each other, one on either side of the Nile, which received the name of 'the Camps'".

6. Various writers have postulated this theory. See Grace, F.R.: Obervations on seventh century sculpture, American Journal of Archaeology, 46 (1942), p. 341, Casson, S.: The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture, pp. 50 - 65 and Müller, V.: The Beginnings of Monumental Sculpture in Greece, Metropolitan Museum Studies, 5(1936), p. 157.

7. Pausanias: Description of Greece, ii.22.5:, 5: Frazer, J.G.: Pausanias's Description of Greece, vol. I, p. 104: "The images are by Dipoenus and Scyllis, and are made of ebony: the horses are also mostly of ebony, with a few pieces of ivory". The word "Daedalus" means "maker of beautiful things" and refers to a sculptor of that name, who according to tradition was born in Athens, but later moved to Crete. He was responsible for the transition of the primitive Xoana (wooden sculptures) to more natural figures. See Gardner, E.A.: A Handbook of Greek Sculpture, p. 84.

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8. Homer: The Odyssey, viii, 492: Butler, S.: The Odyssey, Great Books of the Western World, vol. 4, p. 227: "Now, however, change your song and tell us of the wooden horse which Epeus made with the assistance of Minerva, ..."

9. (See fig. 5.) See Robertson, M.: A History of Greek Art, p. 29.

10. (See fig. 6.) See Robertson, M.: A History of Greek Art, p. 57.

11. Fragment of an equestrian statuette from Sparta, 20 cm high, British Museum, London, Inv. No. B. 476 (See fig. 7.) See Pryce, F.N.: Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum, p. 205 and Bluemel, C.: Greek Sculptors at work, pp. 20 - 21.

12. Bluemel, C.: Op. cit., p. 20.

13. A striking example of the type of votive offering which was placed in the temples at this time is the bronze provincial statuette of a warrior on horseback from Grumentum in Southern Italy which is at present in the British Museum. (See fig. 8.) See Langlotz, E.: The Art of Magna Graecia, p. 259.

14. Lübke, W., E. Pernice and B. Sarne:Griekse Kunst, p. 125: "De groeiende betekenis die de politiek schrandere tiran ook door aanmoediging van wetenskap en kunst aan de stad wist te schenken, lokte talrijke kunstenaars die op de Ionische eilanden de aldaar bloeiende marmerbeeldhouwkunst beoefenden, naar Athene; van hun inschriften bleven er enkele bewaard."

15. The Rampin rider, marble from Paros, 1,07 m high, Louvre, Paris, Inv. No. 3104 and Acropolis Museum, Athens, Inv. No. 590. See footnote 21 below and fig. 9. See also Roques de Maumont, H. von: Antike Reiterstandbilder, p. 7; Payne, H. and G.M. Young: Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis, p. 7.; Curtius, L.: Die klassische Kunst Griechenlands, p. 148.; Gardner, E.A.: Op. cit., p. 198; Lullies, R.: Greek Sculpture, p. 41; Etienne, H.J.: The Chisel in Greek Sculpture,

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p. 31.; Robertson, M.: Op. cit., pp. 96 - 99.; Richter, G.M.A.: The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, p. 11.; Schrader, H.: Die Archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Acropolis, nr. 312, fig. 134 and Schrader, H.: Aristokles, Die Antike, 18 (1942), pp. 111 - 126.

16. Roques de Maumont, H. von : Op. cit., p. 7.

17. Examples of this approach are found on:
    (i) a Hydria from Camirus (British Museum Inv. No. B.76);
    (ii) a Lekythos from Vulci (Antikensammelungen, Munich, Inv. No. 1468);
    (iii) a Krater from Gela (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Inv. No. 190).
    This design also appeared in relief sculpture on temples such as the fragments of horses which were found on the Acropolis. See Payne, H. and G.M. Young: Op. cit., p. 51.

18. Lullies, R.: Op. cit., p. 41. Payne notes that this equestrian statue was made by the same sculptor who made the Peplos kore of the Acropolis, Inv. No. 679 and the head, Inv. No. 654 which are both at present in the Acropolis Museum in Athens. See Payne, H. and G.M. Young: Op. cit., p. 5.

19. Etienne, H.J.: Op. cit., p. 31.

20. Thus the present name.

21. Payne, H. and G.M. Young: Op. cit., p. 6. At present the Louvre has a plaster cast of the torso to which the original marble head has been attached (Louvre, Inv. No. 3104) and the Acropolis Museum in Athens has a plaster cast of the head on the original torso (Acropolis Museum, Inv. No. 590).

22. See p. 2 above.

23. Schrader, H.: Festschrift, p. 78.

24. Payne, H. and G.M. Young: Op. cit., p. 8.

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25. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 8. The writer points out that one would like to see the two riders as victors of the Nemean Games, but because they bore spears, he could not associate them with victors of the races. Here he is, however, incorrect, because all ancient Greek riders bore spears. Since there were no stirrups, these spears were used as an aid to jump onto the horse's back. The ivy wreath around the Rampin head indicates that the riders must have been two victors in horse-racing.

26. Woodward, J.M.: Bathycles and the Laconian vase-painters, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 52 (1932), p. 32: "Greek horsemen, until quite late in history, rode bareback and so they appear invariously on their vase paintings ...".

27. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 8 and Lullies, R.: Op. cit., p. 41.

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CHAPTER 2

ANCIENT GREEK EQUESTRIAN STATUES

Now that the origin of the monumental equestrian statue has been traced back to Archaic Greece, certain surviving examples can be used to examine how the Greeks solved certain basic problems concerning this form of art in the course of time. The period under consideration, spans from the middle of the Archaic period (± 550 B.C) until the end of the Hellenistic period (± 27 B.C.). In this period the Greeks undoubtedly laid the foundation for the ideal sculptural representation of the rider on the horse. The scheme which the Greeks evolved for the equestrian statue, survived throughout the Western civilization. The Greek equestrian statue became the model on which all later equestrian statues were based, because the Greek sculptors found solutions to all the most important problems in the representation of the horse and rider. In order to systematically clarify the different problems with which the Greek sculptors had to contend and to discuss the solutions which they found, this chapter has been divided into the ripe Archaic period, the Classical period and the Hellenistic period.

THE RIPE ARCHAIC PERIOD 550 - 480 B.C.

By 600 B.C. Greece consisted of a number of powerful city-states each with its own colonies which stretched from Asia Minor in the east to Italy and Spain in the west. All these states were bound together by the religious centres where festivals in honour of the different deities were held from time to time. Greeks from all parts of the known world gathered there to take part in the games. "But the great sports rallies of the Greeks, of which the Olympic Games were, of course, the most famous, were something very different from our modern contests. They were much more closely connected with the religious beliefs and rites of the people. Those who took part in them were not sportsmen - whether amateur or professional - but members of the leading families of Greece, and the victor in these games was looked upon with awe as a man whom the gods had favoured with the spell of invincibility."[1] Later statues were erected in honour of the victors of the contests. These statues, which were idealised representations of the victors of the different games, were erected in

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public places and even at the sanctuaries where the games were held. According to Pausanias the race for the quadriga became an Olympic game in 680 B.C. and horse-racing in 648 B.C.[2] There must have been equestrian statues at these sanctuaries during the ripe Archaic period, as horse-racing had already been a recognised sport for approximately one hundred years at the beginning of that time. Apart from sport, the Greeks only used horses for warfare during the ripe Archaic period. The pride of each big city in Greece in this period was its cavalry. The rider occupied a place of honour in the social, political and economical spheres in Greece. Military service was compulsory for all citizens and a man who owned a horse was expected to bring his horse along when he reported for military duty. The cavalry consisted of men who owned their own horses. Since only wealthy people owned horses, the Greek word for cavalry, ἱππεῖς which can be translated as "knight" referred to a wealthy man from a higher class. The horse therefore at an early stage already occupied a certain position as a status symbol. A person who was represented on horseback was therefore twice honoured, because such a representation not only showed that he was from a higher class, but also required that everybody had to look up at his statue.

In the previous chapter it was mentioned that figurines of horses and riders were dedicated as votive offerings to the deities during the early Archaic period by the winners of the games.[3] According to Pliny "among the Greeks, those persons only were honoured with equestrian statues who were victors on horseback in the sacred games".[4] It seems that from the early Archaic period the emphasis shifted from the votive offering to a commemorative monument. During the ripe Archaic period the victors were no longer satisfied with the figurines which were placed in the sanctuaries as votive offerings. They wanted imposing statues of horses and riders to be erected around the temples where everybody could see them. The substitution of the ancient aristocratic ruling families by a tyrant, who regarded himself as the champion of the nation, contributed to the erection of more impressive commemorative monuments. The tyrants of the different cities often competed with each other at the games hoping to achieve fame. These rulers, who were all-powerful and wealthy and in addition showed great interest in the arts, undoubtedly saw to it that their own equestrian statues were bigger than those of the previous period. The larger figures of horses and riders presented many new

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problems for the sculptors. The problems which had to be solved were mainly of a technical nature. It involved the alteration of the traditional scheme by which figures of horses and riders were made in order to eliminate frontality and to present a more naturalistic image; the solution to the problem of the representation of movement which was linked with the perfection of the anatomy of the horse and the human being when represented in three dimensions; the visualization of the figure of the horse and rider as a unity instead of as the sum of its components; the matter of the perfect proportions between rider, horse and pedestal; and the limitations of sculptural materials. The sculptor who portrayed the horse was not limited by the same social and ritual conventions which governed the portrayal of the human figure during this period. He could experiment freely until the desired solution had been found. The Greek sculptor realised that he could always improve on his creation and that no convention could prevent him from making changes. He did not base his art on his knowledge alone, but also on observation of nature. In contrast to the Egyptian sculptor who, despite his marvellous feeling for the essential, practised sculpture for thousands of years without solving problems such as frontality, anatomy and perspective, the nature of the Greek sculptor compelled him to struggle with these problems. The Greeks questioned everything and due to their love of truth and knowledge, sought answers to the different sculptural problems.

Riding conventions during the Archaic period influenced the appearance of the equestrian monument. The oldest sources on horsemanship and the riding conventions of the Greeks, are the writings of Xenophon. Although these documents appeared only later during the Classical period, they contain the main ideas on horsemanship which probably stem from the Archaic period. Xenophon describes the ideal attitude of the rider on the back of the horse as follows: "When he has taken his seat, whether on the horse's bare back or on the cloth, we do not like that he should sit as if he were on a carriage seat, but as if he were standing upright with his legs somewhat apart; ..."[5] During the Archaic period, it was customary for the rider to have a reserve horse in addition to his own horse[6]. This probably explains why many of the early equestrian statues such as the Rampin rider[7] and the Acropolis figure of a horse and rider No. 700[8] and horse No. 697[9] were erected in pairs. In the Archaic period the rider always had a spear with him because he had to lift himself onto the

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horse with the aid of the spear since stirrups were still unknown at the time.[10] This explains why the horseman in Greek art always was represented with a spear in his hand.

The only examples of free-standing figures of horse and rider dating from the early years of the ripe Archaic period and of which fragments have survived, are the marble figures of horse and rider which were found among the Persian debris on the Acropolis in Athens[11] and those excavated at Delos.[12] The sculptors of these monuments used marble as material because it was unpractical for them to cast solid bronze statues of this size. Bronze equestrian figurines could be cast solidly, but in this time before hollow bronze castings were possible, the cost of the valuable material and the uncomfortable weight of such a solid equestrian statue necessitated the sculptor to choose marble instead of bronze for his statue. The marble for these equestrian statues was almost without exception imported from the neighbouring islands Naxos and Paros. This marble was shipped to Athens as rectangular blocks. As far as can be ascertained, the sculptors of the above-mentioned figures of horse and rider did not make use of full-scale models. Full-scale models were only generally used during the Hellenistic period as can be derived from the general occurrence of puntelli on the marble figures of horse and rider of that period. Gardner mentions that the Greek sculptor "... must have worked free-hand - that is to say, whether he had a clay model before him or not, he did not reproduce such a model by any mechanical process of pointing, but cut straight into his block of marble, guiding himself mostly by the eye."[13] The Archaic sculptor had to rely on his memory when he carved his statue. It was extremely difficult to continually keep all the proportions, directional lines and forms of a complex figure like a rider on a horse in mind while working. The inexperienced sculptor can easily get lost in the marble block. The Archaic sculptor therefore stayed as close as possible to the original block. He was therefore bound by the rectangularity of the marble block. Gardner notes that the Greek sculptor "sketched a front and a side view in outline on the front and side of the block and then cut them straight through. A similar explanation is probably to be given for the square shape which we so often find in Archaic works, though perhaps in some cases this shape is due merely to the fact that the sculptor had a rectangular block to work on, and either from artistic timidity or the influence of

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convention departed from the initial shape of the block as little as he could, consistently with his desire to render the appearance of the figure which he had in his mind."[14] This explains the frontality of the early equestrian figures.

As the Archaic sculptor became technically more skilful and thereby gained more self-confidence, he abandoned this commitment to the rectangularity of the marble block and started experimenting freely. This liberation of the figure of the horse and rider can be followed step by step in the marble equine figures from the Acropolis in Athens.

The derivation of the large marble horse in the forecourt of the Acropolis Museum in Athens from the rectangular marble block is still clearly visible.[15] The horse seems taut and rigid and looks straight ahead of it. If an imaginary line is drawn from the head to the tail of this horse or of any other figure of a horse and rider of the Archaic period to divide the body into two symmetrical halves, the line will in many cases be straight. One sometims sees a slight curve but then only in the head of the horse.[16] This rigidity is due to the fact that the sculptor relied on his visual memory when creating his statue. This was one of the greatest problems with which the Archaic sculptor struggled up to the beginning of the fifth century B.C.. When the artist relies on visual memory, the most typical and usually the broadest aspect of any object is represented. For this reason the horse is visualized from the side and the human being from the front. But when the two are combined as in the case of the rider on the horse, the sculptor is forced to compromise. The most obvious solution is to place the rider so that the broadest aspect of it is also visible when he is seated on the horse; in other words, the horse is seen from the side while the body of the rider is turned so that its front is parallel with one of the sides of the horse. Although this solution was applied in relief representations of figures of horse and rider, it was not used as a rule in free-standing figures of horse and rider.[17] The position of inscriptions on the pedestals of free-standing figures of horse and rider indicate that the narrow side of the pedestal always faced the spectator.[18] This meant that the rider was hidden by the head of the horse. To overcome this problem, the head of the horse had to be turned to one side while the rider had to lean over to the other side - in this way more of both figures was visible.

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We see this turning movement in many equestrian figures of this period such as the Rampin rider[19] and rider No. 623 and horse No. 4119 of the Acropolis Museum in Athens.[20]

When the primitive sculptor tackled an intricate subject such as a rider and a horse, he usually visualized the whole as a series of mental images of the different components of the subject, each in its most typical attitude. These components were often merely put together without forming an organical whole. The Greek sculptor of the ripe Archaic period was not satisfied with this any more. He felt that in order to transform the rider on the horse into a naturalistic work of art, it was necessary to harmonise nature's multiformity and restlessness so that the rider and the horse could form a unity. To achieve this artistic unity, the artist had to solve the problems of the relative proportions of the horse and rider.

Initially the sculptor did not pay much attention to the relative proportions. The horse of the large equestrian statue in the forecourt of the Acropolis Museum in Athens is proportionately much larger than its fragmentary rider which has survived.[21] A similar phenomenon is noticeable in the relief equestrian figures of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi of approximately a decade later.[22] In the drawings of mounted figures on the vases of the same period we also see that the horses were proportionately bigger than the riders.[23] From approximately 530 B.C. until the beginning of the fifth century B.C. the general trend was to make the horse proportionately smaller than the rider. Examples of this can be seen in the figure of the horse and rider of the Kerameikos[24], the relief representation of a rider on a horse on a tombstone found in Rome[25], the Acropolis rider No. 700[26], the figure of a horse and rider Nos. 623 and 4119 in the Acropolis Museum[27], and also in numerous drawings on earthenware[28]. Apart from the relative proportions of rider and horse there was also the problem of the relative proportions of the different parts of the horse and the figure of the rider itself. The general trend in the ripe Archaic period was to make the head of the horse too long and pointed and to make the horse longer than it was high. By the end of the ripe Archaic period the sculptors succeeded to a large degree in perfecting the proportions of the figure of the horse and rider as a result of a better knowledge of the anatomy of the human being and of the horse.

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In the course of time the sculptors of the ripe Archaic period realised that the horse and rider moves as a unity. Capturing this unity of movement without losing the beauty and nobility of the well-trained horse, meant that the scheme for the portrayal of the mounted figure had to be changed considerably. The well-trained horse was a pleasure to the eye and it was in the portrayal of such an animal that the Greek artist surpassed the artists of other nations. Xenophon referred to this as follows: "It is upon horses of this kind that gods and heroes are painted riding, and men who are able to manage them skilfully are regarded as deserving of admiration. So extremely beautiful, and admirable, and noble a sight is a horse that bears himself superbly, that he fixes the gaze of all who see him, both young and old; no one, indeed, leaves him, or is tired of contemplating him, as long as he continues to display his magnificent attitudes."[29] The attitude to which Xenophon refers here was not natural but acquired. Diehl explains the attitude of the trained horse, which he calls "Versammlung" as follows: "Dynamisch betrachtet besteht die Versammlung darin, dass der Reiter das Pferd durch Schenkelhilfen veranlasst, die Hinterhand mehr unter den Leib zu setzen. Hierdurch wird die Vorhand entlastet, das Pferd richtet sich vorn mehr auf, und der Schwerpunkt wird mehr und mehr nach rückwärts verlegt."[30] As the centre of gravity moved gradually further back the rider also moved back from his unnatural position up against the neck of the horse until in the Classical period he assumed the position which he has maintained to this day when riding.

On closer investigation it seems that the momentum for the development of the scheme for the portrayal of movement in the horse had its origin in drawing. The Greek artist not only pursued realism and truth to nature, but also a type of universal, ideal beauty, constructing the figure rationally in space with an organic exploration of volumes. For this reason he also sought perfect form in the moving horse. This feeling for form was further strengthened by their feeling for design which bestowed a highly decorative quality to their work. It seems that the origin of the scheme for the portrayal of the horse in motion can be traced back to the efforts of early Greek artists to fit the figure of a horse and rider into a round area like the bottom of a plate or even a round coin.

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The development of the scheme for the portrayal of the horse in motion can be followed clearly in the images of horse and rider inside tondos on Greek earthenware from approximately 550 B.C.. The inside of a black figure cup (kylix) from Laconia dating from the ripe Archaic period shows a representation of a rider on a horse in a circle.[31] The horse stands stiffly with all four legs on the ground while the rider sits against the neck of the horse. Movement is therefore limited to the minimum. The large open spaces around the rider and horse are filled with birds and a winged figurine. An Attic red-figure plate of approximately two decades later, c. 520 B.C., painted by the Cerberus painter, also shows a representation of a rider on a horse on the inside of the plate.[32] Although the horse is portrayed with all four legs on the ground, a slight curving is noticeable in the right foreleg while the hind legs are squeezed in further under the body of the horse and the rider sits further back. In a black and red figure cup of approximately a decade later, i.e. 510 B.C., painted by Epiktetos, one sees that the rounding of the cup forced the painter to bend the horse's legs in under it so that a larger part of the tondo could be filled.[33] Although the pace of the horse is here still rendered incorrectly, the ideal scheme accentuating the nobility of the horse in motion, has been determined to a large extent. The left foreleg of the horse is lifted from the ground and the rider sits in the correct position on the back of the horse. We see further refinements of this scheme in the representations of equestrian figures by the painters Euphronios[34] and Onesimos[35] at approximately the end of the sixth century B.C. On a cup in the Antikensammlung in Munich, Euphronios portrays an aristocratic young rider on a galloping horse.[36] The rider and horse fill the whole area of the circle inside the cup. All four legs of the horse are clearly represented under its body and its right foreleg and right hind leg are raised from the ground. When the sequence of the legs of this horse is compared with the natural sequence as reflected in Muybridge's film slides, then one realizes that the sequence of the legs of Euphronios' horse is incorrect.[37] The perfection of the portrayal of the horse in motion can be seen in the representation of a mounted figure inside a cup which Onesimos, a student of Euphronios, made and which is at present in the Louvre.[38] The horse in motion is here depicted with its left foreleg and right hind leg raised from the ground while the other two legs rest on the ground.

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A similar development took place in the sculpture of the ripe Archaic period. In the development of the scheme for the horse in motion each step in drawing was followed by a similar development in sculpture. At first the horse is portrayed with all four legs straight and on the ground as can be seen in a marble relief representation of a rider on a horse on a tombstone which was found in Rome and which is at present in the Barocco Museum in Rome.[39] From the remaining fragments of the following free-standing Attic sculptures of horses and riders which were made before c. 520 B.C. it is evident that they stood in the same attitude: the large horse with a fragmentary rider in the forecourt of the Acropolis Museum[40]; the figures of horse and rider Nos. 4119 and 623 in the Acropolis Museum[41] where one can only deduce from the position of the rider on the back of the horse that no movement was portrayed; and the so-called Kerameikos rider in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens[42]. Although the legs of the horse of the Kerameikos rider, which probably formed part of a grave monument of an Attic knight, are missing, one can deduce from the remaining stumps of these legs and even from the position of the rider on the back of the horse that the legs of this equestrian statue were straight and that the horse stood with all four legs on the ground. The stumps of the forelegs of the equestrian statue No. 148 in the Acropolis Museum indicate that this horse stood with all four legs on the ground.[43]

The position of the different limbs of a horse in action is influenced by the speed at which the horse moves, its training and whether it walks, trots or gallops. The representation of this movement presented the Greek sculptor with many problems as the duration of each body posture was only a fraction of a second. Shortly before the beginning of the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. Greek sculptors for the first time succeeded in portraying the horse in movement correctly - however this was mostly in relief representations. The relief of horses from the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi is an example of these.[44] These sculptures can be dated exactly between 530 and 525 B.C.. It seems that because in a relief the figures of horse and rider were supported by a background, it encouraged the sculptors to become daring enough to portray the horse standing on only three legs. The problem at this time was that the sculptors lacked the technical skill to portray in a free-standing sculpture the movement which they observed and which they were already capable

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of portraying in relief sculptures. Their main problem was that the thin legs of a marble horse could not support the body of the horse plus the weight of the rider and consequently a support had to be provided under the belly of the horse. Although the support detracted from the general impression of the equestrian statue, the Archaic sculptor had to be contented with it because there was as yet no other solution.

Another technical problem was that the sculptor who used marble simply could not have free-floating parts in his design. Savage explains it as follows: "Marble is brittle. It can resist compressive stresses far more easily than tensile, which accounts for the comparatively short distances separating the pillars supporting the pediment in Classical building. If an arm be outflung from a marble statue at a right-angle to the body the weight imposes a compressive stress at the shoulder, under the armpit, but the upper surface of the arm, where it joins the shoulder, is subjected to a tensile stress which tends to pull the material apart. The weight of the arm needs a very small addition, especially if pressure is applied to the hand, to snap it off. In general, therefore, marble statues avoid free-floating parts (i.e. parts attached to one end only). A marble torso could be posed on relatively fragile legs, but it would be unwise. If, for instance, in the course of removal it were tilted sideways without being adequately supported, the stress on the legs would no longer be compressive but tensile and it would break off at the ankles, the weakest point."[45] This was exactly the problem of the sculptor when he wanted to represent the horse with a foreleg lifted from the ground. In the marble figure of a rider and horse No. 700[46] and the marble horse No. 697[47] in the Acropolis Museum we clearly see how the sculptor attempted to overcome this problem by bending one of the forelegs of the horse without actually lifting it from the ground. The point of the hoof of this leg is supported on the ground and consequently this leg is longer than the other foreleg. This is also the case with the so-called Persian rider No. 606 of the Acropolis Museum.[48] These marble horses are further supported by a thin support under the belly of the horse.

The increase in the number of bronze statues that were cast towards the end of the sixth century B.C. undoubtedly played a role in the portrayal of free movement in the marble figures of horse and rider.

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Casson explains that "undoubtedly the great popularity of bronze casting at the end of the sixth century B.C. helped stone sculpture to expand and extend its attitudes. Marble-cutters clearly attempted to rival bronze workers in the new freedom of attitude which bronze allowed, though they could never hope to attain the freedom and extension of limbs of statues in bronze. But undoubtedly bronzework enabled marbleworkers to get out of the rut of the rigid standing figure and led them to experiment."[49]

No large-scale bronze figures of horse and rider from this period survive but it appears from antique literature that large bronze statues of horses and riders were made after the end of the sixth century B.C.. We read of a group of bronze horses made by Agelaïdas of Argos[50] and of Kalamis who was famous for his life-size representations of horses.[51] In smaller bronze figurines of horse and rider and horses dating from this period which survived we clearly see how the bronze sculptor solved the problem of movement. The bronze figure of a horse and rider found in a pit on the Acropolis in 1937[52] and which resembles the marble Persian rider No. 606[53] in many respects, shows the first phase. The placing of the legs, which unfortunately have been damaged, is the same as that of the horse on a plate by Epiktetos in the British Museum.[54] One can assume that all the legs rested on the ground and that the one foreleg was slightly bent as in the case of the bronze horse in the Metropolitan Museum.[55] A further development of the representation of movement in the bronze figure of the horse and rider is to be seen in the figurine from Mantinea[56] and in the bronze figurine in the Art Museum of Princeton University[57]. In both these free-standing figurines the one foreleg is for the first time free of the gound. It therefore appears that the ripe Archaic sculptor solved the problem of the representation of movement in the free-standing figure of the rider and horse between approximately 500 B.C. and 490 B.C.

Furthermore the sculptor in the ripe Archaic period also had to contend with the problems of reproducing detail and integrating the different parts of an equestrian monument in an organic whole. Throughout the ripe Archaic period there was progress in the portrayal of certain anatomical detail of the horse. In the earliest examples such as the large figure of a horse and rider in the forecourt of the Acropolis Museum in Athens, the Kerameikos rider

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and the horses in the relief from the Siphnian Treasury, an effort was made to portray the rounding of the belly, the triceps, the ribs as they appear on the surface of the skin, and the crown as an integral part of the head. The long, narrow head is an unmistakable Archaic feature. The general tendency in the portrayal of the figure was to keep the outline as clear as posssible and to translate the structure of the whole into a few simple planes. This was especially true of the head of the horse,which was blocked out in a few planes. The transition from one plane to the other was accentuated by a sharp ridge, an angle or a depression. Very few of the muscles of the head were represented. In the modelling of the body of the horse the technique was more subtle. The transition from the hip, the depression of the flank and the loose skin of the knee-joint was gradual and without sharp outlines. Further, attention must be drawn to the way in which the folds of the skin behind the ears and on the neck were portrayed by means of sharp incisions and the very characteristic almond shaped eyes of the horse. We see similar shaped eyes in the human figures of this period.

From approximately 530 B.C. the sculptors became more aware of smaller details such as the supraorbit, the zygomatic ridge and the xiphoid artery and they are represented decoratively. By 525 B.C. the fetlock was correctly represented. All these details are especially apparent in the marble horses of the Acropolis. Here the first attempt was made to express the real nature of the horse: its sensitive petulance and its harmlessness as well as the contrast between the heavy body and the thin legs. As Curtius points out: "Die Figur des Pferdes hat immer als die grösste Aufgabe der Bildhauerei gegolten. Ein schwerer Leib auf zierlichen Beinen, massige Kraft, die vor jedem Schatten erschrikt, wagrecht getragene Last und stolz aufrechte Haltung: kein anderes Tier besitzt einen gleich widerspruchsvollen Formcharakter, in keinem ist die Antithese Materie und Geist, Dumpfheit und Helle, Beharren und Beweglichkeit ähnlich scharf gestellt, kein anderes verlockt so sehr zur Einigung des Antinomischen, zum Heraustreiben des Gegensätzlichen, zur Steigerung des Dämonischen seines Wesens, wie das Pferd ..."[58] The muscles of the neck and chest are accentuated and the bone structure under the muscles in the head and legs is successfully represented. The mane is still represented in the conventional decorative manner, while the withers is indicated for the first time. By the first decade

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of the fifth century B.C. the Greek sculptor stood on the threshold of the Classical period as is apparent from the refined horse in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Outstanding details here are the natural portrayal of the muscles of the neck and chest and the flank which is recessed so that the thigh-bone becomes visible.

Throughout the Archaic period the rider was always depicted in a richly decorated heavy cavalry cloak with a spear in his right hand and never in heroic nudity. Even in the Classical period the rider was seldom depicted in the nude. The majority of these equestrian figures was richly painted in bright colours as is still evident in the Acropolis rider No. 606.[59] Lastly something must be said about the pedestal of the Archaic equestrian statue since it was an integral part of these monuments.

The Archaic sculptor was well aware that the pedestal formed an essential part of an equestrian monument. As the majority of these Archaic equestrian statues were smaller than life-size, the monumentality of these statuettes had to be increased by means of a pedestal which elevated them to approximately eye level. The Archaic sculptor used modest pedestal forms. The pedestal was usually merely a rectangular marble block. Later they also used the so-called profile pedestal. It consisted of a rectangular base, a shaft and an overhanging plinth on which the equestrian statue stood. The statue was fixed to the pedestal by means of metal pegs which were pressed into molten lead. In some of these profile pedestals the upper plinth was often omitted. Furthermore there was also the pillar pedestal on which smaller votive equestrian statuettes stood. These statuettes were mostly placed inside the temples. The problem was to put the statue on a broad platform without the pedestal impeding the line of sight when the spectator comes closer to the statue. The solution was not to place the equestrian statue too high. Bulle maintains that the Archaic equestrian monument usually stood on a very low pedestal.[60] The marble horses and riders of the Acropolis in Athens probably all stood on low pedestals. Raubitschek drew attention to a pedestal which probably belonged to the horse and rider No. 700 in the Acropolis Museum.[61]

In the majority of the equestrian statues dating from this period the inscription was on the narrow side of the pedestal. Payne refers as

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follows to one of these: "It is likely that the statue was set up facing the point from which the spectator was first expected to look at it; this was sometimes, at least, the case, for there are inscriptions on the bases of equestrian figures, written on one of the narrow sides of the stone: the base of an early equestrian figure from the Acropolis ..... has an inscription in this position."[62] Only the mythological Acroterion figures of this period, such as those from the Treasury of the Athenians in Delphi, were erected so that the inscriptions were on the broad side and from that we can deduce that they were supposed to be seen from the side.[63]

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD 480 - 323 B.C.

By the end of the sixth century B.C. Greece was threatened from all sides. There was the danger of Persia in the East and Carthage and Etruria in the west. During the last years of the sixth century B.C. the Persian kings extended their kingdom over a large part of western Asia and Egypt. In the fifth century B.C. they endeavoured to add the Greek mainland to their kingdom. In the meantime the political circumstances within Greece itself changed. Because the descendants of the tyrants abused their power, they were brought to a fall in numerous cities and were replaced by aristocracies and democracies. The early years of the fifth century B.C. were therefore dominated by the threat from Persia. The Persian invasion of the Greek islands began in 499 B.C.. By 493 B.C. the major part of Asia Minor and the Greek islands was conquered and the battle against the Greek mainland commenced. Few works of art were created in Greece during these war years. In Athens itself the activities of the workshops were interrupted and innumerable votive statues in the sanctuaries and on graves were destroyed. After three important Greek victories at Marathon (490 B.C.), Salamis (480 B.C.) and Plataia (479 B.C.) the future of Greece was assured. The Greeks saw their victory as a sign that the gods were well-disposed towards them and consequently all activities flourished - not only architecture, sculpture and the other fine arts, but also literature. By 479 B.C. the Persians at last retreated and left a trail of destruction. The statues that adorned the Greek cities and sanctuaries, were either destroyed or carried off. The damaged monuments and the ones which were carried off had to be replaced and war monuments had to be

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erected. For the younger generation of artists there was therefore more than enough work.

By the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. the Greek world started to recover from the destruction. Monuments were erected from the spoils of war which the Greeks captured from the Persians. A new spirit reigned. The self-confidence which led the Greeks to conquer the Persians, was also evident in the fine arts. "Not only is there in this period a general revivial of artistic production, but a new element has entered Greek sculpture. The Greek horizon has been enlarged, the long struggles with representational problems have borne their fruit, and Greek sculpture now assumes an idealistic spiritual character which gives it a new grandeur."[64] This new spirit was already present in 500 B.C. when Herakleitos criticized the stagnant Archaic view of life by adding that life was ever-changing movement - movement to him was the essence of existence. He regarded the rigid Archaic statues of the gods as walls of stone. Therefore he ridiculed people who worshipped such gods - according to him they could just as well have worshipped walls of stone. This was of course a direct attack on the sculptors of that period. However, Herakleitos did not know that the sculptors of the late Archaic period had already commenced with the solving of the problems of movement in sculpture. In the same way as the Archaic Greek sculptor had functionally changed the rigid Egyptian example once he had become aware of the coherence of the human figure, so the Classical sculptor functionally altered the rigidity of the Archaic sculpture after he had realised that movement in a statue depended on the interaction between limbs.

The sculptor who wants to represent the horse in action, is always faced with the problem of support. In other words he must know exactly what the function of each limb is during movement so that he can let the weight rest on the correct leg or legs.[65] The Classical Greek sculptors understood the function of the limbs of the horse during movement and adjusted their sculptures accordingly. Later Aristotle also devoted attention to the problem of the representation of movement in the animal. This problem was solved to a large degree in the horses of Phidias on the Parthenon frieze. When the representations of horses of the Classical period are compared with those of the ripe Archaic period, two different approaches to the

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concept "horse" are apparent. The ripe Archaic period suggests an animal with a heavy body, a small head, long thin legs and a strained mobility. In the Classical period the concept "horse" suggests total dynamism. The Archaic mannerisms seem to have disappeared with time. The general disposition was towards increased naturalism. The search for harmony between the massive closed volume of the body of the horse and the open space created by the thin legs under the belly of the horse presented an additional problem for the sculptor of the Classical period.

Although ancient sources and surviving pedestals from the early Classical period indicate that equestrian figures were indeed erected in Greece shortly after the Persian invasion, no such figures have as yet been found. Pliny mentions the sculptor Kalamis who was an important portrayer of horses and who had no equal in this field.[66] Pausanias notes that Kalamis was the sculptor of the "race-horses with boys seated on them for a chariot group commemorating the Olympic victories of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse".[67] The bronze horse in the Metropolitan Museum in New York[68] and the bronze horse of Olympia[69] give an indication of what the full-scale bronze horses of Kalamis probably looked like. Characteristic of these horses is their complete restfulness and grace.

Marks on surviving pedestals from this period indicate that bronze equestrian and equine figures existed.[70] Since bronze was easily melted down, large numbers of monumental bronze statues from antiquity were destroyed in order to make tools, coins and weapons. This fatal interchangeability of bronze meant that the percentage of monumental sculpture which survived after bronze had become the favourite material for this type of sculpture in Greece, is much smaller than that which survived from earlier periods when marble was used. However, marble was fortunately still used during the Classical period, with the result that marble examples have survived. These marble examples give a fair indication of what bronze examples might have looked like. The majority of the bronze master-pieces and monumental sculptures in bronze are unfortunately lost forever.

One of the problems with which the sculptor of free-standing bronze equestrian figures struggled in this period, was the perfection of the bronze casting technique, since the sculptor was also the founder.

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Early attempts to solve this problem were already made during the Archaic period. Another problem was to depict a galloping horse in bronze in such a manner that it was balanced only on the left foreleg and right hind leg or vice versa.

For the casting of these bronze equestrian figures the sculptors used the lost-wax process which involved the direct[71] and indirect casting techniques.[72] A large statue such as an equestrian figure was very seldom cast in one piece. The head and body of the horse and the figure of the rider were always cast separately. When the metal had cooled down these parts were joined mechanically or metallurgically. The pieces were joined mechanically by means of rivets and metallurgically by means of molten metals such as lead and bronze. However, the metallurgical joining of pieces was difficult to execute as the warm bronze oxidized rapidly. The legs were cast solidly and iron bars, which served as a framework for the figure, were often left in the bronze as reinforcement. Since this time most of the technical details of bronze casting remained basically unchanged until as late as the time of Leonardo da Vinci.[73]

Many problems occurred as a result of the relatively high temperature at which the bronze had to be cast (it was cast at approximately 1 000 - 1 200 °C). When molten bronze comes into contact with the casting form, a gas develops which causes bubbles in the cast if flutes through which it can escape, are not provided. Further the casting form may crack if it is overheated when the wax is removed or when the bronze is poured into it. Other problems occurred when the different parts of the mould or the casting core shifted out of place and when inadequate provision was made for the shrinkage of the metal when it cools off. One of the most serious problems with which the Greek founder-sculptor had to contend was to determine exactly how much bronze would be needed for a specific part which had to be cast as it was better to have too much molten bronze than too little.

Detail was usually added after the main structure of the statue had been cast. Casson points out that "detail in every sixth- and fifth-century bronze to judge both from originals and from marble copies, ... was rendered by means of tools which were either propelled by a series of gentle and continuous hammer-strokes, or by steady

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handpressure aided by the great leverage induced by a firm and solid handle".[74] In comparison with the tensile strength of marble that of bronze is excellent, thereby offering the sculptor much more freedom. Free-hanging parts in bronze seldom required support as in the case of marble. However, problems were still experienced with the equilibrium of the equestrian statue. When the horse was represented with all four legs on the ground, it was usually not necessary to provide an additional support, but because the general trend was to portray the horse in action, problems regarding equilibrium occurred. When the hind legs of the horse of an equestrian statue are placed next to each other and only one of the forelegs is raised from the ground, the statue would still stand without the raised foreleg being supported. However, if the left hind leg of the horse of such a statue were placed so that it stretched out in front of the right hind leg under the belly of the horse, the combined weight of the rider and the horse would cause the figure to fall over to the side of the raised foreleg.[75] This was also the case with equestrian statues where two legs were raised from the ground, i.e. the right hind leg and the left foreleg or vice versa. The two bronze equestrian figures which were erected outside the Propylon in Athens at this time, are good examples of how the Classical sculptor solved the problem of equilibrium.[76] Marks on one of the surviving pedestals indicate that the horse stood on its right foreleg and left hind leg while the other two legs were raised from the ground.[77] Other marks on the top of the pedestal indicate that the statue of a man, possibly a groom, stood facing the horse. This figure was merely a support for the equestrian statue. The sculptor used the figure of the groom in a masterly manner to anchor the equestrian statue to the pedestal thereby preventing it from falling over.

Judging from an Attic red-figure amphora of the sixth century B.C. on which a representation of an equestrian grave monument of a young rider appears, it seems that the problem of equilibrium had already been solved at that time by casting a bronze base plate as an integral part of the equestrian statue.[78]

The sculptor of the Classical period also paid attention to the form of the pedestal of his equestrian monument. It had to comply with the purpose of the equestrian statue. An excellent example is the representation of an equestrian grave monument on a Lucanian

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red-figure amphora of the fourth century B.C.[79] It shows an equestrian statue on a marble pedestal in the form of a table, under which a large marble amphora has been placed. In order to show that it is a grave monument, the traditional funerary-vase has been included in the pedestal. The placing of the legs of the horse on the pedestal indicates that it was a bronze figure since it is impossible to balance a marble figure in this way.

The marble carver of the Classical period tried to solve some of the remaining problems regarding marble equestrian statues. These problems involved a solution for the unaesthetic support under the belly of the marble horse and a more naturalistic composition.

However, before the sculptor could start experimenting with different compositions, he first had to possess a thorough knowledge of the anatomy of the horse. Although the marble horses from the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which was made between 468 and 457 B.C., still show many Archaic characteristics, they nevertheless reveal that the sculptor had already perfected his knowledge of the anatomy of the horse by that time and that he surpassed the Archaic sculptor in the portrayal of the transitions in the body of the horse.[80] Complicated forms were reduced to a few simple planes as can be seen in the heads of the horses. Yet the posture of the bodies of the horses is still rigid. This problem was only solved two decades later in the relief equestrian figures which Phidias made for the Parthenon frieze. Diehl refers to Phidias' solution as follows: "Erst Phidias hat mit einem Schlage die Lösung in Dutzenden von Reiterfiguren den erstaunten Zeitgenossen vor Augen geführt, indem er klar und anschaulich das Motiv des viergliedrigen Tempos, den abgekürzten versammelten Galopp offenbarte, dessen überzeugende Kraft jeden Zweifel aufhob. Diese Kraft aber beruht .... nicht auf der Fussfolge allein. Die Phidiasische Lösung blieb für die ganze Antike, ja man kann sagen, auch für die spätere Kunst bis in unsere Zeit hinsichtlich der Darstellung des versammelten Galopps vorbildlich."[81] Although the movement was portrayed correctly, the horses were proportionately smaller than the riders. In this connection Burckhardt notes that "Die Pferde der antike Skulptur beweisen zunächst, dass die damalige Pferdeschönheit eine andere war als die, welche die jetzigen Kenner verlangen. Wo Mensch und Pferd beisammen sind, wie z.B. auf den parthenonischen Reliefs, wird man

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das Tierschon im Verhältnis kleiner gebildet finden, aus Gründen des Stils, nicht wegen Kleinheit der Rasse."[82] The horses of this period might have been small, but not as small as they are represented here. These horses were made smaller for two important reasons: firstly to prevent the human figures from being dominated by the size of the horses and secondly to make room for the riders between the backs of the horses and the top of the frieze.

One of the basic problems of the sculpture of the Classical period was the balance between constraint and freedom or restrained action and exaggerated action.[83] It is especially apparent in the equestrian relief figures from the western frieze of the Parthenon and on a fragment of an equestrian relief figure of the same period in the Vatican Museum.[84] In both cases the contrast between the restless animals and the restful riders is striking. The ultimate solution for the depiction of this balance appears on a marble relief of a rider on a horse dating from the early fourth century B.C. which is at present in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.[85] This relief could possibly be a copy of a free-standing equestrian statue from the same period. The calmness of the rider contrasts sharply with the excitement of the horse. This is apparent in the tense muscles of the neck and hind quarters of the horse. The rider calms the horse be stroking him gently over the head between the ears.

The other problem, which was mentioned earlier, is the balance between the closed volume of the body of the horse and the open space between the thin legs.[86] From terra-cotta and earthenware grave statuettes of the early Classical period it is evident that the problem had already been solved at the time. In an Attic terra-cotta figure of a horse and rider of the early fifth century B.C., the entire space between the legs of the horse has been filled in.[87] This is also apparent in a rhyton which shows an Amazon on horseback.[88] It was made by Sotades in approximately 440 B.C. However, this solution was not practical for life-size free-standing equestrian figures because they would then be much too heavy. A better solution was to rest the forelegs of the horse on a mythological animal against which the rider fights such as can be seen in the Melian terra-cotta relief of Bellerophon in the British Museum.[89] Unfortunately this made the composition very intricate. In a marble statue of a jockey on horseback, which was made at the end of the fifth century B.C., a

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suit of armour takes the place of the earlier pillar support under the belly of the horse.[90]

After Phidias had used relief prototypes of all the possible poses for the equestrian figure on the Parthenon frieze, these attitudes were also attempted in free-standing equestrian statues and were even developed further.[91] The attitude which fascinated Classical sculptors was that of the rearing horse. Although this motif was initially taken over from Phoenician models in the early Archaic period[92] and later used during the ripe Archaic period as motif for the free-standing Acroterion figures[93], it was only generally used for equestrian figures after the time of Phidias. Rearing horses appear in relief on the friezes of the temple of Apollo at Bassae[94], on the northern frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis[95], on a frieze representing the battle between the Greeks and the Amazons from the temple of Apollo in Phigalia[96], on the marble frieze of the Nereid monument from Xanthos[97] and on the marble Dexilos grave monument of c. 394 B.C.[98]. On this grave monument, the horse rears to the right while the rider leans back using a bronze spear, which unfortunately is lost, to thrust at an enemy who has fallen under the horse. This composition, namely that of the rearing horse with a figure under it, was very popular for equestrian statues throughout the fourth century B.C.. Pausanias mentions a similar free-standing bronze figure of Poseidon near the entrance to Athens.[99] Excellent surviving examples of free-standing marble equestrian statues showing rearing horses and dating from the late Classical period, are the mounted figure in Persian dress from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos[100] and the Amazon on horseback from the western pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus[101]. From the remaining fragments of these figures one can deduce that they were masterfully composed. In each case there is a striking unity between the rider and the horse but action is over-dramatized. By paying attention to the less important contours of the surface, the sculptor created the impression that the bodies were made of flesh and blood and not of marble. Individuality is accentuated and idealism is limited to the minimum. These sculptures already show the first signs of the Hellenistic style.

In the late Classical period technical skill in all the arts was far advanced. At the same time a major change took place in the ideals of

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the artists. This was largely due to the political circumstances at the time. After the Athenians were defeated by the Spartans in 404 B.C., a long period of uncertainty followed. No Greek state showed dominance over any of the others for very long. From 359 B.C. most of the states were involved in the struggle against Philip of Macedonia. Eventually after his victory at Chaeronea in 338 B.C. Philip succeeded in gaining control over all the cities of the Greek mainland. These unstable years gave rise to a marked swing towards individualism in all spheres of society. Artists showed an interest in the depiction of emotion and more detail in their modelling. During this period the first individual portraits in bronze were produced. Numerous equestrian statuettes, which are possibly representations of Alexander the Great date from this period. The first one that can be mentioned is the bronze statuette found at Tigring which shows Alexander in armour on a rearing horse.[102] It is possible that this figurine is a poor copy of the equestrian statue of Alexander which stood near the temple of Zeus in Olympia and to which Pausanias refers.[103] A pedestal which dates from this period and which could possibly belong to this equestrian statue of Alexander, was found near the temple of Zeus in Olympia.[104] Marks on the pedestal indicate that the rider sat on a rearing bronze horse. The pedestal also shows that there was a support under the belly of the horse.

According to tradition there were a number of monumental equestrian statues of Alexander the Great as well as statues of those favoured by him in Greece during his life-time. According to Libanius there was a well-known statue of Alexander the Great on a rearing horse in Alexandria[105] and in Dion in Macedonia Alexander had the "Turma Alexandrii" erected in c. 334 B.C. for the twenty five Hetairen horsemen who fell at Granikos.[106] The monument consisted of twenty five equestrian statues. According to Marcus Vellius Paterculus there was also an equestrian statue of Alexander included in the group.[107] This monument was taken to Rome in 148 B.C. by the Roman C. Metellus Macedonicus as a spoil of war.[108] The bronze equestrian figurine of Alexander the Great which was found at Herculaneum, gives an indication of what the majority of these above-mentioned equestrian statues looked like.[109] Unfortunately the legs of the horse of this figurine, the support under its belly and the arms of the rider are not original.[110] One cannot therefore deduce from the figurine how the rearing horse was supported during the time of

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Alexander the Great. However, it provides an idea of the appearance of this type of bronze equestrian statue. The general scheme was that of a massive heavy horse beating the air with its forelegs while the rider sits far back on the back of the horse and turns his body sharply to reach an enemy on the ground. To make a life-size figure of this kind involves the finding of solutions to numerous problems and thoroughly tests the practical and technical skill of the sculptor. The main problem here was the support and the calculation of the equilibrium of the figure. A thin support such as that of the equestrian statuette in Naples would never have carried the weight of a full-scale bronze statue had it been enlarged proportionately. Yet judging from the surviving pedestals from this period, it seems that a similar support was in fact used under the belly of the horse but it was proportionately much larger than that of the statuette in Naples.[111]

If conclusions can be drawn from relief representations of equestrian figures which date from this period, it seems as if the horses were often supported by fallen enemies.[112] This means of support is especially evident in the so-called Alexander sarcophagus in Istanbul[113] and the Amazon sarcophagus in Vienna.[114] The rearing horse was also sometimes supported by a wild animal with which the rider fought. An excellent example was the bronze statue in Delphi representing Craterus and Alexander the Great engaged in a fight with a lion. This was the famous votive offering of Craterus to which Plutarch refers.[115] The sculptural group was probably made by the sculptors Leochares and Lysippus and represented Craterus on a rearing horse coming to the aid of Alexander the Great during a lion hunt. A relief from Messene, dating from the end of the fourth century B.C. and which is at present in the Louvre, gives an indication of what this group of statues might have looked like.[116] In this group the horse of Craterus was probably supported on the back of the lion.

To end this section on the equestrian statues of the Classical period, something must however be said about the representation of the rider in such statues. In the early Classical period the rider was represented in a very restful and erect posture as is evident from an

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Etruscan copy which was found at Comacchio (Spina).[117] Here the bearded rider is represented with a cloak over his left shoulder and left arm. He holds the reins in his left hand. The rest of his body is nude and shows significant insight in the anatomy of the figure. He sits erect and gazes straight ahead of him. Like the rider of the Archaic period, the Classical rider is very seldom portrayed in heroic nudity. When the figure is in fact represented in the nude as in the case of the figure already mentioned on a Lucanian amphora[118], the riders on the western frieze of the Parthenon[119] and the jockey of the Palazzo Orlando in Florence[120], he is always represented wearing boots or a cloak around his neck. The rider often appears in a decorative chiton like the rider on the amphora in Berlin.[121] Later in the Classical period the rider shows much more movement as is evident in the bronze rider from Begram in Afghanistan.[122] The figurine sits erect with the reins in his left hand and holds the remains of a spear in his right hand. He wears typical Greek armour and his cloak flutters behind him in the wind thereby indicating rapid movement.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD (323 - 27 B.C.)

The conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great broadened the Greek horizon considerably and thereby greatly influenced the arts. Artistic developments which at an earlier date would only have affected a few small cities, became the aesthetic expression of almost half of the known world. The new cities which the Greeks founded in Egypt and Asia were based on Greek models. The result was that Greek ideas and ideals spread over a wide area.

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The Greeks came into direct contact with the older civilizations of the East and were influenced by them. The result was a development which contained less of the severe Greek spirit and which we distinguish with the term "Hellenistic". The most important cities were no longer Athens, Corinth and Sparta, but Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria and Pergamon in Asia Minor. The actual Hellenistic period extends from the death of Alexander in 232 B.C. until the conquest of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C. when Greece became a Roman province. However, the period from 146 B.C. until Rome was converted to an imperial system of government in 27 B.C. is usually also regarded as part of the Hellenistic period and is often referred to as the Graeco-Roman period. After the death of Alexander the Great, twenty years of continuous wars followed until four large monarchies came into existence in 301 B.C. under the Macedonian generals. They were Macedonia and Greece under Kassandros, Thracia and Asia Minor under Lysimachos, the Eastern areas under Seleukos and Egypt under Ptolemy I.

One of the changes which took place in the art of the Hellenistic period, was an increasing realism which often lead to exaggeration. The sculptor tried to exhibit his knowledge of nature and of anatomy. The result was an increase in realistic portraiture. While the equestrian statues of the ripe Archaic and Classical periods rarely represented individuals, the emphasis during the Hellenistic period was placed on the individual. In this period a great many equestrian monuments were erected. According to present research it seems that approximately 215 equestrian statues were erected in the Hellenistic cities and sanctuaries.[123] The majority of these were erected in the sanctuaries. There were 64 in Olympia, 39 in Delos, 28 in Delphi, 21 in Dodona and 12 in Thermon.[124] In this respect Siedentopf notes that "Nur wenige Zeugnisse gibt es dagegen für die Städte. Dieser Unterschied mag zum Teil auf die Zufälle der Erhaltung zurückzuführen sein, andererseits aber dürfen wir voraussetzen, dass die Reiterdenkmäler, die zu den kostbarsten Denkmalsgattungen gehörten, gerade an den übergeordneten Schauplätzen des

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panhellenischen Lebens recht am Platze waren, dort, wo sich die meisten Menschen trafen und wo das Messen der Kräfte stattfand."[125] Equestrian statues of important figures from all parts of the Hellenistic world were erected at the different sanctuaries. The majority of the equestrian statues were erected by public bodies or private persons in honour of various contemporaries: kings and rich citizens, strategists and generals, priests, writers, etc. Of the numerous monuments only the pedestals and inscriptions have survived.

The Hellenistic sculptors used all the known forms of equestrian statues of the Classical period, i.e. the walking horse, the galloping horse or the pacing horse and the rearing horse. The majority of these monuments were not very large and they were often gilded.[126] The problems which the Hellenistic sculptors of equestrian statues therefore had to contend with were similar to those of the archaic and Classical periods. The most important difference seems to have been in the form of the figure of the rider on the horse. The fragments of approximately forty four pedestals of equestrian statues from this period indicate that there were more or less an equal number of restfully walking horses and rearing horses. A complete discussion of each of these equestrian statues would be unnecessary repetition since Siedentopf has already discussed them in detail in his book on the Hellenistic equestrian statue.[127] For this reason only a few special examples which shed light on the problems with which Hellenistic sculptors had to contend, will be discussed.

The best example of a restfully walking horse from this period which has survived, is undoubtedly the life-size horse in the Conservatory Palace in Rome which was part of a Hellenistic equestrian statue.[128] Although the bronze horse was found near the gate of Octavia in Rome in 1894, it is without doubt a Hellenistic work.[129] The large gap in the back, the distended mouth, the arch of the neck and especially the hind legs which are drawn up under the horse, bear witness to the fact that this horse had a rider on its back. A late Hellenistic head of a horse in the Archaeological Museum in

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Florence[130] as well as one in the National Museum in Naples[131] show remarkable resemblance to the head of this horse in Rome. Similarities occur in the portrayal of the hair round the edges of the ears, the shape of the eyes, the mouth pulled open by the bit and the distended nostrils. The horse in the Conservatory Palace has the same forelock which is bound upright, ears pointed outwards and short-cut mane. A curious inscription on the upper part of the left-hand hind leg (loco primo 28) probably refers to directions for its siting. Fortunately there are surviving torsos and figurines of riders which give an indication of what the rider of such an equestrian statue looked like. A marble torso of a rider which was found in Melos, clearly shows what the rider of the bronze horse of the Conservatory Palace must have looked like since both were probably represented in the same attitude.[132] The heavy massive war-horse carries the heavily armoured horseman who sits on the customary skin saddlecloth of that period. Such a saddlecloth could be cast together with the rider. This meant that the sculptor could leave a much larger hole in the back of the horse through which the core could be removed. This explains the rectangular gap in the back of the horse in the Conservatory Palace. Siedentopf describes the equestrian figure from Melos as follows: Er trägt über einem dünnen Untergewand wiederum den zweiteiligen schweren Laschenpanzer, der vorne, ähnlich wie bei dem Panzer des reitenden Alexander im Alexandermosaik, mit einem von Schlangen umgebenen Gorgoneion verziert und mit dem Cingulum gegürtet ist. Der darüber getragene Mantel hängt hinten weit über die Schulter herab und ein Zipfel ist auf der rechten Seite hochgezogen und unter das Cingulum gesteckt ... Der rechte Arm des Reiters war wahrscheinlich emporgehoben, während die linke Hand in die Zügel griff, den auch diesmal dreht sich der Oberkörper ganz leicht nach rechts herum."[133]

Emphasis on detail and the attitude of the figure of the rider (especially that of the rearing horse) presented problems during this period. Over-decoration often spoiled the general impression. However, the greatest problem was still equilibrium. This is especially apparent in the figures of the riders on rearing horses of the time. The weight of the rider had to be transferred onto the hind legs of the horse. To achieve this the figure of the rider had to be designed in such a way that his weight was thrown backwards. Excellent examples of this type of balance can be seen in the marble mounted

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figure of a dying Amazon in Naples[134] and a bronze figurine of a rider from the Hellenistic period from Athribis in Egypt[135]. Although the horse on which the figurine from Athribis sat is lost, one can nevertheless reconstruct the group from the posture of the rider. The figurine must have gripped the body of the horse tightly between his legs and leaned far backwards as he drew in the reins with his left hand. With this composition the sculptor has masterfully solved the problem of equilibrium. In a very natural way the head and neck of the horse was probably bent backwards and the rider probably represented in an almost horizontal position on the back of the rearing horse. Technically this meant that the weight was evenly spread to the front and rear of the hind legs of the rearing horse which was the centre of gravity of the whole group. If more weight was required to the back, the figure could be represented with a spear or weapon in his raised right hand. This would throw the right shoulder of the rider further backwards and thereby transfer even more weight to the rear of the horse. Greek horsemen were mostly represented with a weapon in their hands instead of a symbolic emblem as was the case later with Roman riders.[136]

The neck of the marble torso of a horse from Lanuvium which was probably made by a Greek sculptor, is also bent backwards in this way.[137] This torso without doubt belonged to a rearing horse. In connection with the rearing horse of the Hellenistic period Siedentopf notes that: "Das bewegte Standmotiv dagegen ist bei rundplastischen Reiterbildnissen zuerst in der Alexanderzeit nachzuweisen und begegnet unter den Reiterdenkmälern in keiner Zeit so häufig wie im Hellenismus."[138] The places where this type of equestrian statue was attached to the pedestals indicate that the hind legs of the horse were rarely next to each other. The left hind leg was always placed slightly in advance of the other.[139] The purpose of this placement was twofold: Firstly it insured the stability of the equestrian statue and secondly it increased the beauty. This meant that if the figure were viewed from the "active side", i.e. from the right hand side, there would be as little overlapping as possible.

To solve the complicated compositional problems of an equestrian statue the Hellenistic sculptor made use of preliminary small-scale models as well as full-scale models. When a small-scale model was used, the design was enlarged mechanically by means of a primitive

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pantograph.[140] A full-scale model was of course essential for a bronze statue. Yet no proof exists that the full-scale models for bronze figures were enlarged proportionately from small-scale models. The problems here would in any case not have been so serious as in the case of marble because mistakes could be rectified before the statue was cast. When working with marble, however, mistakes cannot easily be rectified. For this reason it is difficult to transfer an intricate composition onto a marble block. Fortunately this problem could be solved by the use of the pantograph. A number of points (puntelli) were marked off on the clay model and these points were then transferred to the marble block by means of a mechanical measuring process. At these points holes were drilled into the marble to the required depth. Later the excess marble was chipped away to the depth of the "puntelli" and the work was finished off by the sculptor. Various unfinished works from this period exist on which these "puntelli" are still visible.[141]

Siedentopf points out that it was customary during the Hellenistic period to erect equestrian statues in groups and that they were always erected in the vicinity of a temple, an altar, another statue or even in rows along a street.[142] He further points out that "Auf Grund der gereihten Aufstellungsweise der meisten hellenistischen Reiterdenkmäler möchte man mit bescheidenen Basenformen rechnen und eine entsprechend parademässige Einförmigkeit dieser Basen untereinander vermuten".[143] As a rule these pedestals were not very high (approximately 1 m to 1,5 m high) and the inscriptions were always on the front narrow side. All the shapes of the Classical period are repeated with the addition of the developed profile pedestal, semi-circular pedestals and the high equestrian column in Delphi.[144]

In closing reference should be made to the equestrian statues of jockeys of the Hellenistic period. These equestrian figures, which were very naturalistic, show massive horses at full flight with small jockeys on their backs. They were made in both marble and bronze. During excavations in Aphrodisias in Asia Minor in 1971, fragments of a marble jockey on a horse were found[145], which closely resemble the bronze horse and jockey which was found in the sea at Cape Artemision[146]. The sculptor of the bronze horse probably took a good look at the horses of the fifth century B.C. as it shows marked

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Classical characteristics. Certain details, such as the tufts of hair on the hooves, the naturalistic representation of the movement and the folds of the skin, indicate that it is a Hellenistic work.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gombrich, E.H.: The Story of Art, p. 58.

2. Pausanias: Description of Greece, V.8.7: Frazer, J.G.: Pausanias's Description of Greece, vol. I, p. 247: "In the twenty-fifth Olympiad they admitted the race of full-grown horses (in four-horse chariots), and the Theban Pagondas was proclaimed the victor in the race. Eight Olympiads afterwards they admitted the pancratium for men and the horse-race: the horse of Crauxidas of Crannon passed the rest...". According to D.I. Lazarides the thirty third Olympiad was in 648 B.C.. See Christopoulos, G.A.: History of the Hellenic World: The Archaic Period, p. 518.

3. See p. 1 above.

4. Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv.10: Bostock, J. and H.T. Riley: The Natural History of Pliny, vol. VI, p. 156: "Equestrian statues are also held in esteem in Rome; but they are of Greek origin, no doubt. Among the Greeks, those persons only were honoured with equestrian statues who were victors on horseback in the sacred game; though afterwards the same distinction was bestowed on those who were successful in the races with chariots with two or four horses: hence the use of chariots with us in the statues of those who have triumphed."

5. Xenophon: On Horsemanship, vii.2 - 5: Watson, J.S.: Xenophon's Minor Works, p. 284.

6. Kroll, W. and K. Witte: Paulys Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, p. 519: "Anfänglich pflegten die Reiter stets mit zwei Pferden zu reiten, d.h. neben dem Reitpferde noch ein Reservepferd mit oder ohne Diener mitzuführen."

7. See pp. 3 - 5 above.

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8. Fragment of a marble figure of a rider and horse (1,12 m high) which formed part of the Persian debris on the Athenian Acropolis, Acropolis Museum, No. 700 (See figs. 10a and 10b.) Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young: Archaic marble sculpture from the Acropolis, p. 52, pl. 137 - 138; Markman, S.D.: The Horse in Greek Art, pp. 59 - 62 and pp. 162 - 164; Curtius, L.: Bronzenes Pferd im Metropolitan Museum in New York, Die Antike 3 (1927), p. 172; Roques de Maumont, H. von: Antike Reiterstandbilder, p. 12; Richter, G.M.A.: The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, p. 111.

9. Fragment of a marble horse (1,13 m high) found in the Persian debris on the Acropolis in Athens, Acropolis Museum, No. 697. (See fig. 11.) Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young: Op. cit., p. 52, pl. 139,2 and 140; Markman, S.D.: Op. cit., pp. 60, 118, 165; Richter, G.M.A.: Op. cit., p. 111; Charbonneaux, J., R. Martin and F. Villard: Archaic Greek Art 620 - 480 B.C., p. 253.

10. Kromayer, J. and G. Veith: Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer, p. 54: "Wegen des Mangels der Stiegbügel musste der Reiter aufs Pferd springen, dies wurde dadurch erleichtert, dass man das Pferd lehrte, die Vorderfüsse nach vorne zu strecken und so die Sattellage niedriger zu machen, überdies half man sich beim Springen meist mit der Lanze."

11. Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young.: Op. cit., pp. 51 - 52, pl. 133 - 140.

12. Mentioned in Guide de Delos (Ecole Francais D'Athenes) 1965, p. 45,2, Museum Nos. A4099 and 4098.

13. Gardner, E.A.: A Handbook of Greek Sculpture, p. 21: The unfinished figure of a horse which was found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta and which is at present in the British Museum (No. B476), is indisputable proof that this approach was used in the Archaic period. See Chapter 1, footnote 11.

14. Gardner, E.A.: Op. cit., p. 34.

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15. Fragment of a large marble horse (1,30 m long) found in the Persian debris on the Acropolis in Athens, and which is at present in the Acropolis Museum in Athens, No. B (outer court). (See fig. 12.) Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young: Op. cit., p. 52, pl. 134,1; Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., pp. 9 - 10.

16. Normally the spinal column of a horse, when seen from above, forms an "S" (∫). See Lanteri, E.: Modelling and Sculpture, vol. III, p. 19. The figure of the horse becomes stiff and rigid when the spinal column is represented too straight.

17. Examples of relief representations where this technique was applied, are:

The funerary relief of a knight from Thebes in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, No. 99.339.

The riders of the western and northern friezes of the Parthenon in the British Museum, London.

The marble relief base of an Athenian grave in the Kerameikos Museum, Athens, No. P1001.

It is noteworthy that the right hand side or so-called "active" side of the rider, with his right arm carrying the weapon or raised in greeting, was often turned to the viewer. The general movement from left to right was therefore preferred in relief representations.

18. Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young: Op. cit., p. 7 and Bulle, H.: Griechische Statuenbasen, p. 36.

19. See p. 4 above.

20. Marble equestrian fragment No. 623 and horse fragment No. 4119 (0,36 m high) of the Acropolis Museum in Athens. The figures belong together and were found in the Persian debris on the Acropolis. (See fig. 13.) Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young, Op. cit., pp. 46, pl. 136,1 and 101; Casson, S.: The New

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Athenian Statue Bases, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 45(1925), p. 174.

21. See footnote 15 above.

22. Horses and riders on horses from the southern marble frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (0,64 m high), Archaeological Museum, Delphi. See Charbonneaux, J., R. Martin and F. Villard: Op. cit., p. 160.

23. Amphora with an equestrian figure, Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich, No. 1442. See Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, 32 (1970), p. 34.

Amphora with equestrian figures from Vulci, Staatliche Antikensammlung, Munich, No. 1439. See Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, 32 (1970), p. 40.

24. Fragment of a marble figure of a horse and rider (0,77 m high) in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens. (See fig. 14.) Blegen, E.P.: New items from Athens, American Journal of Archaeology, 37 (1933), No. 2, p. 341: "Mr. T. Hess has concluded his investigations of the Sacred Gate of the Eridanos and in addition to important conclusions in regard to the fortifications of Athens at this point, he discovered two very fine archaic marble sculptures: the torso of a horse and rider and a lion of the end of the sixth century B.C. Both are half life-size and came from grave monuments. Like so many others these had been built into the hastily constructed wall of Themistokles." See also Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 14; Robertson, M.: A History of Greek Art, p. 97 and Markman, S.D.: Op. cit., p. 116.

25. Marble relief of a rider on a horse on the base of the shaft of a funerary column in the Barracco Museum, Rome. The horse stands still with his front legs straight, his hind legs slightly bent and his head held high. The rider was probably the valet of the young knight who was honoured with this column. See Richter, G.M.A.: The Archaic Gravestones of Attica, pp. 45 - 46. (See fig. 15.)

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26. See footnote 8 above.

27. See footnote 20 above.

28. Plate with a drawing of a young rider with a horse by Epiktetos, British Museum No. E136; Rider on a horse on an Attic black-figure cup by Epiktetos, British Museum No. E3; a few black-figure vases show a young victor on horseback being led in.: Amphora by the "Swing painter" from Vulci, British Museum, London, No. B144; lekythos by the "New York painter" from Attica, Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York, No. 07.286.41.

29. Xenophon: On Horsemanship, 11.8.: Watson J.S.: Op. cit., p. 298.

30. Diehl, A.: Die Reiterschöpfungen der Phidiasischen Kunst, p. 73.

31. Laconic black-figure cup (kylix), British Museum, London, No. B2. See Jeffery, L.H.: Archaic Greece, p. 129, pl. 15.

32. Militiades plate, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. See Jeffery, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 98, pl. 10.

33. Attic black-and-red-figure cup (kylix) painted by Epiktetos, British Museum, London, No. E3. See Pope-Hennessy, J.: British Museum Guide, pp. 66 - 67.

34. Euphronios was one of the most productive artists of Attic red-figure vases in the Severe style. He had a long career as painter of vases in the last two decades of the sixth century B.C.. He painted approximately eighty vases of all types. Thereafter he worked as master-potter.

35. Onesimos was the painter of numerous Attic red-figure cups between 500 and 480 B.C. At least 137 pieces painted by him have already been identified. He was a pupil of Euphronios and painted numerous vases made by Euphronios.

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36. Red-figure cup with rider on horseback in a tondo found in Vulci, made by Kachrylion and painted by Euphronios, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich, No. 2620. See Charbonneaux, J, R. Martin and F. Villard: Op. cit., p. 325.

37. Muybridge, E.: Animals in Motion, p. 50. Muybridge took a series of photographs of moving horses. He set up a number of cameras next to a race track and bound threads connected to the electromagnetic shutters of the cameras, across the track. In passing the horse broke the threads and activated the shutters of the cameras. In this way the positions of the legs of a moving horse were frozen and the movement of the horse could be studied with certainty for the first time.

38. Red-figure cup decorated with a figure of a horse and rider in a tondo found in Vulci and painted by Onesimos, Louvre, Paris, No. G105. See Curtius, L.: Die klassische Kunst Griechenlands, p. 132, fig. 196; Markman, S.D.: Op. cit., p. 55; Pfuhl, E.: Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen, p. 129, fig. 404. A similar figure of a rider and horse appears on the tondo of another cup by Onesimos. See Diehl, A.: Op. cit., taf. XIV and Hartwig, P.: Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blütezeit des strengen rotfigurigen Stils, taf. LIV.

39. See footnote 25 above.

40. See footnote 15 above.

41. See footnote 20 above.

42. See footnote 24 above.

43. Fragment of a marble figure of a rider and a horse (0,41 m high), which formed part of the Persian debris on the Acropolis in Athens, Acropolis Museum, Athens, No. 148. (See fig. 16.) Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young: Op. cit., p. 77, pl. 135,1.

44. See footnote 22 above.

45. Savage, G.: A Concise History of Bronzes, p. 60.

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46. See footnote 8 above.

47. See footnote 9 above.

48. Fragment of a marble equestrian statue of a rider in Eastern costume, the so-called Persian rider, which formed part of the Persian debris on the Acropolis in Athens (1,08 m high), Acroplis Museum, No. 606. (See figs. 17a and 17b.) Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young: Op. cit., p. 52, pl. 134 and 135,3; Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 11; Markman, S.D.: Op. cit., p. 116. Payne compares this figure of a rider and horse with the one on the Militiades plate in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (see footnote 32 above). Roques de Maumont maintains that the figure could possibly be a representation of the son-in-law of Peisistratos, the tyrant of Athens: "So ist auch dieser Reiter im engsten Umkreis des Tyrannen zu suchen, dessen Schwiegersöhne Nationalperser waren und dessen jüngster Sohn als Regent von Sigeion dem Grosskönig von Persien untertan war."

49. Casson, S.: The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture, p. 129.

50. Gardner E.A.: Op. cit., p. 217: "He also made, besides athlete statues, a group of horses and captive women dedicated by the Tarentines to celebrate a victory over the Messapians." Agelaïdas was the teacher of Phidias, Myron and Polyclitus.

51. Pausanias: Description of Greece, vi.10.6: Frazer, J.G.: Op. cit., vol. I, p. 298: "After the statue of Pantarces there is a chariot of Cleosthenes, an Epdamnian: it is a work of Ageladas, and stands behind the image of Zeus ... along with the statue of the chariot and horses he dedicated statues of himself and the charioteer."

52. Bronze figurine of rider and horse (A.B. 177) found on the Acropolis in Athens (0,10 m high). See Broneer, O.: Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937, Hesperia, 7 (1938), pp. 203 - 208, figs. 38 - 40.

53. See footnote 48 above.

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54. Red-figure plate with a young man beside his horse painted by Epiktetos, British Museum, London. See Richter G.M.A.: A Handbook of Greek Art, pp. 326 - 327, fig. 439.

55. See footnote 68 below.

56. Bronze figurine of rider and horse from Mantinea in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York.

57. Solid bronze Attic figurine of rider and horse (0,084 m high) in the Art Gallery of Princeton University, No. 48 - 8. See Mitten, D.G. and S.F. Doeringer: Master Bronzes of the Classical World, p. 67.

58. Curtius, L.: Bronzenes Pferd im Metropolitan Museum in New York, Die Antike, 3 (1927), p. 175.

59. See footnote 48 above.

60. Bulle, H.: Griechische Statuenbasen, p. 36.

61. Raubitschek, A.E.: Early Attic votive monuments, Annual of the British School at Athens, 40 (1939/40), p. 24: "The letterforms of the inscription suggest as date the last decade of the sixth century, and the style of writing resembles that of the inscription I.G.I.^{2} 573, on a base which presumably bore the statue of a horseman (Acropolis 700). The shape of the pillar, with its deep concave sides, resembles that of the pillar with the inscription I.G.I.^{2} 674, which also dates from the last decade of the sixth century."

62. Payne, H. and G. Mackworth-Young: Op. cit., p. 7.

63. Poulsen, F.: Delphi, p. 169.

64. Richter, G.M.A.: The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, p. 8.

65. Muybridge points out that one can always expect the following when the animal walks: "If the two moving feet of an animal are

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one in advance of the other to the rear of the supporting legs, the supporting legs are always diagonals, i.e. left fore and right hind, or right fore and left hind. If the two moving feet are seen under the body between the supporting legs, the supporting legs are always laterals, i.e. both left or both right." See Muybridge, E., Op. cit., p. 11.

66. See footnote 51 above.

67. Pausanias: Description of Greece, vi.12.1.: Frazer, J.G., Op. cit., p. 300: "Near it is a bronze chariot with a man mounted on it, and race-horses stand beside the chariot, one on each side, and boys are seated on the horses .... The chariot is a work of Onatas the Aeginetan; but the horses on each side and the boys on them are by Calamis."

68. Bronze horse (0,42 m high) in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art, New York, No. 23.69. (See fig. 18.); Robertson, M., Op. cit., p. 190; Curtius, L., Op. cit., pp. 162 - 186; Grossmann, O.: Das Reiterbild in Malerei und Plastik, p. 47; Richter, G.M.A.: The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, p. 111; Sarne, B.: Griekse Kunst, p. 127 and Markman S.D., Op. cit., p. 65. At this stage this work was regarded as a fake but its authenticity was proved later on. See Anonymous: Greek bronze horse reinstated, Archaeology, 26 (1973), p. 137.

69. Bronze horse (0,23 m high) in the National Museum in Athens. (See fig. 19.) Kunze, E.: III Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olimpia, Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1941, pp. 133 - 143; Robertson, M.: Op. cit., p. 190; Schefold, K.: The Art of Classical Greece, pp. 76 - 77; Blegen E.P.: Recent discoveries on Roman and Greek Art, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 22 (1942), pp. 66 - 68; Markman, S.D., Op. cit., p. 120; Blegen E.P.: Archaeological notes, American Journal of Archaeology, 46 (1942), pp. 484 - 487: "It came to light at the east end of the South Colonnade, which had originally been cleared in 1879, but where deeper excavations had now been undertaken. The statuette belonged to a quadriga group and appears to have been deposited here at the time of the levelling and raising of the ground for the building of the Colonnade,

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that is, shortly before the middle of the fourth century B.C. The few serious injuries had been suffered before it was buried; the tail may have been knocked off while the horse still stood in the Altis, but the hind hoofs must have been broken away when someone attempted to pull it loose from its base .... Perhaps the moment chosen for representation was that immediately before the start, when the team stands ready to go. The tension in the uplifted head would indicate that the driver had already tightened the reins. In agreement with this is the attentive listening attitude, which is expressed in the position of the ears, one forward and one back. The extended foreleg might then be interpreted as a gesture of controlled impatience."

70. Siedentopf, H.B.: Das Hellenistische Reiterdenkmal, pp. 52 - 71. The bronze horse of Strongylion which stood on the Acropolis in Athens and to which Pausanias refers, was an example of a full-scale figure of a horse from this period. See Pausanias: Description of Greece, I.23.8: Frazer J.G.: Op. cit., vol. I, p. 34: "There is also set up a bronze figure of the so-called Wooden Horse.".

71. The direct casting technique meant that the figure which had to be cast had to be modelled directly in wax. The wax figure was then coated with a layer of fine clay which was followed by a thicker layer of coarser clay. After the clay had dried, it was heated in order to melt the wax and to let it run out. Bronze was then poured into the mould and when the bronze had cooled the clay was removed. However, only solid bronze statues can be cast with this technique. See Mitten, D.G. and S.F. Doeringer: Op. cit., pp. 9 - 10.

72. The indirect casting technique was as follows: The sculptor made his full-scale model in one or other solid material such as plaster, clay, terra-cotta or wood. This model, which also served as the armature for the final bronze statue, was usually strengthened by iron rods within. A final layer of wax or clay was then laid on the armature and shaped to the final finish which the sculptor desired. A mould was then made by covering the final model with plaster. The wax or clay between the mould and armature was removed and bronze poured into the cavity.

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Mould and armature were held in place by bronze pegs which were knocked into the armature. Although this method was an improvement on the direct casting technique, it had practical as well as aesthetic drawbacks:

(a) The solder lines, where the different sections were joined, were ugly, but the fact that the model was destroyed or lost was a worse aesthetic drawback, since it meant that the original could not be consulted to eliminate every imperfection when trimming the cast figure.

(b) Practically it was impossible to obtain a homogeneous thickness of the modelled wax or clay and if this was not evenly thick, then the thickness of the bronze could not be controlled. With no control over the thickness of the bronze, it is impossible to predict exactly the amount of bronze needed for the casting.

73. See chapter 5, p. 159 below.

74. Casson, S., Op. cit., p. 164.

75. It is possible for an equestrian figure to remain upright in this way provided that the pedestal or a portion of it is cast as part of the equestrian statue. This method was used during the Baroque period. See chapter 6, p. 220.

76. The original statues were made not later than 437 B.C. by Lucius of Eleutherae, the son of Myron. That was the date when a start was made with the Gate of Pericles. The two pedestals for the statues were made in the same period as the gate. They form an integral part of the gate since they appear on the original plan of the architect. In the Roman period the inscriptions on the pedestals were changed to honour Germanicus. Although the bronze figures have long since disappeared, the pedestals still stand on the Acropolis in Athens. "The inscribed base and pedestal of the statue which stood on the south side of the ascent were found in 1889 near the southwest corner of the Parthenon and have been set up in their original position, namely, between the south-west wing of

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the portal and the little staircase which leads up from the main ascent to the temple of the Wingless Victory. The pedestal which supported the other statue stands on the opposite (north) side of the main ascent, at the south-western corner of the south-west wing of the portal (Propylaea)." See Frazer, J.G.: Op. cit., Bk. II, p. 255. According to H. von Roques de Maumont and G.P. Stevens these figures were not figures of riders and horses but only horses with grooms beside them. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit.: p. 15 and Stevens, G.P.: Architectural Studies, Hesperia, 15 (1946), p. 83: "The standing figure was undoubtedly an athletic groom, with his attention centred in holding a spirited steed. If there was a groom, there was probably no rider, for one man would be sufficient to care for the horse. A second figure unnecessarily complicates the composition." I believe that these statues were figures of riders and horses. My reasons are as follows: (i) Pausanias, who saw the original figures, refers to them as "riders on horseback". See Pausanias: Description of Greece, I.22.4.: Frazer, J.G.: Op. cit., vol. I, p. 31: "Whether the statues of the horsemen represent the sons of Xenophon, or are merely decorative, I cannot say for certain." (ii) The statue of a groom beside a horse would not have been used to honour Germanicus.

From this single group of statues Roques de Maumont deduces that equestrian statues were not erected during the Classical period to honour people. It seems as if he preferred not to refer to the equestrian statues of the cavalry officers which were erected by the Pheraiers in Delphi in c. 456 B.C. which Pausanias mentions. See Pausanias: Description of Greece, x.15.4: Frazer J.G.: Op. cit., vol. I, p. 521: "The statues of cavalry officers on horseback were set up by the Pheraeans in the sanctuary of Apollo after they had routed the attic cavalry."

77. Stevens, G.P.: Op. cit., p. 83. For the solution of the same problem during the Baroque period, see Chapter 6, pp. 201 and 215 below.

78. Fragment of an Attic red-figure amphora of the sixth century B.C. with the representation of a grave monument of a young

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Jarhbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 52 (1937), p. 30, plate 2 and Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 17.

79. Lucanian red-figure amphora of the fourth century B.C. with the representation of a grave monument of a young rider. It was previously in the Schlossmuseum, Schwerin, but at present it is lost. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 18. (See fig. 20.)

80. Marble horses of the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, Archaeological Museum, Olympia. See Ashmole, B.: Architect & Sculptor in Classical Greece, pp. 41 - 43.

81. Diehl, A.: Op. cit., p. 82.

82. Burckhardt, J.: Cicerone, p. 420.

83. Richter, G.M.A.: A Greek Bronze Horse, Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 18 (1923), p. 89.: "... it sums up, in a way, the beauty of Greek art. If we can analyze it at all, we may say that the composition is singularly rhythmical, and the modelling has just that combination of realism and stylization which gives Greek art of the first half of the fifth century its distinctive character."

84. Fragment of a marble relief of a rider on a horse, Vatican Museum, Rome, No. 1823. CC.30. (See fig. 21.) Daltrop, G. and F. Roncalli: The Vatican Museums, p. 78; Schefold, K.: Meisterwerke Griechischer Kunst, pp. 81, 83, 244, fig. 304.

85. Fragment of a marble relief of a rider on a horse, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. No. 07.286.111. (See fig. 22.) See Richter, G.M.A.: The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, p. 112, fig. 353. Two Roman copies of this relief exist, one in the Medinaceli Palace in Madrid and another in the Barracco Collection in Rome. See Reinach, S.: A Greek original and its Roman copies, Burlington Magazine, 45 (1924), pp. 4 - 15.

86. See p. 26 above.

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87. Terra-cotta figurine of rider and horse, A. and C. Bernouli Collection, Basle. See Schefold, K.: Op. cit., p. 230, plate 279.

88. Rhyton, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 21.2286. See Chase, G.H.: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art, p. 93, fig. 94.

89. Melian terra-cotta relief of Bellerophon, British Museum, London. See Richter, G.M.A.: A Handbook of Greek Art, p. 225, plate 332.

90. Statue of a boy on horseback, Palazzo Orlando, Florence. (See fig. 23.) Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 19.

91. Western frieze of the Parthenon, British Museum, London. See Ashmole, B.: Op. cit., p. 121.

92. Myres, J.L.: The Amathus Bowl, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 53 (1923), p. 35.

93. Acroterion figure of the Treasury of the Athenians in Delphi, Archaeological Museum, Delphi.

94. Figure of rider and horse of the frieze of the temple of Apollo in Bassae, British Museum, London, block 21 and 17.

95. Northern frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, British Museum, London, See Curtius, L.: Die klassische Kunst Griechenlands, p. 227, plate 389.

96. Battle between Greeks and Amazons on a marble frieze from the temple of Apollo in Phigalia, British Museum, London, No. 541. See Curtius L.: Op. cit., p. 228, fig. 392.

97. Figures of horses and riders of the Nereid monument from Xanthos, first frieze, British Museum, London, block No. 155. See Curtius, L.: Op. cit., p. 228, fig. 396.

98. Dexileos funerary column, marble, Kerameikos Museum, Athens. (See fig. 24.) See Richter, G.M.A.: Op. cit., p. 150, fig. 216; Robertson, M.: Op. cit., pp. 363, 367, plate 121c.

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99. Pausanias: Description of Greece, I.2.4: Frazer, J.G.: Op. cit., vol. I, p. 3: "Not far from the temple is a Poseidon on horseback hurling a spear at the giant Polybotes,..." Further Frazer points out that "on an ancient gem Poseidon is represented on horseback with a spear raised to strike the giant. Poseidon's horse is rearing, and the giant is under his feet. See Müller-Wieseler: Denkmäler, 2pl. vii, no. 78a ... Similarly on two bronze phalerae (ornaments for horses), which were found in the south of Russia, Poseidon is mounted on a rearing horse and is armed with a trident, with which he is fighting the giant ... Thus on the gem and on the phalerae Poseidon appears in the same attitude as in the group of sculpture described by Pausanias." See Frazer, J.G.: Op. cit., vol. III, p. 49.

100. Fragment of a marble figure of a rider and horse from the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, British Museum, London, No. 1045. See Robertson, M.: Op. cit., p. 457, fig. 145d.; Markman, S.D.: Op. cit., pp. 93 - 96.

101. Amazon on horseback on the western pediment of the temple of Asklepios at Epidaurus, National Museum, Athens, No. 138. See Markman, S.D.: Op. cit., pp. 91 - 93.

102. Bronze equestrian figurine of Alexander the Great, Landesmuseum for Carinthia, Klagenfurt. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 22, plate 10.

103. Pausanias: Description of Greece, vi.11.1: Frazer, J.G.: Op. cit., vol. I, p. 298: "Next to these are votive offerings of the Eleans, consisting of statues of Philip, son of Amyntas, Alexander, son of Philip, Seleucus, and Antigonus. Antigonus is represented on foot, the rest on horseback."

104. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., pp. 14 and 101.

105. Libanius: Oration 4, 1120.

106. Arrian: Anabasis Alexandri, I.16.7: Robson, E.I.: Arrian, vol. I, p. 69: "Of the Macedonians there fell about twenty-five of the

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king's guard in the first onslaught. Bronze portraits of these stood at Dion, made by Lysippos by order of Alexander".

107. M. Velleius Paterculus: Historiae Romanae, I.11.3: Shipley F.W.: Velleius Paterculus, p. 27: "Tradition hands down the following story of the origin of the group: that Alexander the Great prevailed upon Lysippus, a sculptor unexcelled in works of this sort, to make portrait-statues of the horsemen in his own squadron who had fallen at the river Granicus, and to place his own statue among them."

108. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., pp. 46 - 47.

109. Bronze figurine of rider and horse of Alexander the Great found in Herculaneum (0,50 m high), National Archaeological Museum, Naples, Gallery of Herculanean Bronzes, Room XLV. (See fig. 25.) Franciscis, A. de: The National Archaeological Museum in Naples, p. 30, plate 57; Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 24, plate 11.

110. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 25.

111. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 100: "Die mittlere Plinthe ist vollständig erhalten und zeigt auf ihrer Oberseite die Einlassspuren für ein sich aufbäumendes Pferd mit Bauchstütze. Bei einer weiteren Plinthe hat sich nur die vordere Hälfte mit dem Dübelloch für die Bauchstütze eines weiteren Pferdes in der Levade erhalten."

112. A torso of a Gaul from Delos belongs to such an equestrian battle piece. See Bieber, M.: Hellenistic Sculpture, plate 422.

113. The Alexander sarcophagus, Ottoman Museum, Istanbul. See Curtius, L.: Op. cit., pp. 355 - 358, plate 535.

114. Figures of riders and horses on the marble Amazon sarcophogus, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. See Curtius, L. Op. cit., p. 359, plate 537.

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115. Plutarch: Lives - Alexander, xl: Hutchins, R.M.: Plutarch's Lives: Alexander, Great Books of the Western World, vol. 14, p. 560: "Craterus caused a representation to be made of his adventure, consisting of the lion and the dogs, of the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming in to his assistance, all expressed in figures of brass, some of which were by Lysippus and the rest by Leochares; and had it dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi."

116. Marble Craterus relief from Messene, Louvre, Paris. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 27, plate 13b.

117. Bronze rider, c. 430 B.C. Detroit Institute of Arts, Inv. No. 46.260. See Mitten, D.G. and S.F. Doeringer: Op. cit., p. 176.

118. See footnote 78 above.

119. See footnote 90 above.

120. See footnote 89 above.

121. See footnote 77 above.

122. Bronze figurine of rider, Kabul Museum, Kabul. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 26, plate 12.

123. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 12.

124. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 12.

125. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 12.

126. Perocco, G.: The Horses of San Marco, p. 182.

127. Siedentopf, H.B.: Das Hellenistische Reiterdenkmal, (Bayern, 1968).

128. Bronze horse, Conservatory Palace, Rome. (See fig. 26.) Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 36, plate 18.

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129. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 36: "Für die griechische Herkunft spricht allein schon die stark unterschobene Hinterhand, die bei den römischen Monumenten fehlt."

130. Bronze head of a horse, Archaeological Museum, Florence, Inv. No. 426. (See fig. 27.) This head epitomizes the artistic expression of the late Hellenistic period. It was recorded as one of the objects confiscated from the Medici in 1495 and had been used as a fountain in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in the time of Donatello and Verrocchio.

131. Bronze head of a horse, National Museum, Naples. (See fig. 28.) Early Neapolitan writers identified this head as the one referred to in a letter of Corrado di Querfurt, Henry VI's chancellor and envoy in Naples in 1194. Lorenzo de Medici gave it to Diomede Carafa. See Rinaldis, A. de: Di un' antica testa di cavallo in bronzo attribuita a Donatello, Bollettino d' Arte, 5 (1911), pp. 241 - 260.

132. Marble torso of a rider from Melos, National Museum, Athens. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 92 and Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 76.

133. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 76.

134. Marble statue of a wounded Amazon on horseback, Natioanl Archaeological Museum, Naples, Room of the Pergamon statues, X. (See fig. 29.) Franciscis, A. de: Op. cit., p. 10.

135. Bronze figurine of rider, previously in the Dattari collection, but unfortunately lost. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 32, plate 16.

136. See p. 67 below.

137. Marble torso of a horse from Lanuvium, No. 24, British Museum, London. (See fig. 30.) Woodward, A.M.: The Antiquities from Lanuvium in the museum at Leeds and elsewhere, Papers of the British School at Rome, 7 (1914), p. 63.; Roques de Maumont,

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H. von: Op. cit., p. 42 and Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., pp. 72 - 73.

138. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 71.

139. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 65: "Das Pferd wird sich vielmehr aus breitem Stand heraus aufgebäumt haben, wobei es den linken Hinterhuf weiter vorne als den rechten aufsetzte."

140. Lanteri, E.: Op. cit., pp. 97 - 105.

141. Richter, G.M.A.: The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks, p. 141: "And for the employment of pointing we have ample evidence from the early first century B.C. on, when it was extensively used." See also Furtwängler, A.: Statuenkopieën im Altertum, p. 21 where a list of statues on which "puntelli" appear, is provided.

142. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 34.

143. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 52.

144. Haftmann, W.: Das Italienische Säulenmonument, p. 18: "Auch eine Reiterstatue hätte nicht recht Platz auf einer einzigen Säule gehabt. So errichtete Charixenos gegen Ende des 3. Jh. sein Reiterbild ... auf zwei hohen jonischen Säulen, die eine gemeinsame Marmorplinthe verband, und widmete das Ganze Apoll. Schober setzt das Monument in die Nähe der anderen Doppelsäulen auf den Tempelvorplatz in Delphi."

At the beginning of the second century B.C. there were other equestrian statues on pillars in Delphi:

(i) The "Aitolians" erected an equestrian statue on a column to King Eumenes of Pergamon for his good deeds near the altar. The foundations of the pedestal still exists.

(ii) In about the year 182 B.C. an equestrian statue of King Prusias II of Bithnia was erected on a ten metre high

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column. The monument was erected near the north-eastern corner of the temple of Apollo in Delphi.

145. Mellink, M.J.: Archaeology in Asia Minor, American Journal of Archaeology, 75 (1971), p. 178, fig. 21: "At the wedge of the building was found a life-size figure of a running horse, some of its surface still preserving bronze pins intended to hold metalwrought bridle, harness and saddle. The animal is in bluish marble, the rider in contrasting white marble."

146. Bronze jockey on horseback from Artemision, National Museum, Athens. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., pp. 34 - 35, plate 17a and 17b; Robertson, M.: Op. cit., pp. 558 - 559, plate 177c. (See fig. 31.)

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CHAPTER 3

ROMAN EQUESTRIAN STATUES

The Republic

In 146 B.C. Corinth fell to the Roman general Mummius. Gradually the whole of Greece was reduced to the status of a Roman province. As a result of further conquests and also negotiations, Rome soon became the supreme power in the civilized world. In the period from 146 B.C. until 30 B.C. the Romans gained control of what remained of the post-Alexandrian Kingdom in the east. In the west, Spain and Gaul also fell to the Romans. Both the western and eastern Mediterranean now acknowledged the suzerainty of Rome, but her relations with the two were from the first different. To the majority of her western subjects she brought civilization as well as a government of a higher type than any before known to them. In the East on the other hand, the older civilization obstinately held its ground and to the last this region remained in language, manners and thought Greek and not Roman.

Since the Romans were a practical people whose strength lay in common sense and the ability to organize rather than in any imaginative qualities to the extent as found in the Greeks, the early Roman patrons usually employed Greek sculptors for the naturalistic representations which these Roman patrons preferred. Early Roman art was consequently permeated by Greek influence. Further, large quantities of Greek works of art were also brought to Rome as a result of the Roman conquest of Greece and exhibited in public places in Rome.[1] One gets a glimpse of the vast amount of sculptures which was taken to Rome from Cassiodorus' reference to them as "populus copiosissimus statuarum" - a nation of statues and abundant herds of bronze horses that filled the city of Rome.[2]

Further proof of the numerous Greek works in Rome comes from Livy who puts the following word in Cato's mouth: "Believe me, the statues they have brough to this city from Syracuse will do more harm than good. Already I have heard far too many people whose praise and admiration goes only to ornaments from Corinth and Athens, and who sneer at the terracotta decorations which our Roman deities receive."[3]

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By this direct contact with Greek art the Romans had come to appreciate Greek art. Even the very idea of erecting monuments in honour of deserving individuals was taken over from the Greeks. Well worth mentioning here is the "turma Alexandrii", a monument consisting of twenty five equestrian statues which Alexander the Great had erected in Dion in Macedonia and which was transferred to Rome in 148 B.C. by the conqueror C. Metellus Macedonicus.[4] This group served as the model for the so-called "turma Mettelli", a similar group which was later erected on the Roman Capitol by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, a descendant of C. Metellus Macedonicus.[5] Proof the the high esteem which Greek equestrian monuments held amongst the Romans is found in the fact that Julius Caesar had the famous statue of Alexander the Great in Alexandria changed to a likeness of himself on horseback.[6] This was common practice amongst the Romans. Usually only the face and the inscription was changed as in the case with the equestrian monuments of Nerva and Antoninus Pius.[7] Pliny reminds us that the idea of erecting equestrian statues originated in Greece when he states that "equestrian statues are also held in esteem in Rome, but they are of Greek origin, no doubt".[8] Though the original inspiration was Greek, the Romans used the heroic image of the man on horseback self-consciously and deliberately to heroicize individuals and as an attribute to their authority rather than as representative of their previous career. The great man on the standing horse became a familiar sign of power and the platform for the demonstration of his prestige, almost as a symbol of high office. Unlike the Greek monuments which gave an idealized representation of the person portrayed, the Roman equestrian monument was a naturalistic likeness of the rider - so much so that individuals could be recognized as in the case of the equestrian monument of Scipio Africanus.[9]

A fact which supports the view that the idea of erecting equestrian monuments in Rome came from Greece is the fact that the earliest equestrian statues of Romans were not erected in Rome, but in the sacred places in Greece, namely Delphi and Olympia. According to Siedentopf, one of the oldest equestrian statues of a Roman in Greece was the equestrian statue of M. Acilius Glabrio, which was erected in Delphi in 191/190 B.C.[10] At about the same time the Delphic Denaos also erected an equestrian monument to T. Quinctius Flaminius. Another well-known Roman equestrian monument in Delphi was that of

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Aemilius Paulus. After his victory over the Macedonians and their king, Perseus, at Pydna in 168 B.C., Aemilius Paulus placed an equestrian statue of himself on a pillar in Delphi, which was originally reserved for a statue of Perseus.[11]

The earliest equestrian monuments in Rome stood in the Forum Romanum and on the Capitol. Although Pliny states that in Rome "equestrian statues are, however, of considerable antiquity ...", it is doubtful whether any equestrain monument existed in Rome before the middle of the third century B.C.[12] It seems unlikely that equestrian monuments existed in Rome before they were common in Greece. Livy's reference to the equestrian monuments of L. Maenius and L. Furius Camillus, which were erected in the Forum by a decree of the Senate after their victory over the Latins in 338 B.C. seems to be a mistake.[13] The statues were probably erected later by their descendants.[14] Roques de Maumont also brings forward a further reason for discrediting Livy's statement when he says that "es wäre zudem mehr als unwahrscheinlich, wenn man, falls die Ehrung durch das Reitermonument in Rom in so früher Zeit bereits Sitte gewesen wäre, die an sich belanglosen Siege über die Latiner und Herniker in so hohem Masse gefeiert, den Siegern der sehr viel bedeutungsvolleren punischen Kriege dagegen diese Ehrung verweigert hätte ... Dass den Siegern über die Latiner Reiterdenkmäler errichtet worden sind, darf nicht im Frage gezogen werden, aber sie stammten aus einer späteren Zeit, vermutlich aus dem 2., wenn nicht sogar erst aus dem 1. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert, und waren auch nicht vom Senat, sondern von Nachkommen dieser Sieger zur Ehre ihres Geschlechtes gesetzt worden."[15] Although equestrian statues were usually connected with one or other equestrian victory of the honoured person, it was common in Roman times that the erection of the equestrian monument, especially in the case of triumphal equestrian monuments, was a definite right of the victor. The above-mentioned statues of L. Maenius and L. Furius Camillus are examples of this type.

One of the oldest, if not the oldest, equestrian monuments in Rome was the monument of Q. Fabius Maximus to which Plutarch refers. Plutarch tells us that Q. Fabius Maximus had this statue of "himself of horseback" erected on the Capitol after his return from Tarentum in 209 B.C. [16]

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The Roman Forum, which seems to have contained the pick of the early Roman monuments, was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 210 B.C., which accounts for the scarcity of such remains at the present day. Further destruction followed when in 158 B.C. a law was passed which stated that all statues placed in the Forum other than by decree of the people or the Senate were to be removed.[17]

Although all the equestrian monuments of the Roman Republic have disappeared, we do get an idea how they must have looked from representations on coins. From these coins we see that two types of equestrian monuments were found in Roman art between the second and first centuries B.C., that is the type derived from Hellensitic examples showing a horse and rider caught in a moment of impetuous action similar to the Dexileos relief in Athens[18] and the representative type showing the rider on a quiet restful horse reflecting the majesty of his mere being. In the latter the modelling is smooth and rounded and the horse motionless. The first type is exemplified by the representation of the equestrian monuments of Q. Marcius Tremulus on a denarius by L. Marcius Philippus of about 114 B.C. and of Q. Marcius Rex [19] on a denarius also by L. Marcius Philippus of about 56 B.C.. Especially characteristic are the tails of both these horses which are much the same as the tail of the Hellenistic horse in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome.[20] The only marked difference between the two representations on the coins is the fact that on the one coin the horseman wears a toga instead of a cuirass and carries a laurel-branch which identifies him as the triumphator, Q. Marcius Tremulus.[21]

Consul Q. Marcius Tremulus was to have an equestrian statue erected in his honour after his victory over the Hernicers in 306 B.C., but it was probably only erected in later times by his descendants. According to Livy this statue was erected in the Roman Forum in front of the Temple of Castor and Pollux and portrayed the trimphator in a toga.[22]

Q. Marcius Rex brought the Marcia aqueduct to a successful conclusion and as a result of this had his statue placed on the Capitol where the aqueduct ended. It stood on the Capitoline behind the temple of Iupiter Optimus Maximus.[23] The intent of the moneyer Marcius Philippus, a descendant of Q. Marcius Rex, in transferring

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on his coin the statue from the Capitoline to the aqueduct Q. Marcius Rex had completed, was to identify his ancestor with the great aqueduct which he had brough to a brilliant conclusion. An important phenomenon which should not be overlooked in these statues is the way they were supported. On both coins we see that they are supported by a plant-like device, almost the same as the support of the equestrian statuette of Alexander the Great in Naples.[24]

The equestrian monument of Julius Caesar in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum of Caesar must also have been of this type.[25] Many of the well-known ancient writers referred to this rearing horse which must have resembled the type on which Alexander the Great usually was portrayed.[26] According to Statius it seems as if the statue was originally one of Alexander the Great with Caesar's head substituted for Alexander's.[27]

The second type of equestrian monument is exemplified by the equestrian statue of M' Aemilius Lepidus which appears on the reverse side of a denarius struck by a descendant with the same name in 91 B.C.[28] M' Aemilius Lepidus had his die-cutter place the representation of a well-known statue in Rome of the most distinguished Aemilius of the second century B.C. on three arches to recall the part he played as one of the original builders of the Aqua Marcia, which was completed by Q. Marcius Rex.[29] The coin shows an equestrian figure facing right with a wreath about the rider's otherwise bare head and a long spear held in the rider's right hand. The spear rests on the level course which runs across the crown of the arches. The three arches are explained by Stuart as those carrying the aqueduct across the Via Praenestina.[30]

Since the above-mentioned equestrian monuments resemble the Hellenistic proto-types in many respects, they seem to be the work of Greek sculptors working in Rome at the time. The major problems which confronted these sculptors were therefore the same problems that were encountered in the equestrian monuments of the Hellenistic age.[31]

Some time in the first century B.C. Roman sculptors evolved a new type of equestrian statue, which later during the Empire became the representative type of equestrian monument. The horse no longer has

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the agile freedom of movement, total three-dimensional nature of volume and nervous and tense structure which is characteristic of the Greek examples. It rather becomes a distinctly robust, large-sized horse with strong arched neck, low-protruding stomach and muscular body. Yet it is not really massive. It becomes almost motionless with a curved tail while the flowing mane can be seen as the first example of a typically Roman style. Movement is transferred from the horse to the rider. The Romans also seem to have taken little interest in the strict canons of sculptural proportion and measurement laid down by the Greeks. The Romans often employed the age-old method of falsifying proportions to instil into their horses the elegance of the light horse from the classicial era. Most of the movement of these equestrian monuments was concentrated in the rider, whose upper body was twisted in an agitated contra-postal movement which was also reflected in the numerous folds in the rider's garment. The most characteristic bearing of the rider was with legs wide apart and right arm raised in greeting while the reins were held in the left hand. Like the Greek equestrian monuments of the Hellenistic age, most of these monuments were also gilded.[32]

A typical example of this new type of equestrian monument which later became very popular amongst the ruling class during the Empire, was the gilded statue of Sulla which stood in the Roman Forum in front of the Rostrum.[33] We know what the statue looked like from a coin of Sulla of c. 81 B.C.[34] The Senate decreed a gilded equestrian statue in Rome to celebrate Sulla's triumph in 81 B.C. In this monument Sulla is represented on a restful horse which has all fours on the ground. Sulla wears a toga, holds the reins with his left hand and raises his right hand in a typical gesture of greeting.

Equestrian statues of this kind bear witness that Roman sculptors were aware of the problem of formal dissonance in the equestrian monument and that they attempted to solve the problem. Simon Meller explains this dissonance as follows : "... das leere Rechteck, in welchem die Rücken des Menschen und des Tieres aufeinanderstossen, wirkt in ihrer betonten schärfe wie eine schrille Dissonanz. Durch die Seitenansicht wird ferner das ohnehin schwächere Volumen des Reiters in der Wirkung noch vermindert, die Pferdedarstellung überwiegt, und die geistige Bedeutung des historischen Monuments kommt zu kurz ..."[35]

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To counteract this dissonance the emphasis of the composition was placed on the main viewpoint which was from the front. Kluge goes on to explain it further: "Hier ergibt sich ein wirkungsvolles aufregendes Bild, in dem alle Elemente in Wechselnden überschneidungen zu Worte kommen, während z.B. in der reinen linken Seitenansicht die dominierende Geste der Friedengebietenden Hand ganz verlorengeht, in der r. ein Loch zwischen Oberkörper, Pferdehals und Arm die sonst geschlossene Komposition aufreisst. Diese Gesamtrichtung wird durch die Anordnung in einzelnen begleitet. Der r. Arm des Kaisers ist nicht nur nach vorne, sondern stark zur Seite abgestreckt, was den Umriss weiter beunruhigt. Der Pferdekopf ist ziemlich stark nach r. gewandt, trotzdem die Zügel in der l. gehalten werden ...."[36]

The Empire

The Battle of Actium can justly be regarded as one of the turning points in the history of the world. On the downfall of Marcus Antonius, Octavian, the great nephew and heir of Caesar, was summoned by the general consent of the Roman world, wearied out with twenty years of war and anarchy, to the task of establishing a government which would continue the traditions of the Republic and at the same time maintain a strong central administration necessary for the stability of the Empire. The year 27 B.C. marks the transition from the Republic to the Empire. Octavian refused the title of Dictator but assumed the titular cognomen of Augustus. Theoretically no constitutional break occurred but in effect the oligarchy was replaced by an absolutism which was to colour Roman history for four centuries. During this time, in which the individualism and autocratic position of the emperor was emphasized, the equestrian statue as a symbol of his authority flourished. At the beginning of the Empire all official art which originated from the ruling class, showed a return to classical Greek models.

Basically the equestrian monument remained the same as the equestrian monuments of the late Republican period, namely a restful horse of solid stature with a low-protruding stomach, a slightly articulated breast and legs placed on a lateral rather than a diagonal plane. The rider, whose body showed a certain degree of movement, was usually clad in a toga and had his right arm raised in an imperial

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greeting or bearing an eagle-tipped sceptre. The sceptre tipped with the eagle of Jupiter was part of the costume of the emperor as triumphator.[37] While some of these statues stood prominently on high inscribed podia, others were again mounted near to the ground. The great man on the standing horse became a familiar sign of power and the platform for the demonstration of his prestige, almost as a symbol of high office. Later this representative form was embellished with a baroque decorativeness in the form of figures beneath the feet of the horse.

From the beginning of the Empire, it became the exclusive privilege of the Emperor to have his equestrian monument in the capital of the Empire. This privilege remained his until the fall of the Roman Empire. Yet in other cities of the Empire the privilege was also extended to the newly formed caste of knights. Equestrian monuments were erected in public places, in fields or gardens, outside temples or public buildings such as assembly halls or baths, and in shrines. They were dedicated either by individuals or by the state. Not infrequently, the state or some public body such as the Senate granted permission for the erection of an equestrain statue in honour of a certain person, specifying the kind of statue and the exact location and sometimes also prescribing the inscription on the pedestal. The selection of the sculptor, the payment of the costs and the maintenance and repair of the monument was left to the person thus honoured or to those acting in the interest of his memory.

The principal Roman victory monument was the triumphal arch. Its earliest recorded use was in 196 B.C.[38] One is accustomed to think of the triumphal arch as a monument by itself, but this is incorrect. They were intended as bases for statuary, especially equestrian figures, as a passage in Pliny clearly shows: "The purpose of placing statues of men on columns was to elevate them above all other mortals, this is also the meaning conveyed by the new invention of arches."[39] The honour of a triumphal arch was reserved for the highest military achievement. Examples of equestrian monuments of the early Empire which were mounted on triumphal arches appear on coins of Augustus and Claudius.[40] Roques de Maumont refers to two equestrian statues of Augustus on triumphal arches which stood in the Spanish town, Tarraco.[41] We also know that in Rome there were two triumphal arches with equestrian monuments of the Prince Nero

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Claudius Drusus, who, as commander of the North-army was killed in 9 B.C. on the banks of the river Weser. On the reverse side of a coin of the Emperor Claudius in the British Museum there is a representation of an equestrian statue flanked by two trophies and mounted on a triumphal arch with the inscription "Nero Claudius Drusus German Imp."[42] The reference here is quite clear - Emperor Claudius is honouring his victorious father Nero Claudius Drusus. The representation shows a warrior dressed in a cuirass with a spear in his right hand sitting on a prancing horse. The prancing attitude of the horse must have involved considerable difficulties with the support, which never really was satisfactorily solved during antiquity. The only surviving sculpture from antiquity with a lifelike image of a horseman on a prancing horse - the so-called equestrian statue of the Emperor Nerva, which was discovered in a structure close to the shrine of the Augustales in the Forum of the colony of Misenum in 1969 - unfortunately does not throw any light on the problem of support since the body of the horse is very fragmentary.[43] In connection with this statue Zevi states that "the iconographical composition of the sculpture is most unusual. It appears to represent the emperor at the end of a victorious race with his body leaning backwards to counterbalance the animal's impetus forward, while his left arm, which vigorously reins in the horse, is abruptly and firmly bent back. The horse, thus checked while galloping, rears with its nostrils widely dilated, its ears turned backwards, and its mouth forced open by the bit which pulls the head back to form folds in the neck. The forelegs of the animal were both raised above the ground in a bold and majestic posture. It is not known how the sculptor overcame the problem of statics involved in the pose. The absence of any signs of bolts or soldering under the hoofs suggest it is unlikely that figures of barbarians, struck down by the horse's charge, were used as a support. It is more likely that there was a strut under the horse's belly such as found in marble equestrian statues ..."[44] A clearly defined seam around the dome of the head of Nerva is likely an indication that the statue originally represented someone else and that Nerva's face was later inserted. Referring to this, Zevi states that "it is likely that the face of the new emperor was substituted for Domitian's after the latter had been killed in 96 A.D. and images of him systematically destroyed ..."[45]

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Equestrian statues placed on top of triumphal arches were usually colossal and could not be cast as a whole. In Roman times these statues were cast in various sections consisting of torso, head and neck, the four legs, the tail, the mane, the harness and rider cast separately. These smaller sections were easier to cast than a large whole. The pouring of the metal itself was also easier since it was unnecessary for the molten metal to follow complicated passages and bends while rising in the mould. Since the correct placing of the canalnetwork also required great skill and a long casting tradition, the Romans preferred an easier way out. Nevertheless most of the casting in Roman times was done with the indirect lost-wax technique. Positive proof that these monuments were cast in sections is the presence of numerous internal gates in sections of the statues. Internal feeders in the muzzle of one of the Horses of San Marco in Venice is an example of this.[46] These gates which were intended to make it easier to fill the mould could only be employed if the inside surface of the wax model was accessible. A further sign that the inside must have been accessible to the sculptors is the lines scored on the interior surface of the cast which were left by the small piece of wood used to spread the wax inside the concave sections.[47]

Sections which have survived such as the two horse heads from Herculaneum, show that the major new problems which confronted the sculptors of the early Empire were concerned with the perfection of naturalistic detail. The one horse head has the harness cast together with the remainder of the sculpture and decorated with different motifs - the phalerae.[48] The ears of this horse differ considerably from Greek bronze horses' ears. Instead of being pulled back or individually moved, both ears are held high. The other horse head has a peculiar pointed and tufted mane which departs from the Greek tradition.[49] This head which probably belonged to one of the theatre statues in Herculaneum, is notable for its lack of harness, its short mane, its forelock bound upright both at the top and base as well as the fine hair in the ears and the way the pupil of its eye is indicated by two concentric circles. Another characteristic of these horse heads which Kluge pointed out was the fact that flowing manes were cast separately and inserted in grooves which ran along the neck of the horse.[50] From another large fragment of a rider which probably formed part of an equestrian statue which stood in the Theatre at Herculaneum, we can clearly see how the figure was modelled in the

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early Empire.[51] This gilded figure in a toga with a sword at his left side is portrayed in impetuous movement. The composition is very Hellenistic in spirit. Roques de Maumont aptly refers to this when he states that "es steht noch unter dem Einfluss der bewegten hellenistischen Reiterfiguren und beweist, dass diese Denkmalsform sogar im 7. Jahrzehnt des 1. nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts in Italien, jedenfals in den Provinzstädten, noch üblich war, während sich in Rom selbst der repräsentative Typ schon völlig durchgesetzt hatte."[52] A rider which is more characteristically Roman is the rider which belongs to a bronze equestrian monument assembled from many fragments and which is at present in the Museo Nationale in Naples.[53] This rider and mount unfortunately do not belong together. The head and body of the rider were also not originally part of the same statue. The remaining figure nevertheless shows that the garment of the rider, which consists of five pieces, was cast in sections in antiquity. This was done to solve the problem of casting the intricate folds of the toga.

While Greek equestrian statues were seldom placed in the centre of a square, which served primarily as the gathering place of the people, many Roman equestrian monuments were centrally placed. This dominating position which it occupied together with its colossal size, made high demands on the Roman sculptors. An equestrian monument placed on its own in an open square had to be colossal and monumental. Unnecessary detail had to be discarded and careful attention had to be given to relative proportions. Well-known examples in Rome were the equestrian monuments of Domitian (A.D. 81 - 96), Trajan (A.D. 98 - 117) and Constantine the Great (A.D. 307 - 337).

The colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, celebrated by the poet Statius, stood on a high pedestal in the Forum before the Temple of Caesar, resting his right front leg on a crouching figure of a defeated barbarian as an explicit symbol of victory.[54] According to Statius this figure under the horse of Domitian was a personification of the rivergod Rhine, bearing an urn from which water streamed.[55] The water formed the base on which Domitian's horse stood. Statius describes further that the emperor stretched his right arm out in an imperial greeting and in his left hand he bore the figure of Pallas Athena. She had a lance in her one hand and a shield with the head of Medusa on it in the other. Although Domitian's statue, which was

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erected in A.D. 91, does not survive, the representation of an equestrian statue on the reverse side of a coin of Domitian of A.D. 95/96 agrees with Statius' description and therefore gives us an idea of what the colossal statue must have looked like.[56] The massive concrete foundation of the Equus Domitiani was discovered in 1903 in the middle of the Forum Romanum and contains three travertine blocks to which the three standing legs of the horse were attached. Thick metal bars ran through the pedestal to stabilize the colossal bronze monument.[57] This equestrian statue must have perished the very day of the violent death of Domitian in A.D. 96 and could not have survived the "damnatio memoriae".

The colossal Equus Traiani which was erected shortly before Trajan's death also stood in the centre of a Forum namely the Forum of Trajan. From a coin of Trajan of c. A.D. 113 we see that the gilded statue portrayed Trajan as a warrior dressed in a cuirass and cloak with a spear, the one end of which rested on the ground, in his right hand and seated on a restful horse.[58] The equestrian figure still stood in A.D. 357 when the Emperor Constantius visited Rome.[59]

Long after the complete destruction of Domitian's equestrian monument, the place it occupied in the centre of the Roman Forum was taken in by an equestrian monument to Constantine the Great. The base of this statue, which was discovered in 1872 midway between the Temple of Caesar and the Column of Phocas, was first thought to be the Equus Domitiani, but it was later proved to be the Caballus Constantini mention of which occurs in documents of the seventh and eighth centuries.[60] Of the base of the Equus Constantini there remains a portion of the central core of brick; originally covered with slabs of marble. From fragments of the commemorative inscription of this monument we gather that it was dedicated in 334 A.D. in the consulate of Nicomachus Anicius Paulinus by the Senate and people to Constantine the Great.[61] A medallion of Constantine bearing an equestrian statue on the reverse side undoubtedly refers to this equestrian monument.[62] Here we have the representative Roman equestrian type showing the emperor with his right arm raised in an imperial greeting and seated on a restful walking horse. According to Grimm there was a figure of a barbarian with his hands tied behind his back under one of the hooves of Constantine's horse.[63]

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Two more equestrian statues which were centrally situated in the Roman Forum were the statues of Lucius Feroniae and Emperor Constantius II. Of the equestrian monument to Lucius Feroniae only the lower section of the base which consisted of a core of brick covered with marble slabs, remains.[64] A much larger portion of the base of the equestrian statue of Emperor Constantius II remains today. It stands in front of the north-east pier of the Arch of Septimus Severus and according to the inscription it was dedicated in A.D. 353 by Neratius Cerealis, prefect of the city. The base itself, which consists of a white marble monolith with an inscription, rests on a brick foundation which was originally also covered with marble.

Just as Greeks did in their times, the Romans also erected equestrian monuments in pairs as we see from the two bases in the basilica in Herculaneum, which probably bore the marble statues of the elder and younger Balbus. It would be apt to pause here a moment to examine the marble equestrian monuments of the Roman Empire, which have survived.

In the British Museum is a Roman marble equestrian statuette of a young man, nude except for a cloak about his shoulders and sandals on his feet.[65] He is seated on a restful horse and has an imperial staff in his right hand. This statuette, which was found in the Farnese Gardens in Rome, undoubtedly was made during the first century A.D.. Roques de Maumont believes it to be an equestrian monument of Caligula.[66] Although the heavier horse and refinement of detail such as seen in the head and body of the horse point to definite Roman improvements of the Greek idea of the marble equestrian monument, it is difficult to make definite conclusions from this figure since much of it has been restored. One gets a more accurate picture of a Roman marble equestrian statue from the two equestrian figures of Marcus Nonius Balbus the Elder and the Younger, in the Museo Nationale in Naples.[67] These life-size marble equestrian figures were found in 1759 in the basilica in Herculaneum. An inscription which was found near the monuments indicated that Balbus had erected the basilica.[68] The Herculaneans probably erected the statues to honour this deed. Both figures are represented by the typical Roman equestrian monument of Imperial times. The one statue which represents M. Nonius Balbus the Elder is a much better piece of work than the other. It is patched here and there and the right

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hand is restored, while the head is a modern copy from a standing statue of Balbus. Especially noteworthy in both figures is the treatment of the heads of the horses, the tails and manes and the cloak of the figure of Balbus the Elder.

Although naturalism in the portrayal of the man on horseback in marble has taken a few strides since Greek times, the basic problem of the support for the belly of the horse has still remained much the same. We also see this in the case of the Roman marble equestrian statue from the Villa Barberini at Castel Gandolfo which dates from the middle of the second century A.D.[69]. Here the belly of the horse is supported by a decorative palmstump. From the features of the emperor portrayed, Roques de Maumont believes this statue to represent the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138 - 161).[70] A clearly defined seam is visible around the dome of the head of the rider which might be an indication that the equestrian monument first bore the face of another emperor instead of that of Antoninus Pius. However, a coin bearing a representation of an equestrian monument of Antoninus Pius which looks very much like this figure, shows that Roques de Maumont could be correct.[71] Unforunately the upper part of the body of the rider has been restored after the equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius, which probably accounts for the difference in bearing to the figure on the coin. Especially noteworthy in this equestrian figure is the horizontal seam across the body of the horse that shows where the marble blocks from which it was made were joined, the typical flowing mane and the unusual way that the horse's right front leg, although bent, remains on the ground as a support which is similar to that of archaic Greek horses.

The fact that Roman sculptors also attempted the prancing horse in marble is illustrated by a marble equestrian statuette from the end of the second century A.D. in the Vatican Museum in Rome.[72] Although much of this figure has been restored it does throw some light on the problem of support and composition in Roman times. Here the usual stumplike support has become a decoratively branched tree-stump which blends with the baroque rhetoric of the monument as a whole. Especially interesting is the contrapostal movement of the rider in the saddle which opens the main view, which is from the right, to the spectator. This figure nevertheless shows that even in this late stage, Roman sculptors were still greatly indebted to Hellenistic

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models, especially the statuettes of Alexander the Great. The same sort of composition is apparent in the two contemporary colossal marble copies of the Dioscuri with their horses standing impressively on the Piazza del Quirinal in Rome and which originally came from the Baths of Constantine.[73]

Since unfinished equestrian figures undoubtedly reveal the working methods of the sculptors, they always serve as excellent documents to researchers. Excellent examples of two unfinished Roman equestrian monuments of stone were found at a quarry at Breitfurt and are at present in the Historical Museum of the Palatinate in Speyer.[74] Here one gets an idea how the Roman sculptors blocked their marble equestrian monuments in large masses with the emphasis on the outlines of the figure.

Of the many equestrian bronzes to be found in Rome in late antiquity, the only one which remained standing throughout the ages was the once gilded equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, which is at present on the Capitol in Rome. The importance of this monument lies not so much in its artistic originality - there must have been many bronze equestrian statues of this sort in imperial Rome - as in the fact that it has obviously always been visible.[75] As motif we have here an amalgamation of the Greek Deixelos warrior with the representative Roman equestrian statue of the Empire, since it seems almost certain that originally there was a figure of a conquered barbarian under the raised hoof of the horse. When seen from the formal side this lost figure signified a baroque enrichment. Kluge emphasizes the fact that the complete group, like the bearded head of the emperor, is an outstanding expression of the Antonine "baroque style".[76] This equestrian statue is not "classical" in the proper sense of the term, although it became the model for medieval, Renaissance and modern equestrian statues; as a whole - in relation between horse and rider - it lacks the harmony of classical compositions. Muybridge also refers to this failure of the sculptor to express his obvious intention when he says that "the pose of the emperor, and other circumstances, point to a deliberate motion of the horse, which is not confirmed by its method of progress".[77]

Aurelius rides without stirrups and is seated on a leather blanket (ephippium), checking the trotting pace of his steed with one hand

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while the other is outstretched in a gesture of command. Woloch points out that "the emperor's right arm, which is held out horizontally with palm of the hand down and the fingers spread, represents the imperial gesture of power" and that he held both reins and an eagle-tipped sceptre in his left hand.[78] From this statue we see that imperial iconography has already changed under the influence of the oriental conception of the monarch's "divine majesty". The first thing one notices when confronted with this statue, for the first time, is the grandeur of the gesture of the emperor. It is especially apparent when the statue is viewed from an angle so that the raised leg of the horse is directly in the centre of the composition. Although the body of the emperor seems inclined forward, he is totally relaxed. He wears a loose tunic which falls in large U-shaped folds across his chest. The tunic is tied together around his waist by a broad cingulum. The legs of the emperor are bare except for the sandals on his feet.

The horse of Marcus Aurelius shows an obtrusive powerful modelling of bones, tendons, muscles and skin which reveals a new richness of form with every new vantage-point. This is contrary to the broad direct modelling of the Greek bronze horses. The sculptor Falconet severely criticized the horse of the Aurelius monument. Dieckmann and Seznec point out that "in Falconet's opinion, the horse is ugly, both as a whole and in its details; its author failed to observe and to imitate the body of a real horse and completely ignored a horse's way of moving. The literary critics keep quoting the words which Pietro da Cortona addressed to the horse: 'Why do you not move, don't you know that you are alive?' But Falconet objected, if the horse were to move, the statue would fall down since the position of the legs was entirely unnatural."[79] Falconet however seems to have been at fault since the gait of the horse is quite correct. Grossmann was aware of this when he stated that "es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass gerade diese Gangart besonder genau beobachtet ist, und zu der rein porträtmässigen Auffassung des Denkmals beiträgt."[80] Nevertheless the horse's head has many typical Roman features of great interest - the flowing mane, forelock tied upright, ears with a rough indication of stiff hair inside, striking phalerae where the harness is joined together, the pupils of the eyes hollowed in a circular shape, lines one above the other in the arch surrounding the eyeball, dilated nostrils and its mouth pulled open by the bit.

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Since the original pedestal on which the statue stood is lost, we have no idea of how high the statue originally stood. Wall-paintings from the Casa della Caccia antica in Pompei, showing similar equestrian monuments nevertheless point to a pedestal which is not much higher than a full-grown man.[81] In this respect Kluge states that "Zugleich ergäben sich daraus aber auch Folgerungen für die Aufstellung des Reiters; denn der ungewöhnlich hoch aufgebaute Pferdekopf müsste den Kopf des Kaisers von vorn gesehen derart durchschneiden, dass eine so hohe Aufstellung wie die Jetzige von Michelangelo geschaffene schwerlich der antiken Aufstellung entsprochen haben kann. Aber noch zwei andere Gründe sprechen gegen den Michelangelosockel: die Plastik, welche unter dem gehobenen Pferdehuf gelegen hat (s.u. über den technischen Zustand dieses Hufes.), vielleicht also die Barbarengestalt, könnte sich in Anbetracht des geringen Leerraumes und der Beschränktheit der auch barock möglichen Linie auf dieser Sockelhöhe plastisch nur mit unklarem, ja falschen Kontur entwickeln. Und dann wirkt der an sich schon gewaltige Pferdeleib vor allem deshalb so massig, weil er dem Blick auch noch viel Unteransicht aufnötigt. Vielleicht ist angesichts des auch erzplastisch unendlich wichtigen Aufstellungsproblems der Hinweis nicht überflüssig, dass das barocke Empfinden zu allen Zeiten liebte, die Plastik tief zu stellen, in die Menschen hinein."[82] Proof that the statue stood for a long time within the reach of the man on the street is the graffiti on the body of the horse. However, when the statue is placed on a too low pedestal such as in the medieval drawing of Ciriaco d' Ancona, certain anatomical faults come to the fore as pointed out by Knauer: "Dann erst gewinnen auch gewisse, bei extrem niedriger Aufstellung peinlich berührende anatomische Fehler ihren Sinn: Etwas des Kaisers langer Hals, sein ungewöhnlich grosser, nach vorn geneigter Oberkörper, der überlängte flache rechte Arm, das gänzliche Fehlen beider Oberschenkel, die unter den Falten der Tunika im Pferdeleib zu verschwinden scheinen; auch das fast grotesk zu Gunsten des Reiters verschobene Grössenverhältnis zwischen Mensch und Tier."[83]

The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was preserved in the Middle Ages because it was believed to represent the first Christian emperor, Constantine. This monument was brought to its present position in 1538 on the order of Pope Paul III by Michelangelo, who redesigned the whole Capitoline Hill to incorporate the equestrian statue which he placed on an antique marble pedestal which originally

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did not belong to it at all.[84] Until 1538 and probably from the early Middle Ages on, the equestrian statue stood in front of the S. Giovanni in Laterano. Its position in front of the Lateran Palace is known from etchings, paintings and documents such as a drawing by Martin Heemskerck[85] and a detail from Filippino Lippi's "Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas" in the Caraffa Chapel in Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva.[86] From the above-mentioned illustrations we see that the statue stood on a well made spacious pedestal, but that the legs of the rider were supported by pilasters. It seems that the restorers in 1474 thought it wise to support the feet of the rider by two little columns and the raised hoof of the horse by an iron rod. This new pedestal was provided by Pope Sixtus IV in 1474.[87] Since restorations were carried out in 1466/67 under Pope Paul II and in 1473/74 under Pope Sixtus IV, it is very likely that it remained on the ground for this interim period.[88] Regarding the earlier placement of the equestrian statue, nothing but surmises can be made. Many writers nevertheless claim that it stood on the Caelius from the beginning.[89] Marcus Aurelius' connection with the Lateran supports this view. Not only was the house of his grandfather Annius Verus, where he grew up after the early death of his father, on this very spot, but also to the north of the present Piazza S. Giovanni in his time there stood the Castra Prioria Equitum Singularium i.e. the barracks of the equestrian order of the emperor. Marcus Aurelius' equestrian monument would therefore have had a reason for standing on the exercising grounds (Campus cailimontanus) in the vicinity of the barracks.[90] From a recent excavation report it seems that the original Roman pedestal may presumably have been discovered.[91] To strengthen the theory that the statue originally stood in front of the Lateran, Knauer points out that "schon vor der Regierung Konstantin des Grossen wurde das Korps der Equites singulares aufgehoben und ihre Kaserne abgerissen. Bald darauf erhob sich auf dem Platz als Stiftung eben dieses Kaisers eine Basilika des Erlösers ..... Um so leichter mag sich der dann lange geläufige Name 'Konstantinische Basilika' eingebürgert haben. Dass das christliche Rom in dem ehernen Reiter, der nördlich der Kirche stand, folglich einen segenspendenden Konstantin erblickte, kann kaum Wunder nehmen. Und als 'Caballus Constantini' - Pferd des Konstantin - treffen wir das Denkmal".[92] According to Wegner the statue was erected in A.D. 164 after Aurelius had assumed the title Armenicus.[93] In his brilliant essay on the placement of this equestrian monument during the Middle

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Ages, Philipp Fehl shows that the equestrian statue probably stood on four columns, those seen to the right of the statue on the drawing of Heemskerck, during the early Middle Ages.[94] Such a mounting of the statue of Marcus Aurelius may have influenced the presentation of equestrian statuary groups in the churches of the Middle Ages, especially the so-called "horses of Constantine".[95]

During the late antiquity it became common practice for an emperor to erect a victory column. In many respects such a victory column was based on the Imperial Roman "columna cochlea", which consisted of a tall column on which the different campaigns of the emperor were portrayed in a spiral relief around the shaft of the column and surmounting a statue of the emperor.[96] The victory column however, was also surmounted by an equestrain statue of the emperor. Two early examples of such monuments were the victory columns of emperor Theodosius I and Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths.

In 386 Theodosius erected a tall victory column in Constantinople.[97] It was surmounted by an equestrian statue of the emperor, who stretched out his right hand to the city. Inside the column were steps leading to a platform on top. The column was decorated on the outside by a frieze of figures showing battle scenes. The artist who made this column must have been inspired by the Roman "columna cochlea". In 480 an earthquake toppled the equestrian statue from the column and Anastasius I placed his own statue on the top of the column.[98]

After Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, received sanction from the Emperor Zeno to free Italy from Odoacer in 488, he conquered Italy from Odoacer in 493. Theodoric then established his capital in Ravenna, and turned the city into a "new Rome".[99] In the same way that Constantine the Great had placed his equestrian statue in front of his palace in Rome, so Theodoric also placed an equestrian statue of himself in front of his palace in Ravenna. A good description of this statue by the poet Walafried Strabo has survived.[100] This gilded equestrian statue in the true Imperial tradition stood on a tall column in Ravenna. According to tradition it was taken to Aachen by Charlemagne.

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Other equestrian statues of late antiquity which were also mounted on columns and which survived as late as the sixteenth century, were the equestrian statues of Justinian in Constantinople and the so-called "Regisole" in Pavia.

The impressive beauty of the famous gilded equestrian statue dedicated to Justinian in 542 and placed high on a porphyry column on the Augusteion in Constantinople, was well-known throughout the Byzantine world.[101] It attracted the admiration of Byzantium through its simple yet powerful form which was derived from the representative Roman equestrian monument. A drawing of this equestrian statue, made at the behest of the traveller and antiquary Cyriacus of Ancona when the monument still existed in the early fifteenth century, is at present in the library of the University of Budapest.[102] From this drawing as well as a description of the statue by Procopius we get a clear picture of how the monument looked.[103] We see that Justinian was portrayed in a cuirass and cloak on a restful horse. On his head was a feathered crown, his right hand was raised in a gesture of power and in his left hand he held an orb with a cross on top of it. Justinian's column was destroyed at the end of the sixteenth century and the bronze equestrian statue was first placed in the courtyard of the palace of the Sultan and later it was melted down by the state foundries to provide further cannon.

We know from various sources that there once stood a large bronze equestrian statue of a Roman emperor in Ravenna.[104] Some time in the eighth century it was transferred to Pavia either by the Lombards or by Charlemagne.[105] No one, however, knows whom this equestrian statue represented.[106] For this reason it was known by the pseudonym "Regisole" (sun-ruler). The derivation of this name is uncertain. According to an eleventh century document from Ravenna, "Regisole" was the name of the square near the Capitol in Ravenna where the equestrian statue originally stood.[107]

Initially the equestrian statue stood on a tall column in the "laubia maggiore" of the royal palace in Pavia until the destruction of the palace in 1024.[108] From the beginning of the twelfth century it stood on a similar pedestal in front of the cathedral of S. Siro in Pavia. A drawing by Opicinus de Canistris[109] and a fresco of 1522 in the church of S. Teodoro in Pavia show the statue in this position.[110]

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In 1315 the Regisole was cut to pieces and taken to Milan by Matteo Visconti as a spoil of war, but it was brought back to Pavia again in 1335, regilded and placed in its former position in front of the church of S. Siro.[111] It was about this time that the earliest existing description of the statue was made by Benzo di Alessandria.[112] From this early description we get a fairly good idea what the Regisole looked like. It seems to have been larger than life, but smaller than the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome. The rider was seated on a lively naturalistic horse, whose left front leg was supported by an erect dog. The rider, who held out his right hand in an imperial salute, sat erect in a saddle with his feet in stirrups.[113] The equestrian statue stood on a tall round pillar.

This description is endorsed by the numerous later representations of the equestrian figure such as those on a fifteenth century[114] and on a sixteenth century seal of the Commune Pavia[115], a woodcut in Pochedrappi's "Statuta de regimme pretoris ..... Papie" of 1505[116], an old banner of Pavia from the beginning of the sixteenth century[117], and two engravings of the seventeenth century.[118]

All these representations show that the Regisole differed considerably from the traditional Roman equestrian statue as exemplified by the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome. The rider of the Regisole statue did not bend slightly forward while riding, but sat erect. He sat in a saddle and had stirrups. He did not only wear a tunic tied about his waist by a cingulum as in the case of the Marcus Aurelius, but seemed to have a cuirass under it and a large cloak (paludamentum) about his shoulders. Heydenreich points out that the Regisole neither belonged to the classical Adlocutio-type of equestrian statue such as the Marcus Aurelius nor the type of the Roman knights such as the Balbi monuments in Naples, but rather to a more military type such as the Roman equestrian torso in Auxerre.[119]

The positioning of the legs of the horse of the Regisole differed considerably from the earlier Roman types. The Regisole instead of having both hind legs and one of the forelegs on the ground, stood on one foreleg and one hind leg, but for the sake of equilibrium used the figure of a small dog to support the raised foreleg. It was this gait which impressed Leonardo da Vinci when he studied the Regisole

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in June 1490 and which he later used for the designs for his Trivulzio monument.[120]

After Pavia was defeated in 1527, it was decided to transport the Regisole back to Ravenna, but it only reached Cremona. There it lay until 1531. After it was returned to Pavia in 1532, it was completely restored and erected on the square in front of the cathedral in 1552.[121] It remained in Pavia until it was completely destroyed on 16 May 1796 by revolutionaries.[122]

Other than the usual conceptual and technical problems accompanying the making of a bronze equestrian statue, the sculptor of these figures which were placed on tall columns, had the additional problems of supervising the placement of these colossal figures on their high pedestals and the fixing of the figures to the pedestals. No document survives to explain how this was done. This, however, was more an engineering than an artistic problem.

Apart from the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, the only other large bronze group from Roman times which survived the ravishes of time is the group of four horses which is at present on the facade of San Marco in Venice.[123] Although this is not an equestrian group it did have a profound influence on the form of many later equestrian statues.

The origin and artistic attribution of these horses remain a mystery to this day. The only certain facts about them are that they were brought to Venice from Constantinople in 1204. Where they came from originally remains mere speculation. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century many hypotheses concerning their origin and author have been postulated. In 1815 Count Leopoldo Cicognara suggested that they came from Nero's Rome.[124] He based his conclusions on the imperfect casting which was considered typical of the first century A.D., the powerful build of the horses and Nero's tast for gilded statuary. A.W. Schlegel criticized Cicognara's theories and stated that the horses were of Greek origin.[125]

The scholars of the twentieth century have mostly concentrated on anatomical and technical characteristics. L. von Schloezer made detailed somatic studies of the Venetian horses in 1913 and came to

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the conclusion that they were made after the time of Alexander the Great.[126] In 1927 Kluge, who was an expert on the technical problems of bronze-working, noted that the horses were cast in eleven pieces and that they were similar to the Roman horses of Naples in terms of casting method, sculpting and mounting.[127] G.M.A. Richter did not agree with Kluge and asserted that the horses were Roman statues inspired by Greek models of the second half of the fifth century B.C.[128] In 1961 the German scholar, J.F. Crome, postulated a fascinating theory.[129] After searching the ancient documents about Constantinople Crome identified the Venetian horses as those of the chariot of the sun-god which was in the Milion Aureo Square in Constantinople. He then associated the Venetian horses with the votive offering of the Rhodians which stood on a high pedestal in Delphi next to a golden tripod offered to Apollo by the Athenians. This votive offering was the quadriga of Lysippus mentioned by Pliny.[130] Crome then reasoned that since Constantine had the golden tripod brought to Constantinople and erected in the hippodrome, the quadriga must have suffered the same fate. The chariot of the sun-god in the Milion Aureo in Constantinople therefore originally was the quadriga of Lysippus. Crome's conclusion therefore was that the Venetian horses were the work of Lysippus.

In 1970 Filippo Magi examined the horses from a stylistic point of view, and drew attention to the "lunula" - half-moon shaped furrows forming the pupils of the eyes of the horses.[131] This was a technical device only employed since the middle of the second century A.D.. Yet the structure of the horses and their harnesses showed undeniable Greek characteristics. Magi's conclusion was that the horses were fourth century Roman copies of late Hellenic horses. At about the same time, G. Becatti proposed that the Venetian horses were made from casts taken directly from Greek originals during the time of Constantine.[132] To explain the presence of the lunula Becatti reasoned that the Roman copyists of the fourth century modified the cast's pupils to agree with the conventions of the time.

To conclude this chapter on Roman equestrian statues, reference must be made to the extraordinary fact that in Roman times large equestrian statues with female riders existed. This was the first instance in history where equestrian monuments were erected for women. Pliny refers to one such monument.[133] This was the

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equestrian statue which stood opposite the temple of Jupiter Stator, in the vestibule of the house of Tarquinius Superbus to which Seneca also refers.[134] Pliny seems uncertain whether this is the statue of Claelia of Valeria, the daughter of the consul Publicola. It seems as if the statue was erected by those who had been hostages to King Porsena.[135] Apart from the fact that according to Pliny the rider was clad in a toga, we have no idea of what this statue looked like. In all probability it was based on the representative Roman type, but this cannot be verified.

FOOTNOTES

1. Pliny tells us that in Rhodes alone there were according to Mucianus seventy-three thousand statues. Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv,36 : Jex-Blake, K. and E. Sellers: The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art, p. 29. This is all the more staggering when one considers that the count was taken after the plundering of Rhodes by Cassius.

2. Cassiodorus: Variae vii,13 and Cassiodorus: Formula ad Praefectum urbis de Architecto Publicorum: "Videbit profecto meliora, quam legit; pulchiora, quam cogitare potuit, statuas illas auctorum suorum, scilicet, adhuc signa retinentes; ut quam diu laudabilium personarum opinio superesset, tam diu et similitudinem vivae substantiae imago corporis custodiret; conspiciet expressas in aere venas: nisu quosdam musculos tumentes: nervos quasi gradu tensos; et sic hominem fusum in diversas similitudines, ut credas potius esse generatum. Has primum Thusci in Italia invenisse referuntur, quas amplexa posteritas pene parem populum urbi dedit, quam natura procreavit. Mirabitur formis equinis signa etiam inesse fervorus. Crispatis enim naribus ac rotundis, auribus remulsis, credit forsitan cursus appetere, cum se metalla noverit non movere." See Grimm, H.: Das Reiterstandbild des Theodorich zu Aachen und das Gedicht des Walafried Strabus darauf, p. 18.

3. Livy: Liber xxxiv,4,4.: Sage, E.T.: Livy, p. 421: "Infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi. Iam nimis multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantes mirantesque et ante fixa fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentes."

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4. See Chapter 2, p. 32 above.

5. Cicero refers to this group as follows: "As a matter of fact when among the crowd of gilded knights placed by Metellus on the Capitol, I noticed a likeness of Africanus with the name Serapio on the pedestal, I though it was a workman's error, but now I see it is Metellus' mistake." Cicero: Epistulorum ad Atticum, vi,i,17: Winstedt, E.O.: Cicero's letters to Atticus, p. 435. A Roman bronze statuette of a rider on a prancing horse in the British Museum and which was made in the Imperial period is probably a copy of one of these "gilded knights". See Savage, G.: Concise History of Bronzes, p. 68. (See fig. 32.)

6. Libanius: Oration 4,1120:

7. See pp. 68 and 73 respectively. See also footnote 27 below on the statue of Caesar in the Forum Julium.

8. Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv,10,9: Bostock J. and H.T. Riley: The Natural History of Pliny, vol. 6. p. 156.

9. See footnote 5 above.

10. Siedentopf, H.B.: Das Hellenistische Reiterdenkmal, p. 23.

11. Haftmann, W.: Das italienische Säulenmonument, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, p. 18.

12. Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv,13,1: Bostock, J. and H.T. Riley: Op. cit., p. 160.

13. Livy: Ab Urbe condita,viii,13,9: Foster, B.O.: Livy, vol. 4, p. 55: "Then, distributing garrisons amongst the recovered towns, they departed for Rome, to enjoy the triumph by general consent awarded them. In addition to the triumph they were granted the honour - a rare one in those days - of equestrian statues put up in the Forum." Bandinelli's remark that "from about 340, however, they (statues) are by no means uncommon (in Rome) and include equestrian groups" undoubtedly derives from the

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above-mentioned reference of Livy. Bandinelli, R.B.: Rome, the centre of Power, p. 28. The date is definitely too early.

14. Vessberg, O.: Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik, p. 21.

15. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Antike Reiterstandbilder, p. 38.

16. Plutarch: Lives: Fabius Maximus xxii,8: Great Books of the Western World, p. 152: "Fabius answered 'Let us leave their angry gods to the Tarentines.' Nevertheless he removed the colossal statue of Hercules and had it set up in the Capitol, with one of himself on horseback in brass, near it; ..."

17. Bandinelli, R.B.: Op. cit., p. 373.

18. See Chapter 2, p 31 above.

19. Crawford, M.H.: Roman Republican Coinage I, pp. 307 & 448.

20. See Chapter 2, p 36 above.

21. Roques de Maumont has confused the two figures and shows the coin bearing the equestrian statue of Q. Marcius Rex as Q. Marcius Tremulus. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 41. It is very likely that the two equestrian monuments looked much the same, since the Romans saw nothing wrong in reproducing the same monument only with slight alterations.

22. Livy: Ab Urbe condita ix,43,22: Foster, B.O.: Op. cit., p. 339.: "Marcius returned to the City, which he entered in a triumph over the Hernici. An equestrian statue in the Forum was decreed him and was erected in front of the temple of Castor", and Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv,11,6: Bostock, J. and H.T. Riley: Op. cit., p. 158: "The equestrian statue of Marcius Tremulus, clad in the toga, stood before the Temple of the Castors ..."

23. See Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 3, p. 846.

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24. See Chapter 2, p. 32 and Gesche, H.: Die Reiterstatuen der Aemilier und Marcier, Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, 1968, p. 26: "Das Pflanzengebilde unter dem Leib des Pferdes bei den beiden Münzen der gens Marcia dürfte als Stütze aufzufassen sein und unterstreicht ebenfalls den Standbildcharakter."

25. Rocher, W.H.: Über die Reiterstatue Julius Caesars auf dem Forum Julium, Bericht der königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft (1891), pp. 96-154. Although Pliny as well as Seutonius only speak of a "equus Caesaris", they do not just refer to a horse, but according to the Roman linguistic usage, rather to a complete equestrian statue of Caesar. Already at the time of his campaigns against the Lusitanians and Gauls, Caesar must have been in possession of his famous warhorse, in which an extraordinary analogy can be found with Alexander the Great and his famous horse, Bukephalas. Caesar purposely strove to find analogies with Alexander the Great for clever political gain. Both Caesar's as well as Alexander's horses had outstanding peculiarities such as Bukephalas' extraordinary wide bull-like head (Pliny: Naturalis Historiae xviii, 154: "Bucephalum cum vocaverunt sive ab adspectu torvo sive ab insigni taurini capitis armo impressi.") or white mark in the shape of a bull's head on his forehead, and Caesar's horse which had human-like forelegs. Both also claimed to be the first to tame and ride their horses.

26. Writers which can be mentioned are: Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, viii,64,6: Bostock J. and H.T. Riley: Op. cit., p. 317: "It is said, also that Caesar, the Dictator, had a horse, which would allow no one to mount but himself, and that its forefeet were like those of a man; indeed it is thus represented in the statue before the temple of Venus Genetrix.", Seutonius: De Vita Caesarum: Divvs Ivlivs, I, vii: Rolfe, J.C.: Seutonius, p. 9: "As quaestor it fell to his lot to serve in Farther Spain. When he was there, while making the circuit of the assize towns, to hold court under commission from the praetor, he came to Gades; and noticing a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, he heaved a sigh..."; Cedrenus I, 300 and Cassius Dio xxxviii, 54.

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27. Statius noted that the statue of Caesar was a statue of Alexander the Great by Lysippos which Caesar changed to his own. Caesar had the forelegs of Bukephalas changed and gave the rider his own head. See Rocher, W.H. Op. cit., p. 102.

28. Crawford, M.H.: Op. cit., p. 305.

29. Stuart, M.: The denarius of M' Aemilius Lepidus and the Aqua Marcia, American Journal of Archaeology,49 (1945), p. 251: Here the writer states that "the marked difference between the equestrian statue on Manius Aemilius' coin and the equestrian statue that appears above the arches on the coin of Marcius Philippus or between either statue and the equestrian statue erected to a fifteen-year-old Aemilius for saving a citizen's life and slaying an enemy, which a later Aemilius Lepidus, perhaps the triumvir, represented on one of his issues, indicates that the equestrian statue above the three arches represented a particular statue and was intended to be recognised".

30. Stuart, M.: Op. cit., p. 249. Roques de Maumont believes that this equestrian statue was only erected after the death of the consul in 153/152 B.C. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 39.

31. See Chapter 2, p. 36.

32. The earliest forms of gilding by the Romans involved the attaching of thin square sections of gold leaf onto the base metal. Sometimes the surface of the base metal was extensively roughened and then the gold leaf was laid on top and hammered or burnished into position. This gold leaf was produced by beating gold between small squares of parchment. Pliny tells us that 750 leaves each ten centimetres square was made from an ounce of gold. See Plinius: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiii, 19, 62-63. Later in the third century A.D. the process of gilding was revolutionised by the introduction of the use of mercury. There were two methods:

(i) In the first method gold is dissolved in boiling mercury to form a paste which is spread on the surface of the metal.

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When this is heated the mercury evaporates and a thin layer of gold is left behind on the base metal.

(ii) In the second method mercury is applied directly to the surface of the base metal and gold leaf is laid on top. When this is heated the gold layer remains on the base metal.

See Oddy, W.A., L.B. Vlad and N.D. Meeks: The gilding of bronze statues in the Greek and Roman World, The Horses of San Marco, pp. 182-186.

33. Appian: The Civil Wars I, 97: White, H.: Appian's Roman History: The Civil Wars, vol. 3, p. 179: "... Everything that Sulla had done as consul or as proconsul was confirmed and ratified, and his gilded equestrian statue was erected in front of the rostra with the inscription 'Cornelius Sulla, the ever Fortunate', for so his flatterers called him on account of his unbroken success against his enemies." Other examples are: An equestrian statue of L. Antonius which according to Cicero: oratio Philippica vi,5,12 stood "in foro", i.e. on the Rostra, another on the market near Ianus medius and a third probably also on the market. See Ker, W.C.A.: Cicero Philippics, p. 327.

34. Sutherland, C.H.V.: Roman Coins, p. 56.

35. Meller, S.: Die Reiterdarstellungen Leonardos und die Budapester Bronzestatuette, Jarhbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 37 (1916), p. 233.

36. Kluge, K. and K. Lehmann-Hartleben: Die Antiken Grossbronzen: Grossbronzen der römischen Kaiserzeit, Band II, p. 85.

37. Woloch, M.: Archaeological Notes: A note on the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, American Journal of Archaeology, 73(1969), p. 469.

38. Löwy, E.: Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens, Jarhbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien, 2(1928), pp. 1-40.

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39. Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv, 12: Bostock J. and H.T. Riley: Op. cit., p. 159.

40. (a) Denarius with equestrian monuments on a triumphal arch, c. 16 B.C. Equestrian statues of Augustus appear on denarii of L. Vinicius, the obverse of which shows Cippus with the inscription: S(enatus) P(opulus) Q(ue) R(omanus) IMP(eratori) CAE(sari) QVOD V(iae) M(unitae) S(unt) EX EA P(ecunia) Q(uam) IS AD A(erarium) DE(tulit). If one combines this inscription with the note of Cassius Dio: liii,22, that after the restoration of the Via Flaminia, Augustus placed his statues on the Tiber bridge as well as at Ariminum, then it becomes clear that the statues must have been equestrian monuments.

(b) Sestertius with an equestrian statue of prince Nero Claudius Drusus, British Museum, London. See Sydenham, E.A.: Historical References on Coins of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Gallienus, p. 27.

41. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 48.

42. Sestertius of Claudius with an equestrian statue of Nero Claudius Drusus, British Museum. See Sutherland, C.H.V.: Op. cit., p. 157. We also know this equestrian monument from a fragmentary sarcophagusrelief which is at present in the National Museum in Stockholm. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 51.

43. Zevi, F.: Equestrian Statue of Nerva from Miseno, The Horses of San Marco, pp. 45-47.

44. Zevi, F.: Op. cit., pp. 45-46.

45. Zevi, F.: Op. cit., p. 45.

46. Frigerio, G. and M. Leoni: Foundry techniques used in casting the Horses of San Marco: The Horses of San Marco, pp. 178-179.

47. Frigerio, G. and M. Leoni: Op. cit., p. 78.

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48. Bronze head of a horse from Herculaneum, Museo Nationale, Naples, inv. no. 115391. (See fig. 33.) See Kluge K. and K. Lehmann-Hartleben: Op. cit., p. 80.

49. Bronze head of a horse from Herculaneum, Museo Nationale, Naples, inv. no. 115390. (See fig. 34.) See Kluge, K. and K, Lehmann-Hartleben: Op. cit., p. 78.

50. Kluge, K. and K. Lehmann-Hartleben: Op. cit., p. 80.

51. Bronze torso of a rider from the Theatre at Herculaneum, Museo Nationale, Naples, fragment no. 5. (See fig. 35.) See Kluge, K. and K. Lehmann-Hartleben: Op. cit., p. 81. Other fragments were unfortunately melted down in the eighteenth century.

52. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 83.

53. Bronze equestrian statue from Pompei, Museo Nationale, Naples, Inv. No. 5635. (See figs. 36 a & b). See Kluge, K. and K. Lehmann-Hartleben: Op. cit., p. 77 & 81. In December 1823 the scattered fragments of this figure were discovered near the arches of the Forum in Pompei.

54. Statius: Silvae, I, i, 1-21: Mozley, J.H.: Statius, pp. 7-15.

55. Statius: Silvae, I, i,51: Mozley J.H. Op. cit., p.10: "vacuae pro caespite terrae Aerea captivi terit ungula Rheni".

56. Nash, E.: Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, vol I. p. 389.

57. Coarelli, F.: Guida Archeologica di Roma, p. 80: "I tre blocchi di travertino incavati che sono ancora visibili a terra, inseriti nella massicciata in opera cementizia, servivano forse a fissare dei perni metallici che, attraversando tutto il basamento andavano ad ancorare le zampe del cavallo." See also Lugli, G.: The Roman Forum and the Palatine, p. 44.

58. Denarius with the equestrian monument of Trajan on the reverse. Sydenham E.A.: Op. cit., p. 88: "The colossal Equestrian statue which was one of the chief embellishments of Trajan's

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Forum is also portrayed on a number of coins of the 6th Consulship, probably A.D. 113." See also Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 54.

59. Ammianus Marcellinus: Constantius et Gallus, xvi,10,15: Rolfe, J.C.: Ammianus Marcellinus, p. 251: "But when he came to the Forum of Trajan, a construction unique under the heavens, as we believe, and admirable even in the unanimous opinion of the gods, he stood fast in amazement, turning his attention to the gigantic complex about him, beggaring description and never again to be imitated by mortal men. Therefore abandoning all hope of attempting anything like it, he said that he would and could copy Trajan's steed alone, which stands in the centre of the vestibule, carrying the emperor himself. To this prince Ormisda, who was standing near him, and whose departure from Persia I have described above, replied with native wit: 'First, Sire' said he, 'command a like stable to be build, if you can; let the steed which you propose to create range as widely as this which we see'".

60. Lanciani, R.: The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome, p. 258.

61. Nash, E.: Op. cit., p. 388.

62. Bronze medallion with the equestrian statue of Constantine the Great. See Roques de Maumont, H. von :Op. cit., p. 61.

63. Grimm, H.: Das Reiterstandbild des Theodorich zu Aachen und das Gedicht des Wallafried Strabus darauf, p. 62: "Die Mirabilia sagen ausdrücklich, das Caballus Constantini habe die Figur eines Mannes mit auf dem Rücken gefesselten Händen unter dem einen Hufe gehabt."

64. Siedentopf, H.B.: Op. cit., p. 34.

65. Marble equestrian statuette 1,40 m high, British Museum, London. (See fig. 37). See Friis, H.: Rytterstatuens Historie i Europa fra Oldtiden indtil Thorvaldsen, p. 59.

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66. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 52.

67. Marble equestrian statues of Marcus Nonius Balbus and his son, 2,52 m high, Museo Nationale, Naples, Inv. No.'s 62 & 63. (See figs. 38 & 39.) See Schaeffer, A.: Ross und Reiter, ihre Darstellung in der plastischen Kunst, p. 41.

68. Schaeffer, A.: Op cit., p. 41.

69. Marble equestrian statue, Villa Barberini, Castel Gandolfo. (See figs. 40 a & b.) See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., pp. 54-56 and Perocco, G.: The Horses of San Marco, p. 25.

70. Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 54.

71. Sestertius with the equestrian statue of Antoninus Pius. See Roques de Maumont, H, von: Op. cit., p. 57.

72. Marble equestrian statuette, 1,40 m high, Vatican Museum, Rome. (See fig. 41.) See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 60.

73. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 48.

74. Unfinished stone equestrian monuments from Breitfurt, 2,85 m high, Historisches Museum von der Pfalz, Speyer. (See fig. 42). See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., pp. 65-67.

75. An inventory made during the reign of emperor Honorius (.A.D 395-423) revealed that there were still twenty-two large equestrian figures in Rome. See Knauer, E.R.: Das Reiterstandbild des Kaisers Marc Aurel, p. 14. (See fig. 43.)

76. Kluge, K. and K. Lehmann-Hartleben: Op. cit., p. 85.

77. Muybridge, E.: Animals in Motion, p. 15.

78. Woloch, M.: Op. cit., p. 469.

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79. Dieckmann, H. and J. Seznec: The Horse of Marcus Aurelius, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 15 (1952), p. 205.

80. Grossmann, O.: Das Reiterbild in Malerei und Plastik, p. 55.

81. Paintings of an equestrian monument on the walls of Casa della Caccia antica, Pompei. See Knauer, E.R.: Op. cit., p. 9.

82. Kluge, K. and K. Lehmann-Hartleben: Op. cit., p. 86.

83. Knauer, E.R.: Op. cit., p. 20.

84. Nash, E.: Op. cit., p. 391.

85. Huelsen, C. and H. Egger: Die römischen Skizzenbücher des Marten van Heemskerck I, pp. 36-39.

86. Bertelli, C.: Filippino Lippi riscoperto, Il Veltro, Feb. 1963, pp. 55-65. A summary of old sources and legends concerning the statue are found in Zucchetti, G.: Marco Aurelio, Capitolium, 1953, pp. 328-332.

87. Fehl, P.: The placement of the Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Middle Ages, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 37 (1974), p. 362.

88. Nash, E.: Op. cit., p. 391.

89. Fehl, P.: Op. cit., p. 365, Nash, E.: Op cit., p. 391 and Knauer, E.R.: Op. cit., p. 7.

90. Lauer, P.: Le palais de Latran, pp. 22-23.

91. Scrinari, V.S.M.: Scavi sotto Sala Mazzoni all'ospedale di S. Giovanni in Roma, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana d'Archeologia, 41 (1968/69), pp. 176-181.

92. Knauer, E.R.: Op. cit., p. 8.

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93. Wegner, M.: Das römische Herrscherbild: die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit, p. 190.

94. Fehl. P.: Op. cit., pp. 362-367.

95. See Chapter 4 p. 106 below.

96. The most famous of these Roman columns was Trajan's column which was erected in the Roman Forum in A.D. 113 to celebrate his victories in Dacia (Romania). Trajan's statue, which surmounted the column, was later replaced by one of St. Peter. The column survives to this day in the Roman Forum. See Lanciani, R.: Op. cit., p. 318.

97. Haftmann, W.: Op. cit., p. 46.

98. Haftmann, W.: Op. cit., p. 47.

99. Einem, H. von: Zur Deutung des Magdeburger Reiters, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 16(1953), p. 52.

100. Grimm, H.: Op. cit., pp. 1-13.

101. On a map of Constantinople from the Liber Insulorum del Buondelmonti of 1422 as well as on a woodcut of 1493 of a view of Constantinople by H. Schedel, we see the statue of Justinian on its column close to the Sta. Sophia. See Perocco, G.: Op. cit., p. 51 & 52.

102. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 82 and Procopius: Buildings I.ii. 5- 12, Dewing, H.B.: Procopius, vol. vii, p. 395.

103. Procopius described the monument as follows: "And on the summit of the column stands a gigantic bronze horse, facing toward the east, a very noteworthy sight. He seems about to advance, and to be splendidly pressing forward. Indeed he holds his left fore foot in the air, as though it were about to take a forward step on the ground before him, while the other is pressed down upon the stone on which he stands, as if ready to take the next step; his hind feet he holds close together, so

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that they may be ready whenever he decides to move. Upon this horse is mounted a colossal bronze figure of the Emperor. And the figure is habited like Achilles, that is, the costume he wears in known by that name. He wears half-boots and his legs are not covered by greaves. Also he wears a breastplate in the heroic fashion, and a helmet covers his head and gives the impression that it moves up and down, and a dazzling light flashes forth from it. One might say, in poetic speech, that here is that star of Autumn. And he looks toward the rising sun, directing his course, I suppose, against the Persians. And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his Empire and his victory in war. And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he commands the barbarians in that quarter to remain at home and to advance no further." See Dewing, H.B.: Op. cit., pp. 35-37. (See fig. 44.)

104. Malaspina di Sannazaro, M.: Guida di Pavia, p. 83.; Terenzio, P.: Del Regisole; Grimm, H.: Op. cit., pp. 63-79.; Brambilla, C.: Le monete di Pavia, p. 478.; Maiocchi, R.: Un vessillo di Pavia del secolo XVI e la statua del Regisole, Bollettino Storico Pavese, 2(1894), pp. 218-249.; Müller-Walde, P.: Leonardo da Vinci und die antike Reiterstatue des Regisole, Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 20(1899), p. 81.; Soriga, R.: Per la Storia del sigillo del Commune, Bollettino Storico Pavese, 9(1911), p. 236.; Foratti, A.: Il Regisole di Pavia e i disegni di Leonardo da Vinci.; Friis, H.:Op. cit., p. 73.; Soriga, R.: La tradizione romana in Pavia e la statua del Regisole, Atti e Memorie I^{o} Congresso Storico Lombardo 1936, p. 33.; Haftmann W.: Op. cit., pp. 120-124.; Heydenreich, L.H. Marc Aurel und Regisole, Festschrift für Erich Meyer, pp. 146-159.

105. The tradition of the transportation of this monument from Ravenna to Pavia is very old and rich, but also very vague. Traditionally it is believed to be one of two equestrian statues

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which Charlemagne transferred from Ravenna to Aachen. See Chapter 4 p. 102 below.

106. According to the latest research it is believed to be either Theodoric or Alexander Severus. See Maiocchi, R.: Op. cit., p. 229 and Soriga, R.: Op. cit., p. 36 respectively. However, it cannot be Theodoric because most of his surviving portrait busts show him without a beard, while pictorial representations of the statue in Pavia show a man with a beard. See Schramm, P.E.: Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik, I, p. 219.

107. Soriga, R.: Op. cit., p. 37. A symbolic explanation derived from the arm gesture of the rider dates from the Middle Ages. See Heydenreich, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 148.

108. Heydenreich, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 148.

109. Pendrawing of a view of the cathedral of Pavia by Opicinus de Canistris (1336), Codex Pal. Lat. 1993, Vatican Library, Rome, showing the equestrian statue on a massive column with the word "Radisol" on the capital.

110. Fresco of the city of Pavia (1522) S. Teodoro, Pavia. See Moiraghi, P.: Una pianta di Pavia depinta, Bollettino Storico Pavese 1 (1893), p. 41.

111. Friis. H.: Op. cit., p. 74.

112. In Benzo di Alessandria's Chronicon in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Codex B 24, folio 147 verso the statue is described as follows: "Eminuit etiam longis in urbe illa temportibus ereus ille equus fusilis et deauratus cum insidente ereo equite, qui vulgo Regisolium dicebatur. Erat enim loco patenti et eminenti ante matricem Ecelesiam sopra latericiam columpnam. Eques autem una manu freno tegebat equum, alteram tenebat extensam. Equi pes una a catulo ereo tenebat(ur) erectus. Et quod mirifice commendabat artificem, tanta quippe militari doctrina, et tam docta, tamque venusta industria videbatur equo eques insidere, ut non solum ejus decora insessio, sed et regulata stapediacio

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contemplantes ad equitatum instrueret, verum etiam provocaret." See Haftmann, W.: Op. cit., p. 121.

113. These stirrups, which were an original part of the monument, and not a later medieval addition, are proof that the statue was made during the late antiquity. See Chapter 4, footnote 4 below.

114. Seal of the city of Pavia, Archivio Communale, Pavia. See Maiocchi, R.: Op. cit., p. 233 and fig. 45.

115. Seal of the city of Pavia, Museo Civico, Pavia. See Maiocchi, R.: Op. cit., p. 235 and fig. 46.

116. See Roques de Maumont, H. von: Op. cit., p. 63: Maiocchi, R.: Op. cit., p. 241 and fig. 47.

117. The banner was made for Louis XII of France in 1509. In 1512 it was taken from Pavia as a spoil of war to the church of S. Nicolaus in Fribourg. It seems to have been destroyed during the French Revolution, but an accurate drawing of the banner was made in the seventeenth century by Pierre Crolot for his flagbook which is at present still in the State Archives in Fribourg. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 77 and fig. 48.

118. The engravings are:
(a) Engraving of the Regisole by Cesare Bonacina. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 79.
(b) Engraving of the Regisole in P. Coronelli's "Ravenna antica e moderna" (1697), p. 25. See Heydenreich, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 154. Heydenreich points out that a third engraving by Silvestro Carletti is actually a copy of the Marcus Aurelius and therefore has no iconographic value.

119. Heydenreich, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 155. (See fig. 49.)

120. See Chapter 5, p. 158 below.

121. Heydenreich, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 149.

122. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 74.

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123. Perocco, G.: Op. cit., pp. 49-79

124. Cicognara, L.: Dei quattro cavalli riposti sul pronao della Basilica di S. Marco, Venice, 1815.

125. Schlegel, A.W.: Lettre aux éditeurs de la Bibliothéque Italienne, sur les chevaux de bronze de Venise, Florence, 1816.

126. Schloezer, L. von: Die Rosse van San Marco, Römische Mitteilungen, 28 (1913), pp. 129-182.

127. Kluge, K. and K. Lehmann-Hartleben: Op. cit., p. 78.

128. Richter, G.M.A.: Animals in Greek Sculpture, p. 59.

129. Crome, J.F.: Die goldenen Pferde von San Marco und der goldene Wagen der Rhodier, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 87 (1963), pp. 209-228.

130. Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv, 19: Bostock, J. and H.T. Riley: Op. cit., vol. vi p. 176.

131. Magi, F.: Ancora sulla data dei cavalli di San Marco, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, 44 (1972), pp. 209-217.

132. Becatti, G.: Interrogativi sui problemi dei cavalli di San Marco, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia 43 (1970-71), pp. 203-206.

133. Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv, 13,3: Bostock, J. and H.T. Riley, Op. cit., p. 160: "females even have participated in this honour; for the statue of Claelia is equestrian ...".

134. Claelia was an early Roman heroine, who escaped from the Etruscans by swimming across the Tiber. Seneca describes her statue as follows: "In the city where Claelia, who braved both the enemy and the river has been almost transferred by us, on account of her signal courage, to the list of heroes: the statue of Claelia, mounted upon a horse, stands on the Sacred Way in

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the city's busiest quarter". Seneca: De Consolatione, xvi, 2: Basore, J.W.: Seneca - Moral Essays, p. 49.

135. Pliny states that according to Piso "the statue of Claelia was erected by those who had been hostages with her, when they were given up by Porsena, as a mark of honour". Pliny: Naturalis Historiae, xxxiv, 13, 15: Bostock, J. and H.T. Riley: Op. cit., p. 160. An account of Claelia's exploit occurs in Livy ii, 13.

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CHAPTER 4

EQUESTRIAN STATUES OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The Middle Ages in the West covers a period of a thousand years between 400 and 1400 with antiquity at one end and the Renaissance at the other. The concept "Middle Ages" came into being during the Renaissance as a result of the criticism of the humanists, who referred to this period as "an earlier long period of decadence after the fall of the Roman Empire". Later Vasari maintained that the causes of this long decadence were the devastations of the barbarians and the aversion of Christianity for pagan art.[1] Today, however, the concept of decadence is no longer a valid one for the art of the Middle Ages.

In creating an Empire beyond the Alps, the Romans took the forms and features of Mediterranean life into regions whose climate, landscapes and peoples were utterly different from those of the Mediterranean itself. The further north the Roman frontier went, the more superficial, diluted and compromised were the authentic patterns of Roman life. As a result of this simplification a new kind of sculpture, a humble, popular style which developed from Roman provincial sculpture appeared and existed side by side with the courtly styles of Rome which preserved or rediscovered much of the dignity of Late Classical Art.

An early medieval bronze equestrian figurine which was found at Altino and which is at present in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is an example of a crude provincial interpretation of a Roman equestrian statue.[2] This figurine clearly shows the inability of the "barbarian" artist to comprehend the artistic heritage of Rome. The figurine, which is solidly cast, has so many faults that one cannot help but think that it was made from memory. In all probability it was made by an artist who came from a country where no equestrian statues existed, but who had seen such a statue in Rome or Constantinople during a visit there and tried to reconstruct it from memory once he was back home again. It is evident from errors in the portrayal of the dress of the rider and the trappings and build of the horse that the artist did not understand the use and function of these parts of the equestrian figure.

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Another fine example of the pre-Carolingian conception of the equestrian figure is a relief funeral stele from Hornhausen showing an armed rider on horseback.[3] It clearly illustrates how the "barbarian" artist reduced the illusionistic perceptible creation of late antiquity to a system of lines. The procedure of the early medieval sculptor corresponds to that of the archaic Greek sculptor, namely to make the design directly on the block. There was no talk of a preparatory sketch or design as found in late antiquity.

Like the Greeks the artists of the Middle Ages started from an almost exclusive concern for abstract ornament and ended up with the kind of naturalism that stems from man's preoccupation with himself. Yet, unlike the Greeks, they did not have to break new ground. All around them were suitable precedents. Apart from Viking and Muslim ornament these precedents were nearly always found in the inheritance from antiquity. For many centuries the western Medieval world looked to the Byzantine world as the supreme example of a civilization which was heir to the Greco-Roman Classicism.

The conquest of the latinized North Africa and Spain by the Saracens in the eighth century meant that the survival of Christianized Europe depended on the success of the Franks, who soon held the dominant position in the West. The use of the stirrup for the first time in Europe by the Frankish cavalry ensured their success in battle.[4] The harassment of the Byzantine Empire in the East by the Saracens prevented the Eastern Emperor from going to the aid of the Pope in Rome against the Lombards and the Pope therefore had to turn to the only real power in Western Europe, that of the Frankish King, Charlemagne, who later was to become Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. With Charlemagne's coronation in Rome in 800, the West regained a Classical culture in the figurative arts which could compete in pomp with the Empire of Constantinople. In carrying out Charlemagne's renewal of the Roman Empire, every attempt was made to provide authentic visual links with the Roman Christian Empire. Charlemagne made Aachen his capital and saw himself as the "new Constantine". Aachen was therefore to become "Roma Secunda". Charlemagne also called his palace in Aachen the "Lateran", since the Lateran in Rome, according to tradition had been the palace of Constantine the Great which he gave to the Church.[5] In 801

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Charlemagne had an equestrian statue, probably that of Theodoric, brought from Ravenna to Aachen and set up in the colonnaded forecourt of his palace as a parallel to the bronze image of Marcus Aurelius, which was generally thought to be Constantine the Great.[6] The ninth century priest, Agnellus of Ravenna, described this beautiful gilded bronze equestrian statue with a shield in the one hand and a lance in the other in the Ravennate Liber Pontificalis.[7] Agnellus probably never saw this equestrian statue himself, since it was removed to Aquisgranis (Aachen) shortly before he was born. It seems certain that he derived details of his description of the statue from a poem by Walafried Strabo.[8] From Strabo's description of the statue we gather that it was a monument in the true tradition of the imperial equestrian figures of Rome. The gilded statue showed an imposing rider with his mantle flying in the wind on a fiery horse which tramples a "barbarian" with its forelegs. The figure at the feet of the horse lay on his side and had a lyre and an urn next to him. The right leg of the horse rested on this figure and the left was held high. Nowhere however, does Strabo mention the lance and shield to which Agnellus refers. According to Strabo the statue stood on a high pedestal between the palace and the cathedral in Aachen.[9]

The importance of the transfer of this statue from Ravenna to Aachen as a symbolic gesture cannot be underestimated since it is here that the symbolic nature of most medieval equestrian figures originated. Herbert von Einem explains this when he states that "Diese Verpflanzung des ravennatischen Denkmals nach Aachen ist allgemeingeschichtlich wie ein Symbol für den Übergang der Weltherrschaft vom Süden auf den Norden, kunstgeschichtlich bedeutet sie die Fortführung bzw. Übernahme der Tradition des Herrscherdenkmals durch den Norden."[10]

This equestrian monument which Charlemagne erected in Aachen must have had an immense impact on the bronzeworkers in Aachen since we know that in c. 810 a large equestrian statue was cast in the workshops there.[11] Unfortunately we do not know what this equestrian statue looked like or where it stood in Aachen. Although very little is known about this equestrian statue, we do know that it inspired the bronzeworkers of the time of Charles the Bald to make

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the famous equestrian statuette of Charlemagne which is at present in the Salles de la Colonnade in the Louvre.[12] According to Friis this statuette was not modelled on the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome or the Theodoric statue which Charlemagne erected in Aachen, but rather on the equestrian statue of Justinian in Constantinople.[13] Like Justinian, Charlemagne is also represented with an orb in his left hand and rides a restful horse without spurs or stirrups. Whatever this statuette may owe to Roman equestrian examples, it is without doubt original in that it succeeds in unifying the two polarized forces of classic art, namely naturalism and stylization.

Although much doubt as to the Carolingian origin of this statuette existed in the past, it has lately universally been accepted as a work of that period.[14] The statuette, which is generally accepted as a representation of Charlemagne and which stands at the outset of medieval equestrian sculpture, shows the emperor with a crown on his head, an orb in his outstretched left hand, a long sword by his left side and seated on a small horse. One must see the statuette of Charlemagne not as a personal monument, but rather as a symbol of the state since the idea of the personal monument had already been abandoned early in the Middle Ages. The statuette is a personification of Charlemagne as the new Constantine.

The statuette has a long and interesting history. Very little is known about the statuette's history before 1507, when a silver copy of it was made to be placed alongside it in the cathedral treasure of St Stephan in Metz. In an inventory of the cathedral of 1682 we are told that every year on 28 January, the day Charlemagne died, the bronze statuette was placed between four candles in the cathedral.[15] During the French Revolution both statuettes disappeared. The bronze statuette reappeared after the Revolution in the possession of a chemist in Metz, Alexander Lenoir. After Lenoir's death the statuette was sold and came into the collection of an English lady, Madame Evans-Lombe. She exhibited it in 1867 at the World Show in Paris. It was consequently bought by the city of Paris and placed in the Hotêl de Ville. When the Hotêl de Ville burnt down in 1871, the statuette was badly damaged and after preliminary restoration it was placed in the Musée Carnavalet. In 1934 it was extensively cleaned

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and restored and later placed in the Salles de la Colonnade in the Louvre in Paris.

Although the statuette has been extensively repaired through the ages, enough of the original Carolingian bronze remains to reflect the technical problems which these bronzeworkers had to solve. Originally the statuette was gilded as the remains of gilding in the folds prove.[16] Since the Carolingian bronzeworkers did not have the technical experience to cast the statuette as a whole, they fell back on the old tradition of casting the parts separately and putting them together with rivets. Difficult parts were cast solidly. The rider and the horse of the statuette of Charlemagne were cast separately. The arms and legs of the rider were cast solidly and the saddle cloth was modelled with the figure of the rider. This figure was attached to the horse by means of a rivet which ran through the hollow body of the horse. Even the head of the rider was cast separately and riveted to the body. Since the colour of the metal of the head differs slightly from that of the body, Darcel was led to believe that the head of the rider was a Carolingian addition to an antique equestrian statuette.[17] However, metallurgical tests proved that both horse and rider are of the same casting and like most antique bronze statues also consist of equal proportions of copper and tin.[18] Schaeffer also pointed out that the same noticeable irregularities in the mixture of the bronze which appears in the latticework of the palatine chapel in Aachen, is present in this statuette.[19] Two large round openings under the saddle cloth directly behind the mane of the horse coincide with an opening in the belly of the horse and probably served as attachment for the core and as a hole through which the core was removed. This verifies the fact that the bronzeworkers of the Carolingian period made use of the lost wax method of casting. Mütherich clearly shows that the statuette fits closely into the antique tradition of equestrian statues by stating that "Gangart, Wendung des Kopfes, dieser selbst mit dem typischen Motiv der dreiteiligen Stirnhaare stimmen mit denen antiker Pferdefiguren überein."[20] The antique tradition is not a vertical force rising in a straight line from the depths of the centuries with no deflection or break. At the outset of the Middle Ages it had lost its creative vitality which already in the fourth century had been compromised by

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the inadequacy of craftmanship and the disuse of good techniques as is shown by the edicts of Constantine.

Throughout the second half of the ninth century the civil wars between the kings or between turbulent counts in western Europe and an almost annual series of Norse invasions, destroyed the frail peace of the Carolingian Empire. This increasing fragmentation resulted in the virtual disappearance of an imperial entity in Europe. In 882 the Danes burnt Aachen. Ten years later the Magyars started their plundering expeditions. As the Frankish kingdoms were disintegrating, a new military power was forming in the area of northern Germany ruled by the House of Saxony. Eventually in 955 the Saxon king Otto I put an end to the Hungarian menace at the Battle of Lechfeld near Augsburg. Otto I was succeeded by two more emperors bearing the name Otto, lending their collective name to a new dynasty that is now referred to as the Ottonian Empire. Chronologically, the Ottonian period is usually taken to have lasted from c. 950 to c. 1050. The Ottonians once more undertook to elevate the status of the Western Empire to make it comparable to that of the Byzantine Empire. New cities such as Merseburg, Regensburg and Magdeburg set the seal on the victories and became centres of Christian missions to the eastern barbarians.

It seems that the Saxon king Otto I (912 - 973), who saw himself as the successor of Charlemagne and also as the restorer of the Roman Empire, followed the example of Charlemagne by turning his capital, Magdeburg, into a "new Rome". Like Charlemagne he brought antique Roman porphyry and marble pillars to Magdeburg for building his imperial palace. The Pope compared him with Charlemagne, called him "omnium augustorum augustissimum" and made Magdeburg the seat of an archbishop.[21] Like Charlemagne it seems he also erected an equestrian statue as symbol of his sovereign authority in front of his imperial palace in Magdeburg.[22] Although we have no record of how this statue looked, it is possible that it was an antique Roman bronze of the time of the Empire or even the statue of Charlemagne from Aachen. We do not know whether it was the forerunner of the stone statue which is still at present on the old Market Square in Magdeburg and which was erected there in the thirteenth century.[23]

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While much of the activities of the Carolingian and the Ottonian worlds were centred around the upcoming French and German cities, Rome still remained the main centre of attraction for pilgrims and the influence of early Christian Rome was still to be preponderant in the art of both these dynasties. Pilgrims who visited Rome admired the equestrian monument of Marcus Aurelius which they believed to be that of Constantine the Great and also the equestrian figures of Charlemagne and Constantine inside old St. Peters of that time.[24] To the pilgrims, Constantine was the perfect symbol of the unity between spiritual and worldly authority and the victory of the Church over its enemies. When they returned to their homelands they also demanded equestrian figures of Constantine on or inside their churches.

The vast rural empires founded by Charlemagne and the Ottonians, obsessed though they were by their vision of Rome, were yet weighed down by an inert mass of more primitive ideas, which were indeed to remain a permanent stratum in the profound life of the Middle Ages. By the eleventh century a new order was beginning to emerge and was shaping new kinds of organization and new types of man. This was the beginning of the period generally referred to as Romanesque. It was a time of experiment and problem-solving. Like all sculptors, the sculptors of the eleventh century had their specific problems to solve. They had to bend the plastic structures which they inherited to the expressive needs of their new age and their new personal sensibilities. Most of the monumental architecture and sculpture of this period was considered to be "in the Roman manner" and had its major centres in the neo-Latin countries such as France, Italy and Spain.

By the end of the eleventh century architects had gained all the experience indispensable to the construction of large churches which were completely covered by vaults and were decorated with sculptures inside and out. In the first half of the following century, regional styles gradually made their appearance and church buildings differed more in decoration than in structure. It was in this period that several churches in western France placed equestrian statues with small figures under the horse's hooves on their facades or inside the churches. It is generally thought that these were meant to represent Constantine the Great in his victory over paganism.[25] These

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horsemen, who trample on the enemies of the Church, inspired either by the Capitoline Marcus Aurelius or by some Roman model in Gaul, are sometimes simply a "piece of sculptured wall" as in the case of St Jouin-de-Marnes, Parthenay-le-Vieux, Notre Dame la Grande in Poitiers and Cressac, but elsewhere they have the balance and volume of independent statues such as the equestrian figures at Châteauneuf-sur-Charente, Surgères, Civray, St Pierre d'Angouléme and St Pierre-de-Melle. Unfortunately many of these Romanesque equestrian figures which were outside on the facades of the churches have weathered so badly that many were completely destroyed, while others survived only as fragments e.g. Châteauneuf-sur-Charente. Others still, fell prey to vandals and were destroyed during the French Revolution as in the case of the equestrian figure which was on the facade of St. Croix in Bordeaux.[26]

Most of these equestrian relief statues which still remain show a crowned rider dressed in a long tunic and seated on a horse which tramples a human figure beneath its forelegs.[27] The earliest kind such as the figure over one of the side portals of St Pierre in Melle is stiff and formal, while the later statues such as those found on the facades of Parthenay-le-Vieux and Châteauneuf-sur-Charente are freer and even show a cloak blowing in the wind.[28]

It is important to realize that the technical procedure in the early twelfth century was still or rather again, that of the archaic sculptor. Like the archaic Greek sculptor, the Romanesque sculptor also had the problem of supporting the horse in action and likewise he partially solved the problem by rendering the figure in high relief instead of in the round. The disadvantage of this method was that the figure would be completely frontal. The frontality, to a certain degree was the result of working procedures at the time. The sculptor carved his figure from blocks of stone placed at an angle on supports as shown on the north apse window of Chartres cathedral.[29] Consequently the sculptor saw his figure only from a single side while working on it. Many of these stone equestrian figures were made from different sections which were carved separately in the workshops and put together on the facade while the building work was in progress.

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The first successful attempt to rid these equestrian figures of this frontality in the Middle Ages, is found in Italy, where equestrian monuments from antiquity such as the Regisole, the Marcus Aurelius and the horses of San Marco still stood above ground and served as a direct inspiration for the figures on the church facades.[30]

Early in the thirteenth century Lucchese sculpture came under indirect influence of the new sculpture of the Île-de-France, as a result of migrating workmen. There therefore began a strong current of the typical late Romanesque, uniquely balanced between the traditional subservience to architecture and the laws imposed by the block of stone, and the new imaginative tendencies towards liberation from the architectonic context and towards the "process of individualization"[30a] which was to be the main characteristic of Gothic art, by now in full flower in northern France.

It was at this time that the famous equestrian figure of St Martin sharing his cloak with a beggar was made for the facade of Lucca cathedral.[31] This equestrian monument, packed with classical Roman allusions, was formerly attributed to Guidetto, the architect of the cathedral front, but stylistic evidence suggests that it is rather the work of a follower of Benedetto Antelami.[32] St Martin, a proud, imperious figure of a medieval knight, sits sideways on his horse, facing the spectator, stern and in complete immobility. His Roman tunic firmly envelops his broad chest and shoulders; his legs stiffly apart, his feet in stirrups, he is a heroic rather than a saintly form, though he performs an act of charity. Even the horse shares the inarticulate stiffness of its rider. By contrast the attitude of the beggar who approaches with bent knees, is relaxed and loosened. The anatomically incorrect joint of the rider's left leg to his body is artfully concealed by the folds of his cloak.

Although the equestrian figure of the Saint is portrayed in the stiff, full-faced attitude still reminiscent of Byzantine art and of the figures of the French cathedrals, an early attempt to liberate the figure from frontality was made by turning the horse's head and by the unnatural twist in the body of the rider. In the same way that the archaic Greek sculptor liberated his equestrian figure from its architectural context by introducing movement in the figures, so under the

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influence of the ever present art of antiquity, the Italian Romanesque sculptor tried to liberate his figures from the flat wall. Consequently he also increased the scale of his equestrian figures. Since the sculptor of the figure of St Martin in Lucca did not have the technical knowledge to provide a support for so large an equestrian figure in order to free it completely from its background, he represented the insupportable body of the horse as part of the wall in high relief and sculpted the lighter parts such as the head of the horse and the upper body of the rider in the round.

A further development of the equestrian figure came about two decades later in Milan. On the facade of the Palazzo della Ragione is one of the early attempts in the Middle Ages to give a likeness of the person represented. It is a three-quarters life-size marble equestrian figure of the Podesta Oldrado da Tresseno, who is stiffly represented directly from the side. This statue, which is dated 1233, reflects the style of Antelami, but is more formal and less strikingly expressive than the equestrian statue at Lucca which is also considered the work of a follower of Antelami.[33]

The idea of the large equestrian figure in movement soon spread from Italy to Germany. It is possible that during one of his many visits to Italy, the Emperor Fredrick II was accompanied by a German sculptor, who saw the newly erected statue of Oldrado da Tresseno in Milan or the figure of St Martin on the cathedral facade in Lucca. It is also possible that this sculptor had received his training in France and that the sculpture of France, especially the larger equestrian figures on the cathedral of Angoulême and the stylistic innovations on the cathedral of Rheims, influenced him and therefore played an important role in the new development of the equestrian figure in Germany in the thirteenth century.[34] This sculptor probably brought the working conventions he had encountered in these countries to Germany. As many of the later works on the Bamberg cathedral were designed by this sculptor, he is generally referred to as "The Bamberg master".[35] The most important work of the Bamberg master is the equestrian figure in grey sandstone, the Bamberg Rider, which has been placed high against a pillar in the Bamberg cathedral.[36]

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The statue shows a young knight, with a clean-shaven face and a crown on his head sitting proudly on his horse which he has just brought to a standstill.[37] If seen in this way, the horse is not just a "lifeless" pedestal for the rider but has been carefully planned to strengthen the iconographical meaning of the whole. The rider has no weapon with him, wears a long medieval tunic and stares at something to his right. One cannot help but notice the masterly way that the figure sits in the saddle: there is a mixture of royal bearing and nonchalance. It is especially noticeable when the figure is viewed from the back. This famous though somewhat enigmatic knight, who bears some resemblance to the young king at Rheims, is conceived in the tradition of late Romanesque equestrian statuary.[38] This figure is far superior to any of its predecessors, chiefly in the striking contrast between the stolidity of the horse and the energy of the rider, who resolutely turns his head towards his goal.

This figure, which is generally dated in the third or fourth decade of the thirteenth century, is enigmatic because no one knows who is represented. Much has been written about the figure and every conceivable name has been postulated: Alexander the Great, Constantine the Great, Stephen of Hungary, Emperor Henry II, Emperor Konrad III, Emperor Fredrick II, Fredrick Barbarossa, Philipp of Swabia, William of Holland, Leopold of Austria, Louis IV of Thuringia, one of the Magi, St George, St Martin, Percival, King of the World and Christ at the second coming. Iconographically, there is but little to go by to identify the figure. Only the crown on his head and the fact that he is on horseback distinguishes him as a regent.

Of all the attempts to name the figure, Otto Hartig's and also Jörg Traeger's references to the statue as Constantine the Great seem the most plausible. This must be seen in context with the origin of the Bamberg cathedral. Emperor Henry II is generally accepted as the founder of the Bamberg cathedral.[39] Like Constantine, Charlemagne and Otto before him, Emperor Henry II, who felt himself the "new Constantine", also wanted to make Bamberg a "Nova Roma". Von Einem's remark in this connection is applicable: "Es kann keine Frage sein, dass die Gestalt des ersten christlichen Kaisers für die Gründung des 11. Jahrhunderts, die Bamberg (wie einst Aachen und Magdeburg) mit dem Glanz des kaiserlichen Rom umgeben und die

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Domschule zu einer hohen Schule des Reiches gemacht hat, eine grosse Bedeutung haben musste."[40] He also pointed out that "Für Bamberg ist der Hinweis auf Rom von Bedeutung. Der Bamberger Dom ist (allein durch das westliche Querschiff) ohne das Vorbild von Alt-St. Peter nicht denkbar."[41] Now it has already been pointed out that in the foreportal of old St Peters were the equestrian figures of Charlemagne and Constantine.[42] If the Bamberg cathedral was modelled on old St Peters in Rome, it stands to reason that similar equestrian figures should be found in the Bamberg cathedral. Von Einem has drawn our attention to the fact that in the Bamberg Historical Museum there are two interior views of the Bamberg cathedral by George Adam Arnold from the second half of the seventeenth century which show that on the southern choir pillar opposite the rider there was an empty console and canopy like those of the rider.[43] There must or should therefore have been a second equestrian figure in the cathedral. There can be no doubt as to the fact that the rider is at present in the position that it occupied in the thirteenth century.[44] Von Einem refers to other important facts which make the placing of two equestrian figures in the George Choir plausible when he states that "Bedenkt man, dass in der ersten Weihnachtsmesse vom Georgenchor das Weihnachtsevangelium 'Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto' verlesen wurde, dass vor dem Chor die Kaisergräber lagen, dass hier seit dem 13. Jahrhundert der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult seine Stätte hatte, dass der Georgenchor also als Kaiserchor angesprochen werden darf (im Gegensatz zu dem Papstchor im Westen), so wird erkennbar, dass gerade an den Eingangspfeilern dieses Chores im 11. wie im 13. Jahrhundert eine kaiserliche Zweireitergruppe von hoher sinnbildlicher Bedeutung sein musste."[45] If the Bamberg Rider is Constantine, and one draws the line through to old St Peters in Rome, then there would have been an equestrian figure of Emperor Charlemagne on the southern choir pillar. But in the light of the thirteenth century renewal Charlemagne was likely to be replaced with Emperor Henry II, but the statue was lost or never executed. The Bamberg Rider is therefore Emperor Constantine. Traeger elaborates on this approach by seeing the glance of the rider as a specific attribute and therefore as part of the iconography of Constantine and concludes that "nur ein Herrschername deckt sich widerspruchlos mit der Ikonographie des Reiters: Konstantin der Grosse im Augenblick der Kreuzvision."[46]

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The one fact which Traeger overlooked is that all the equestrian figures of Constantine in the Middle Ages are represented with a figure under the forelegs of the horse. Yet if one takes the leaf mask below the front legs of the horse into account, then there is a human or rather half-human figure beneath the forelegs of the horse.

The execution of such an equestrian figure of considerable size in the early thirteenth century was an unusual exercise and definitely required new technical solutions from the sculptor. J.J. Morper who made a careful investigation of the statue in 1924, has shown that it consists not of one stone but of seven different pieces.[47] The largest block formed the legs, the tail, the belly of the horse and the 7 cm thick relief background to which these parts were attached. The second large block was used for the body, neck and part of the head of the horse and also some of the lower part of the rider's body. The middle and upper portion of the rider's body, a part of the mantle with the right knee and the upper section of the horse's head were all made of small individual blocks. The way the statue has been put together from different pieces must have caused many problems for the sculptor. It is obvious, as Morper has pointed out, that the Bamberg Rider was made in the cathedral workshop and not in situ: "Es ist technisch ganz und gar unmöglich, dass die wunderbar feine Arbeit der rückwärtigen Seiten der Figur und die Unterhöhlung der Pferdehufe erst oben am Pfeiler geleistet worden wäre. Mit dem Meissel, dem Bohrer oder der Steinfeile wäre infolge der Beengtheit des Betätigungsfeldes gar nicht beizukommen gewesen. Die Reitergruppe (und auch der ornamentierte Sockel) sind also in der Bildhauerhütte, und zwar auf der Bank geschaffen worden, mit dem deutlichen Absehen jedoch, an einer Wand angebracht zu werden."[48] Incidentally, despite the great care taken in fitting the various pieces together, the waving strands of hair forming the tail of the horse do not carry over exactly from one block to the other across the joint. No better proof of a separate working of the blocks in the workshop is needed. On the other hand, if the blocks were worked singly and perhaps even by different workers under the supervision of the master, we have to postulate a rather detailed design or even a clay model to which constant reference could be made. It can be argued that the new challenge of creating a large equestrian statue had

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forced the master to experiment with clay or wooden models until he had found a satisfactory solution.

In spite of the fact that from a naturalistic point of view the artist could not master many parts of the body of the horse with its large planes, the figure in its unity of conception and execution clearly embodies the medieval idea of princely chivalry.

The places where the different blocks were joined did not present any problem at the time when the monument was put up, since they were filled in with plaster and painted. Morper found remains of colour in the mouth and nostril of the horse, the mantle of the rider, and the saddle.[49] The crown and belt of the rider were gilded. In the seventeenth century the polychromy of the group was replaced by off-white paint; only the crown remained gilded. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, chemicals were used to remove the seventeenth century white, the original colour and the grounding in order to expose the naked natural stone as it is today.

Although the Bamberg Rider owes much to the sculpture of its own time, one cannot ignore the influence which the equestrian figures of classical antiquity had on it. As a matter of fact as Jantzen has pointed out "der Bamberger Reiter steht im Grössenverhältnis von Mensch zum Tier dem antiken Bildwerk näher als den nachmittelalterlichen Kompositionen."[50]

Although the Bamberg Rider is placed in an architectural setting, it is not Gothic in the full sense of the term, since it retains the weight and massiveness of the Romanesque. The true Gothic equestrian figure is the free-standing equestrian monument of the Emperor Otto the Great which was erected in Magdeburg in the fourth decade of the thirteenth century.[51] It can be considered as the first profane free-standing monument of the Middle Ages.

The statue shows a tall young regent dressed in a once richly decorated medieval tunic with a crown on his head, a cloak over his broad shoulders and a sword by his left side and he is seated on a restful walking horse. With his left hand he holds the reins close to his body and with his right hand he points slightly below him. In

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very much the same way as the Bamberg Rider, he has long hair and sits regally in his medieval saddle. The rider is accompanied by two female figures, the one bearing a shield and the other a flag.[52] From a sixteenth century woodcut of the statue in Johann Pomarius' Chronica der Sachsen und Niedersachsen (Wittenberg, 1588), we see the statue as it originally looked on its high pedestal and surrounded by a spired and pillared Gothic canopy.[53]

To grasp the full meaning of this equestrian statue in its medieval context properly, one must see it within the tradition of the equestrian monuments of ancient Rome. Von Einem draws our attention to this fact when he states: "Hier greifen wir in ihrem Anfang die Tradition, die im Magdeburger Denkmal entweder noch nachlebt oder wieder aufgegriffen worden ist: der Herrscher mit befehlend erhobener Rechten, mit der Linken den Zügel fassend, der Herrschermantel nach unten herabfallend."[54] This explains why the sandstone statue was once gilded as F. von Quast[55] has proved, and why the two female figures appear with the statue.[56]

Like the Bamberg Rider, this figure has been given various names such as Otto I, Otto II, Charlemagne, Constantine, Philipp of Swabia and Fredrick II. Most art historians however, abide by the name "Otto" and differ only whether Otto I or Otto II is meant.[57] From an old Saxon manuscript of 1386 we learn that the statue is a representation of Otto I and that it already stood on the market square at that time.[58] Von Einem, however, has shown that the statue as it is today is probably a thirteenth century replica of the original equestrian statue which Emperor Otto I had erected in front of his palace in Magdeburg in the tenth century.[59] We know that the thirteenth century monument was executed by a sculptor from the archiepiscopal workshop in Magdeburg since other works by his hand have been identified in the cathedral and it seems that he was commissioned to do so by the archbishop of Magdeburg.[60]

Technically the sculptor of the Magdeburg Rider must have had a close look at the Bamberg Rider or he must have helped with the carving of that figure and then transferred working conventions to Magdeburg. The possibility also exists that the sculptor of this group saw examples of free-standing Roman stone equestrian figures such as

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the statues of Antoninus Pius at Castel Gandolfo[61] or Caligula in Rome[62], since he uses the same kind of pillar-like support under the belly of the horse as the Roman sculptors used in their sculptures. A further similarity with imperial Roman monuments is the idea of unifying the rider and the horse's neck by means of a restfully outstretched right arm. Like the Roman statues and the Bamberg Rider, the Magdeburg equestrian is not made from one solid block of stone, but pieced together from various blocks. After doing restoration work to the Magdeburg Rider in 1856, the sculptor Holbein found that the rider consisted of seven pieces and the horse of ten.[63] It is clear that the sculptor of this remarkable statue derived solutions for the technical problems of creating a free-standing equestrian figure from classical Roman examples. He could not, however, contribute by improving the support of the horse.

It seems that at this time an equestrian statue similar to the Magdeburg Rider stood in front of the cathedral in Bamberg and was supposed to represent the Emperor Henry II.[64] Whether this statue was a forerunner of the Magdeburg Rider or whether it was influenced by it is unknown. However, a reproduction of this equestrian figure on an old coin of the vacancy of the Papal See from Bamberg shows its similarity to the Magdeburg statue.[65]

The lessons which the sculptors learnt in Magdeburg and Bamberg were fruitfully put to practice on medieval cathedral facades as in the case of Regensburg and Strassbourg cathedrals. These equestrian figures on the facades of these cathedrals show more movement and hippological understanding than anything before.

On the facade of the cathedral of St Emmerams in Regensburg are two sandstone equestrian figures of St George and St Martin.[66] These equestrian figures must be understood as representations of virtues. The stone figures of St George and St Martin show natural movement and systematically planned compositions of horse and rider. Here one is especially aware of the lines running through the figures such as the contrast between the line forming the silhouette of St George's horse and the line passing through the sceptre and leg of the rider and the bent foreleg of his horse. These lines make horse and rider an unseparable unity. Both statues are represented almost fully in

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the round. Much attention has been paid to detail such as the harnesses of the horses and the dress of the riders. Both figures show a quality as if derived from woodcarving. Like most of the stone equestrian figures of this period, both these statues were constructed in sections and were supported by a pillar under the belly of the horse. Both statues have elaborately carved pillars for pedestals.

The equestrian figures on the western facade of Strassbourg cathedral are very similar.[67] According to tradition, when Bishop Conradus built the four columns on the western facade of Strassbourg cathedral in 1291, it was suggested that each should contain a commemorative statue of a king who was a well-doer in Germany.[68] Consequently three of the niches were filled with life-size equestrian figures of King Clovis, King Dagobert and Rudolph of Habsburg. In an old manuscript by the priest Oseas Schadaeus the three statues are described as follows_ "Am vordern Pfeiler gegen dem Saltzmarck sitz vff einem Pferd Clodovaeus, so erstlich das Münster gebawen / vnnd Christen Glauben angenommen / in guldener Cron vnd Scepter. Im andern sitz vff dem Pferdt König Dagobertus Magnus der erstlich das Bischthumb gestifft / Statt vnd Land hoch befreyet/ vnd dem Bischtumb viel guts bethan / mit einer Cron vnd Scepter. In dem dritten stehet König Rudolphus, ein Graff von Habspurg / welcher gemeiner Statt Strassburg / in deren dienst er / wie auch sein Herr Vatter / lange zeit gewesen / viel guts bethan / vnd offt sein Leben für sie gewagt / hernach aber / als er zum Haupt dess Römischen Reichs erwehlt worden / mit stattlichen vnd herrlichen Freyheiten geziert vnd begabt hat / sitzend vff einem Pferdt mit guldener Cron vnd guldenem Scepter geschmucket: vber welchem in einem ledigen Bogen mit guldenen Buchstaben stehet; RVDOLPHVS DE HAPSPVRG REX ROMANORVM."[69] During the French Revolution all three statues were destroyed, but replacements were made by Malade from 1811 to 1813.[70] It seems that these statues were made in the tradition of the Magdeburg figure since they were likewise gilded, pieced together from separate blocks of stone and supported by pillars under the bellies of the horses.

The idea of the horse in movement was taken a step further on the western facade of the cathedral in Basle.[71] Here St George in full medieval armour lifts himself in his saddle on his galloping horse

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while he charges a small birdlike dragon with his lance. The dragon has been placed on a separate console. Originally a kneeling female figure was included in the group but this together with the equestrian figure was destroyed during an earthquake in 1372.[72] Later in the fourteenth century a copy of the original equestrian figure was again placed in position on the facade of the cathedral, but the female figure was excluded.

The galloping horse, which looks slightly to its right, is supported in front and behind underneath by stump-like supports. The outstretched right-foreleg of the horse has a similar support. As a whole, the statue, which is rather a high relief than a figure in the round, gives the impression of a wooden sculpture. The probability exists that a wooden model was used when the work was made in the workshop. In this equestrian figure the horse and rider have been reduced to a heraldic symbol of the struggle between good and evil.

The motif of the galloping equestrian figure was common in the minor arts of this time, especially as reliefwork on seals[73] and tombs.[74] The motif was frequently also used for bronze equestrian aquamaniles such as the excellent example at present in the British Museum.[75]

The idea of the free-standing equestrian figure as exemplified by the Magdeburg Rider, spread from Germany to Italy in the middle of the fourteenth century and there, under the influence of French Gothic sculpture, it acquired a new vitality. Examples of such free-standing equestrian figures in medieval Italy are the well-known Scaliger funerary monuments, three of which are crowned with equestrian figures, in a small cemetery in front of the Church of Santa Maria Antica in Verona. The earliest of these figures is the marble equestrian figure of the powerful Lord of Verona, Francesco Scaligero, better known as Cangrande della Scala, which crowns his funerary monument over the doorway of the church.[76] The statue above the sarcophagus is no longer original, since the original statue was taken to the Museo di Castelvecchio for conservation in 1876 and replaced by the present uninspired copy.[77] Although there is still considerable disagreement regarding the date of the original statue, it has generally been agreed that it was erected after the death of the knight in 1329. There is also still dispute over the authorship of the

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work which has variously been ascribed to some unknown master from Campione, Verona or Tuscany.[78] The equestrian figure of Cangrande is placed high on the steep pyramidal roof of a pillared canopy which surmounts the sarcophagus of this ruler of Verona and at the same time serves as a pedestal for his equestrian statue.

The statue shows a knight in full medieval armour with his helmet slung over his back, the reins in his left hand and his sword held upright in his right hand and firmly seated in his high Gothic saddle on his heavily caparisoned warhorse - a true image of the feudal Ghibelline.

Both the rider and the horse look in the same direction which proves that the statue was intended to be seen from one specific angle as if seen against an imaginary wall. Although this figure is in the tradition of earlier equestrian monuments, its attitude of confident self-assertion is far from the concept of imperial power symbolized in classical Roman sculptures, or the chivalrous ideal which found expression in the Bamberg Rider. Both horse and rider were drawn from life, as can be seen in the broad good-humoured archaic smile of the knight who looks down on the city spread out below at his feet, in the detail of his armour and in the trappings of the horse. Just as in the St George in Basle, the realistic study of horse and rider has been transformed into a heroic symbol of authority. This effect the artist achieves by means of simple, almost emblematic compostion in which the figures are contained within long, sharp, taut lines. The contours of the horse and the tense pose of the rider, suggest movement. The rider has just halted his steed while the gust of wind blows the flaps of the caparison around the legs of the horse. The artist showed ingenious contempt of classical proportions by the positioning of the helmet on the back of the rider and he was not afraid of impairing the horse's quality of aliveness by confining it in such quantities of cloth and steel. There is contrast between the elegant shape of the quivering steed and the inarticulate bulk of its master. The impact of the figure is found in the simultaneous glance of rider and horse and the energetic contrapostal movement in which the axis of the stretched body of the rider cuts the caparison blown back by the wind. The whole statue is a technical innovation. For the first time a stone equestrian statue has been made without a support

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under the belly of the horse. The masses of cloth which cover the horse act as a support for its legs and thus solve one of the oldest technical problems of stone equestrian figures. Bauch pointed out that the idea of the caparison covering the legs of the horse probably originated in France.[79] In the Notre-Dame in Paris stood a life-size wooden equestrian statue of King Philipp IV or Philipp VI. The King was represented in medieval armour on a still-standing caparisoned horse. His face was covered with a visor and he held the reins with his left hand while his right hand was stretched out in an imperial gesture. This statue was placed on two pillars in the church after restoration in 1750. It seems that the statue was inspired by a wooden equestrian figure which Mahaut d' Artois erected in 1303 in the church of Boulogne to his deceased father.[80]

Salvini aptly praises the Cangrande statue when he states that: "it is of the highest artistic value because of its imaginative transfiguration of the facts of reality carefully studied and fully absorbed by the artist. It is a work which combines harsh realism with a courtly quality and can, therefore, stand as a symbol of the proud, active, and unscrupulous society of the Signorie of the fourteenth century".[81]

The second Scaliger funerary monument which was erected in the western corner of the cemetery was erected for Mastino II della Scala, scarcely two years after his death in 1351.[82] Technically it is constructed in the same manner as the statue of the Cangrande, except that more attention is paid to decorative detail.

The equestrian statue shows a jousting knight, dressed in full medieval armour with a winged helmet on his head, a large shield in his left hand and a lance held erect in his right hand. He stands rather than sits in the heavy Gothic saddle. A visor conceals the rider's features and therefore renders the statue useless as a portrait. The horse looks straight ahead and is completely covered by an artistic caparison. The statue is well supported by iron supports under the breast and belly of the horse. The equestrian figure has an elaborate Gothic tabernacle which includes the sarcophagus of Mastino II as a pedestal. As a whole the figure lacks the vitality of

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the statue of Cangrande and must rather be seen as a heraldic image relying upon decorative accidentals for its effect.

There is still considerable disagreement over the authorship of this statue. Some scholars consider it the work of Perino da Milano[83], while others attribute it to Giovanni da Campione, the sculptor of the equestrian statue of St Alexander in Bergamo.[84]

The equestrian statue of St Alexander in the loggia above the portal of Sta Maria Maggiore in Bergamo is a stiff and ill-articulated figure, but has much in common with the statue of Mastino II in Verona.[85] Details of the horses such as the mouths, the nostrils, the postlike forelimbs and the backs are similar. St Alexander, dressed in armour and with a spherical helmet on his head and a flag in his right hand, sits on a plump horse. The whole statue gives the clumsy impression that it is made of wood. Originally the statue stood on the facade of Bergamo's old cathedral, but when this church was destroyed in 1561, the statue was transferred to Sta Maria Maggiore.[86] There is no doubt as to the authorship and date of this equestrian statue since it is clearly inscribed with the following inscriptions:

MAG .. IO .. AN . S . FILIVS . MAGISTRI .
VGI . DE . CAMPLEONO . FECIT . HOC . OPVS . MCCCLIII.[87]

Yet it was another sculptor from Campione, Bonino, who set the seal upon the Veronese equestrian figure and the Veronese sepulchral monument, initially at Milan in the tomb of Bernabò Visconti and later at Verona in that of Cansignorio della Scala.

The equestrian monument of Bernabò Visconti, now in the Museo del Castello Sforzesco in Milan, was commissioned by the tyrant during his lifetime and was placed in front of the main altar in the church of S. Giovanni in Conca.[88] "In einer Art von Cäsarenwahn liess er das Denkmal so hinter dem Hauptaltar der oben genannten Kirche aufstellen, dass das Volk gezwungen war, mit dem Allerheiligsten zugleich das überlebensgrosse Bild des Despoten knieend zu verehren."[89] After Bernabò's death in 1385 St Carl Borromäus removed the statue to another part of the church and in 1811 it was moved to the Museo Archeologico di Brera. From here it came to its

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present position in the Castello Sforzesco. The stalwart condottiere, a man of iron, rides impassively on his horse, tight-lipped with close-cropped beard, looking straight in front of him, a fearsome image of military might and merciless rulership.

In its original setting the statue must have made a considerable impression on the beholder, as we gather from a description in a Chronicon of 1363 by Pietro Azario: "Imago sua intexta in marmore albo, tam magna et tam grossa quantum ipse erat et armatus super unum destrerium magnum et grossum quantum est unus maximus destrerius. Et dictae imagines dicti domini Bernabovis et dicti equi sunt una lapis integra, tam magna et grossa et alta quantum ipse et equus erant, et est mirabilis et pulchra operat."[90] From this description we gather that the white marble statue was carved from a single stone. To carve a statue of this size and with so much detail from a single stone presupposes a rather detailed clay model to which constant reference could be made. It seems certain that a model was first made and that the design was transferred to the marble by means of a pointing technique. Originally the statue was covered with gold and silver and therefore follows the tradition of imperial equestrian monuments.

The unsightly supporting pillar under the belly of the horse is skilfully hidden by two allegorical female figures personifying Power and Justice. These female figures, which are placed on either side of the horse, their heads and left shoulders being part of the belly of the horse, have the additional function of heightening the size of the rider by contrast, since they are much smaller in size.

The sarcophagus, which at present serves as a pedestal for the statue and was executed in or shortly before 1385, was evidently carved in the master's studio since it is of lower quality.[91]

The most notable of the Scaliger monuments, that of Cansignorio della Scala seems to be a workshop derivative of the above-mentioned Visconti statue.[92] The similarities are so obvious that they cannot be overlooked. The build of both horses and the position and appearance of the riders on the backs of the horses are in many respects exactly

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the same. Like the Visconti statue, this statue is also carved from a single block.

Cansignorio della Scala is represented in a shirt of mail as he rigidly stands in the saddle with an erect lance in his right hand and the reins of his horse in his left. The rigid horse stands still on his stumplike legs and looks straight ahead of him. Like the Visconti statue there is also a pillar supporting the belly of the horse, but no attempt is made to conceal it. This is the only Scaliger equestrian monument which does not have a caparison over the body of the horse.

Although there is some doubt as to the precise date of the tomb, which is variously thought to have been begun about 1370 and completed in 1374 or to have been begun in 1374 and completed in 1375/6, the authorship is certain since the monument is inscribed with the inscription "HOC . OPVS . FECIT . ET . SCVLPSIT . BONINVS . DE . CAMPIGLIONO . MEDIOLANENSI . DIOCESIS ."[93] Bonino de Campione is therefore without doubt the sculptor of this equestrian monument. The statue stands on a sexagonal pedestal on the apex of the monument which consists of an arcaded tabernacle within which rests the funeral effigy and the sarcophagus of Cansignorio.

Until now all the equestrian statues mentioned in this chapter were made from stone or marble. Bronze equestrian figures were only known in miniature.[94] Monumental bronze casting was practised during the fourteenth century, but very few monumental equestrian figures were cast. At present we are aware of only two examples, one still in existence and the other long ago destroyed. Both these statues were created by the brothers Martin and George of Kolozsvár. The extant sculpture is the well-known half life-size bronze equestrian statue of St George now in the third court of the castle of Prague.[95]

This free-standing group, which was commissioned by Emperor Charles IV in 1373, stands at the transition of Gothic to the Renaissance.[96] It shows a slender helmetless knight in medieval armour on a rearing horse. In his right hand he holds a lance with which he fights off a fierce dragon. The dragon lies on a rocky

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outcrop underneath the feet of the horse and curls its tail around the left foreleg of the horse. The elements which immediately strike one when viewing this statue are the charming movement, especially the turn of the horse's head and the twist of the rider's body, the supple and captivating form of the horse which is brought into intimate harmony with the aim of the rider and the picturesque representation of the dragon and the base. Schaeffer aptly explains it as follows: "Was an ihm in erster Linie überrascht, die freie Raumerfüllung der Gruppe, ihre (in der Rückenansicht besonders stark zum Ausdruck kommende) rotierende Bewegung, die Andeutung der Landschaft durch gestaffelte Bodenformationen und schliesslich die szenische Anschaulichkeit der Darstellung, das sind lauter Dinge, die auf der Linie der Stilentwicklung des 14. Jahrhunderts liegen und zudem in älteren Miniaturen schon vorgebildet sind: hier allerdings mit einer Kühnheit und Sicherheit zum ersten Mal in einem monumentalen Erzguss verwirklicht, die in der Freiplastik der Zeit ziemlich vereinzelt dasteht."[97]

Consequently many art historians were inclined to disbelieve the originality of the statue on the ground that a bronze statue of such perfection could not possibly have been made as early as 1373, so far in advance of the Renaissance period. Yet, at the time when the brothers Martin and George cast this statue, Hungary was in close contact with Italian culture due to the fact that the Hungarian king was at that time of the Anjou family. The two artists were undoubtedly influenced by monumental classical sculpture in Rome and elsewhere in Italy which they had evidently seen, perhaps at the time of king Louis I's campaign to Naples in 1350. Recently, investigations have shown that the group of the Dioscuri in Rome were the brothers' main inspiration, its horses serving as models for the rearing horse of St George.[98] We know that the brothers Martin and George of Kolozsvár were the sculptors of this statue from a Latin inscription in miniscule Gothic letters on the shield which was still in the left hand of the saint in 1728, and which read: "A.D. MCCCLXIII HOC . OPVS . IMAGINIS S. GEORGII PER MARTINUM ET GEORGIUM DE CLUSSENBERCH CONFLATUM EST".[99]

The proposition that the statue was entirely recast during the Renaissance originated with two Czechoslovakian scholars Stech and

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Wirth.[100] Their thesis was based on the historical fact that in 1562 during a tumultuous tournament in honour of the coronation of Emperor Maximilian, a crowd clambered onto the statue causing it to fall down.[101] Consequently the head of the horse was broken off. During their investigation Stech and Wirth also found the coat of arms of Adam von Dietrichstein (d. 1590) under the right hoof of the horse and other Renaissance monogrammes such as F.M. and A.K.M.K. on the rider. Wirth thus held the belief that in spite of the fact that the rider and the rocky pedestal are stylistically medieval, the horse and the figure of the dragon were remodelled by a sculptor of the Renaissance. Mesterházy, however, disagrees with Wirth and points out that if we compare the horse of the brothers of Kolozsvár with horses of the Renaissance, then we will notice that the mane of the Prague horse falls down in regular waves whereas this style was never applied by realistic sculptors of the Renaissance.[102] Further he also disproves the probability that a sculptor of the Renaissance modelled the horse by pointing out that the brothers Kolozsvár etched regular ringlike lines upon the surface of the body of the horse to express the greyish colour in medieval style.

The Hungarian author, Béla Lázár noted that the common gunsmith who repaired the broken statue, Wolff Hofjuncker, received only a few Groschen for his work.[103] This sum was too little for a complete recast of the statue. Traces of repairs dating from the sixteenth century such as a fairly large addition to the neck of the horse and smaller damages elsewhere can still be seen. The statue is without doubt an original work of the fourteenth century and was only extensively repaired in the sixteenth century.

It is unknown how the statue got to Prague. After it was repaired in the sixteenth century, it was placed in the middle of a fountain and other dragon heads, not corresponding to the original, were added. From available records we gather that the basin of the fountain was originally of wood and that it was changed every ten years until the wood was replaced by stone and a Baroque pedestal was added in the seventeenth century. In 1928 the statue of St George was removed from its Baroque pedestal and placed on a much higher prismatic one. The basin was dismantled and the statue again became the centrepiece of a fountain.

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Technically this statue deserves attention since it is an important innovation. The sculptors George and Martin must have studied classical Roman bronze equestrian figures such as the Marcus Aurelius in Rome and the Regisole in Pavia carefully, since, like the Roman sculptors, they also cast their statue in sections. Although this sculpture is not monumental but rather decoratively elegant like an enlarged work of a goldsmith, it must have required considerable skill in casting. We know, however, that Louis I established a bronze foundry in Siebenbürgen and that bronze casting flourished in this region towards the end of the fourteenth century.[104] As Clussenberch, the city from which the brothers Martin and Geroge came, was situated in Siebenbürgen, it stands to reason that they were steeped in a wellfounded tradition of bronze casting.

The other bronze equestrian statue by the two brothers was the equestrian statue of St Ladislaus, which was commissioned in 1390 by János Zudar, a Bishop of Nagyvárad.[105] Unfortunately this statue was destroyed by the Moslems in 1660 when they occupied Nagyvárad. We know the statue only from a sixteenth century drawing by Hufnagel.[106] From the drawing we see that the horse of St Ladislaus is represented in a slow walk like the horse of the Marcus Aurelius in Rome. It has recently come to light that the reliquary of St Ladislaus' head in the Hédervari Chapel of the Cathedral of Györ is a copy of the head of the equestrian statue of Nagyvárad, since it was also made by the brothers Martin and George of Kolozsvár.[107] This equestrian statue is important as it was the first pronounced bronze equestrian monument since Roman times.

In general the equestrian sculpture of the Middle Ages was abstract-decorative. Medieval sculptors gradually regained the technical know-how of classical Antiquity by trial and error. In this way they opened the way for further development of this genre during the Renaissance. The medieval sculptor solved many pressing problems of the portrayal of the rider on horseback, such as the portrayal of movement and the concealment of the unsightly support under the belly of the stone or marble equestrian monument. Although they attempted the rearing horse in small scale and in softer mediums such as wood, the medieval sculptor never made monuments in this genre

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in stone or bronze as did the Greeks and Romans.[108] This problem was left to the sculptors of the Renaissance to solve.

FOOTNOTES

1. Vasari, G.: Lives of the Artists, preface. Bull, G.: Vasari, Lives of the Artists, p. 33

2. Bronze equestrian figurine, 0,11 m high, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. (See fig. 50.) See also Roques de Maumont, H. von : Antike Reiterstandbilder, pp. 76-77.

3. Stone equestrian funeral stele, 78 x 66 cm, Provinzialmuseum, Halle. (See fig. 51.) See Panofsky, E.: Die deutsche Plastik des elften bis dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, fig. I, p. 1.

4. The oldest representation of a stirrup dates from the year 551 and comes from China. The earliest stirrups known from the West come from Sarmatian tombs in the Kuban district. It is likely that they were introduced to the Sarmatians by the Huns in the fourth century. The Avars brought the stirrup to western Europe and it is mentioned in the Strategikon of Mauricius Tiberius of about the year 580. See Bivar, A.D.H.: The Stirrup and its Origins, Oriental Art I, pp. 61-65.

5. See Chapter 3, p. 79 above, and Bullough, D.: The Age of Charlemagne, p. 149.

6. Friis, H.: Rytterstatuens Historie i Europa fra Oldtiden indtil Thorvaldsen, p. 73.

7. Agnellus: Liber Pontificalis xxix Petrus III 13-29: Gonin, H.L.: Exerpta Agnelliana, p. 99: "In aspectu ipsorum pyramis tetragonis lapidibus, et bisalis, in altitudenem quasi cubitorum sex; Desuper autem equus ex aere fulvo perfusus, ascensorque ejus Theodoricus Rex scutum sinistro gerebat humero, dextero vero brachio erecto lanceam tenens. Ex naribus vero equi patulis, et ore volucres exibant, in alvoque ejus nidos aedificabant. Quis enim talem videre potuit, qualis ill? Qui non

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credit, sumat Franciae iter, et eum aspiciet. Alii ajunt, quod supradictus equus pro amore Zenonis Imperatoris factus fuisset: ----- Pro isto equus ille praestantissimus ex aere factus auro ornatus est; sed Theodoricus suo nomine decoravit; et nunc pene anni XXXVIII, cum Karolus Rex Francorum omnia subjugasset regna, et Romanorum percepisset a Leone III Papa Imperium, postquam ad corpus Beati Petri sacramentum praebuit; revertens in Franciam, Ravennam ingressus, videns pulcherrimam imaginem, quam nusquam similem ut ipse testatus est, vidit, in Franciam deportare fecit, atque in suo eam firmavit Palatio, qui Aquisgranis vocatur."

8. Grimm, H.: Das Reiterstandbild des Theodorich zu Aachen und das Gedicht des Walafried Strabus darauf, p. 3.: "Er behauptet ebensowenig die Statue in Ravenna selbst gesehen zu haben. Im Gegentheil, aus einem entscheidenden Unterschiede zwischen der von ihm und der von Walafried beschriebenen Statue geht hervor, dass, wenn beide Werke überhaupt identisch waren, Agnellus entweder aus dunkler Erinnerung oder nach unvollkommenen Erzählungen Anderer berichtete."

9. Grimm, H.: Op cit., pp. 33-34.: "Ueber die muthmaassliche Höhe des Postamentes liefert Bock aus Vergleichung mit byzantinischen Bildsäulen interessante Daten, die jedoch zu mehr als Vermuthungen keinen Anhalt gewähren ..... Er wirft dem Reiterbilde vor, zwischen Palast und Dom seinen Stand gefasst zu haben ...".

10. Einem H. von: Zur Deutung des Magdeburger Reiters, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschicte, 16 (1953), p. 52.

11. Salvini, R.: Medieval Sculpture, p. 312.

12. Bronze equestrian figurine of Charlemagne, 0,24 m high, Salles de la Colonnade, Room 4, Case 4, Louvre, Paris. Inv. No. OA. 8260. (See fig. 52.) See Fillitz, H.: Das Mittelatter I, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, p. 159.

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13. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 91: "Hele Opstillingen, baade Rytterens Attributudstyr og Hestens Stilling kommer taet op ad Justinianus' Statue, og da Karl den Store havde saa rig Anledning til at lade sig lede af den byzantinske Kulturstrøm, mener jeg, at Forbilledet ikke er Marcus Aurelius-Statuen, men maa søges østpaa."

14. Mütherich, F.: Die Reiterstatuette aus der Metzer Kathedrale, Festchrift für Theodor Müller, p. 13: "Der Reiter dagegen ist ein voll und ganz karolingisches Werk, ausgewiesen durch Typus, Tracht und Insignien."

15. Schaeffer, A.: Ross und Reiter, ihre Darstellung in der plastischen Kunst, p. 42.

16. Mütherich, F.: Op. cit., p. 10.

17. Darcel, A.: Musée Retrospectif, II Le Bronce, Gazette des Beaux Arts, 19 (1865), p. 426.

18. Weerth, E. Aus'm: Die Reiterstatuette Karls des Grossen aus dem Dom zu Metz, Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande, 78 (1884), p. 160.

19. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 43: "Für den karolingischen Ursprung der Statuette spricht vielmehr einmal die genaue Übereinstimmung der Tracht - eng anliegender Rock, kurzer, über der rechten Schulter zusammengehaltener Mantel, Diadem, Beinbinden und Schuhe - mit dem fränkischen Zeremoniell und der Schilderung, die Karls Biograph Einhard vom Äusseren des Kaisers entwirft, ferner die Barttracht, die derjenigen der meisten karolingischen Herrscher in Miniaturen und auch Karls selbst im Mosaik des Lateran entspricht, und schliesslich die primitive Technik des Bronzegusses: das Zusammenlöten zweier getrennt gegossenen Teile und die auffallende Unregelmässigkeit der Metallmischung, wie sie ähnlich auch bei den Bronzegittern in Aachener Münster festgestellt wurde."

20. Mütherich, F.: Op. cit., p. 13

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21. Holtzmann, R.: Otto der Grosse und Magdeburg, Magdeburg in der Politik der deutschen Kaiser, pp. 4, 51 & 72.

22. Einem, H. von: Op. cit., p. 53: "Nichts liegt näher als die Annahme, dass Otto der Grosse dem Vorbild Karls auch darin gefolgt ist, ein Reiterdenkmal als Herrschaftssymbol, und zwar vor seiner Pfalz, aufzustellen ..."

23. See p. 114 below.

24. In a reconstruction of the interior of Old St Peters in Rome in Hofmann, T.: Entstehungsgeschichte des St. Peters in Rom, p. 466, there is an equestrian figure on each pillar of the triumphal arch. It seems as if the equestrian monuments of Constantine and Charlemagne by Bernini and Cornacchini at present in St Peters in Rome therefore had forerunners in the old St Peters Basilica. Rudolf Wittkower pointed out that in the "Relazione della statua equestre di Carlo Magno" of 1735 these equestrian figures were referred to as "pronti alla custodia e difesa della chiesa catolica". See Wittkower, R.: Cornacchinis Reiterstatue Karls des Grossen in St. Peter, Miscellanea der Bibliotheca Hertziana, 1961.

25. Mâle, E.: Religious Art in France. The twelfth century, p. 248: "In the interior of the baptistery of St. Jean at Poitiers, a twelfth-century painting representing a horseman bears the inscription: Constantinus." (See figs. 53 and 54.)

26. We are aware of the existence of this equestrian figure as a result of a drawing which Jacques Lavan made of it in 1754. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 99. There was a figure of a woman standing in front of the Emperor's horse. As Mâle has pointed out, she represents the Christian Church welcoming her champion. See Mâle, E.: Op. cit., p. 250.

27. This is a proof that these figures were modelled on the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, since the Marcus Aurelius statue also had a figure beneath the feet of the horse during the Middle Ages. See Chapter 3, p. 74 above.

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28. It is possible that this motif was taken from imperial coins of the Late Empire. See Chapter 3, p. 71 above.

29. Egbert, V.W.: The Medieval Artist at Work, pp. 40-41.

30. It is meaningful to note that the first large equestrian figure on a church facade in Italy came into being soon after the "horses of San Marco" were transported to Venice in 1204 as a result of the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders. The placing of these horses on the facade of San Marco was the realisation of the ambition to have inherited the glory of ancient Rome, which had indeed been nurtured by many other ancient cities during the Middle Ages. To the Venetians the monument was both an expression of triumph and of the Roman spirit.

30(a) Salvini, R.: Op. cit., p. 31.

31. Marble equestrian figure of St Martin sharing his mantle with a beggar, 1,80 x 1,60 m, formerly on the facade of Lucca cathedral, moved to the interior in 1945. (See fig. 55.) See Schmarsow, A.: St Martin von Lucca, p. 168, and Simson, O. von: Das Mittelatter II, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 6. p. 346.

32. Timmers, J.J.M.: A Handbook of Romanesque Art, p. 59 and Salvini, R.: Op. cit., p. 331.

33. Sandstone equestrian figure of Oldrado da Tresseno, 1,35 m high, facade of the Palazzo della Ragione, Milan. (See fig. 56.) The following inscription appears on the lintel below the figure: MCCXXXIII DOMINVS OLDRADO DE TREXENO POT. MEDIOLANI. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 94.

34. Wittkower, R.: Sculpture, Processes and Principles, p. 59.

35. Boeck, W.: Der Bamberger Meister, p. 32: "Im Rückblick auf dieses Tympanon und das Fürstenportal überhaupt wird nun deutlich, dass der Meister zwar alle späteren Teile und Figuren

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entworfen, die Ausführung jedoch in sehr verschiedenem Umfang kontrolliert hat."

36. Sandstone equestrian figure of the Bamberg Rider, 2,33 m high, Bamberg cathedral (inside). See Hartig, O.: Der Bamberg Reiter und sein Geheimnis; Traeger, J.: Der Bamberg Reiter in neuer Sicht, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 33 (1970), pp. 1-20; Einem, H. von: Fragen um den Bamberger Reiter, Festschrift für Theodor Müller, pp. 55-62; Steuerwald, H.: Das Rätsel um den Bamberger Reiter; Valentiner, W.R.: The Bamberg Rider; Kroeber, H.T.: Der Bamberg Reiter; Jantzen, H.: Der Bamberg Reiter and Simson, O. von: The Bamberg Rider, The Review of Religion, 4 (1939/40). (See fig. 57.)

37. The loose reins which are at present part of the figure have been proved to be incorrect. See Morper, J.J.: Die Zügelhaltung des "Bamberger Reiters", Fränkische Blätter, 2 (1950), p. 1. He shows that the way the reins are held is very important for the compositional unity between rider and horse and especially for the better understanding of the posture of the horse. To this Boeck has added: "Der straff angezogene Zügel, wie er durch die Bleidübel nachgewiesen ist, entspricht exakt dem Verhalten des Pferdes, das aus der Vorwärtsbewegung zum Stehen gebracht wurde, während die lockere Zügelführung der vom Künstler angelegten Haltung des Pferdes widerspricht." See Boeck, W.: Op. cit., p. 155.

38. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 43: "In Reims findet sich denn auch das Vorbild des 'Reiters' (nicht des Pferdes), und zwar in der Standfigur eines jugendlichen Königs an der Südseite der Kathedrale."

39. Reitzenstein, A. von: Die Baugeschichte des Bamberger Domes, Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, 11 (1934), p. 114.

40. Einem, H. von: Op. cit., p. 60.

41. Einem, H. von: Op. cit., p. 59.

42. See footnote 24 above.

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43. Einem, H. von: Op. cit., p. 57.

44. Traeger, J.: Op. cit., p. 4.: "Dass der Reiter an seinem ursprünglichen Platz steht, kann nicht zweifelhaft sein. Die technische Untersuchung ergab, dass er in zusammensetzbaren Teilen auf der Bank geschaffen und in vollendetem Zustand als Wandfigur Aufstellung gefunden hat, die mit einer rückwärtigen, in die Mauer eingelassenen Steinplatte reliefartig in Verbindung steht." and Boeck: "Anderseits spricht die weitgehende Präzision der Verfügung dafür dass das Werk an dieser Stelle erstmalig zusammengesetzt und nicht von einer anderen hierher übertragen wurde." See Boeck, W.: Op. cit., p. 153.

45. Einem, H. von: Op. cit., p. 60.

46. Traeger, J.: Op. cit., p. 7.

47. Morper, J.J.: Zur Technik des Reiterstandbildes im Dom zu Bamberg, Belvedere, 6 (1924), p. 18.

48. Morper, J.J.: Op. cit., p. 19.

49. Morper, J.J.: Op. cit., p. 20: "Und zwar haben sich Spuren sowohl polychromer wie monochromer Bemalung entdecken lassen: Rotbraune Farbreste im Maul und in den Nüstern des Gaules, blaue und weisslichgraue am Mantel des Reiters und deutliche Überbleibsel ehemaliger Vergoldung an der Krone, am Gürtel und am Sattelzeug des Reiters."

50. Jantzen, H. Op. cit., p. 5.

51. Sandstone equestrian statue of Emperor Otto I, 2,7 m high. From the old Market Square, Magdeburg, Kulturhistorisches Museum, Magdeburg. (See fig. 58.) See Panofsky, E.: Die Deutsche Plastik des Elften bis Dreizehnten Jahrhunderts, pp. 141-143, Taf. 86.

52. W. Möllenberg in his article "Das Reiterstandbild auf dem Alten Markt zu Magdeburg" in Neujahrsblätter für Sachsen-Anhalt, 45

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(1924), p. 15, sees the two figures as part of the "Virgin Army" which according to legend helped Charlemagne in Spain. For this reason he sees the statue as a representation of Charlemagne.

53. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 105.

54. Einem, H. von: Zur Deutung des Magdeburger Reiters, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 16 (1953), p. 51.

55. Quast, F. von: Die Statue Kaiser Otto's des Grossen zu Magdeburg, Zeitschrift für christliche Archäologie und Kunst, 1 (1856), p. 111. This gilding was removed during the Renaissance, but in 1927 the whole group was again re-gilded. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 107.

56. Jantzen pointed out that these female figures are the personifications of Rome and Constantinople which often appeared with the equestrian monuments of late Antiquity. See Jantzen, H.: Zur Deutung des Kaiser Otto Denkmals in Magdeburg, Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, 46 (1925), p. 129: "Es sind die aus der spätantiken Tradition herstammenden Repräsentanten der Roma und Constantinopolis, die den Machtbereich des Kaisers, in diesem Fall die Herrschaft oder den Anspruch auf die Herrschaft über Osten und Westen, symbolisieren."

57. See Jantzen, H.: Deutsche Bildhauer des 13. Jahrhunderts; Panofsky, E.: Op. cit., p. 143: Die Persönlichkeit des Dargestellten ist strittig: die Überlieferung des Mittelalters nennt Otto II, die der Renaissance Otto I."; Meier, P.J.: Baugeschichte des Magdeburger Domes im 13. Jahrhunderts, Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 45 (1924), p. 118.

58. Einem, H. von: Op. cit., p. 46: "Die älteste literarische Erwähnung des Denkmals findet sich in einer Glosse zum sogenannten Sächsischen Weichbildrecht von 1386/87 .... Es heisst da: 'Daz ist eyne gemeine bestetigunge aller irer friheiten, die diser keiser Otto der rote gethan hot, ... und zue eyner orkunde so haben sy sien lipzeichen stene uff dem

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marchte, das sy mit den fursten phlichtig sien zu halden yn irer zirheit'".

59. Einem, H. von: Op. cit., p. 50 and see also p. 105 above.

60. Fliedner, S. von: Das Reiterdenkmal auf dem alten Markt zu Magdeburg und seine Bedeutung, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 15 (1952), p. 43: "Die Bildhauer, die am Denkmal arbeiteten, gehörten einer Werkstatt an, die nachweislich am Dom beschäftigt war und somit unter der besondern Obhut und Aufsicht des Erzbischofs stand." According to Hans Fiedler the Archbishop Albrecht von Käfernburg commissioned the statue after the old imperial church had burnt down in 1207: "Wohl zwischen 1228 und 1232 dürfte der für alles Grosse und Schöne begeisterte Magdeburger Erzbischof einem sehr begabten Meister den Auftrag erteilt haben, nach dem Muster des Bamberger Reiters ein Standbild des Kaisers für seine Residenzstadt anzufertigen." See Fiedler, H.: Dome und Politik, p. 247.

61. See Chapter 3. p. 73 above.

62. See Chapter 3, p. 73 above.

63. Quast, F. von: Die Statue Kaiser Otto's des Grossen zu Magdeburg, Zeitschrift für christliche Archäologie und Kunst, 1 (1856), p. 124.

64. Einem, H. von: Op. cit., p. 59, ftn. 35: "Ähnlichkeit mit dem Bamberger Reiter ist bisher übersehen worden, dass es im Bamberg vor dem Dom ein Reiterfreidenkmal Kaiser Heinrichs gegeben hat, wie sich aus alten Abbildungen und Beschreibungen nachweisen lässt."

65. Zepernick, F.: Die Capitels- und Sedisvacanz-münzen und Medaillen, p. 87.

66. Sandstone equestrian figures of St George and St Martin, on the facade of St Emmerams cathedral, Regensburg.

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67. At present there are four figures in niches above the western portal of Strassbourg cathedral. The fourth figure, which represents Louis XIV, was added in 1823 to the fourth niche which had always been empty.

68. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 101.

69. Schadaeus, O.: Summum Argentoratensium Templum: Das ist: Aussführliche vn Eigendtliche Beschreibung dess viel Künstlichen, sehr Kostbaren, vnd in aller Welt berühmten Münsters zu Strassburg, Strassburg 1617, chapter 12. See also Steinmann, E.: Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft 10 (1917), p. 365.

70. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 102.

71. Stone equestrian figure of St George and the Dragon, 2,55 m high, facade of the cathedral in Basle.

72. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 46. The meaning of the female figure who usually kneels at the feet of the St George has been discussed in detail by Otto Freiherr von Taube in his dissertation "Die Darstellung des heiligen Georg in der italienischen Kunst", Halle 1910.

73. Excellent examples are the seals of William de Bohun, first Earl of Northampton of 1337 and of Robert d'Artois.

74. Fine examples of reliefs of galloping horses appear on the tombs of Aymer de Valance, Earl of Pembroke and Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster in Westminister Abbey, London. The most important of these relief tombs and also the first known equestrian figure of the Middle Ages in Italy is the equestrian relief figure on the sarcophagus of Guilelmus Beraldus in the nave of SS. Annunziata in Florence. See Bauch, K.: Das mittelalterliche Grabbild, p. 187.

75. Bronze equestrian aquamanile of c. 1300, English, British Museum, London.

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76. Marble equestrian statue of Cangrande della Scala, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona. (See fig. 59.) Janson points out that Cangrande "originally meant not 'the great dog' but 'the great Khan', that is, the rank of that mysterious 'emperor of the East' in the unknown reaches of Asia about whom Cangrande may have heard from Marco Polo or a similar source". See Janson, H.W.: The equestrian monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great, Sixteen Studies, p. 164.

77. Marangoni, M.: The Art of Seeing Art, p. 216.

78. Salvini, R.: Op. cit., p. 351. Korevaar-Hesseling attributes the work to the Campionesi. See Korevaar-Hesseling, E.H.: Ruiterstandbeelden, Elseviers, 38 (1928), p. 10. However, the writers in favour of a Tuscan artist refer to the strikingly similar pose of Guidoriccio in Simone Martini's fresco in Siena.

79. Bauch, K.: Op. cit., p. 190.

80. Bauch, K.: Op. cit., p. 339, ftn. 381. Wooden equestrian figures seem to have been quite common during the latter years of the Middle Ages as a means of honouring military heroes. These figures were probably made from lighter material such as wood because they may have been carried in the funeral cortége. After the funeral they were placed on the tomb of the military leader simply as an identification of status.

81. Salvini, R.: Op. cit., p. 44.

82. Marble equestrian statue of Mastino II della Scala, Sagrato di S. Maria Antica, Verona. (See fig. 60.) Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 116; Haack, F.: Zur Entwicklung des Italienischen Reiterdenkmals, Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, 7 (1896), p. 275; Pope-Hennessy, J.: Italian Gothic Sculpture, p. 27.

83. Haack, F.: Op. cit., p. 275.

84. Meyer, A.G.: Lombardische Denkmäler des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, p. 84 and Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 116.

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85. Marble equestrian statue of St Alexander, over the entrance portal of St Maria Maggiore, Bergamo.

86. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 118.

87. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 118. Ugo da Campione's son was Giovanni da Campione.

88. Pope-Hennessy, J.: Op. cit., p. 201. Marble equestrian statue of Bernabó Visconti, 2,5 m high, Museo del Castello Sforzesco, Milan, Inv. No. 014. (See fig. 61.)

89. Schaeffer, A., Op. cit., p. 44.

90. Pope-Hennessy, J.: Op. cit., p. 201.

91. Meyer, A.G.: Op. cit., p. 99.

92. Marble equestrian statue of Cansignorio della Scala, Sagrato di S. Maria Antica, Verona. (See fig. 62.)

93. Pope-Hennessy, J.: Op. cit., p. 200.

94. See p. 117 above. Hans Vogts refers to a bronze equestrian statuette of the thirteenth century which was found at Zülpich and which is at present in the Landesmuseum in Bonn. See Vogts, H.: Köln im Spiegel seiner Kunst, p. 64.

95. Bronze equestrian statue of St George and the dragon, 1,21 m high. Third court of the Hradschin, Prague. (See fig. 63.) See Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 46.

96. Schaeffer, A., Op. cit., p. 46: "Der Prager St. Georg, das entwicklungsgeschichtlich bedeutungsvollste Erzgiesswerk des 14. Jahrhunderts, wurde im Auftrag Kaiser Karls IV. im Jahr 1373 von zwei Siebenbürger Künstlern, vermutlich deutschen Blutes, den Brüdern Martin und Georg von Klausenburg, ausgeführt."

97. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 46.

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98. Pogany-Balas, (Edit.): Kolozsvári Márton és György Szent György szobrának antik elôképéröl, Muvészettörténeti értesito, XXIV/I (1975), pp. 1-16.

99. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 46.

100. Stech, V.V. and Z. Wirth: La richesse d'art de la Bohême, 1 (1913), p. 9.

101. Pinder, dr. W.: Die Deutsche Plastik vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance, p. 88: "... bei der Krönung Kaiser Maximilians im Jahre 1562 fand ein Galaturnier statt; im Gedränge der Menschen, die sogar auf das Ross Kletterten, fiel die Statue, der Kopf zerbrach;"

102. Mesterhazy, E.: A Famous Hungarian Equestrian statue, Apollo, 21 (1935), p. 215.

103. Lázár, B.: Die Kunst der Brüder Kolozsvári, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, 1917, p. 90.

104. Pinder, dr. W.: Op. cit., p. 90.

105. Kampis, A.: The History of Art in Hungary, p. 73.

106. Pinder, dr. W.: Op. cit., p. 91.

107. Kampis, A.: Op. cit., p. 74.

108. Friis shows a drawing by Gozzini of a rider on a rearing horse as part of a relief funerary monument in honour of Pietro Farnese which stood in Sta. Maria del Fiore in Firenze until 1842. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 124. This group, which was made of wood covered with canvas, stood on Pietro Farnese's sarcophagus over the portal to the Campanile. It was designed in 1395 by the painters Agnolo Gaddi and Giuliano d'Arrigo. A better reproduction of the statue was found by A. Parronchi and attributed to Jacopo Orcagna in 1969. (See fig. 64.) See Bauch, H.: Op. cit., pp. 193 and 339 ftn. 385: "Möchlicherweise ging

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diesem Bildwerk schon ein früheres voraus. Vasari berichtet über den florentinischen Bildhauer Jacopo, den Bruder Andrea Orcagnas: '... von ihm soll auch das vergoldete Hochrelief eines Pferdes stammen in S. Maria del Fiore über der Tür zur Genossenschaft des San Zanobio, das vermutlich zum Gedächtnis des Pietro Farnese, des Florentiner Kapitäns, dort angebracht worden ist, da ich aber nichts anderes davon weiss, will ich es nicht behaupten.'" A similar statue was the wooden equestrian figure of Gian Tedesco in the cathedral of Siena by the young Jacopo della Quercia, which was destroyed in 1506. See Chapter 5, p. 141 below.

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CHAPTER 5

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE IN THE RENAISSANCE

The "Renaissance", a term generally given to the period of transition from the Middle Ages to modern times, is in its essence the intellectual movement which began in Italy in the fourteenth century and culminated in the sixteenth century. This transition was dominated by a rebirth of classical forms in both literature and art. Artists began to study the monuments of ancient Rome and Greece. They did this either directly by making archaeological diggings and taking measurements and more often by copying ancient sculptures in drawings or indirectly through descriptions in ancient literature, especially the writings of Vitruvius.

As the discovery of classical manuscripts increased the Renaissance sculptor's knowledge of ancient art and enabled him to understand the full significance of the remnants that had survived, there was a new interest in the revival of certain types of sculpture and certain ancient techniques. Naturally this revival of ancient techniques and types of sculpture necessitated the early Renaissance sculptor to find new solutions for technical as well as conceptual problems. From the classical writers such as Pliny, these artists learnt of the emphasis that the ancients had placed on bronze as the finest medium for monumental sculpture and this generated the desire to rival the ancients in the use of this metal. Technical perfection however, was not achieved overnight, but was the result of trial and error, until enough skill had been acquired to attempt a large-scale work such as an equestrian statue in bronze.

In Italy the Renaissance inherited a dual tradition for the erection of equestrian figures from the Middle Ages. The one was the tradition of honouring military heroes, especially condottieri with tombs incorporating equestrian figures.[1] The other was the far bolder tradition of honouring sovereigns with free-standing stone statues.[2] During the Middle Ages, however, most of these figures simply served as an identification of status, without any attempt being made to represent the physical appearance or the psychological characteristics of the rider. The Renaissance, with its emphasis on the individuality of man as the measure of all things, required that the prowess of the individual hero be brought to the fore, which

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necessitated the representation of the individual features of the model. However, these individual features were often idealized as a result of classical influence and inspiration.

At the time of the birth of the Renaissance, Italy was divided because of the political feuds between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. These conditions promoted the rise of the condottieri, who with their mercenary armies sold themselves to the highest bidder. It has been estimated that by 1439 there were 129 condottieri with about 64 650 mounted soldiers in Italy.[3] All of the equestrian monuments erected during the Renaissance period, were erected in honour of one or other condottiere.

The earliest equestrian monument of a condottiere of the Renaissance period on record is the equestrian statue of Gian Tedesco, the condottiere of Siena, which was in the cathedral in Siena and which is believed to have been the juvenile work of Jacopo della Quercia (c. 1374 - 1438).[4] Vasari, who refers to the artistry of this work, also speaks at length about its unusual technique: "In the execution of this work, Jacopo employed a device not in use up to that time, of constructing a framework for the horse and figure of pieces of wood and laths fitted together wrapped about with straw, tow and hemp, the whole being tightly bound together, and then covered with the clay mixed with a cement composed of woollen cloth, paste and glue. This method of construction was, and is, undoubtedly the best for such things, because, although they appear to be heavy, yet after they are finished and dry they prove to be light, and being covered with white they resemble marble, and are very pleasing to the eye as was this work of Jacopo."[5] Since the sculptural group bears traces of colouring and therefore seems to have been painted, it must have been inspired by the north European tradition of wooden sculpture, which was also painted.

According to Vasari the materials used were wood, plaster and tow. It is possible that Jacopo learnt this technique from stone carvers in Milan since work on the Milanese Duomo drew artists from most parts of Europe.[6] The other possibility is that Jacopo could have spent his time of apprenticeship in France and learnt the technique first-hand there as Pope-Hennessy has suggested.[7] Vasari shows that the technique used by Jacopo later became the forerunner for the

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construction of a full-scale model from which the sculptor could work.[8]

These wood-and-plaster equestrian figures seem to have been a necessary intermediatory stage between the traditional stone figures and the later bronze equestrian statues. As a matter of fact they allowed the sculptor the freedom to experiment with various intricate poses without fear of breakage or excessive cost.

According to descriptions of the Tedesco monument by the Sienese chronicler Sigismondo Tizio, who saw it, it represented Tedesco on a rearing horse.[9] Valentiner records the following concerning the fate of this equestrian statue: "the rider stood upon his tomb in a chapel of Siena cathedral until 1404, when it was removed into another part of the church. It was destroyed in 1506 by Pandolfo Petrucci, the tyrant of Siena".[10]

Although the Tedesco monument has been destroyed, an almost similar statue has fortunately survived. It is the wooden equestrian statue of Paolo Savelli in the Frari church in Venice.[11] One can assume that it must have been the work of a Tuscan master of the early Renaissance, since it seems that the Venetians were well aware of the progress of the new school of sculpture in Tuscany and as they were passing through a period when only the best in art was good enough for their growing ambitions and money was not lacking to erect the most costly monuments, they began to look for masters in Tuscany who could come to Venice. Yet there is still much speculation as to its author.

When the condottiere Paolo Savelli died of the pestilence at Padua in 1405, the Venetian Republic thought it fit to erect a richly decorated tomb to his honour in the Frari. It became the first official monument to be erected by the Venetians for one of their heroes.

Savelli, who is represented in metal armour with a velour mantle about his shoulders and a soft red cap on his head sits proudly on his forward striding mount. The traditional commander's baton and the reins which were held in his right and left hands respectively, are at present lacking. It seems that the sculptor who made the statue was well acquainted with the costume which the condottiere wore, because when the sarcophagus was opened through the back

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wall in 1907, the velour mantle which Savelli wore was found in the sarcophagus.[12] From this evidence we can assume that the rugged face of the rider is a fairly accurate likeness of Savelli.

The statue is a masterpiece of the new realism of the beginning of the early Renaissance. The sculptor has succeeded in creating a perfect harmony between the horse and rider. The simplicity of the work and the lively forward stride of the horse is impressive.

The horse and rider form a quarter circle thus giving the group a freedom of movement which one would expect to find only in later Renaissance sculpture. Although both the horse and the rider are somewhat angular in their articulations and proportions, they are anatomically well put together. The horse is well placed on the lid of the sarcophagus so that the light from the left brings out its plastic forms to the best advantage, while the illusion of depth and volume is increased by its diagonal position.[13] If a closer study is made of the horse, one realizes that the sculptor must have made a thorough study of the horses on the facade of San Marco in Venice, especially the first horse from the left when facing the church.[14] The only difference is the more angular head which is also turned to the right. The head could probably have been modelled on a classical Roman example which has since been lost, because it shows the typical flowing mane and erect ears of such statues.

Technically the statue is made in much the same way as the Tedesco statue was made. Since there are no visible cracks in the surface where the boards of the wood are joined, one can safely assume that the statue was not pieced together from carved wooden boards. The technique used here was to construct a skeleton of the horse and rider out of wood and to add the other sections reproducing the flesh, muscles and skin in other material such as rough linen, gesso and tow until a solid surface, not easily cracked like clay, was obtained. This surface was smoothed down and gilded in imitation of the gilded bronze horses of San Marco.[15] This tecnique allowed the sculptor to rid the statue of the unsightly support under the belly of the free-standing horse, which was impossible with a stone statue. Although the lighter material could not be used outside the church like bronze or stone, it was in its artistic effect not inferior to these materials.

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The same technique was used for the construction of the wooden equestrian figure at present in S. Cassiano di Cortrone near Bagni di Lucca and which is considered a creative collaboration of Jacopo della Quercia and Francesco di Valdambrino.[16] The statue has been dated between 1422 and 1425 and like the Tedesco statue was probably made in honour of one or other condottiere.

In contrast with these wooden free-standing equestrian figures on the tombs of the condottieri, there were the stone equestrian figures on tombs. The earliest remaining example is the tomb with the equestrian statue of Cortesia Serego in St Anastasia in Verona.[17]

This tomb was made in honour of Count Cortesia Serego di Seratico, the condottiere appointed by Verona's despotic ruler Antonio della Scala. We cannot say whether the Serego monument was authorized or commissioned by the state since the circumstances under which it was erected are unknown. However, on the basis of its precedents in Tuscany and the Savelli monument, it is not unlikely that is was officially commissioned. Cipolla shows that the monument is datable between 1424 and 1429.[18] It appears to have been the work of the Tuscan artist Nanni di Bartolo also known as Il Rosso.[19]

Serego appears in armour seated on a charger - fully sculptured but positioned parallel to the wall. He is flanked by two armed men who bow in greeting and gather up the massive drapery which surrounds the whole monument. The horse stands on the lid of the sarcophagus and a giant creeper winds around the figure to form a massive frame.

One cannot ignore the strong classical influence in this work. Inspired by the new interest in the classical tradition, the sculptor of this monument must have made a very thorough study of the fourth horse from the left when facing the church of San Marco in Venice. Not only does the gait of the horse, with one front leg raised high, recall the San Marco horse, but also other details such as the shape of the head, the mane, the tail and the perfection of the volumes, point to the classical example. Another classical feature which probably recalls the Regisole in Pavia is the fact that the rider is represented bareheaded and wears pseudoclassical rather than contemporary armour. The two armed squires who withdraw the curtain are also represented in pseudoclassical costume.

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Technically the sculptor has ingeniously made use of the curtain behind the horse and rider to support the body of the horse without impairing the group's three-dimensionality. Especially noteworthy is the planned used of different materials such as red Veronese marble for the structural and supporting parts and soft "Pietra Gallina" for the figures. This equestrian figure, the earliest in which marked classical influence can be detected, had a strong influence on later Renaissance equestrian figures. Donatello (1386 - 1466) is said to have expressed admiration for this powerful equestrian monument when he was embarking on the Gattamelata monument.

A few years after the Serego monument had been completed, a similar monument was erected in honour of Spinetta Malaspina, also in Verona. This monument is at present in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.[20] Like the Serego group the upper part of this monument consists of a central tent, the curtains of which are held up to the right and left by armed men. In front of the central tent-pole on the lid of the sarcophagus, which is supported on consoles in the form of lions bearing shields with the Malaspina coat of arms, is the mounted figure of Malaspina holding a baton and riding to the right. Classical influence is evident in the gait of the horse and in the costumes of the figures, but as a whole the Malaspina monument is technically inferior to the Serego monument. Especially noteworthy here however, is the fact that traces of gilding can be seen on the stirrups of the central figure which means that it was made in imitation of gilded bronze.[21]

Originally the monument stood in the church of San Giovanni in Sacco in Verona - a church founded by Malaspina.[22] In 1536 the monument was moved to the new church of San Giovanni in Sacco. This church was suppressed in 1804 and the monument was sold to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1887, the church being demolished the following year.

Another stone equestrian monument of this time is the monument of Ludovico Camponeschi in S. Giuseppe in Aquila.[23] Although the idea of the monument co-incides with that of the Veronese equestrian monuments, its composition shows a kind of regressive transformation in the International Gothic style. The emphasis is not so much on realism as on overall effect. Camponeschi appears twice under a Gothic canopy; once in contemporary costume on a restfully walking

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horse and again as a recumbent effigy flanked by two large standing angels who dispense incense over his dead body.

The monument was erected during the lifetime of Camponeschi before 1432 by a Northerner named Gualterio d'Alemania who had erected tombs since 1412 for Abbruzzian families.[24] This sculptor must have been familiar with the Bamberg rider and also the Magdeburg equestrian statue in Germany, since his equestrian figure shows many similarities to these statues.[25] In general the composition is very much the same since a restfully walking horse is shown with a proud rider on its back. The neck of the horse is also slightly elongated and the statue as a whole is pieced together from various blocks of stone.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century technical knowledge gained from classical writings and remaining classical works of art made bronze casting of equestrian monuments feasible in Italy. From this time onwards, increasing enthusiasm for the techniques of antiquity was generated and the discoveries made in the later years of the fifteenth century profoundly influenced the course of art in Italy. Artists and artisans in bronze work must have examined the still existing examples from antiquity with keen interest as the casting technique used for them was so exceptional.

The first bronze equestrian monument of the Renaissance was the statue of Nicoló III d'Este in Ferrara.[26] It was probably based on the Regisole in Pavia[27] and Uccello's fresco of Giovanni Acuto (John Hawkwood) in the Duomo in Florence.[28]

After the death of Nicoló III d'Este in 1441, a competition was held to find an artist to execute the equestrian monument. Two Florentine sculptors, Antonio di Christoforo (d. 1476) and Niccolo Baroncelli (d. 1453) were each asked to submit a model for the competition.[29] In 1443 these models were viewed by Lionello d'Este and the "Savi", but they could not come to an agreement and the help of Leon Battista Alberti was called in. We do not know what Alberti's decision was, but it seems that like the "Savi", he was in favour of Antonio di Christoforo's model.[30] In November 1444 the adjudicators decided that Christoforo would make the rider and Baroncelli the horse. The statue was placed on an extended bracket projecting from the facade of the Palazzo Estense and supported by a column and was unveiled on 2

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June 1451. It was unfortunately destroyed by Italian revolutionaries in 1796. In 1926 a copy of the original statue was made and re-erected on the original pedestal in front of the Palazzo Estense in Ferrara.

According to descriptions of the original monument, the rider had a commander's baton in his hand, a cap on his head and a short cape which fell over his shoulders, possibly similar to that of the Hawkwood figure of Uccello. Whether the statue of Nicoló d'Este was a glorification all'antica in the manner of the Serego monument remains to be further investigated. As there are no visual records of the original statue, one can only surmise that it must have been a work of little artistic distinction.

Since free-standing equestrian statues out of doors were the privilege of sovereigns, it was daring enough that the Este family asserted their own legitimacy and authority by erecting this rival to the Marcus Aurelius and the Regisole, but they did not yet dare to detach the statue from its architectural background.[31] In this sense it is not yet a truly free-standing monument. The importance of this statue, however, lies in the fact that with it a new type of memorial was coined in which the emphasis shifted from the funerary aspect to the representation of the deceased as a hero.

The most important equestrian monument of the early Renaissance in Italy is Donatello's bronze equestrian statue of the Venetian condottiere, Erasmo da Narni, called Gattamelata, on the Piazza del Santo in Padua.[32] With this statue Donatello intentionally followed the classical tradition of equestrian figures as exemplified by the Marcus Aurelius in Rome and consequently did away with the Medieval inhibition that a free-standing equestrian figure was solely reserved for a sovereign. The one thing Donatello still did not dare to do was to loosen the monument from its funerary function.

Vasari tells us that Donatello was summoned to Padua in 1443 by the Signoria of Venice in order "to make a monument to Gattamelata".[33] We are not well informed as to the date and circumstance of the commission which Donatello must have received any time between 1443 and 1446. No document however confirms that the commission for the monument was given by the Signoria as Vasari states. From the documentary sources it seems that the initiative was due to the heirs

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of the condottiere. It seems that initially the monument was conceived as an equestrian tomb inside the Santo on the lines of the Serego tomb in St Anastasia in Verona, since Donatello was sent to make a study of this tomb.[34] Provision for such a monument had been made in Gattamelata's will. Nevertheless, it seems that the idea for a more elaborate edifice on the lines of the Scaliger tombs came from the executors of Gattamelata's will, Giacomo and Michele da Foce.[35] However, a monument of such an imposing size in such an illustrious location could not have been erected without the consent of the Signoria in Venice. The role which the Signoria therefore fulfilled seems to have been to grant Gattamelata the privilege of an equestrian statue as a special posthumous honour.

After the original plan for a monument inside the church had been abandoned, Donatello must have spent considerable time solving the complicated problems involved with the planning of a free-standing bronze equestrian figure. The designing and modelling of the statue must have taken most of the year 1446.

It is not improbable that in this time Donatello minutely scrutinised the Marcus Aurelius in Rome, the horses of San Marco and other classical works familiar to him, for technical clues.[36] Apart from being able to execute the bronze sculpture technically, Donatello was also intellectually able to transform traditional equestrian iconography. In this respect Janson states that "Donatello is to be credited not only with the carrying out of this new concept of the equestrian monument, but with the creation of the concept itself. It was he who interbred the Scaligeri tombs with the Marcus Aurelius and the new Nicoló d'Este monument in Ferrara".[37]

Even before Donatello was confronted with the technical problems of constructing his equestrian figure, he had to solve some major conceptual problems. His first problem was to establish the general concept of his equestrian statue without digressing too far from what was acceptable in his time. It was a decided achievement on his part to place the sculptured group of rider and horse not, as had been done with earlier monuments, in front of a church wall, but in the open area in front of the Santo. Yet in the pedestal, which was conceived as an integral sculptural part of the monument, Donatello revived an ancient tradition in that it was constructed as a burial chamber. Castelfranco provides a thorough summary of Donatello's

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memories of classical and medieval funerary art when he states that "the height and the imposing effect remind us of the tombs of the Scaligers in Verona; the chamber in the base is a reminiscence of Roman tombs; the use of wide and shallow recesses goes back to Roman sepulchral architecture, of which more examples were to be found in Campania than elsewhere; the oblong plan - a rectangle amplified by two semicircles - is a frequent feature of Roman sarcophagi ....".[38] Donatello most certainly acquired the idea of a baton in the hand of Gattamelata from Paolo Uccello's fresco of Giovanni Acuto in the Duomo in Florence. For the complex of somatic characteristics and movement, Donatello must have drawn useful hints from the horses of San Marco, the Marcus Aurelius in Rome and the Regisole in Pavia.

The second major problem was the transmutation of somatic data deriving from classical sculpture. In the horse's head the borrowing from antiquity seems more obvious than in any other part of the horse. This seems to be due to the intensive study which Donatello made of the two Hellenistic heads of horses which he had probably seen in the Medici collection in Florence.[39] According to W. Rolfs these heads were from late Antiquity and were well known to Donatello, who probably used them as examples for the head of the horse of the Gattamelata statue.[40]

The figure of the rider is an amalgamation of both classical and contemporary influences. Gattamelata's armour is still more pseudoclassical than that of Cortesia Serego and richly decorated with classical and allegorical figures. Janson clearly explains the genesis of the Gattamelata figure when he states that "Donatello took an image of the type of Marcus Holconius Rufus, modernized the armour to some extent and put it on horseback. Nothing betrays his intention more strikingly than the head of the Gattamelata. It is clearly not a real portrait; the general had died in old age, after a long illness, at least six months before Donatello came to Padua. If a death mask was taken and used by Donatello, no trace remains of it in the features of this face, its most notable quality is a Roman intellectuality and nobility of character which Donatello must have taken from portrait heads of the era between Augustus and Trajan.[41]

Donatello's conceptual problem with this work was how to give Gattamelata an air of confidence in victory. He wanted to portray an

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already ageing man of striking vigorous physique in such a way that it rivalled the feeling of profound, almost priestlike serenity which we find in the Marcus Aurelius. On the whole Donatello succeeded to infuse into the monument an intellectual energy and a feeling for human dignity. It becomes a symbol of reason overcoming the brute force of the animal.

We know very little about the technical procedures which Donatello employed to construct his models for the equestrian statue, since very little mention is made of them in any of the surviving documents. Nevertheless, one can assume that he followed nearly the same procedures as those described later by Vasari.[42] This meant that the competent artist first made a small model in wax which he altered until the composition had been perfected. He then repeated his composition in clay as large as that intended to be cast in bronze. Since a large mass of clay such as that required for an equestrian figure created immense problems with drying and cracking of the clay, the artist first had to solve this problem. Vasari points out that the artist mixed baked flour with the clay to keep it soft and to remove the dryness and "to ensure that the large clay model shall support itself and the clay not crack, the artist must take some soft cuttings of cloth or some horse hair and mix this with the clay to render it tenacious and not liable to split. The figure is supported by wood underneath with pressed tow or hay fastened to it with string".[43]

Although the large wooden horse[44] at present in the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua, has in the past been mistaken for the final model for Donatello's Gattamelata horse[45], it has now been thought to be Annibale Capodilista's copy of Donatello's horse made for a carnival show in the Piazza dei Signoria in 1466.[46] Doubt whether part of the horse is not in fact Donatello's final model will, however, remain until a thorough study is made of both horses.

Since Donatello did not go out of his way to look for unsurmountable difficulties, he decided to cast the equestrian statue in several parts. Castelfranco points out that "by February 1447 Donatello had already completed the formes for the equestrian statue, since the following month the first pieces were sent to the foundry".[47] It seems that at about the same time the pedestal for the statue was being erected.

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Various stone carvers assisted Donatello in the building of the pedestal.[48]

Because of the precarious state of the bronze casting technique in his day and the formidable difficulties in casting such a large monument, Donatello must have set up a considerable workshop in Padua in order to carry out preparations for the bronze casting and finishing of the monument. Pomponius Gauricus expressly tells us that Donatello lacked expert knowledge of the founder's craft and never cast his own works but always relied on the help of bell-founders.[49] We know that the casting of the different parts of the Gattamelata monument was done "in the shop of the bell-founder Andrea del Caldiere".[50]

From a surface examination of the equestrian figure it seems that the statue was cast in eleven parts.[51] The method of casting prevalent at this time was known as the "cire perdue" method. Generally this method necessitated a model in wax over a core of refractory clay. A mould was cast over the outer wax layer and bronze gaggers kept the mould and the inner core in precise register after the wax had been melted out. Molten bronze was then poured into the cavity vacated by the wax. The disadvantage of this method was that the thickness of the bronze varied considerably and that it was extremely difficult to calculate the exact amount of bronze needed for a casting. If the statue was large, it was cast in pieces and then the pieces were either riveted or forge welded together to produce the finished work. To prevent outward expansion larger parts were cast in a pit made in the ground. We know that this was also the case with the Gattamelata as we read in the documents that "Donatello is to be paid 1 lire 2 soldi as the cost of digging and filling the pit where the hind part of the horse has been cast".[52] The cleaning and chasing operations and the putting together of the different parts of the cast probably lasted throughout 1450.[53] That Donatello did not carry out this technical labour all by himself must be assumed.

Janson tells us that "according to the arbitration agreement of 1453 the statue was finished but not yet installed in June of that year. Donatello placed it on the pedestal in September and by October 21 nothing further remained to be done".[54]

For the horse of the Gattamelata statue Donatello chose an animal of heavy breed which could support a man in full armour and the result

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is that the horse seems a bit too large for the rider. Nevertheless, this imposing bulk of the horse which is linked to the ground by a ball under the left leg, forms a striking contrast with the lank figure of the condottiere, who sits lightly in his saddle. When one views the group from the left, which is in fact the most satisfactory view, one immediately notices the diagonal formed by the baton, sword and right hind leg of the horse and then one realizes that the whole composition is controlled by a rigorous geometry which gives the figure a structural backbone.

Although Donatello conceived the Gattamelata statue as a free-standing figure, he did not completely break with the frontality of the equestrian figures on the sarcophagi inside the churches. Not only the form of the Gattamelata group but also its pedestal reveals that it has one principal view. This problem was solved for the first time by Verrocchio (c. 1435 - 1488) with his monument to the condottiere Bartholomeo Colleoni in Venice.[55]

On his death in February 1457 the condottiere Bartholomeo Colleoni bequeathed a large portion of his immense wealth to the Venetian Republic on condition that they would erect an equestrian statue in the Piazza di San Marco to his honour and in recognition of his services to the Republic. Since an ancient law forbade the erection of monuments in the Piazza di San Marco, the Senate by an ingenious quibble evaded the condition and decided to erect the statue in the Piazza of the Scuola di San Marco. With consciences thus set at rest, the Signoria at the end of June 1479 decided to invite prominent Italian sculptors to submit models in competition.[56] Only three artists were invited to participate - Andrea Verrocchio of Florence, Bartolommeo Bellano of Padua and Alessandro Leopardi of Venice. From surviving sketches of horses by Verrocchio it seems that he must have spent considerable time pondering about the composition of his figure.[57] These drawings show how Verrocchio's conception of the equestrian figure was affected by the study of the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome. Prof. Isermeyer elaborates on this point when he notes that "Vasari, der von der Wirkung des Marc-Aurel-Denkmals auf Verrocchio berichtet, gibt an dass er in seiner Sammlung einen vom Künstler nach der Antike in Ton geformten Pferdekopf und zwei Zeichnungen von Pferden mit Massangaben besessen habe".[58] Various scholars have also referred to the influence of Donatello's Gattamelata,[59] while others have pointed out that Verrocchio may have

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taken the idea of the forward push of his horse from Andrea Castagno's fresco of the condottiere Niccoló da Tolentino.[60] It is interesting to note that the influence of Antiquity seems to have been purposely suppressed to a certain extent in the designing of the Colleoni monument. Unlike the Gattamelata figure, Colleoni is represented in modern armour with a helmet on his head so that the all'antica effect has disappeared. To Verrocchio however, the commission seems to have been a challenge to find a technically more imposing and more difficult interpretation of the equestrian monument than had hitherto existed. As W.S. Sheard has pointed out, the masterful unity and impression of harmony in the statue is the result of the strict geometric relationships "relating every dimension organically to the height of the bronze horse and rider and their plinth".[61] Using the square, circle and golden rectangle as his point of departure, Verrocchio seems to have decided that the entire pedestal, including the horse's plinth, should measure twice the height of the group itself and that the horse could be anchored to the design of the pedestal by making his left rear hoof the tangent to the circle which inscribes the pedestal. This important technical innovation led to the first modern monumental plinth and clearly established the distinction between the equestrian monument and the equestrian tomb.

The physical history of the monument begins in July 1481 after Verrocchio had completed a full-size model of the horse in wood. In a letter to Ercole d' Este, dated 16 July 1481, the Ferrarese ambassador in Florence, Antonio di Montecatini requested permission to transport a life-size model of a horse packed in several pieces across the state of Ferrara to Venice.[62] This was without doubt Verrocchio's wooden model for the competition in Venice. Unfortunately we do not know whether Verrocchio travelled with the model to Venice, but it seems likely since he had to assemble the different parts there. From the writing of the Dominican monk Felix Faber of Ulm it seems that the three models, one of wax, the other of terra-cotta and Verrocchio's wooden horse which was entirely covered in black leather, were still on view in Venice by 1483.[63] If Vasari's account is correct, then it seems that the Signoria wanted to commission Verrocchio to make the horse and Bellano to make the rider.[64] Since Verrocchio had thoroughly rethought the general problem of how to bring the horse and rider together in a sculptural whole, such a division of the work would certainly have led him to smash the head of his model and

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forget about the commission entirely as Vasari has noted. No date or details however exist to confirm when and how the commission was finally awarded to Verrocchio. It seems that he worked intermittently on this commission until his death in the summer of 1488. Passavant notes that according to Lorenzo di Credi, the executor of Verrocchio's will, it appears that Verrocchio had finished the final full-size clay models of the horse and rider before his death, but that the casting had not yet begun.[65] Vasari's statement therefore that Verrocchio had died from a cold as a result of overheating during the casting of the monument is in conflict with the documentary evidence. It is more likely that he died of the plague, which was rampant in Venice at the time.

Immediately after Verrocchio's death Lorenzo di Credi, whom Verrocchio had nominated as his successor in the work, negotiated with the Florentine sculptor Giovanni d' Andrea di Domenico to cast and complete the Colleoni monument. The Signoria of Venice did not trust Lorenzo di Credi with the completion of the monument and assigned it to Alessandro Leopardi, a competent bronze founder in Venice who had initially taken part in the competition in 1483. Since the casting technique had improved considerably since Donatello's time, Leopardi cast the whole monument in only two parts, namely the horse and the rider separately. The method of casting used by Leopardi was still the "cire perdue" method, but larger sections could now be cast at a time.[66] The bronze casting was finished early in 1492 but there still remained a great deal of work in the meticulous chasing of detail and the gilding of the statue. At about this time the base was erected and on 19 November 1495 the monument was in its place on the Piazza of the Scuola di San Marco. The ceremonial unveiling of the monument only took place much later on 21 March 1496.[67]

We do not know how far the final appearance of the monument was laid down by Verrocchio in sketches or models nor how closely Leopardi followed Verrocchio's instructions, but with this statue Verrocchio went far beyond anything which Donatello attempted in his Gattamelata monument. Verrocchio's main contribution to the development of the equestrian figure lies in the compositional aspects of the group such as the fusion of the figure of the rider with the body of the horse and the movement in the figure which in its turn contributes to the characterization of the rider. Passavant clearly

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explains this movement when he states that "it is not so much the action of the horse that is important as the exact stage at which the movement is caught, giving the impression that the horse is on the point of setting down its lifted leg as it moves forward".[68] Another effect which helps to enhance the movement of the horse and rider is the use of contrast. This is especially evident in the difference between the defiant gaze of the rider and the tame look of the horse and also in the different textures which the sculptor used. On the whole the entire figure has been carefully balanced out symmetrically as well as asymmetrically. The asymmetrical appearance of the armour, which was dictated by the weapons of the day, corresponds with the energetic twist of the head of the rider.

The solution to compositional problems in the equestrian monument was brought to its ultimate conclusion during the High Renaissance by Verrocchio's student, Leonardo da Vinci (1452 - 1519). Leonardo spent twenty-five years of his life struggling with the problem of the equestrian monument and eventually arrived at various brilliant solutions for all the possible forms of this type of monument. Although no final monument was ever erected, the new ideas put forward by Leonardo had a profound influence on later equestrian figures. Leonardo's sketches and models for equestrian figures which have survived show how the motif developed step by step from quattrocento constraint to classical greatness.

Since Leonardo drew horses at all periods of his life and especially for the four important commissions in which the horse features prominently namely, the "Adoration of the Magi", the Sforza equestrian monument, the "Battle of the Anghiari" and the Trivulzio equestrian monument, it is difficult to say definitely which drawings belong to which commission. Various writers have attempted the problem of separating the sketches but with dissimilar conclusions.[69] At present the generally accepted sequence of the drawings is that put forward by Lord Clark.[70] These drawings tell us a great deal about the working of Leonardo's mind while planning his equestrian monuments and also about the various problems he had to solve.

The idea of erecting an equestrian statue in memory of the condottiere, Francesco Sforza in Milan seems to have originated with his son Galeazzo Maria who succeeded him as Duke of Milan. In 1473 he instructed the architect Bartolomeo Gadio to search beyond Milan

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for a suitable sculptor to carry out the work.[71] After Galeazzo Maria was murdered in 1476, the plan of an equestrian monument in honour of Francesco Sforza was revived by Galeazzo Maria's brother, Ludovico il Moro. Ludovico wanted a sepulchral monument which would surpass all existing monuments in Italy.[72]

Since Florence was already famous for its sculptors of equestrian figures and the Florentine Andrea Verrocchio was working on the models for the Colleoni monument at the time, one can assume that Ludovico must have turned to Florence for a suitable sculptor. It seems that he approached Antonio Pollaiuolo (1432 - 1498) to submit a design since two designs with riders bearing the features of Francesco Sforza by him date from the early 1480's.[73] Both these drawings show a prancing horse with a prostrate foe beneath the forelegs of the horse. It is probable that Leonardo da Vinci also came to hear about the commission at about this time and it is not impossible that he thought that if the fame of Donatello rested on the Gattamelata statue in Padua, he could also achieve the same fame in Milan. At the end of the now famous letter which Leonardo wrote to Ludovico recommending himself as a military engineer he proposed that the task of making the monument should be entrusted to him in the following words: "Ancora si potrá dare opera al cauallo di bronzo, che sará gloria imortale e eterno onore della felice memoria del signore vostro padre e dela icljta casa Sforzesca."[74] There is no evidence that Leonardo had been offered the commission or that it was the chief motive of his leaving Florence to stay in Milan, but if Sabba Castiglione is correct in saying that Leonardo worked for sixteen years on the monument, then it seems that he must have received the commission in 1483.[75]

Though there is no documentary evidence to prove it, Leonardo must have obtained his first impressions of the equestrian problem when he witnessed the origin of the Colleoni monument in all detail or even helped with the planning while he was a pupil in Verrocchio's studio. He was aware of the restrained appearance of the traditional pacing horse with both fore and hind legs on the same side moving simultaneously as seen in the Gattamelata and Colleoni statues. It is possible that Leonardo had seen Pollaiuolo's sketches and that Ludovico had wanted something similar. We know that already in his sketches for the "Adoration of the Magi", Leonardo had been toying with the possibilities of a prancing horse.[76] None of these sketches

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however, show an attempt to meet the problems of monumental sculpture. Even the one drawing from which most writers, including Lord Clark, conclude that Leonardo initially visualized the Sforza equestrian monument with a prancing horse, shows a figure which has not been thought of in the round.[77] It is possible that Leonardo had merely considered the feasibility of Pollaiuolo's design in this sketch. This would also account for the lack of other drawings of prancing horses at this time.[78] It seems that instead of working on the commission Leonardo had been continually busy with court trivialities and his engineering projects. Ludovico therefore started doubting if Leonardo would ever complete the project and in July 1489 he asked the Florentine ambassador in Milan, Pietro Alemanni, to ask Lorenzo de Medici for two sculptors to help Leonardo with the model since he did not believe that Leonardo could complete the task.[79] The result of this inquiry is unknown, but from the fact that Leonardo notes on 23 April 1490 "ricomiciai il cavallo" it seems obvious that he was re-entrusted with the commission on condition that he showed progress.[80]

It seems that Leonardo now started working in earnest on the commission. He chose the traditional pose of the pacing horse as he knew it from his student days in the studio of Verrocchio, but he wanted to render the pacing horse more realistically. He therefore started with an intensive study from nature. There is a large number of drawings, nearly all at Windsor, which bear witness to the thoroughness of his preparations. There are studies and observations made in the ducal stables in Milan, where he drew horses repeatedly, measuring the parts of their bodies to establish precice proportions, their bone and muscle structure and the movement of their limbs.[81] Leonardo's next step was to compare nature with art. On 8 June 1490 he accompanied Francesco di Giorgio to Pavia to study the construction of the cathedral and to make notes on the ancient statue of the Regisole there.[82] It is interesting to note that while he viewed the Regisole Leonardo also noted that "where natural vivacity is lacking it must be supplied by art".[83] He therefore wanted to control realism with a classical ideal. A small sketch on Windsor folio 12345 recto is probably a record of the Regisole.[84] All these sketches were made between 1490 and 1493.

In folio 148 recto, paragraph 2 of the Codex Madrid II we read that by May 1491 Leonardo had completed a clay model of the horse and

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was contemplating methods to have it cast as a whole. From various sources we learn what this horse looked like - two drawings on folio's 147 recto and 151 verso from the Codex Madrid II reveal that Leonardo had apparently decided to portray the horse in a brisk walk with the left hind leg advancing and the bent right foreleg raised as it seems was also the case with the Regisole in Pavia.[85] An earlier drawing from folio 216 verso-a of the Codex Atlanticus also shows the same pacing horse only this time with the right hind leg advancing and the flexed left foreleg supported by an overturned pitcher. It is almost certain that the red chalk under-drawing on Windsor folio 12356 recto is a later study for the Sforza sepulchral monument.[86] A miniature from the Sforziade of 1491 also shows a pacing horse much like Leonardo's with Francesco Sforza in armour on its back.[87] It seems that some time after 1491 Ludovico decided to discard the idea of a sepulchral monument and decided to impose far more spectacular proportions on the monument, probably to symbolize his own increased political power.[88]

Ludovico's changed demand for a horse and rider four times larger than life-size presented Leonardo with enormous technical problems in connection with the casting of the work. Luca Pacioli, who later saw the colossal horse, gives us an indication of its size by saying that it was 7,2 metres high and that nearly ninety tons of bronze was needed to cast the colossus.[89]

We do not know exactly when Leonardo started with the enormous clay model but it must have been early in 1493, since on 16 July 1493 he was still making some final drawings of horses.[90] We know that in October 1492 Giuliano da Sangallo was in Milan and it is likely that Leonardo discussed the projected idea of casting the horse as a whole with him and at the same time Leonardo took various notes on solutions to overcome some of his technical problems.[91] These notes, which appear on the Windsor folio's 12349 verso, 12349 recto and 12350, show ground plans for the pouring of the bronze from four and more furnaces, cranes and pulleys to hoist the colossal cast into position in the furnace and an iron grid which was intended to reinforce the female outer mould as well as a drawing showing the position of the iron anchor inside the hind leg of the horse.[92] According to the drawings from the Codex Madrid II it seems that Leonardo had already been working on these plans for the casting of the horse since May 1491.[93]

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Since Leonardo wanted to cast his horse in one piece to eliminate the unsightly seams, he knew that the size of his model would hinder him using the traditional "cire perdue" method of casting which Donatello and Verrocchio had used for the casting of their statues.[94] This meant that Leonardo had to invent a completely new system of casting.[95] The Codex Madrid Manuscripts II throw much light on the thoroughness with which Leonardo approached every aspect concerning the projected casting of the colossal horse and proves him to be a genuine innovator. If compared with the traditional method of casting, Leonardo's method was far more complex, but it offered him the possibility of casting the statue as a whole and saving his original model. Once he had created his full-scale model in clay, he would make an outer female mould of plaster in sections. The various sections of the female mould would be held in position by iron rods as shown in a drawing of the horse's head on folio 157 recto of Codex Madrid II.[96] The sections would vary in size and number depending on whether they were for a flat or round part of the model.[97] Once all the sections of the female mould were cast and dry, they would be detached from the original clay model and reassembled to form two halves.[98] Leonardo then notes that the two halves of the female mould should be lined with wax or potter's clay.[99]

He called this lining the "thickness of the metal."[100] This was the solution to a problem which had been giving sculptors headaches for a very long time - the problem of calculating exactly the amount of bronze that would be needed to make a certain casting. Since Leonardo's method allowed the sculptor to apply the lining in the female mould at a uniform thickness throughout the mould, all he had to do to calculate the exact amount of bronze needed, was to find the ratio between the weight of the material used for the lining and that of the bronze which was to replace it. Once this lining or "thickness of the metal" was in place throughout the female mould, the remaining space inside the female mould would be filled with heat-resistant refractory clay. When this was completely dry, the whole structure would be taken apart again and the "thickness of the metal" would be completely removed. Everything would be reassembled and wax would be cast into the hollow left by the "thickness of the metal" in order to obtain a wax countermodel of the original.[101] Iron gaggers inside the male as well as the female moulds would keep the male and female moulds in register once the "thickness of the metal" had been removed.[102]

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The wax countermodel allowed the artist to check for deficiencies in the casting and to perfect the model. This meant that the casting of an equestrian monument was no longer just a high-level manual labour, but a creative work that demanded the presence and intervention of the artist. Over the wax countermodel a new female mould of heat resistant refractory clay would be made, which would include the vents and casting spouts.[103] At this stage the mould would be ready to be fired in the furnace to remove the wax. This meant that Leonardo had to make plans for the transportation of the colossal mould to the casting pit and also for its position in the pit.

Folio 154 recto of Codex Madrid II and folio 216 verso-a of Codex Atlanticus clearly show how thorough Leonardo was in his planning of the frames which he would use to transport and to lower the mould into the casting pit.[104] From folio 154 recto we also gather that the female mould would have to be transported separately from the male mould which was to go inside it. This meant that the female mould or casting hood as it is called by foundrymen, was an open hood as was commonly used for casting cannon at that time.

The precise position in which the colossal horse would be cast gave Leonardo a great deal of trouble. He wanted to cast it upside-down to allow proper distribution of the molten bronze as we see from folio 149 recto of the Codex Madrid II. This would require digging a casting pit so deep that it would encounter the water table and create too much humidity in the mould. Leonardo considered two possibilities to solve this problem. The first would be to waterproof the casting hood. Notes for this method of solving the demoisturizing problem are found on folio's 145 recto, paragraph 1 and 143 recto, paragraph 2 of the Codex Madrid II.[105] The second was a suggestion which we find on folio 151 verso of the Codex Madrid II which states: "The 20th of December 1493 I have decided to cast the horse without tail and lying down, (a diacere), because measuring the horse 12 braccia, if it is cast upright, the water would be as near as one braccio. And I cannot take away the soil, and humidity could harm the form that will remain many hours under the earth and the head one braccio from the water could get impregnated by water, and the cast would not succeed ...."[106] The first method would necessitate a simple layout of two rectangular and two circular furnaces, with tubes connecting the furnaces to holes in the mould to carry the molten bronze as shown on folio 149 recto of the Codex Madrid II. The four legs of the horse

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would serve as the main air-vents. The second method of casting the figure on its side required a much more complicated layout of the furnaces as can be seen in the drawing on folio 151 verso of the Codex Madrid II and on Windsor folio 12350. Here we see no less than six furnaces placed at different angles around the horse.[107] The study of the hind-quarters of a horse within a mould on Windsor folio 12351 verso also shows the horse cast on its side, since the casting tubes all rise from the right side of the horse.

In November 1493 the completed clay model was exhibited on the Piazza del Castello in Milan on the occasion of the marriage of the Emperor Maximilian to Bianca Maria Sforza. At about this time bronze was laboriously being collected throughout Italy by Ludovico's agents for the casting of the statue. It seems that the mould had also been completed since Lord Clark points out that Ercole d' Este's reference to a "forma" as opposed to a "modello", which he wanted to buy in 1501 refers to the completed mould.[108] But the statue was never to be cast. In November 1494 Ludovico presented the bronze which was intended for the casting of the statue to Ercole d' Este for casting guns.[109] Leonardo was never to see his elaborate specifications put to the test. Later he was to write to Ludovico, "del cauallo nō dirō niēte, perchè cogniosco i tēpi ...."[110] Towards the end of 1499 the downfall of Ludovico Sforza became imminent when the French invaded Milan. Leonardo's clay model of the horse, which at this time was still standing in the Corte Vecchio of the Castello in Milan, became the target of the Gascon archers after Ludovico's capture. Eventually it was completely destroyed.

For his second equestrian monument, that for Marshal Gian Giacomo Trivulzio the condottiere who overthrew Leonardo's former patron, Ludovico Sforza, Leonardo evolved some brilliant solutions to the equestrian problem. He not only made ample use of the experience he had gained while working on the Sforza project, but carried his graphic ideas of prancing horses, which he had used for his painting "The Battle of the Anghiari" through to monumental form.

Heydenreich points out that Leonardo was back in Milan in 1506 to discuss a commission with the French Governor, Charles d' Amboise, and stayed there until August 1507, in which time he could have met Gian Giacomo Trivulzio and discussed his proposed sepulchral monument with him.[111] The idea of an elaborate sepulchral monument appears for the first time in Trivulzio's second testament dated 22

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spectator while the rider looks in front of him and has his right hand stretched out before him with a baton. The prostrate foe seems to be crawling out under the horse, leaning on his left arm and warding off the horse's hoofs with a shield in his right arm. Such a composition was very frontal, which meant its best vantage point would be from the right. To solve this problem, Leonardo turned the head and upper part of the rider's body to the left in the next design on Windsor folio 12355, which shows the prancing horse and rider without the base.

At this point Leonardo regarded the position of the rider as integrally related to the horse and not as a mere appendage as he had done with the Sforza monument. The most important compositional problem was the empty spaces behind the back of the rider and under the belly of the prancing horse. In these early drawings the empty space below the belly of the horse remained in spite of the crouching figure, because the line formed by his back cut him off from the horseman. One solution would have been to increase the curve of his back and push the crouching figure deeper beneath the belly of the prancing horse. This is exactly what Leonardo did in the third design on Windsor folio 12355. At the same time he also partly solved the problem of the empty space behind the back of the rider by filling it with the outstretched right arm of the rider.[116] A small sketch stuck on the top of Windsor folio 12353 shows the same solutions to these problems, and therefore connects Windsor folio 12353 with folio 12355.

From here on we also find a growing pre-occupation with the form of the base. Leonardo had to design a structurally strong base which could easily support the bulk and weight of the bronze equestrian statue. Initially Leonardo wanted to keep the sarcophagus fully exposed and therefore limited the framing elements to four slender columns supporting the base on which the equestrian figure was to stand, but for structural reasons he doubled the number of columns in the final estimate.[117] Leonardo experimented with the solution of reducing the space above the sarcophagus by introducing an arch. As Heydenreich pointed out, the design of the base and especially the use of bound captives around the base in this third drawing seems to have been inspired by Michelangelo's design for the tomb of Pope Julius II in Rome.[118] On Windsor folio 12353 the idea of a free-standing sepulchral chapel crowned by an equestrian monument

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September 1507.[112] Shortly afterwards Leonardo compiled an unusually detailed estimation of the cost of the monument under the heading "Sepulchro di Messer Giovani Jacomo da Treuulzo".[113] The exact date when this monument was commissioned is not known, as the sheet in the Codex Atlanticus containing it is undated and there is no other reference to it in contemporary sources. From this estimate however, we learn that a life-size equestrian statue was to stand on an elaborate base containing a sarcophagus with a figure of the deceased in stone on the lid of the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus was not only to be supported by sculptured figures but it was also to be surrounded by eight almost life-size sculptures of bound slaves. At the same time that the estimate was compiled, Leonardo seems also to have made drawings of possible solutions for the construction of the monument. Two drawings in the Windsor collection namely those on folios 12353 and 12355 seem to correspond closely with the description in the estimate.[114]

The exact sequence of the drawings for the Trivulzio monument is very difficult to determine, since none are dated. In my opinion the earliest drawings for the Trivulzio monument seem to be those on Windsor folio 12355, which show three variations of an equestrian sepulchral monument as well as a rider on a prancing horse. Leonardo knew that this equestrian figure was only to be life-size, which meant that a rider on a prancing horse would be feasible. He had gained much experience with the representation of the prancing horse while he was working on "The Battle of the Anghiari" in Florence prior to his coming to Milan again, and he therefore saw the use of such a figure in his composition as a challenge. Further he also knew that at that date no equestrian statue with a prancing horse existed and that if he could execute one, he would not only surpass the Gattamelata and Colleoni monuments in technical skill, but he would also create something which he believed did not exist in the round in Antiquity since no example had survived.

From the earliest drawing on Windsor folio 12355, that drawn in the lower right-hand corner, we see that Leonardo revived an idea which he had touched on while working on the Sforza monument namely that of the prancing horse rearing over a fallen foe who defends himself with a shield.[115] The equestrian figure is placed on an elaborate base containing the sarcophagus, but no recumbent effigy is indicated. The head of the horse is turned slightly towards the

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and surrounded by seated figures, is investigated.[119] Leonardo investigated various possibilities for a base for the monument, amongst others also a circular colonnade which has been compared to Bramante's Tempietto.[120] The interesting fact about this design is that the monument is crowned with a pacing horse instead of a prancing horse, which proves that Leonardo considered both possibilities concurrently - the prancing as well as the pacing horse.

Leonardo returned to Milan between April and August 1508 and stayed there until September 1513. It was during this time that he seriously began his systematic planning of the Trivulzio monument. It is inevitable that he must have relied heavily upon the experience which he gathered during his work on the Sforza and Anghiari projects. Numerous drawings of horses which date from this period bear witness to his pre-occupation with the position of the rider as well as the stance of the horse. Drawings such as those on Windsor folio's 12313, 12309 recto, 12300 and 12291 recto show that he again made detailed studies of horses from nature.[121] Leonardo starts off with a thorough study of the horses of Antiquity, especially the Regisole in Pavia and the horses of San Marco in Venice.[122] The first drawing, in a series in which he examines the classical diagonal placing of the legs of the horse, is that on Windsor folio 12341.[123] He then seemed to remember that he had used a similar horse in a drawing for the Sforza monument, namely the red chalk under-drawing on Windsor folio 12346 recto, and he traced it through onto the back. The same rider with his baton resting on his saddle is used. The idea of resting the baton on the saddle was new and would later become very common in the representation of pacing horses.

While Leonardo was tracing Windsor folio 12356 recto, he must have seen an equestrian figure on an antique gem or coin which fascinated him, and he jotted down the outlines of the horse and rider next to the red chalk drawing he was tracing.[124] This rough sketch is finished in greater detail at the bottom of Windsor folio 12359, which shows a horse with both hind legs firmly planted on the ground as if he is being reined in, while he is pawing the ground with his left fore-leg. With this figure Leonardo tried to find a compromise between the prancing and the pacing horse. Especially noteworthy is the position of the rider, who is represented in the antique convention showing a billowing cloak and right arm thrown back. The hint of the cloak flying in the breeze later became the

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conventional way of suggesting movement. Leonardo must have been satisfied that this figure solved his problem of filling the empty space behind the rider's back, because he later used it again on Windsor folios 12344 and 12360 but with different types of horses.

For some or other reason Leonardo was not quite satisfied with the overall composition of the figure at the bottom of Windsor folio 12359 and he returned to the type of the tracing on Windsor folio 12356 verso. At the top of Windsor folio 12359 Leonardo draws a pacing horse but with fore and hind legs on the same side, advancing together. As Lord Clark has pointed out, this was a trick taught to horses in classical riding schools and was supposed to give a more dignified motion.[125] Here Leonardo struggled with a specific artistic problem namely the portrayal of the gait of the pacing horse. The problem lies therein that the natural gait of the pacing horse is not suitable for artistic sculptural purposes since on the one side the horse will have two legs almost touching each other while on the other side they are wide apart. Windsor folios 12359 and 12360 show how intensively Leonardo searched for a solution to this problem, trying to find a gait which would look correct and natural but at the same time be aesthetically pleasing. On Windsor folios 12344 verso and recto Leonardo however again returned to the diagonal movement of the legs. This then seems to be the position of the legs which he finally settled for, since it appears again on Windsor folios 12342, 12360, 12356 recto and 12343.

On Windsor folio 12342 Leonardo experimented further with the position of the rider and used a motif which he had not tried before, namely that of the rider looking back over his shoulder while he is pointing forward. Meanwhile Leonardo had not neglected the design of the prancing horse. Windsor folio 12357 as well as the engraving after small-scale models in the British Museum show that Leonardo had conceived various possibilities for the prancing horse in the round.[126] These designs show various solutions for the support of the horse, such as the use of a tree-stump and figures of a fallen foe. The upper left hand drawing on the British Museum engraving shows a motif which Leonardo also used on Windsor folios 12360 and 12354, namely a rider with his right arm raised to strike the prostrate foe.[127]

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Windsor folio 12360 seems to be an assessment which Leonardo had made for himself of the designs which he had considered up to that point. The large drawing on this folio, that of a prancing horse, is one of Leonardo's final solutions to the problem of the representation of the prancing horse. Here we see that the figure of the prostrate foe is now lying on his back and trying to push back the horse with his legs rather than defending himself with his shield. Lord Clark has rightly pointed out that in this design "the space (between the horse's legs) is filled by the vanquished man's legs, which continue the line of the rider and in the interlacing of knee and arm echo the arabesque of the rider's arms and cloak. The composition, instead of depending on one emphatic diagonal, depends on two diagonals crossing, one made up of two broad curves, the other of an arabesque."[128] In this drawing the horse faces the spectator which meant that the figure would have one main point of view namely from the right. Leonardo corrected this mistake on Windsor folio 12354, where the head of the horse is turned in the opposite direction to that of the rider. These final solutions were applied to figures in the round as exemplified by the bronze horse and rider in the Szépmüvészeti Museum in Budapest and the London horse, which have both been attributed to Leonardo da Vinci.[129]

It has however, been revealed that Leonardo did not only rely on the figure of a prostrate foe to support the prancing horse. While examining the London horse, Jeannerat discovered that "the centre of gravity of the horse is exactly above the two hind hoofs; the horse balances at the correct angle ..."[130] In these bronze statuettes we therefore see Leonardo's brilliant final solution, a solution whereby he made use of the idea of spreading and flattening out the hind legs under the belly of the horse to distribute the massive weight of the horse and rider over a larger area, thereby eliminating the tendency of the figure to pitch forward.

For Leonardo's final solution to the problem of the pacing horse, we must return to Windsor folio 12360 as well as folios 12356 recto and 12343. The pen and ink drawing of a pacing horse at the bottom left-hand corner of Windsor folio 12360 shows a rider with his right arm thrown back and a cloak billowing behind him. The left foreleg of the horse rests on an overturned pitcher to suggest movement and the space beneath the belly of the horse is partially filled with the right hind leg of the horse. For some or other unknown reason

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Leonardo dropped the idea of the classical figure and turned to the Renaissance convention with the figure in armour as in the Gattamelata statue. This is apparent in the pen and ink over-drawing on Windsor folio 12356 recto. Apart from the rider being in pseudoclassical armour, the head of the horse has been turned towards the spectator. The same is true of the equestrian figure on Windsor folio 12343, which I believe is the final sketch for the Trivulzio monument.[131] This fact is confirmed by a small sixteenth century bronze statuette of Trivulzio in the Museo civico in Milan, as well as a miniature on a manuscript from the Biblioteca Trivulziana, which shows a rider dressed in contemporary armour on a restfully pacing horse, greatly resembling the last designs of Leonardo.[132] Especially noteworthy is the fact that the rider of the small bronze statuette in the Museo civico in Milan has his commander's baton resting on his right thigh and his feet set firmly in the stirrups, a feature which was later to become prominent in most of the equestrian statues of absolute rulers.[133]

Although the Trivulzio monument was never executed, the problems which Leonardo solved while working on this project had a profound influence on the form of all later equestrian monuments. Numerous small models after Leonardo's designs were made and sometimes cast in bronze. These models were preserved as desirable objects of study in many studios, where they were copied by students in the ensuing years.[134]

A very important event in the development of the equestrian monument towards the end of the Renaissance period was Michelangelo's re-erection of the classical equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol in Rome in 1538-39.[135] Until this date most equestrian statues were placed on tall pedestals or triumphal arches.[136] Contrary to the tradition, Michelangelo (1475 - 1564) set the statue on a low plinth so that the statue counted for more in the general effect than did the architecture of the base. With this new form which brought the horseman nearer to the observer's eye-level, a new purpose for the equestrian monument was born.

Although Michelangelo never himself completed an equestrian statue, mention must here be made of a bronze horse which he is supposed to have created for the Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino in 1537 - that is to say a year before he started with the removal of the Marcus

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Aurelius statue to the Campidoglio. Further there is also the commission for an equestrian monument of Henri II of France which his wife Catherine de Medici gave Michelangelo in 1559.[137] Michelangelo however gave the commission to Daniele da Volterra (c. 1509 - 1566), one of his pupils. When Da Volterra died only the horse was cast and it was then taken to Paris where the French sculptor, Pierre Biard the Younger (c. 1592 - 1661), fitted it with a figure of Louis XIII. It was unveiled on the Place Royale in 1639 but was destroyed in 1793 during the French Revolution.[138]

From the middle of the sixteenth century the place of the condottiere was taken over by the absolute monarch. With the growth of the idea of absolute monarchy, the equestrian monument consciously began to follow the Imperial Roman example for equestrian monuments and thereby became a public assertion of dynastic authority. The new demands made by the new approach to the equestrian figure left the sculptor with new problems to solve, especially regarding form and function of the monument. These will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

The Renaissance must be seen as a period of transition for the equestrian monument from its traditional association with the sepulchral monument to its new function as a symbol of authority and as an independent form for the commemoration and honouring of a ruler. Theoretically Leonardo da Vinci found the ultimate solutions for most of the technical and aesthetic problems of this sculptural form, but it was left to the heirs of the Renaissance tradition to put these solutions into practice.

FOOTNOTES

1. Although the earliest equestrian representations for the tombs of military leaders or Condottieri as they were called in Italy were reliefs and painted figures such as the Tomb of Guglielmus in the Church of the SS. Annunziata in Florence, Simone Martini's fresco of Guidoriccio dei Fogliani in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena and Jacopo della Quercia's painted panel of Giovanni d'Azzo Ubaldini, perhaps executed as part of the catafalque in the Duomo in Siena, free-standing examples also seem to have existed. Reference must here be made to a description of an equestrian statue placed above a marble tomb in the Ermitani,

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early in the fourteenth century. See Scardeone, B.: De antiquitate urbis Patavii, libri tres, eiusdem appendix. De sepulchris insignibus exterorum Patavii iacentium, p. 312. It represented a knight, supposedly Francesco Frassalasta, who charges with his lance. Mention must also be made of the relief with the equestrian figure of Pierro Farnese in the cathedral in Florence, which was planned as early as 1367 but was only executed thirty years later and survived into the early nineteenth century. See Chapter 4, p. 138 above.

2. See Chapter 4, p. 117 above.

3. Friis, H.: Rytterstatuens Historie i Europa fra Oldtiden indtil Thorvaldsen, p. 130.

4. Bauch, K.: Das mittelalterliche Grabbild, p. 193 : "Ähnlich dürfte das Reiterbild des Gian Tedesco (+ 1393) ausgesehen haben, das der junge Jacopo della Quercia geschaffen hatte. Es war innen an der Eingangswand des Domes zu Siena angebracht, ob in Verbindung mit einem Sarkophag, ist wahrscheinlich, aber nicht überliefert ...".

5. Vasari, G.: The lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, vol. I : Hinds, A.B.: Vasari's Lives of the painters, sculptors and architects, p. 210. Vasari seems to have been unaware of similar equestrian figures in the churches in France in the fourteenth century. See Chapter 4, p. 119 above.

6. Seymour, C.: Jacopo della Quercia, p. 17: "Given the temporary Sienese-Milanese political alliance, Jacopo might well have found employment in the ranks of stone sculptors who were then being drawn from most of Europe to the workshops of the Milanese Duomo."

7. Pope-Hennessy, J.: Introduction to Italian Sculpture - Italian Gothic Sculpture, vol. I, p. 48.

8. Vasari, G.: Op. cit., p. 210: "In this style the models for sculptures are made today to the great convenience of artists who in this way always have a model before them of the exact proportions of the sculptures upon which they are engaged." It

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seems to have been common practice later during the Renaissance for sculptors to make the models for their equestrian figures from wood. See p. 150.

9. Tizio, S.: Historiae Senenses, B 1118.

10. Valentiner, W.R.: The Equestrian statue of Paolo Savelli in the Frari, The Art Quarterly, vol. 16 (1953), p. 282.

11. Wooden equestrian figure of Paolo Savelli, 2,3 m high, interior of the Basilica of the Frari, Venice. (See fig. 65.)

12. Valentiner, W.R.: Op. cit., p. 283.

13. It was these characteristics which caused W.R. Valentiner to attribute this monument to a master sculptor such as Jacopo della Quercia. See Valentiner, W.R.: Op. cit., p. 283.

14. A revealing pen drawing of a bridled horse attributed to Jacopo della Quercia and which is at present in the collection of Sir Thomas Merton in Maidenhead, resembles the horse of Savelli in certain details such as the mane, the pose and the hind quarters. See Freytag, C.: Beiträge zum Werk des Francesco Valdambrino, Pantheon, 29 (1971), p. 378.

15. Schaeffer, A.: Ross und Reiter, ihre Darstellung in der plastischen Kunst, p. 46 : "Die dankbare Republik ehrte ihn mit einem Reiterstandbild aus vergoldetem Holz ..." and Valentiner, W.R.: Op. cit., p. 281: "In some descriptions it is said that the horse was originally gilded, which would mean that it was an imitation of gilded bronze."

16. Freytag, C.: Op. cit., p. 376 : "Auf Jacopo della Quercia weisen das zartgliedrige Adernetz, das den Körper des Tieres überzieht, die sorgfältig gewellte Mähne, der sensibel durchgestaltete Kopf und die hervorragende Proportionierung des Leibes .... Das kompakte Volumen der Reiterfigur, dessen Gewand aus schwerem, dickem Stoff in breiten Röhrenfalten zu beiden Seiten des Sattels herunterfällt, lässt sich mit den Gestaltungen Quercias nicht in Verbindung bringen, sondern erinnert an die Skulpturen Valdambrinos."

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17. Stone equestrian tombstatue of Cortesia Serego, 2,2 m high, interior of the church of St Anastasia, Verona. (See fig. 66.)

18. Cipolla, C.: Ricerche storiche intorno alla chiesa di Sta. Anastasia in Verona, Archivio Veneto, 19 (1880), chapt. 3, pp. 225 - 227. Janson's dating of 1432 is incorrect and is probably taken from the inscription which records the date when the surrounding fresco was completed. See Janson, H.W.: The equestrian monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great, Sixteen Studies, p. 158. Concrete proof that the statue already existed in 1429 is found in the second will of Cortesia's son which on 28 April 1429 refers to the completed monument. See Arch. Not. di Verona, M. XXI., No. 67.

19. Meyer, A.G.: Das Venezianische Grabdenkmal der Frührenaissance, Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 10 (1889), p. 92 and Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 133. Biadego wrongly attributes it to Antonio da Firenze. See Biadego, G.: Pisanus Pictor, Atti del R. Instituto Veneto, 72 (1912-13), pp. 1322 - 1323.

20. Marble equestrian monument of Spinetta Malaspina, 899,2 x 487,7 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No. 191 - 1887. (See fig. 67.) See Pope-Hennessy, J.: Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum, vol. I, pp. 366 - 368.

21. Pope-Hennessy, J.: Op. cit., p. 366.

22. From a line engraving by Penuti reproduced by Orti Manara in "Di alcuni veronesi guerrieri che fiorirono di tempi Scaligeri", Verona, 1842, plate ii, we see that the tablet at the apex of the tent originally bore the words: "M. PINETAE FVNDATORI ANNO MCCCLII."

23. Stone equestrian figure of Lelo II Camponeschi, 2,0 m high, interior of the church of S. Giuseppe, Aquila. (See fig. 68.)

24. Bauch, K.: Op. cit., p. 194: "Der Künstler war Gualterio d'Alemania, der schon seit 1412 Gräbmaler für abruzzische Familien geschaffen hatte, ein deutscher Bildhauer, der von

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Venturi 6, 1908, 63 mit dem am Mailänder Dom tätigen Walter Monich oder Walter von München identifiziert worden ist."

25. See Chapter 4, pp. 110 and 113 above.

26. Keller, U. : Reitermonumente absolutistischer Fürsten, p. 5 and Haftmann, W. : Das Italienische Säulenmonument, p. 145: "Das erste Denkmal als Freimonument, wieder ein Reiterstandbild, wurde erst um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts in Ferrara errichtet."

27. See Chapter 3, p. 79 above.

28. This fresco was begun in 1436, perhaps under the guidance of Uccello's friend, Donatello and though only a mural, it not only established a new schema for honouring a figure on horseback, but it also opened a new interest in the problems of the equestrian figure for the Florentine sculptors of the time. (See fig. 69.)

29. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 139. Both sculptors were students of Brunelleschi.

30. Alberti showed so much interest in the statue of Nicoló, that he dedicated his thesis "De equo animante" to Lionello. It also seems that he was responsible for the design of the pedestal for the statue. See Venturi, A.: Un'opera sconosciuta di Leon Battista Alberti, L'Arte, 17 (1914), p. 153. (See fig. 70.)

31. The only exception to this rule, in intention if not in reality, is the marble equestrian monument which the Romans decreed for Giovanni Vitelleschi in 1426; it was to be placed in Capitolio but the decree was never carried out. See Haftmann, W.: Op. cit., p. 144.

32. Bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata on a marble pedestal, height of statue: 340 cm, height of pedestal: 780 cm, Piazza del Santo, Padua. (See fig. 71.)

33. Vasari, G.: The lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects: Hinds, A.B.: Op. cit., p. 307: "It happened at this time that

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the Signoria of Venice, hearing of Donatello's fame, sent for him to make a monument to Gattamelata." It is impossible to say through which channel the Signoria of Venice heard about Donatello, but G. Fiocco in his article "La statue equestre del Gattamelata", Il Santo, 3 (September - December 1961), attributes an important role in the summoning of Donatello to Padua and the commissioning of the monument to Palla Strozzi, who lived in exile at Padua from 1434 to 1464 and was a friend of the da Narni family. It is also a known fact that Palla's son, Onofri, managed the administrative side of the work on the Gattamelata monument.

34. See p. 144 above.

35. Janson, H.W.: The Sculpture of Donatello, p. 156: "Although Gattamelata himself had obviously imagined a comparatively modest tomb inside the church, his executors may very well have decided that nothing but an equestrian monument out in the open air, patterned on the tombs of the Scaligeri in Verona, was sufficiently in keeping with the Magnificentia of the Captain."

36. Preliminary examinations of Classical equestrian figures could well have been done in 1442 when Donatello planned his model for the projected equestrian monument for King Alfonso I of Aragon for the niche in the triumphal arch on the north side of the Castel Nuovo in Naples. See Rolfs, W.: Der Neapler Pferdekopf und das Reiterdenkmal für König Alfons, Jahrbuch der königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen 29 (1908), pp. 123-136.

37. Janson, H.W.: Op. cit., p. 161. Donatello likely saw the models for the new Nicoló d'Este monument in Ferrara when he passed through there in 1443. See Haftmann, W.: Op. cit., p. 145.

38. Castelfranco. G.: Donatello, p. 60.

39. The one head which is at present in the Archaeological Museum in Florence is recorded as one of the objects confiscated from the Medici in 1495, while the other head, which is now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples and which came from the Palazzo Carafa in Naples, was in fact a gift from Lorenzo de Medici to

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Diomede Carafa. This head was incorrectly attributed to Donatello. See Chapter 2, p. 37 above.

40. Rolfs, W.: Op. cit., p. 130.

41. Janson, H.W.: Donatello and the Antique, Sixteen Studies, p. 265.

42. Vasari, G.: Introduction to the Lives; Maclehose, L.S.: Vasari on Technique, pp. 148 - 166.

43. Maclehose, L.S.: Op. cit., p. 150.

44. Wooden horse, 350 cm high, Palazzo della Ragione, Padua. (See fig. 72.) See Friis, H. Op. cit., p. 148; Venturi, A.: Storia dell' arte italiana. vol VI, p. 313; Weizsäcker, H. von: Das Pferd in der Kunst des Quattrocento, Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen 7 (1886), p. 170. The wooden horse which Vasari mentions in his "Lives" couldn't have been as large as this horse since it stood in the house of the count Capodilista. See Vasari, G. (Hinds, A.B.): Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects, p. 308: "In the house of one of the Counts of Capodilista he (Donatello) made the skeleton of a horse of wood without glue which may still be seen, in which the joints are so well made that he who reflects upon the method of such work may form an opinion of the capacity of the brain and the greatness of the spirit of the author."

45. Burckhardt, J.: Der Cicerone, p. 471 and Semper, H.: Donatellos Leben und Werke, p. 86.

46. Scardeone, B.: Op. cit., p. 296: "Accedat his insigne monimentum Hanibalis Capilistii, ob memorabile spectaculum, quod maxima pompa, et ingenti sumptu in hastilibus ludis Patavii, anno salutis M.CCC.LXVI. celebratis publice edidit, quos fere Italiae universa nobilitas spectatum venerat. Nam equum ex trabibus ab Donatello eximio illius temporis statuario, mirabili arte compactum, cui Antenoris simulachrum ingebtis staturae insidebat, instar montis et equi illius dolosi (quo Graeci Troiam post longam decem annorum oppugnationem armis alioquin

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invictam coepisse dicuntur) maximo apparatu, et admiribili pompa vexit in theatrum ..." See also Gasparotto, C.: Padua, p. 78.

47. Castelfranco. G.: Op. cit., p. 60

48. Janson mentions the names of Bernardino della Seta, Giampiero of Padua, Piero di Giovanni da Como and Batista and Giorgio da Scutari. See Janson H.W.: The Sculpture of Donatello, p. 152.

49. Cannon-Brookes, P.: Verrocchio Problems, Apollo, 143 (Jan. 1974), p. 15.

50. Janson H.W.: Op. cit., p. 155.

51. The eleven parts are as follows A. THE HORSE: i. the head and neck, ii. the chest, right front leg and belly, iii. the left front leg and the ball on which it rests, iv. the hind part, v. the tail. B. THE RIDER: vi. the head, vii. the upper body until the hips, viii. the right arm with baton, ix. the left arm, x. the lower part of the body including the legs and saddle, xi. the sword and trappings of the horse.

52. Janson H.W.: Op. cit., p. 151.

53. Janson remarks that "the chasing of the cast was in all likelihood completed several years before 1453 since little could have been done after 1450". See Janson, H.W.: Op. cit., p. 155.

54. Janson H.W.: Op. cit., p. 155.

55. (See fig. 73.) The fact that Colleoni made provision for an equestrian figure over his tomb in the Cappella Colleoni in Bergamo supports the fact that Verrocchio's monument was originally conceived as a free-standing commemorative monument with no funerary implications. The tomb in Bergamo seems to have been completed over a long period of time by Amadeo, while the equestrian figure above the sarcophagus was carved out of wood in 1501 by a Nuremberg sculptor called "Sisto Siry" in Italian sources. See Decker, H.: The Renaissance in Italy, p. 106.

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56. Passavant, G.: Verrocchio, p. 63 tells us that "it was four years after his death, on 30 June 1479, that the discussions began for the fulfilment of this behest".

57. One of these drawings is at present in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. In 1886 Weizsäcker referred to these sketches as follows: "Was die meist in ganz kleinem Format gezeichneten Pferdeskizzen Verrocchio's - sie finden sich vornehmlich auf den Blättern der Sammlung des Herzogs von Aumale, drei Pferde auch auf einem Blatte des Berliner Kupferstichkabinets - als gemeinsame Eigentümlichkeit erkennen lassen, bildet, wenn auch keinen Typus im Sinne geistloser Wiederholung, so doch eine Grundform in der Verstellung des Meisters, welche mit ihrer derben Struktur, ihren stark geschwellten Extremitätengelenken, der breiten Brust und dem schmal zulaufenden, scharfgeformten Kopf fast Zug für Zug bei dem Colleoni, nur in erheblich grösserem Massstabe wiederkehrt." See Weizsäcker, H. von: Op. cit., p. 170.

58. Isermeyer, C.A.: Verrocchio und Leopardi, p. 26.

59. Janson, H.W.: The equestrian monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great, Sixteen Studies, p. 165; Grossmann, O.: Das Reiterbild im Malerei und Plastik, p. 64; Isermeyer, C.A.: Op. cit., p. 17 and Graevenitz, G. von : Gattamelata und Colleoni und ihre Beziehungen zur Kunst.

60. Passavant, G.: Op. cit., p. 63; Seymour, C.: The Sculpture of Verrocchio, p. 63 and Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 49.

61. Seymour, C.: Op. cit., - Appendix II; Sheard, W.S.: Note on the Proportions of the Base of the Colleoni Monument, p. 182.

62. Passavant, G.: Op. cit., p. 186.

63. The book of the Wanderings of Felix Fabri, 1483, I, p. 95.

64. Vasari, G.: Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects ; Bull, G.: Giorgio Vasari - Lives of the Artists, p. 237: "... it was decided that Vallano da Padova should make the figure and

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Andrea the horse. When he heard this, Andrea smashed the legs and head of his model..."

65. Passavant, G.: Op. cit., p. 186.

66. During the First World War the Colleoni statue was removed from its pedestal and taken to Rome. Scholars then had the opportunity to examine the work more closely. Colasanti, who examined the bronze after the rider had been separated from the horse, found that the thickness of the bronze varied between 2,3 cm and 4 cm at places. He also found that the limbs of the horse were solidly cast which pointed to a certain degree of inexperience with bronze casting. See Colasanti. A.: Bollettino d'Arte, (1918), p. 242.

67. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 162. This monument had a profound influence on later equestrian monuments, especially those which were designed north of the Alps. The earliest of these was the proposed monument to Emperor Maximilian I. Some time after 1500 the Emperor Maximilian I gave the bishop of the Ulrichskirche in Augsburg, Konrad Mörlin, a large sum of money to erect a suitable monument to his honour in the church. It was decided that a stone equestrian statue of the emperor would be erected in front of the choir of St Ulrich. The artist Hans Burgkmair was asked to prepare a design for the monument. He must have seen the Colleoni statue during a visit to Venice, because his designs have much in common with the Colleoni statue. In October 1509 a block of stone was brought to Augsburg so that the chosen sculptor, Gregor Erhard, could start with the work. Konrad Mörlin's successors, however, used the money for other purposes and the monument was never executed. Only a number of drawings and etchings for the design of the monument by Hans Burgkmair as well as a bronze model of the horse now in Berlin, have survived. See Anzelewsky, F.: Ein unbekannter entwurf Hans Burgkmairs für das Reiterdenkmal Kaiser Maximilians, Festschrift für Peter Metz, pp. 295-304; Weihrauch, H.R.: Europäische Bronzestatuetten, p. 293 and Habich, G.: Das Reiterdenkmal Kaiser Maximilians I in Augsburg, Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, 8 (1913), pp. 255-262.

68. Passavant, G.: Op. cit., p. 65.

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69. Müller-Walde, P.: Beitrage zur Kenntnis des Leonardo da Vinci, Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 18 (1897). p. 92; 19 (1898), p. 225; 20 (1899), p. 81; Malaguzzi-Valeri, L.: Le Corte di Ludovico il Moro, vol. II, (1915), p. 460; Meller, S.: Die Reiterdarstellungen Leonardo's und die Budapester Bronzestatuette, Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 37 (1916). p. 213; Popp, A.E.:Leonardo's Reiterprojekte, Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, 60 (1926/27), p. 55; Heydenreich, L.H.: Leonardo, p. 114; Müller, T.: Leonardo da Vinci. Il Cavallo; Heydenreich, L.H.: Bemerkungen zu den Entwürfen Leonardos für das Grabmal des Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, Festschrift für Theodor Müller, p. 179. and Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Leonardo da Vinci drawings at Windsor Castle, vol. I, pp. xxxii-xli.

70. Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. xxxii.

71. Castelfranco, G.: Storia di Milano, vol. VIII, p. 51.

72. It is possible that he had seen the horses on Pollaiuolo's new painting "The Martyrdom of St Sebastian" in Florence and which is at present in the National Gallery in London and decided that he wanted an elaborate sepulchral monument showing a horse similar to those in the painting. We know that his initial idea was for a sepulchral monument since in a letter written by Pietro Alemanni to Lorenzo de Medici on 20 July 1489 we note the following words: "il signor Lodovico é in animo di fare una degna sepoltura al padre". See McCurdy, E.: Leonardo's Bronze statuette at Burlington House, Burlington Magazine, 56 (March 1930), p. 141. We also know that the horse was to be life-size since a drawing for the Sforza monument from Codex Atlanticus, folio 148 recto-a deals with a base for a life-size statue of Sforza. See Pedretti, C.: A Chronology of Leonardo da Vinci's Architectural Studies after 1500, p. 61. See also footnote 87 below.

73. Designs for an equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, No. 1908,168 and in the Robert Lehman Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York. Vasari refers to the drawings as follows: "After his death was found the design and model for the equestrian monument to Francesco

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Sforza, Duke of Milan, which he had made for Lodovico Sforza." See Ettlinger, L.D.: Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, p. 160.

74. Richter, J.P.: The Literary works of Leonardo da Vinci, vol II, p. 326: "Again, the bronze horse may be taken in hand, which is to be to the immortal glory and eternal honour of the prince your father of happy memory, and of the illustrious house of Sforza."

75. Castiglione, S.: Ricordi, f. 57 recto.

76. Only two of Leonardo's early drawings for the "Adoration", Windsor folios 12325 and 12285 show prancing horses. Both these drawings show timid penmanship and little knowledge of the structure of the horse. The prancing horse on Windsor folio 12325 may well have been taken from a Medicean gem since it shows definite classical inspiration. Professor Simon Meller expressed the opinion that the horses in the background of the "Adoration" could have been added later during Leonardo's stay in Florence, i.e. at the time he was working on the commission for the "Battle of the Anghiari". Could this account for the "absolute mastery over every pose, and great power of movement" which Lord Clark sees in the horse of the Uffizi Adoration and which contrasts so greatly with the early sketches for this painting? See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. xxxiii.

77. Drawing of a rider on a prancing horse, Royal Library, Windsor folio 12358 recto. Lord Clark mentions a second drawing, Windsor folio 12357, as being "one of the first designs submitted by Leonardo for the Sforza Monument". See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 46. It is possible that this drawing is not by Leonardo himself but a copy by a student of one of the scale models which Leonardo later made for the Trivulzio monument. See footnote 126 below. Simon Meller mentioned this possibility, but saw the drawing as a copy of a scale model for the Sforza monument. See Meller, S.: Op. cit., p. 230.

78. Lord Clark has conclusively shown that all the other drawings showing prancing horses such as Windsor folios 12315, 12326 recto, 12328 recto, 12328 verso, 12331, 12334, 12335, 12336, 12337 recto, 12354, 12353, 12355 and 12360 are later and either

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belong to the "Battle of the Anghiari" or the Trivulzio monument. See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., pp. xxxviii-xli.

79. Müller-Walde, P.: Op. cit., 18 (1897), p. 155: "Il signor Lodovico é in animo di fare una degna sepoltura al padre et di giá ha ordinato che Leonardo da Vinci ne facci il modello; cioé uno grandissimo cavallo di bronzo suvi il duca Francesco amato; et per che S. Excellentia vorrebe fare una cosa in superlativo grado, ma decto che per sua parte vi scriva che desiderebbe voi gli mandassi un maestro o due apti a tale opera; et per benché gli abbi commesso questa cosa, in Leonardo da Vinci non mi pare si consuli molto lo suppi condurre."

80. Manuscript C. folio 15 b.: "A di 23 d'aprile 1.4.90 comīciai questo libro e ricomiciai il cavallo". See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., vol. II, p. 8.

81. The drawings in the Royal Library at Windsor which are definitely studies from nature for the Sforza monument are: folios 12286, 12289, 12290, 12294 which refers to a horse of Ludovico's son-in-law, Galeazzo di Sanserverino, 12310, 12317, 12319 in which he divides the horse into sections and jots down measurements, 12320, 12321 and 12333. So also are the drawings in various other museums and libraries such as those in the Palazzo Reale in Turin and the Museum in Budapest. The accuracy with which Leonardo rendered horses and the play of their muscles indicates that he probably dissected them. Vasari refers to a book on the anatomy of horses which was apparently lost. See Vasari, G.: Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects; Bull, G.: Op. cit., p. 264: "Also lost is a little wax model which was held to be perfect together with a reference book which Leonardo composed on the anatomy of horses".

82. In the Codex Atlanticus 147 recto-b we read that Leonardo notes the following in connection with the Regisole: "Di quel di Pavia si lauda. piv. il movimēnto. che nessun altra cosa; Il trotto. é quasi di qualitá di cavallo libero". See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., vol. II, p. 359. This is not the first instance where Leonardo made a study of a bronze horse from antiquity. The drawing Windsor No. 12287 was without doubt made from the antique

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bronze horse head which served as a fountain in the Medici palace and which is at present in the Archaeological Museum in Florence. See footnote 39 above.

83. Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 359: "Doue. manca . la uiuacitá naturale, bisognia farne una accidētale."

84. Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 37. Lord Clark in fact points out that this sketch is a fragment from Codex Atlanticus 147 recto-b, the folio which contains the remark noted in footnote 82 above. The horses in Windsor No. 12344 are also drawings of the Regisole or possibly the horses of San Marco, but they are from a later date.

85. It is interesting to note that Petrarch's description of the Regisole as "the statue of a horse almost running to the top of a hill" co-incides with Paolo Giovio's description of Leonardo's model with the words "vehement life-like action of this horse as if panting". See Heydenreich, L.H.: Marc Aurel und Regisole, Festschrift für Erich Meyer, p. 150: "Vidisses praeterea ex hiis unam, in quibus es tu multus et ego vel nimius sum, eneam scilicet atque inauratam statuam equestrem fori medio quasi cursu concito clivi summam carpentem, tuis olim ut fama est, ereptam Ravennatibus" and Goldschneider, L.: Leonardo da Vinci, p. 29 respectively.

86. In a note Lord Clark says that "A whole series of red chalk drawings for the Sforza horse in the newly discovered M.S. at Madrid, vol. II, is dated May 17th, 1491 and December 20th, 1493. There is no doubt that the red chalk drawing in Codex Atlanticus 216 verso-a, which shows the horse packed for transport, dates from the same period, as confirmed by the writing on the recto." See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. xxvi, ftn. 3. Since the horse in the underdrawing on Windsor folio 12356 recto also has its left-foreleg resting on a pitcher, it must be a design for the Sforza monument. (See fig. 74.)

87. Manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris No. 3141 Manuscript Italien 372. See Malaguzzi-Valeri, F.: Op. cit., p. 463 and Popp, A.E.: Op. cit., p. 62. This miniature confirms

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the elaborate sepulchral setting of the monument as well as the fact that it was only to be life-size.

88. It is possible that Ludovico had seen or come to hear of Verrocchio's Colleoni monument in Venice which was in its final stages of casting and that he wanted something which could rival the Venetian statue.

89. Pacioli, L.: De divina proportione, vol. I. folio I: "La cui altezza dala ceruice a piana terra sonno braccia 12 coie $37\frac{3}{5}$ tanti del qui presente linea a b e tutte la sua ennea massa a lire circa 200 000 ascende." The distance between a b is 19 cm which would make the horse about 7,20 metres high. See Popp, A.E.: Op. cit., p. 53.

90. Forster Manuscript, vol. III, folio 1, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.: "A di 16 di luglio 1493 ... Morel Fioretino di messer Mariolo cauallo grosso a bel collo e assai bella testa." See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. xxxvii. Professor Meller's statement that Leonardo worked for $4\frac{1}{2}$ years on the full-scale model is incorrect as Lord Clark has shown that Codex Atlanticus 315 recto-b on which Meller based his calculation, in actual fact dates from c. 1515. See Meller, S.: Op. cit., p. 216. and Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 112.

91. Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 39. Vasari refers to this with the words "et parlando esso Lionardo de getto, che far volena del suo cauallo, n'ebbe bonissimi documenti". See Vasari, G.: Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects; Bull, G.: Op. cit., p. 267.

92. The two drawings of moulds for casting the horse on Windsor folio 12349 recto have often been mistaken for rearing horses. In fact they are rough sketches of pacing horses drawn in a foreshortened view from the rear to explain the iron gridwork.

93. On folio 157 of the Codex Madrid II which Leonardo dated 17 May 1491 there appears a drawing of the armature of the male and female moulds showing the positioning of the gaggers which were to keep the male and female moulds in precise register during the casting of the horse.

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94. See p. 151 and p. 154 above.

95. Leonardo was fully aware of all the problems relating to the metal casting and was quite capable of devising a new method of casting because at this time he was superintending the manufacture of cannon for Ludovico. See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. xxxvi, ftn. 4.

96. Drawing of the iron armature for the head of a horse, Codex Madrid II. folio 157 recto, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. See also Reti, L.: The two unpublished manuscripts of Leonardo da Vinci in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, I. The Burlington Magazine, 778 (1968), p. 2.

97. In paragraph 2 on folio 148 recto of the Codex Madrid Leonardo wrote the following: "You should prepare a form of three parts for each roundness of any of the limbs; it will be much easier to detach it from the earthen horse." See Reti, L.: The Unknown Leonardo, p. 96. On Windsor folio 12350 there appears a sketch showing three braces which bind the mould and the words: "Ferri che cinga la forma" next to it. See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 5.

98. On the Windsor folios 12347 recto and 12350 Leonardo made notes about the casting procedure. The most applicable here is a note on Windsor folio 12347 recto which reads: "Segnia sopra il cavallo finito tutti li pezzi della forma, di che tu voi vestire tal cavallo, e nello interrare li taglia in ogni interratura, accioche quādo si é finita la forma che tu la possi eavare e poi ricomettere al primo loco colli sua scōtri delli cōtrasegni." See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 6.

99. On Windsor folio 12350 and in the Codex Madrid II folios 144 recto paragraph 6 and 148 recto paragraph 6, Leonardo mentions making this lining in potter's clay while on folio 148 recto paragraph 6 he also mentions wax.

100. On Windsor folio 12350 Leonardo refers to the thickness of the metal as follows: "Quando tu avrai fatto la forma sopra li cauallo e tu farai la grossezza del metallo di terra". See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 5.

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101. A note on folio 352 recto-c of the Codex Atlanticus possibly refers to the use of a wax countermodel for a small figure. It is possible that Leonardo used the same method for his large sculpture. In the price estimate which he gave for the Trivulzio monument, the wax countermodel was included. See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 10: "Per fare il modello di terra e poi di cera."

102. See footnote 92 above.

103. On Windsor folio 12350 Leonardo notes: "Make the vents in the mould while it is on the horse." See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 5. It is interesting to note that Leonardo's method is used to this day. According to the founder Gamberini of Vignali Artistic foundries in Pretori-North, the same basic method is still applied today.

104. On folio 154 recto of the Codex Madrid II below a drawing of a crane devised to lower the mould into the pit, Leonardo made the following note: "This instrument is used to transport and to lower the form. And should you desire to lower it upside down, remove the cross-piece that is used for tying the instrument together and, reinforcing it on the side nearest the form, pull at the feet of the beams that support the half-form at points a and b. However, it would be preferable to detach the half-form; pull it out; and fasten it to the entire instrument, carrying it to the place where it shall be lowered. And in this way, you shall fasten it in an upright, perpendicular position. Then, carry the instrument to the opposite part and, with the frame facing the instrument, secure the form. Once it is lowered with the aid of ropes, turn the form over, face down. You shall proceed further, without any change in the instrument of the form." See Reti, L.: The Unknown Leonardo, p. 105.

105. Windsor folio 12350 contains a reference to waterproofing the mould: "nel dentro di tutta la forma sia inbeuerato olio di lin seme o di tremētina; e poi sia dato vna mano di poluere di borace e di pece greca con acqua vite, e la forma di fori inpeciata, acciochè stādo sotto terra l'umido no la ....". See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 5.

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106. Reti, L.: The two unpublished manuscripts of Leonardo da Vinci in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, I, The Burlington Magazine, 778 (1968), p. 21.

107. Previously these rectangular blocks around the horse could not be explained and most writers took them to be braces.

108. Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 23.

109. Herzfeld, M.: Zur Geschichte des Sforza Denkmals, Raccolta Vinciana, 13, p. 83.

110. Codex Atlanticus, folio 335 verso-b. See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 328: "Of the horse I will say nothing because I know the times (are bad) ...".

111. Heydenreich, L.H.: Bemerkungen zu den Entwürfen Leonardos für das Grabmal des Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, Festschrift für Theodor Muller, p. 179: "In diesem Zeitraum ist er auch Gian Giacomo Trivulzio begegnet, der die Gelegenheit wahrnahm, ihn über sein Grabmalprojekt zu Rate zu ziehen."

112. Heydenreich, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 179 - here the following extract from Trivulzio's testament is reproduced as follows: "corpus vero suum, cum cadaver effectum fuerit, vult et ordinat tradi debere ecclesiastice sepulture ultime in cappella per prefatum dominum testatorem construenda et fondanda in ecclesia vel prope ecclesiam Sancti Nazarii in Brolio Mediolani, pro qua capella construenda et dotanda ac ornanda et uno sepulchro in ea constituendo ....".

113. Codex Atlanticus, folio 179 verso-a. See Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 9: "Spesa della manifattura e materia del cauallo. Vno corsiero grade al naturale coll'omo sopra vuole per la spesa del metallo . duc 500. E per la spesa del ferrameto che ua in el modello e carboni e legname e la fossa per gittarlo e per serrare la forma, e col fornello doue si de' gittare .... duc. 200. Per fare il modello di terra e poi di cera .... duc. 432. E per li lauorati che lo netterano quado fia gittato .... duc. 450."

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114. Lord Clark points out that these drawings were all done with greenish ink in the same style and on the same paper. The type of handwriting also corresponds with that of the estimate. Lord Clark places Windsor folio 12356 recto with this group, but as I have previously pointed out, the underdrawing of this folio belongs with the Sforza monument. See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 42 and footnote 86 above. Popham, E.A.: The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, p. 31 connects these drawings with the Trivulzio monument and the estimate. (See figs. 75 and 76.)

115. See p. 157 above. Lord Clark points out that this must have been drawn first since Leonardo, who was left-handed, worked from right to left on the paper. See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 43.

116. This idea undoubtedly came from an antique gem which Leonardo knew. A cameo which was once in the Medici Collection shows a figure on a rearing horse with his right arm thrown back. See etching in Leonardo Agostini's Le Gemme Antiche Figurate, vol II, No. 1669.

117. Richter, J.P.: Op. cit., p. 10.

118. Heydenreich, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 180: "Darüber hinaus aber erscheint uns eine andere Inspirationsmöglichkeit von weit grösserem Gewicht: der ungewöhnliche Grundgedanke, ein monumental angelegtes, architektonisch und skulptural reich ausgestattetes Grabmal freistehend in einem eigens dafür gebauten Raume zu errichten, war gerade zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Michelangelo's erstem Entwurf für das Juliusgrab in kühnster Weise entwickelt worden."

119. The drawings on this folio originated shortly after those on folio 12355. See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 43.

120. Heydenreich, L.H.: Op. cit., p. 180: "Schon Müller-Walde und neuerdings auch Pedretti heben hervor, dass die gewaltigen, Mausoleum-artigen Unterbauten des Blattes 12353 auf Anregungen zurückgehen, die Leonardo nur aus römischen Architekturn -

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antike Grabbauten einerseits und Bramantes Tempietto andererseits - gewinnen konnte."

121. Lord Clark connects these drawings with the studies Leonardo made from nature for the Trivulzio monument, but also includes Windsor folios 12292, 12293, 12303, 12314 and 12323. See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 13

122. We know that Leonardo visited Venice in December 1499 and again in March 1500. See Goldschneider, L.: Op. cit., p. 41. It is therefore not impossible that during these visits he made a thorough study of the horses on the facade of San Marco in Venice.

123. Lord Clark suggests that this drawing must have been "done from memory simply to indicate the position". See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 35.

124. Lord Clark has pointed out that the tracing on Windsor folio 12356 verso as well as this rough little sketch on Windsor folio 12356 recto are drawn with black chalk, which would mean that the rough little sketch was made at the time of the tracing and not at the time when the main drawing on Windsor folio 12356 recto was made. See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 45.

125. Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op cit., p. 36.

126. Both the etching and Windsor folio 12357 were previously attached to the Sforza project. The engraving is however connected to the Trivulzio monument by the design in the top right hand corner which closely resembles the horse and rider in the Szépmüvészeti Museum in Budapest. (See fig. 77.) The Budapest horse and rider is without doubt a design for the Trivulzio monument. Windsor folio 12357, which, contrary to Lord Clark's opinion, is not by Leonardo but by one of his students, is in many respects the same as the bottom left hand drawing on the British Museum engraving and must therefore also be connected with the Trivulzio monument.

127. See figs. 78 and 79.

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128. Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., p. 48.

129. Jeannerat, P.: A newly discovered statuette by Leonardo da Vinci, Apollo, 19 (1934), pp. 312 - 316.

130. Jeannerat, P.: Op. cit., p. 315.

131. Both Windsor folios 12356 recto and 12343 are considered early drawings for the Trivulzio monument by Lord Clark. See Clark, K. and C. Pedretti: Op. cit., pp. 36 & 45. (See fig. 80.) Iconographic reasons however suggest that they are late.

132. Malaguzzi-Valeri, F. Op. cit., pp. 442, 447 and 455.

133. See fig. 81.

134. Examples of such models are found in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, No. 92, Museo Sibbert, No.'s 4035 and 4036 and in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, No. 11/17. (See fig. 82.) See Weihrauch, H.R.: Die Bildwerke in Bronze und in anderen Metallen, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München, p. 80. Further examples are also to be found in the Museo Estense in Modena, the Jacob Goldschmidt Collection in Berlin, the Backstitz Gallery Collection in Den Haag and in the Paget Collection in London.

135. Salmi, M.: The complete work of Michelangelo, p. 324.

136. Haftmann, W.: Das italienische Säulenmonument. (See Chapter 3, p. 78 and Chapter 4, p. 117.)

137. Weihrauch, H.R.: Europäische Bronzestatuetten, p. 174.

138. Réau, C.: Les monuments détruits de l'art francais, p. 234.

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CHAPTER 6

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE FROM THE BAROQUE TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Although Leonardo da Vinci had solved most of the basic problems of the equestrian monument such as equilibrium, composition, anatomy of the horse and proportions of the monument as a whole in theory during the Renaissance, these solutions had never been practically implemented in full-scale sculpture. What remained for the artists was to tackle the severe technical problems which full-scale compositions involved and to solve them practically. Implementation was slow because conservative patrons often demanded traditional conceptions. The implementation of the various theoretical solutions put foward by Leonardo da Vinci spans the period from the end of the sixteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century. Since literally hundreds of equestrian monuments were produced during this period, only the most important examples will be discussed in detail. The various stylistic periods which are dealt with in this chapter will be indicated by sub-headings to facilitate reading and to prevent misconceptions.

During the timespan in question both forms of the equestrian monument, namely the figure on the pacing horse and the figure on the prancing horse, were attempted in full-scale sculpture. Though the external shape of the equestrian monument varied considerably during this timespan as a result of the changing fashions and tastes of the times, the basic problems of support for the figure of the horse, the composition of horse and rider and the technical execution of the group as a whole remained essentially what it had been at the end of the Renaissance period.

Since the beginning of the Renaissance the emphasis in the equestrian monument had been on virtu, the prowess of the individual hero. These monuments usually portrayed a bold warrior who dominated his mount not by sheer physical force, but by his virtu, his intellectual superiority and the nobility of his character. Many of these monuments served as "Momento mori" and were never intended to inspire awe and demand obedience from its viewer. From the mid-sixteenth century this was to change completely.

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MANNERISM

In 1530 the Emperor Charles V sent an army to besiege Florence and restore the Medici to power. Cosimo de Medici was made the first grand duke of Tuscany and thereby became the founder of a dynasty of absolute rulers in Florence. He punished with death all who dared to resist his will and governed despotically. The artists whom he encouraged and patronized had to find a new ideal for the portayal of the absolute monarch. This was necessary because the monument became a public assertion of dynastic authority and a symbol of the power and character of the ruler. The statue not only had to serve as a sign of the ruler's excellence, but it also became a guarantee to the people of his loyalty. For this reason the statue could only be an idealized image of the ruler. Ulrich Keller, who made a thorough study of the different monuments of absolute rulers, sees the new ideal as follows: "Die Statue dient den Fürsten nicht allein zum eigentlichen Herrscherabzeichen, das seine absolute Autorität repräsentiert, sondern darüber hinaus zur Ausübung seines Herrscheramtes, denn es ruft bei den Untertanen eine ähnliche Wirkung hervor wie die Bilder in den Herzen der anderen, insofern es ihre Erinnerung an die Herrscherautorität erneuert und in ihnen neue Neigung erweckt, ihren Fürsten Ehrfurcht und Gehorsam zu zollen."[1] The first equestrian statue which conformed to this new ideal in function as well as in form was the equestrian statue of Cosimo I on the Piazza della Signoria in Florence.[2]

In 1581 Cosimo de Medici's son, Ferdinando, expressed the wish to erect a monument in honour of his father on the Piazza della Signoria in Florence. The idea was to have a monument twice the size of the "Cavallo Traiano" in Rome. It seems that the transfer of the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome by Michelangelo from the Lateran to the Campidoglio played a major role in Ferdinando's decision to erect the monument in honour of his father.[3] At that time the Northerner Jean Boulogne (1529 - 1608), better known by his Italian name, Giambologna, the foremost sculptor of his day in Europe, was in the service of the De Medici's and had already been busy since the early days of his career with a series of pacing horses.[4] It was therefore obvious that Ferdinando would turn to Giambologna's Borgo Pinti studio for the execution of the monument.

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According to Baldinucci the drawings of the models for the monument were made in Giambologna's studio by his students Cigoli and Goro Pagani, while the actual models and moulds were made with the help of Antonio Susini (d. 1624), the specialist in bronze statuettes in Giambologna's studio.[5] Whether one can accept this statement as fact remains uncertain. Nevertheless in the Uffizi are two drawings of horses with saddles and measurements by Cigoli, which evidently point to the above-mentioned designs for the monument to Cosimo I.[6]

In my opinion the procedure must have been as follows: Giambologna's instructions were to make a bronze horse all' antica which would establish a new focal point for the Piazza della Signoria, much in the same way as the Marcus Aurelius was the focal point of Michelangelo's new design for the Campidoglio. With the Marcus Aurelius and also possibly models by Leonardo da Vinci for the Trivulzio project, which he had seen, in mind, Giambologna fashioned a series of horses from which he could select a final model. The earliest existing model seems to be the all' antica horse with a stylized mane and forelock at present in New York.[7] The model shows a restfully pacing horse very much like the horse of the Marcus Aurelius statue, except that it has a classically arched neck.

For some or other reason the plan to erect a statue of a horse on the Piazza della Signoria was abolished and it was decided to erect an equestrian monument instead.[8] A model of a horse similar to the initial model, but with a saddlecloth on its back was then made.[9] Finally Giambologna must have decided to drop the idea of the stylized Grecian mane for the horse and reverted to the flowing mane of the Marcus Aurelius statue. A statuette of a horse, identical to the horse finally used for the equestrian monument of Cosimo, is at present in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.[10] This figure is without doubt a forerunner of the final small-scale model for the equestrian monument.

What actually happened to the final small-scale model for the equestrian statue of Cosimo I is uncertain.[11] However, an equestrian statuette of Emperor Rudolph II by Giambologna closely resembles the equestrian statue of Cosimo in Florence.[12] This model has often been mistaken for the small-scale model of Cosimo's statue but in fact it is probably a later casting made in the same mould in which the small-scale model for Cosimo's monument was made.[13] On closer

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examination of the statuette, we notice that it consists of two separately cast larger parts, namely the rider with the saddle and the horse. Smaller parts such as the head of the rider as well as his sword and the reins of the horse were made separately and later soldered to the main parts. This throws light on the casting procedure in Giambologna's studio, a procedure which was also used for casting full-scale monuments.

The full-scale model for the statue of Cosimo was completed with the help of Susini in 1587. It seems that Leonardo's new casting system was put into practice for the first time with the casting of this full-scale monument, as there are no unsightly seams to be seen on the monument. The casting was done in the Autumn of 1591.[14] According to Dhanens the pedestal for the monument was made by Zanobi Piccardi between December 1591 and 15 January 1593 from a design by Giambologna.[15] The pedestal is based on Michelangelo's design for the pedestal of the Marcus Aurelius statue on the Campidoglio and even has the same porportions i.e. the same height as the bronze statue placed on it. The reliefs, which show the Florentine Senate honouring Cosimo after he had received the title of grand duke, the coronation by Pope Pius V and Cosimo's triumph over Pisa, were only added between 1596 and 1598. They were completed by the brothers Della Bella and Pietro Tacca (1577 - 1640). The monument was unveiled on 10 June 1594.[16]

Giambologna's initial problem with this equestrian monument, the first produced in Italy during the Cinquecento, was to create a posture which would clearly convey the idea of majesty to the viewer. It had to reflect everything which the ordinary man on the street expected to see in a sovereign. This involved the problem which Leonardo had already touched on while he was working on the Trivulzio monument, namely that the monument not only had to give a physical likeness of the rider, but his character had to be reflected in the monument as a whole. It was the problem of finding a compromise between nature and art. The only way in which a suitable solution could be found was to look at this type of equestrian monument from the past. For this reason Giambologna leaned very heavily on the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome since its dignified bearing had already served many an artist as inspiration.

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Giambologna shows Cosimo in contemporary armour seated with dignity and ease on a restfully pacing horse, more enthroned than riding, with his commander's baton resting on his thigh and his feet set firmly in the stirrups. Ulrich Keller points out that "Giambologna zeigt uns einen 'neuen' Fürsten, der sich vor seinen Untertanen zu legitimieren sucht, indem er als Sachwalter ihrer Bedürfnisse fungiert, statt als Mehrer eigener Ruhmestaten aufzutreten; der sich beschränkt, um sich zu behaupten; einen Fürsten ohne Grösse, aber auch ohne Selbstherrlichkeit. Bruchlos fügt sich die künstleriche gestalt, die Giambologna der Reiterstatue gegeben hat, der herrschenden Staatstheorie und dem geforderten politischen Zweck ein."[17]

This equestrian monument became the model for all the later equestrian statues which came from Giambologna's studio. They were the statues of Ferdinando I on the Piazza SS Annunziata in Florence[18], the statue of Henri IV of France[19], and the statue of Phillip III of Spain[20].

Since Giambologna himself was often ill before his death in August 1608, most of the studio's production was left in the hands of his assistants, especially Pietro Tacca. In the equestrian statues which Tacca completed, he altered the general effect of Giambologna's designs by increasing the volume of the horse slightly and in this way created a new relationship between the two figures. Tacca also took over Leonardo da Vinci's idea of using figures of slaves in chains at the corners of the pedestals of his monuments. Sometimes their significance was literal, as with the four Moorish slaves at the foot of the monument of Grand Duke Ferdinand I erected at Livorno to commemorate his victories over the Barbary pirates. However, sometimes they were allegorical symbolizing Heresy, Discord and Rebellion, such as those around the base of the monument of Henri IV in Paris.

Eventually the Giambologna studio almost had a monopoly for the creation of equestrian monuments in Europe. By 1619 the studio's statues were an accepted symbol of authority throughout Europe and many rulers sought similar statues of themselves.[21] The monopoly of the Giambologna studio was only broken in 1620 with the erection of the two Farnese equestrian statues in Piacenza by Francesco Mochi (1580-1654), the greatest sculptor in Rome until the advent of Bernini

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(1598 - 1680). In these statues Mochi expressed all the fire of the heroic temperament in the nervous step of the pacing horse. Hereby he created the first two equestrian statues which characterized the dynamism of the Baroque.

THE BAROQUE

The Baroque remains a mystery unless one considers the social environment in which it developed. It was a time of economic, religious and political crises. In this context art could not figure as adornment but rather was used as a means of propaganda. This propaganda was largely directed towards the all-pervading authority of the state which was personified in the monarch. Princely absolutism was more than a political institution. The office of the ruler was believed to be divinely ordained and he was entrusted with the task of keeping the universe in balance. For this reason the Baroque style has its emphasis on balance, through harmony of the parts in subordination to the whole. Man was thus no longer regarded as the measure of all things. Structures showed a sense of the cosmic and a departure from the rationality that had hitherto prevailed. There was an ever-increasing tendency towards dynamism with the result that the arts started to extend the limits of technique in order to conform with this new consciousness of the infinite.

At first a self-contained entity, the Baroque monument steadily became more complex until, at the height of the period, it had reached a point where, even if it were not part of a group, it nevertheless imposed itself as a group. Equestrian statues became triumphal representations, uniting power, history and nature. They became the sole right of the most exalted, and were the focal point of the square on which they were erected. It was also the Baroque that was to define the all-important role of the square, destined to become the major element in the beauty of a city, by associating it with the splendour of the state. The French later developed it into the "place royale", a symbol of monarchic centralization.[22]

Piacenza's large Piazza dei Cavalli shows an artistically successful solution for an intricately planned central square, where powerful Baroque equestrian statues played an indispensible and significant part in the architectural layout of the square. The equestrian statue was no longer just a figure on a pedestal, but an integral part of a

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whole environment, and the artist's problem was to ensure that it did not get lost in or dominate this environment. Mochi's two equestrian monuments in Piacenza are the two dynamic focal points in a piazza which is hardly elliptical. The monuments were modelled after the antique statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome and this added nobility to a family which had only shortly before risen to power.[23]

When the autocratic ruler of Parma, Ranuccio Farnese, decided to celebrate the baptism of his son, Alessandro, in Piacenza in March 1612, the "Consiglio Generale" of the city decided to highlight the festivities with the erection of two statues on pillars on the Piazza Grande in Piacenza. Between April and June the project for the statues on pillars was transformed into a project for two equestrian statues, namely one of Ranuccio Farnese and the other of his father, Duke Alessandro Farnese. A competition was arranged between the florentine sculptor Francesco Mochi and the Milanese sculptor Guilio Cesare Procaccini (1546-1626). Each sculptor submitted two models and Mochi won the competition. Mochi's model for the statue of Alessandro survives to this day and is at present in the Bargello in Florence.[24] Already in this model we see the dynamic quality which is thoroughly characteristic of the Baroque style. The duke, whose cloak spreads and billows in the wind, is dressed in a Baroque version of Roman imperial garb and sits on his trotting horse without a saddle or stirrups. This was Mochi's new conception of the expression of movement and quivering animal energy. This style of energetic movement and direct expressiveness stood in strong contrast to the refined elegance of that of Giambologna and his followers.

On 28 November 1612 a contract for the erection of the monument was concluded between Mochi and the "Consiglio Generale". In the contract the Roman bronze founder Marcello Manachi is named as the founder of the groups and it makes provision for full-scale wax models of the statues. Mario Farnese was to be the arbitrator and he took both the models of the sculptor into his custody. Mochi was asked to start with the equestrian statue of Ranuccio, the ruling duke. Work began immediately, but late in 1614 difficulties arose between Manachi and Mochi. Mochi chose a very unusual gait for the horse, and thereby digressed slightly from the Marcus Aurelius, which still remained the proto-type of most equestrian monuments. Early in 1616 the horse for the statue of Ranuccio was reported to be almost complete and on 24 March 1616 Mochi sought permission to

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study the Gattamelata and Colleoni statues before finishing it. He visited Padua and Venice in 1616 and made thorough studies of the Gattamelata and the Colleoni monuments. In a letter to Mario Farnese, Mochi described the statues as follows: "Con grandissimo gusto e soddisfazione dell' animo mio ho veduto non solo la statua et caval di Padova, ma ancora quelli di Venetia, sí li antichi come il moderno, e sono ritornato a casa con quiete d'animo con openion come sempre ebbi de affaticarmi per poter colpire il segno, e non potendo almeno darvi vicino".[25]

Although Ranuccio is represented in Roman imperial garb and the billowing cloak and windblown mane and tail of the horse heralds the arrival of the High Baroque style, the group as a whole does not yet possess the fiery movement which is characteristic of all the Baroque equestrian monuments. Nevertheless Mochi incorporated an important new facet in this monument, namely the idea of two complementary viewpoints, giving the viewer different facets of the character of the rider. When viewed from the northern side one gets the idea of a restful man in total unity with and in control of his mount. The billowing cloak of the rider becomes a continuation of the horse's undulating mane and thereby unites horse and rider into a compact unity. With this Mochi achieves great stylistic coherence. From the other side, however, the unity between the rider and horse disappears and the rider dominates. The figure leans backwards so that his imperial armour is in full view and the commander's baton can be seen where it is pointed towards heaven. Here we have the triumphant ruler asserting his authority. The lack of a saddle and stirrups evoke analogies with the Marcus Aurelius statue. Because of the difficulties with the founder, Manachi, Mochi had to do the casting himself. The casting of the horse on 17 February 1618 was defective but could be remedied. After this he began working on the statue of the duke, for which life study in Parma was required. The figure of the duke was only completed in the course of 1620 and the monument was unveiled on 9 November 1620.[26]

Mochi immediately started working on the full-scale model for the second equestrian statue, namely that of Alessandro Farnese. The experience he had gained with the statue of Ranuccio made the work on the second monument much easier and he did not take long to complete it. Already in the statue of Ranuccio we notice how Mochi was striving to free himself from mannerist stiffness. With the statue

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of Alessandro, Mochi took the decided step to the High Baroque. The rippling movement through the draperies of the rider, whose cloak also spreads and billows in the wind, and the sensuous modelling of the horse's flanks and its soft flowing tail gives the statue a dynamic quality thoroughly charateristic of the High Baroque style and it only finds its parallel in the equestrian portaits of Rubens and Van Dyck.

Like Ranuccio, Alessandro is also dressed in a Baroque version of Roman imperial armour and urges his fiery mount on to a galloping trot. Although this figure radiates authority, this authority is not a matter of rank, but rather of the vigour of the individual figure.

Because the statue was to be approached from two opposite directions, Mochi's problem was to give the viewer two different facets of Alessandro's character, much in the same way as he did with his statue of Ranuccio. If one approaches the statue of Alessandro from the south, one sees him impatiently bent over the neck of the horse. From this view both horse and rider turn away from the viewer. The zig-zag line formed by Alessandro's hand with the baton and his naked right leg is repeated in the right hind leg and left foreleg of the horse. From this side he gives the impression of an impatient warrior. From the opposite side all the driving motion subsides and one sees the duke sitting erect and firmly on the horse, epitomizing the intellectual strategist. This statue is the embodiment of two different virtues of the ideal military leader: courage and intellect.

The horse was cast in March 1622 and by the end of 1623 the figure of Alessandro was also completed. The whole group was unveiled on 6 February 1625.[27] For the pedestals Mochi stuck closely to Michelangelo's example. Between February 1625 and April 1629 Mochi made the bronze reliefs for the plinths. Those on Ranuccio's monument are reliefs with allegories of Peace and of Good Government and those on Alessandro's monument show the investment of Antwerp and Alessandro receiving the ambassadors of Queen Elizabeth I of England.

Yet the type of statue which above all could suggest grandeur and courage and the sitter's dynamic force, namely the rider on the prancing horse, for which preliminary ideas and models can be traced back to Leonardo da Vinci, had at that stage not been monumentally

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executed. During the Baroque this type of equestrian monument would easily have been accepted, because it conformed to the general style of the time, which endorsed dynamic movement and the apotheosis of the figure represented. It would be apt to point out here that there is a difference between "rearing" or "prancing" and "curvetting", which was the high point of Italo-Spanish Baroque horsemanship. "Curvetting" is where the horse rises slowly on its hind legs on which the whole weight of its body rests and remains in that position for a few seconds. The forelegs of the horse are raised together and equally advanced. It is a studied performance which requires not only the highest discipline and intelligence on the part of the horse, but also complete collaboration between horse and rider. Rearing or prancing, on the other hand, is when the horse beats the air with its forelegs while rising uncontrolled on its hind legs in anxiety, excitement or impatience. Whereas the prancing horse could be represented far down on its hind legs as Leonardo had done, thus utilizing gravitational balance to keep it in equilibrium, the artist who made a curvetting horse had to find another method to balance the horse on its hind legs. A more aesthetically pleasing solution than a support under the belly of the horse would be to use the lengthened tail of the horse as a third support.

Although Giambologna never attempted a full-scale monument of an equestrian statue with a prancing horse, he was very much interested in the problem of making such a statue. On the shoulder of his equestrian statue of Cosimo I there is a relief of a rider on a prancing horse, as if he wanted to comment on Leonardo's unsuccessful attempt at executing the solution he had found for such a monument. We know of a few statuettes of prancing horses which seem to have originated in Giamologna's studio, and which served as proto-types for the curvetting horses of his student and assistant, Pietro Tacca.[28]

Tacca's first successful attempt at solving the problem of representing a curvetting horse was a bronze equestrian statuette of King Louis XIII of France of c. 1617, which is at present in the Bargello in Florence.[29] The statuette shows the king as a bareheaded young boy dressed in armour with a baton in his right hand and sitting on a curvetting horse. The hind quarters of the horse are well developed, while the head and forelegs have been slightly reduced in size to help with the equilibrium of the figure. According to a contemporary

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source, this figure was accompanied by a second riderless curvetting horse on which the figure of the king also fitted.[30] The design of the horse was made with the help of the equerry of the Grand Duke Cosimo II, Lorenzino Palmieri, under whose guidance Tacca studied the movement and anatomy of the horse.[31] Tacca, however, did not make a full scale equestrian monument of Louis XIII.[32]

At about this time the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel I, wrote a letter to Tacca and ordered a full-scale equestrian monument of himself on a curvetting horse for Turin. Using the mould of the same horse which he had used for the statuette of Louis XIII, Tacca made a 1½ braccia (c. 87 cm) high model of a curvetting horse with the duke on its back. In 1619 Tacca's brother took two models, "modello di cera e di bronzo in una postura veramente fiera e nuova", to the Duke of Turin.[33] The duke wanted Tacca to come to Turin to execute the equestrian monument to eliminate transportation problems, but Tacca's florentine master refused to give him permission to go to Turin. The monument was therefore never executed. Instead Tacca had the small-scale model cast in bronze and sent to the duke as a present in 1621. This bronze statuette is at present in Kassel and is the only signed bronze statuette by Pietro Tacca.[34]

Both the above-mentioned equestrian statuettes indirectly served as inspiration for the first full-scale equestrian statue of a rider on a prancing horse. It was the equestrian figure of Archduke Leopold V of Tyrol, which crowns the Leopoldsbrunn in Innsbruck.[35] Direct inspiration must, however, have come from one or other of Leonardo da Vinci's models for the Trivulzio project.

Caspar Gras (1590-1674), the sculptor of the equestrian statue of Leopold V in Innsbruck adhered to Pietro Tacca's example of a curvetting horse when he made the small-scale model for his monument.[36]

When he had to make the full-scale figure, however, technical problems forced him to abandon the curvetting stance and revert to the example of Leonardo's Trivulzio figures. This meant that the horse had to be positioned far down on its hind legs which were placed one in front of the other instead of next to each other as for a curvetting horse, while the massive tail of the horse served as a

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counterbalance. Instead of a curvetting horse the sculptor made the first full-scale rearing horse since Classical times.

When Archduke Leopold V of Tyrol took office after the death of Maximilian III in 1619, he wanted to embellish his residence in Innsbruck with a monumental fountain crowned with an equestrian statue of himself. The idea of using an equestrian figure in the fountain must have come from Italy as Leopold was married to the daughter of Ferdinando I, who had commissioned the equestrian statue of Cosimo I.[37]

In 1621 Leopold approached Christoph Gumpp, his court architect in Augsburg and asked him to design the fountain. Gumpp in his turn called in the help of Caspar Gras, who was working in Augsburg at the time. Gras willingly helped with the design and in March 1622 he presented his designs to the archduke.[38]

Caspar Gras' design for the fountain as a whole must have been influenced by Friedrich Sustri's design for a similar fountain with an equestrian figure, which Gras' teacher, Hubert Gerhard (c. 1540 - 1620), was to have made for Duke Ferdinand in Munich in 1590 but which was never executed.[39]

By December 1622 Gras was ready to have the first figures for the fountain cast in bronze. The full-scale model of the equestrian figure was cast in a number of pieces. The casting was done by the bell-founders Heinrich and Friedrich Reinhart in Augsburg.[40] The bronze for the figures came from cannon which the archduke melted down - an unusual measure at the time of the Thirty Years War.

It seems that all the figures for the fountain were completed by 1628 but they were erected separately in the Palace Garden in 1630.[41] The equestrian statue was erected in front of the theatre in Innsbruck flanked by two goddesses and in 1826 it received a new pedestal.[42] In 1894 the fountain as a whole, consisting of the equestrian statue of Archduke Leopold V surrounded by six river gods and goddesses, was erected in its present position in Innsbruck. The impressive equestrian figure at the summit of this fountain shows Archduke Leopold dressed in contemporary armour of the Spanish type consisting of a cuirass and hose with a large ruff worn as a collar round his neck and highboots on his feet. He leans forward close to

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the neck of the prancing horse and holds the reins in his left hand and a short lance in his right hand.

This equestrian figure is noteworthy because of two important innovations. Firstly it was the very first attempt to balance a full-scale horse entirely on its hind legs without any other support. The tail of the horse was used as a counterbalance, much in the same way as in Leonardo's statuettes of horses in museums in London and New York.[43] A second important innovation was the use of a baseplate which was cast as part of the statue thereby making the whole upper surface of the pedestal part of the bronze statue instead of just anchoring the statue by means of the pivot of the plinth as had hitherto been done. This method was generally used for later equestrian monuments.

The first successful attempt to make a full-scale monument showing a rider on a curvetting horse was Pietro Tacca's equestrian statue of Phillip IV of Spain, which stands on the Plaza de Oriente in Madrid.[44]

Justi wrote the history of the monument after he had made a thorough study of the various letters in the Medici Archives in Florence.[45] The inception of the monument was on 2 May 1634 when Phillip IV's minister of State, Don Gasparo de Guzman, Count of Olivarez, sent a letter to the florentine envoy, Commendatoro di Serrano, in which he asked for an equestrian statue of the king similar to the portrait of the king by Peter Paul Rubens and of the same character as the equestrian statue of Phillip III at the Casa del Campo.[46]

Di Serrano must have misunderstood Olivarez' idea or he did not know that the Rubens painting represented the king on a curvetting horse and he ordered a colossal monument similar to that of Phillip III from Pietro Tacca. Tacca accepted the commission on 24 September 1634 and immediately started with the model for a conventional pacing horse. Before he started working on the rider, he requested a picture of the king and also drawings of costumes and armour. Only when Tacca received the painting of the king by Rubens, did he realise that all his sketches as well as the full-scale clay model of the horse, which he had already completed, were in vain, since the Spanish court wanted a curvetting horse which would display the king's riding ability to its best advantage.[47] On 20 September 1636 Di

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Serrano corrected his mistake in a letter to Tacca in which he stated that "che il cavallo stia in atto di galoppare e non salzi tanto da terra co'piedi che apparisca piuttosto che salti e faccia corvetta".[48] Tacca was therefore obliged to abandon his initial idea.

Tacca immediately started working on the new model for Phillip IV on a curvetting horse and by March 1637 it was completed. The work on this model was completed in so short a time because Tacca merely used the moulds for his equestrian statuette of Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, with minor changes made directly in the wax. Drawings of the model were sent to Olivarez in Madrid and it seems that he was very pleased with the model, especially with the way that the figure was balanced on the narrow pedestal.

By September 1638 Tacca had amost completed the full-scale model and he also promised to have it cast within a year. However, towards the end of 1639 he still required a portrait of the king to complete the figure of the rider. In January 1640 he received a painting of the king on horseback by the Spanish artist, Diego Velasques.[49]

The work on the full-scale model took more time than Tacca had envisaged it would, because the technical problems involved here were considerable - especially the problem of statics. According to tradition Galileo supplied the design for the technical construction whereby the problem of statics was solved.[50] This construction is said to have consisted of a number of metal beams which were placed inside the pedestal to serve as counterweights for the statue. The whole construction was based on the laws of statics which were treated to some extent by Leonardo da Vinci in his fragmentary treatise. "De peso".[51] Tacca not only made use of iron beams inside the bronze horse with a counterbalancing part inside the pedestal to support his figure, but he further strengthened the structure by means of a pin in the lengthened tail of the horse, while at the same time the head and forelegs of the horse were made smaller and the bronze thinner in these parts. Although he solved the problem of the equilibrium of the curvetting horse technically, it was aesthetically not yet the ideal solution.

The statue shows the bareheaded king dressed in contemporary Spanish armour and sitting erect in the saddle as he firmly grips the reins of his curvetting horse with his left hand and stretches his

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commander's baton out with his right hand. The horse is almost an exact enlargement of Tacca's curvetting horse at present in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, except that the mane was lengthened and flows down the right side.[52]

The casting of the large statue took two years. Tacca, however, was never to see his masterpiece completed, as he died before the monument was erected. A month before his death on 26 October 1640, the marble blocks of the pedestal, a present from Archduke Ferdinand II to the Spanish court, were transported from Livorno to Madrid. After twenty one months of quibbling about the payment for the transport of the statue, which consisted of fourteen pieces, from Cartagena to Madrid, the dispute was finally settled and the monument reached its destination. Tacca's son, Ferdinando, directed the putting together of the pieces and the finishing off of the monument. Eventually on 29 October 1643 the completed monument was unveiled in front of the Royal Palace.[53] Later relief panels by the sculptor Francisco Elias were added to the pedestal. After it was moved around several times, the monument was finally set up on the Plaza de Oriente in 1844, where it remains to this day.

Tacca's equestrian monument of Phillip IV became the example for other similar monuments. The equestrian monument of Charles II of the Two Sicilies by the Palermo sculptor, Giacomo Serpotta (1656 - 1732) which stood in Messina until it was destroyed in 1848 and which was directly inspired by Tacca's monument to Phillip IV, was the first full-scale bronze equestrian monument with a curvetting horse to be cast in a single piece.[54]

When Messina revolted against Spanish rule in 1674, France withheld the promised assistance and the town had to capitulate to the Spanish. As punishment Charles II of the Two Sicilies ordered the inhabitants to erect an equestrian monument of him on the square in front of the cathedral in Messina, using the bronze of the cathedral's bells for the casting of the statue.

Giacomo Serpotta, who was commissioned to make the statue, made a preparatory model in wax directly from nature and then cast it in plaster. This model, which was later cast in bronze, is at present in Trapani.[55] It shows Charles II in contemporary ceremonial Spanish armour on a curvetting horse. He is bareheaded, sits erect and holds

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the reins with both his hands. The horse was very much like Tacca's horse for Phillip IV's statue, except that the knees of the front legs were at the same height and not one higher than the other.

After the large clay model had been completed, the equestrian statue was cast as a whole by Gaspare Romano in Palermo.[56] It was then transported to Messina, where it was placed on a pedestal which was built for it in 1682. We know what the statue looked like on its elaborate pedestal from a drawing which Nicodemus Tessin the Younger made of it early in the nineteenth century.[57] The monument was unfortunately completely destroyed during a riot in 1848.

During the Baroque era sculptors revived the earlier tradition of making stone equestrian statues, this time substituting a prancing horse for the traditional standing horse. One of the earliest surviving examples is the equestrian monument of Vittorio Amedeo I in the Palazzo Reale in Turin.[58]

This equestrian monument which stands in a niche on the first floor inside the Palazzo Reale in Turin, was the work of the sculptor Andrea Rivalto (d. 1624).[59] It is especially noteworthy because of the mixed media used for its construction. The rider, who is dressed in contemporary armour and raises his baton in his right hand, as well as the two slaves, who support the horse's breast, were cast in bronze, while the prancing horse itself was made of yellow-brown marble.[60]

Initially the monument commemorated Duke Emmanuele Filiberto but this was changed to one commemorating Duke Vittorio Amedeo I in 1663.[61] The history of this monument started in 1671 when the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, commissioned Rivalto to make a bronze statue of Duke Emmanuele Filiberto on a marble horse.[62] Rivalto was without doubt influenced by Pietro Tacca's prancing horses, but because of the difference in material, made a much heavier and more muscular horse. The bronze figures were cast between 1617 and 1619 by the founder, Federico Vianelli, and from payments made to Rivalto from the Tesoreria Ducale between 1619 and 1624, we gather that the monument was completed in 1624.[63] The group was only placed in the niche in 1662 and in 1663 the head of the rider was changed to that of Duke Vittorio Amedeo I by the sculptor L. Fontaine.

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The most important stone equestrian monuments of the High Baroque however, were the two made by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, namely the equestrian figure of Constantine the Great and that of Louis XIV of France.[64]

Already as early as 1654 Pope Innocent X commissioned Bernini to create a statue of Constantine for a niche inside St Peter's in Rome as a counterpart to the monument of the Countess Matilda.[65] A drawing in the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid is an initial design for Bernini's equestrian statue.[66] In this early study the horse leaps out of the niche to the right and turns his head back as if terrified of the vision his rider has just seen. A.S. Harris reconstructs the various stages that Bernini's work passed through as it was created as follows: "He began with rough pen sketches on large sheets of paper or even charcoal sketches on the wall of the studio, as he himself later reported. He also liked to try out variant poses and plans in rough pen or chalk sketches grouped together on a small sheet of paper .... These primi pensieri (first thoughts) he left if possible for a few weeks or even months in order to be able to judge them later with a fresh eye. Further composition studies followed .... until he was ready to prepare a more elaborate composition study to show to the patron concerned for his approval .... Once the final design was settled, Bernini prepared bozzetti of the figures ...."[67] Whether Bernini prepared a bozzetto for his equestrian statue of Constantine is uncertain because no such model has survived.[68] We know that Bernini was concerned to give a historically correct interpretation of Constantine's appearance, because he copied references to Constantine's features from Nicephorus' Ecclesiasticae historiae libri.[69] When planning a monument Bernini always applied a concetto or ingenious theme which epitomized the meaning of the work in hand. It represented a dramatic climax in the life of the figure represented. Constantine is therefore represented at the moment of his conversion.

In 1654 the block of marble for the statue was transported to St Peters by Filipo Frugoni, who gave the weight of the block as roughly thirty cartloads of marble.[70] Towards the end of the reign of Pope Innocent X the statue was only blocked out in the rough which meant that changes could still be made to its design.

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The work on the statue was, however, abandoned during the reign of Pope Alexander VII (1655 - 1667) and when work on it was later taken up again, the initial ideas were changed. Instead of a statue inside the church, it was to be created for the first landing of the Scala Regia next to the portico of St Peter's. After the new site was chosen, the plans were adjusted accordingly as we see from a drawing in the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig.[71] Unlike the earlier drawing, the statue is now shown in its final setting on the Scala Regia and the horse reacts more calmly. Bernini represented the conversion of Constantine in such a manner that every part of the scene is touched by direct light from the cross in the sky. The horse rears and averts his head to avoid the bright rays from the cross while the emperor sits erect and gazes spellbound at the divine sign.

Bernini was concerned about the general effect which the statue would have on the spectator and for this reason he invested it with heightened drama and dynamic movement. This explains why he based the structure of the monument entirely on a double point of vision. As the spectator moves up the staircase, the statue seems to be moving upwards too, into the palace, or entering the church: the two focal points seem to put into doubt the geocentricity of Ptolemaic man. Further Bernini used the base of the statue to mask a doorway, thereby helping the spectator to appreciate the enormous scale of the monument. The monument is placed against a wind-swept stucco curtain to enhance the spectator's belief in the sudden interruption of the rider's progress.

The completion of the work on the statue took long because there were other commissions to complete and it was only in July 1668 that the statue was finally finished. Work on a pedestal for the figure lasted from October 1666 until late in 1668. In January 1669 the finished equestrian statue was taken from Bernini's studio to the Vatican and the monument was officially unveiled by Pope Clement X on 1 November 1670.[72]

The rearing horse is supported by pegs in the wall behind the horse. These pegs are hidden by the stucco curtain much in the same manner as can be seen in the early Renaissance equestrian statue of Cortesia Serego in St Anastasia in Verona.[73]

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Bernini soon afterwards adapted the formula which he used for this equestrian statue of Constatine the Great to the monument for Louis XIV of France, but he had to change the concept to suit a different purpose. It is also important to note that Bernini's horses were far down on the hind legs, a position which did not conform with correct horsemanship. Bernini rather sacrificed correctness to the impression of rapid movement which he needed.

From May 1665 Bernini visited Paris for six months on invitation of King Louis XIV, who wanted him to plan the rebuilding of the Louvre.[74] When Bernini returned to Italy in November 1665, he had only completed a bust of the king.[75] His plans for the rebuilding of the Louvre were abandoned.

However, during Bernini's stay in Paris, Colbert, the "Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi", had mentioned the erection of a monument for the king to Bernini. At the time the idea was rather vague and consisted of either a colossal monument to be erected between the Louvre and the Tuileries or a monument similar to that of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf to be erected on a new square planned for the left bank of the Seine. Bernini tried to compromise by suggesting the erection of an equestrian statue of the king between two colossal columns in the square between the Louvre and the Tuileries.[76] Nothing further was said about this project until December 1667, when Colbert revived the plan.

Bernini's long hesitation from December 1667 until 1670 before he started working on the equestrian statue of the king, was probably because of the cancellation of the Louvre plans. He feared that he might again waste both energy and ingenuity on a project in which the king had very little interest.

During 1668 Bernini must have made the preliminary studies for the monument by which the rough measurements of the required marble block could be determined, because the block was ready to be shipped from Carrara to Rome early in 1669. According to Wittkower the block was taken to Rome in August 1669 but not to Bernini's studio.[77]

Throughout 1669 and the first half of 1670 Colbert prodded Bernini to start with the equestrian statue. In December 1669 Colbert wrote to

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Bernini and asked him to make the king's statue similar to that of Constantine, but not to copy it. He was to make the head of the king himself, but to allow the students of the French Academy in Rome to enlarge his model. Finally he was to do the finishing touches himself, so that the work could be regarded as his own. At the time Bernini must have had a clear idea how he wanted to make the statue, because in his answer to Colbert's letter he wrote: "This statue will be completely different from that of Constantine, for Constantine is shown in the act of admiring the vision of the Cross and the King will be in the attitude of majesty and command. I would never allow the King's statue to be a copy of that of Constantine."[78]

It must have been about this time that Bernini completed the terra-cotta bozzetto which is at present in the Galleria Borghese.[79] It shows the king in classical costume and without stirrups in an "attitude of majesty and command" on a rearing horse, almost like the ancient equestrian figures of Alexander the Great.[80] The windblown draperies separate the rider from his horse, whose belly rests on a large rock. Basically this model was still close to the Constantine which had been completed two years earlier.

Bernini must have started carving the marble equestrian statue early in May 1671.[81] He seems to have started with the head of the king, which he based on the portraits sent to him from France and the one he had made of the king in 1665, because in September 1672 the Abate Elpidio Benedetti reported to Colbert that "the head is already finished and it is very similar if the portraits sent here are similar".[82] From the middle of 1671 until the end of 1673 Bernini worked six to seven hours daily on the marble equestrian statue.

After hearing about Louis XIV's successful campaigns against Holland in May 1672, Bernini must have revised his initial idea somewhat so that it would be appropriate to the king's greatness. Although the execution in marble was far advanced at the time, Bernini decided to make the necessary changes so that the statue could conform with his new concetto. This involved poetical concept was recorded by his son, Domenico in the artist's own words: "I have not represented King Louis in the act of commanding his armies. This, after all, would be appropriate for any prince. But I wanted to represent him in a state which he alone has been able to attain through his glorious enterprises. And since the poets tell us that Glory resides on top of

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a very high and steep mountain whose summit only few climb, reason demands that those who nevertheless happily arrive there after privations joyfully breathe the air of sweetest Glory. The wearier the labour of the ascent has been, the dearer Glory will be. And as King Louis by virtue of his many famous victories has already conquered the steep rise of the mountain, I have shown him as a rider on its summit, in full possession of that Glory which, at high cost, has become synonymous with his name. Since a benignant face and a gracious smile are proper to him who is contented, I have represented the monarch in this way."[83]

The changes which Bernini had to make to the marble equestrian statue itself were technically minor changes such as the impression of a graceful smile on the face of the king and band-like curled flags representing trophies under the horse's belly instead of a rock. The major change, however, was in the form of the pedestal, which became his great innovation in the context of the equestrian monument. Instead of the conventional pedestal, Bernini wanted his statue to be placed on a high rock formation. By introducing this concept, he ingeniously solved the artistic contradiction presented by a rider in movement on a traditional formalized pedestal. A drawing of 1673 shows the planning of this rock formation.[84]

According to Wittkower the monument was almost finished by August 1673, but then Bernini fell ill.[85] During the following four years Bernini hardly touched the statue. When Bernini finished the sculpture in 1677, Colbert had lost interest in the project and transferred his allegiance from Bernini to Lebrun who was working on a large monument for the Louvre at the time.[86] The result was that Bernini's statue remained in his studio for many years.

In Bernini's statue Louis XIV is shown as a young demi-god who majestically sits on his rearing horse while his cloak swirls about him. The king is dressed "à la romaine" and his horsehair wig forms an aureole of heavy curls around his face. The empty space behind the rider's back is filled with the outstretched right hand of the king bearing the baton. The forelegs and hind legs of the horse are curved towards each other so that a feeling of inner tension is created. A drawing in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum shows the completed statue from behind, thereby giving us an excellent view of

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the swirling draperies and the rolled-up flags which support the horse.[87]

After his death Colbert was succeeded by his arch-enemy Louvois, who immediately made arrangements to have Bernini's equestrian statue transported to Paris. Transportation began in July 1684 and on 10 March 1685 the statue arrived in Paris, from where it immediately was taken to Versailles.[88] But its triumphant Baroque quality was not appreciated. The king was extremely dissatisfied with it and wanted to have it broken up. The main objection was that the rider appeared to be dispensing favours rather than leading an army. As Rudolph Wittkower has pointed out, it was the smile on the face of the king which resulted in the rejection of the statue.[89]

In 1686 the French sculptor, Francois Girardon (1628 - 1715) was commissioned to change Bernini's statue into a Marcus Curtius.[90] Girardon altered the features and head-dress of the king and changed the trophies under the belly of the horse into a wall of stylized flames. The statue was then erected in an inconspicuous part of the garden of Versailles, where paradoxically the alterations made to it caused it to survive the destruction of all royal monuments in 1792.[91] To this day it remains at the far end of the Bassin des Suisses at Versailles.

Janson neatly sums up the reasons for the fate of this statue when he states that "Bernini's monument was by definition unique, while the French court needed a prototype that could be varied and multiplied as necessary - in other words, an adaptation of the Marcus Aurelius."[92] In spite of the rejection of this monument by the French court, it had a tremendous influence on later equestrian monuments with prancing horses starting with Charles Lebrun's Louvre monument[93] and culminating in Etienne Falconet's monument to Peter the Great.[94]

Towards the third quarter of the seventeenth century France took over the leadership from Italy in the production of equestrian statues. Within a few years all the rulers of Europe adjusted the artistic programs of their courts in accordance with the French example, making the equestrian monument an obligatory demonstration of their absolute power. Since the time of the Roman Emperors no

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other monarch had so many monuments erected in his honour during his lifetime than King Louis XIV of France.

One of the earliest sculptural representations of Louis XIV was the statue which the sculptor Gilles Guerin made of the king in 1653 for the city hall in Paris.[95] Although this was not an equestrian statue, it undoubtedly was the prototype for all later statues of the king. In typical theatrical convention, the king was dressed "à la romaine" with bare arms and legs and having a great full-bottomed wig on his head. According to Weihrauch "die groteske Kombination der römischen Rüstung mit der modischen Allongeperücke entspricht dem in damaligen Theater üblichen Grad der Vergegenwärtigung antiker Dramenfiguren - sie setzte sich als Standardkostüm der Fürstenapothese schnell und für lange Zeit in allen europäischen residenzen durch, denen der französische Hof Vorbild war."[96]

Callisen considers the wig as "the most characteristic yet incongruous feature of the whole group of royal effigies, but one which hardly a single Frenchman critized, so long as the government remained completely autocratic and bureaucratic and the aesthetic standards of the nation were set by the Royal Academy".[97] The artists of the Academy formed their idea of art upon what they conceived to be the best monuments of antiquity, namely the remains of late Hellenistic art. For this reason the bewigged king dressed in the antique style fulfilled the avowed aims of the Academicians. Where equestrian monuments were concerned, preference was given to the more static type of horse as exemplified by the Marcus Aurelius or the equestrian monuments of Giambologna instead of the prancing horse and Bernini's example.[98] When the king condemned Bernini's equestrian statue in November 1685, he set the seal of approval on the more conservative type of horse, thereby banning the prancing and truly Baroque equestrian statue from France.

Under the supervision of Jules Hardoine-Mansart, the "Premier architecte du Roi", an almost uniform design for all equestrian statues of the king was established, since Mansart was put in charge of the work on most of them. Mansart determined the placement of these monuments in a style which has been referred to as "the court dress of French architecture".[99]

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Although the previously mentioned equestrian statue of Louis XIII which was erected on the Place Royal in 1639 established a precedent for the placement of royal statues on open squares in France, it was only erected on an available space and not one especially designed for it. The first statue to be placed on a specially designed "place royale" in Paris, was the standing figure of the king, privately commissioned by Francois d' Aubusson, the Duc de la Feuillade from the Dutch sculptor Martin van den Bogaert, commonly called Desjardins (1639 - 1694).[100] Mansart designed the square for the statue in 1683. This square, which later was known as the Place des Victoires, was circular in form so as to correspond with the shape of the base of the statue and the square's diameter was calculated so that the king could be viewed at the optimum angle of elevation, which is eighteen degrees.

The erection of Desjardins' statue of the king resulted in a rivalry between Louvois, Colbert's successor, and the Duc de la Feuillade for the favour of the king. In order to outdo the Duc de la Feuillade and further his own ends, Louvois requested the Intendants of the various provinces to erect statues of the king in all the important cities of the realm. The result was that the larger French cities seemed to display an astonishingly unanimous desire to honour the king with statues in their principal squares during 1685 and 1686.[101] This fictitious wave of popularity created the impression that the citizens were delighted with their ruler. Because he was securely insulated against the truth by those who surrounded him, Louis never realized that he was being victimized by Louvois, who played upon his vanity. While some cities erected standing figures of the king, others were more ambitious and decided on equestrian monuments. Without exception, all these equestrian monuments were destroyed during the French revolution.

When Louvois made his request to the different provinces, Girardon was working on the models for a colossal equestrian statue of Louis XIV for the Place Vendôme in Paris.[102] These models were well known to many of the French sculptors of the time. If Guerin's standing figure of the king in the city hall in Paris was the prototype for the portrayal of the person of Louis XIV, then Girardon's models for the equestrian monument of Louis XIV for the Place Vendôme became the prototype for all later French statues of the king on horseback and at the same time also the symbol of French absolutism.

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When Duke Cèsar Vendôme went bankrupt in 1683, Louvois urged the king to buy his pal ace and grounds. Since the property lay on the main route to the rest of Europe, Louvois realised that it was the ideal setting for a majestic square surrounded by state buildings and with a colossal equestrian monument of the king in its centre. The effect which such a square would have on visitors to Paris and its consequences in other cities in Europe was well calculated. Soon after the property was bought in July 1685, Jules Hardouin-Mansart was called upon to produce designs for the layout of the new "place royale".[103]

At the same time Louvois chose Girardon from a large selection of excellent sculptors to execute the equestrian statue of the king for the centre of the square. It seems that Girardon had already produced a model of an equestrian figure of Louis XIV as far back as 1679.[104] A signed statuette which is dated 1680 in the W. Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City is probably one of these early models.[105] It shows the king dressed "à la romaine" with a heavy cloak about his shoulders and a full-bottomed wig on his head. He proudly sits astride his horse on a saddlecloth which is heavily embroidered with fleur-de-lis, holds the reins in his left hand and majestically points ahead of him with his right hand. The pacing horse, which has been carefully modelled after the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome, has a long tail which has been tied up with a ring and its left hind leg rests on a shield and sword. The overall impression is that of an imperator riding in a triumphal procession.[106] Girardon seems to have made two bronze reductions of the final model himself, one of which was exhibited at the Salon of 1699 and 1704.[107] Seven statuettes similar to this one are known to exist at present.[108]

Girardon was paid for the model for the first time in December 1685.[109] At about the same time a start was made with the designing of the pedestal by Jules Hardouin-Mansart's helper, Robert de Cotte, for the Place Vendôme and not far from there a foundry was set up for the casting of the monument. Dr. Martin Lister, Queen Anne's physician, who left a journal of his visit to Paris in 1698, mentions that "Mon. Girardon told me he wrought diligently, and with almost daily application at the Model 8 years, and there were two years more spent in the Moulding, and Furnaces and Casting of it."[110] During this time the king visited Girardon's workshop twice to inspect the model, once on 30 January 1687 and again on 10 May of that year.

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The full-scale plaster model was completed in 1688 and was ready to be cast in bronze.[111] War with England and Holland at this time, however, halted all progress with the statue.[112]

It was only on 31 December 1692 that Balthasar Keller cast the colossal statue. The whole casting process was described in detail in 1743 by Boffrand in his "Description de ce qui a ètè pratique pour fondre en bronze d'un seul jet la figure équestre de Louis XIV élevée par la ville de Paris dans la Place de Louis le Grand en 1699".[113] With the casting of the statue Keller followed the same procedure Leonardo had envisioned two hundred years earlier, preparing the mould and pouring the bronze in one casting. Even the figure of the horse itself bore a remarkable resemblance to the final drawings for the Sforza horse. Keller must have seen handwritten copies of Leonardo's notes on casting.[114] After it was cast in bronze, the statue stood for a long time in Girardon's workshop. It was here that Dr. Martin Lister saw it in 1698 and wrote: "This Colossus of Brass is yet in the very place where it was cast; it is surprisingly great, being 22 foot high, the Foot of the King 26 inches in length, and all the proportions of him and the Horse suitable. There was a 100,000 pounds weight of Mettal (sic.) melted, but it took not above 80,000 pounds."[115]

In May 1699 the city council of Paris decided that the completion of the Place Louis le Grand could wait no longer and with the permission of the king the council decided to proceed with the project on its own. In August that year the colossal equestrian statue was placed on a temporary plaster pedestal and unveiled in the presence of the king on 13 August.[116] The initial elaborate pedestal with its allegorical figures and trophies which Mansart's helper, Robert de Cotte, had designed in 1685, was rejected in favour of a plain pedestal, consisting only of a ten metre high marble cube with inscriptions on all four sides. This pedestal was completed in 1704. The statue was cast down on 12 August 1792 and it lay for four months before it was removed in December 1792.[117]

In this statue the idea of the absolute ruler, invested with his power by the grace of God, and not accountable to any human institution, has been visualised with symbolic force. To emphasize the importance of the rider, Girardon has made him slightly larger in relation to the horse. The result is that the general effect of the statue is stocky

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and plain. Girardon solved the problem of attaching the colossal figure to the pedestal by supplying his statue with its own base. The alternate legs on which the horse rests are conceived as columns carrying the weight of the rider directly to the base. Although the sculptor represented the horse at a slow walk, motion forward was not implied. This type of equestrian statue became the accepted type in France in the late seventeenth century and many French sculptors followed Girardon's example.

Already in June 1685 the Estates of Brittany commissioned Antoine Coysevox (1640 - 1720) to erect an equestrian monument for Louis XIV in Nantes.[118] The project was placed under the direction of Jules Hardouin-Manssart.[119] The statue, which closely resembled Girardon's models except that the king did not stretch out his right hand, but held a baton in it, was only erected in 1726, eleven years after the death of Louis XIV, and not in Nantes as originally planned but in Rennes. Although the monument was destroyed during the Revolution in 1792, we know exactly what it looked like from an engraving of 1699 by S. Thomassin.[120]

In December 1685 the Estates of Provence followed the example of the Estates of Brittany and also commissioned an equestrian monument of the king for their capital, Marseille. Pierre Puget (1620 - 1694) was chosen as the sculptor and he suggested a statue of the king on a curvetting horse.[121] The project was abandoned due to lack of funds, but three drawings showing Puget's designs have survived.[122]

Towards the beginning of 1686 no French city wanted to stand back for another, with the result that every available French sculptor was occupied with one or other large commission. The latecomers therefore had to be satisfied with less prominent immigrant sculptors. When the Estates of Languedoc decided to erect an equestrian statue of the king in Montpellier, they called in the services of the immigrant Flemish sculptors Pierre Mazeline (1632 - 1708) and Simon Hurtrelle (1648 - 1724). Their 4,6 m high equestrian statue was made and cast in Mazeline's studio in Paris. It was only shipped to Montpellier in 1717, where it was erected on a 5,6 m high marble pedestal on the Promenade du Peyron in February 1718.[123] There are no descriptions or engravings of this monument but we can assume that it closely resembled Girardon's equestrian statue for the Place Vendôme in Paris.[124] Although the statue was destroyed during the Revolution in

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1792, it was replaced in 1829 by a statue by Jean Baptiste de Bay (1779 - 1863).

In May 1686 the Burgundian Estates chose Etienne le Hongre (1628 - 1690) to execute an equestrian monument of the king for Dijon.[125] According to a contract signed with the sculptor on 18 May 1686, the bronze statue of the king was to be 3,6 m high, the horse 3,9 m long and Jules Hardouin-Mansart was to supervise the work.[126] Although Le Hongre died before the statue was cast in bronze, the full-scale model had already been completed and was cast in Balthasar Keller's foundry in Paris between 1690 and 1692. In May 1692 the colossal monument was shipped to Auxerre, but because of its tremendous weight, it could not easily be transported on land.[127] After lying in a barn near Dijon for twenty eight years, it was eventually brought to the city and stored in a court of the Palais des Etats until 1725. In the meantime a pedestal was erected on the old Place Sant-Barthélemy which had been renamed the Place Royal and in March 1725 the statue was erected on this temporary pedestal. When the statue was destroyed in August 1792, the figures were found to consist of a large core of cement and iron rods covered with a very thin layer of bronze.[128] Drawings of this monument, which have survived, show that Le Hongre had carefully copied Girardon's model.[129]

Desjardins, the popular sculptor of the standing figure of Louis XIV on the Place des Victoires in Paris, received his first commission for an equestrian monument of the king in July 1687 for Aix-en-Provence.[130] According to Volk the contract for the monument was signed on 14 July 1687 between the Archbishop of Arles, Jean Adhémar de Monteuil de Grignan and Martin Desjardins at Versailles.[131] Desjardins had to discuss the form which the monument was to take with Mansart. Desjardins' idea was to portray the king on a curvetting horse. A possible model for this statue is a statuette in a private collection in Paris.[132] Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, who visited Desjardins' studio in 1687, described the statue which he saw there as follows: "le cheval doit être représenté au galop, mais de telle facon que la plus grande partie du poids doit être supportée par la queue".[133] The work on this monument ended with the full-scale model which was never cast in bronze, because Desjardins died in May 1694 before the casting was begun. The model, which remained in the studio of the sculptor, had a profound influence on the

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equestrian monument of August the Strong in Dresden.[134]

Desjardins' most important commission, however, was the equestrian monument of Louis XIV which he made for the city of Lyon. The contract for the monument, which was drawn up on 20 May 1688, stated that "... l'attitude duquel cheval sera marchant le plus gravement qu'il sera possible avec la jambe droite élevée ..."[135] The work was placed under the direction of Jules Hardouin-Mansart, who later also designed the pedestal for the monument.[136] A terra-cotta equestrian statuette in the National Museum in Stockholm, which in all respects agrees with the description in the contract, is probably an early model for the statue.[137] The model shows clearly that the prototype for Desjardins' horse is to be found in the statue of Marcus Aurelius, which strongly influenced all French sculptors of that period.[138] The statuette shows the king in antique dress with a large wig on his head, a baton in his outstretched right hand and a billowing cloak over his shoulder. He is seated astride his horse on a lion skin, which has been knotted in front of the breast of the horse. The king rides without stirrups and his horse, like that of Marcus Aurelius, lifts its right foreleg and left hind leg from the ground.

Yet from an engraving of the monument by Benoît and Jean Audran, we see that the position of the legs have been reversed.[139] The numerous later reductions of the statue at Lyon prove that this position of the legs of the horse was the position eventually decided upon.[140] The full-scale model was made in Desjardins' studio in Paris between 1688 and 1691 and cast in Balthasar Keller's foundry in 1691.[141]

As nearly as one can tell from the study of the models and the engraving, the king, bewigged and dressed in the antique style, sat proudly astride his horse on a saddlecloth which bore his emblem, the sun. He held the reins with his left hand and in his right hand was a baton which rested on his right thigh. The high-legged pacing horse had a strongly arched neck and a very long loose-hanging tail. As a whole the emphasis in the group is from the left side, since both the king and the horse look in that direction.

In the course of 1700 the statue was transported to Lyon, where it lay for thirteen years before it was erected on an elaborate pedestal in the Place Bellecour. The pedestal was decorated on the left side with Nicolas Coustou's (1658 - 1733) group "La Saône" representing a

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naked goddess with a cornucopia and a lion and on the right side with Guillaume Coustou's (1677 - 1746) "Rhône group", representing a male river god. On the narrow sides of the pedestal were representations of trophies. The statue was completely destroyed on 28 August 1792 and in 1825 a new equestrian statue of Louis XIV by the French sculptor, Francois Lemot (1771 - 1827) was erected on the Place Bellecour in Lyon.[142]

Although all these French equestrian monuments of Louis XIV were destroyed during the French Revolution, surviving examples of the type are still to be found in various cities in Europe.[143] The most distinguished surviving descendant, however, is the equestrian statue of the Great Elector Frederick William of Prussia in Berlin, by the sculptor Andreas Schlüter (1662 - 1714).[144] It not only combines the basic pattern of Girardon's design with the dynamism of Mochi's Farnese statues, but it also shows influence from Giambologna's equestrian monument of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf in Paris.

In 1694 a young sculptor from Hamburg, Andreas Schlüter, was called to the service of the Elector Frederick III in Berlin. Two years later, after successfully completing numerous smaller commissions, he was asked to make an equestrian monument of Elector Frederick III's father, Frederick William, the Great Elector of Prussia, who had died in 1688. The equestrian monument was to be part of the decoration of the new stone bridge, "Die Lange Brücke", which connected the castle square with the main street.[145]

Before starting with the models for this equestrian statue, Schlüter paid a short visit to Italy and Paris, possibly to look at examples of equestrian statues there. Not only the idea of placing the equestrian statue on a tall pedestal surrounded by figures of slaves, but also the original siting of the monument in the middle of "Die Lange Brücke" is derived from the equestrian monument of Henri IV on the Pont-Neuf in Paris. Schlüter, however, changed the character of his prototype by giving it a Baroque liveliness. Schlüter's statue was also strongly influenced by Girardon's equestrian statue of Louis XIV on the Place Vendôme, but it shows more pathos and impetuous energy.[146] Schlüter worked from 1696 until 1698 on the models for the statue.[147]

In 1698 the bronze founder Johann Jacobi, who had been trained by Balthasar Keller in Paris, started with the casting-moulds for the

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colossal statue. For the casting of the statue, Schlüter especially erected a foundry in the vicinity of the palace.[148] On 2 November 1700, Jacobi cast the statue in one piece in the presence of the whole court.[149] Yet the cleaning and finishing of the statue took a long time.

When Elector Frederick III was crowned King of Prussia in March 1701 in Königsberg, a provisional gilded plaster model of the statue was placed on "Die Lange Brücke" for his return to Berlin. In 1703 the completed equestrian statue was erected on a pedestal without the four chained slaves and the inauguration ceremony took place on 12 July 1703.[150] The four slaves for the pedestal were completed in 1709 from Schlüter's designs by his students after he had fallen into disgrace. During the Second World War the statue was moved to Schloss Charlottenburg and erected on a new pedestal, the old pedestal remaining in East Berlin.

The statue shows the heavy figure of the Great Elector, bewigged and with a billowing cloak about his shoulders seated astride his fiery charger on an elaborately decorated saddlecloth. He proudly gazes ahead of him, holds the reins firmly in his left hand and grips a baton in his right. The horse is much the same as Girardon's horse for Louis XIV, except that it has a long loose-hanging tail and its ears are pointed backwards instead of forward. The equestrian figure stands on an elaborate oval pedestal with reliefs, volutes and four chained slaves. J.S. Held aptly describes the unified composition when he states: "Two separate worlds have been depicted. One belongs to the prince riding high on his fiery charger, his leonine hair blown back by the wind, his dilated eyes looking toward distant goals. The other is represented by four chained prisoners sitting far below him, some abjectly pondering their fate, others looking upward in his direction with expressions and gestures of awe. They are fixed to one spot: he moves out into space. They are helpless: he is all-powerful. They acknowledge his greatness: but he does not even realize they are there."[151] With this equestrian monument Schlüter united the Italian and French Baroque traditions.

ROCOCO

The Rococo which emerged in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century, continued through the reign of Louis XV and

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dominated Europe until it was superseded by the Neo-classical revival, primarily influenced decorative art and had very little direct effect on commemorative equestrian monuments. These were still based on the type of equestrian statue of Louis XIV of about 1690, but took Baroque conventions to their extreme point and showed a certain elegance and freedom of composition. The main impetus was towards decorative and garden sculpture, of which the best equestrian examples are the elaborate reductions of well-known equestrian statues of the time of Louis XIV[152] and Antoine Coysevox's figures of "Fame" and "Mercury" and Giullaume Coustou's rearing horses for the Terrasse de l' Abreuvoir in Marly.[153] Most of the commemorative equestrian statues of this period in Europe were still based on the French Baroque models with the exception of the equestrian statue of Peter the Great by Etienne Maurice Falconet (1716 - 1791). The most important commemorative equestrian monuments of this period are those of Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704 - 1778), Edmé Bouchardon (1698 - 1762) and Etienne Maurice Falconet.

Although the equestrian statues of Louis XV by Lemoyne and Bouchardon basically revived the type of equestrian figure exemplified by Girardon's statue of Louis XIV, their greatest innovation lay in the fact that their pacing horses were supported only on two legs instead of three. Girardon had to make use of a flat sword and shield as an extra support under the left hind leg of his horse. This phenomenon grieved horselovers because it seemed as if the horse was crippled in its left hind leg.[154] By strengthening the supporting irons within the right hind leg and left foreleg of the horse and at the same time carefully balancing the weight, Lemoyne as well as Bouchardon succeeded in solving this problem.

The large stylish Place Royale overlooking the harbour in Bordeaux was initially designed by Robert de Cotte and eventually completed by Jacques Jules Gabriel. To round off the project Gabriel required an equestrian monument of King Louis XV in the centre of the square. In 1730 the sculptor Guillaume Coustou was asked to make a design for such a monument. Coustou made a wax model for the wooden pedestal supplied by Gabriel, but when it was found that Coustou's price was exorbitant, the commission was given to the twenty-six year old Parisian sculptor, Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne.[155]

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The contract for the monument, which was signed on 9 January 1731, states that a 4,35 metre high bronze equestrian statue of the king, represented as a Roman hero, was to be completed within four years.[156] Lemoyne immediately started with a bust of the king and then went on to a model for the monument. Although this model has been lost, Lemoyne made four reductions of this statue in 1766 one of which is at present in the museum in Bordeaux.[157] Lemoyne worked until 1735 on the full-scale model. Although Lemoyne was later accused of using plaster casts of the horse of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, his pupil Falconet, who was present when the models were made, stated that Lemoyne never used any casts or drawings of that horse, but worked from nature.[158] The king visited Lemoyne's studio on 29 March 1735 and was very pleased with the statue.[159] However, it was not cast immediately because of a shortage of bronze. When the metal was at last available in 1738, Lemoyne was broke and had to borrow money to complete the project.[160]

During the casting of the statue which took place on 25 February 1739, something went wrong and the metal started to stream out of the top of the mould. The result was that the upper part of the mould was destroyed and part of the statue had to be recast.[161] A new casting of the upper half of the statue was made in July 1741 and riveted to the bottom part, which remained after the first unsuccessful casting. The joint, however, always remained visible. After the cleaning and finishing of the bronze in July 1743, the statue was transported by boat to Bordeaux, where it was placed on a pedestal which had already been erected in 1731.[162] There the monument was at last unveiled on 19 August 1743. The elaborate decoration of the pedestal as planned by Gabriel was only completed in 1754, not by Lemoyne, but by Clair-Claude Francin (1702 - 1772). The monument was destroyed in September 1792, but the marble reliefs of the pedestal have survived and are at present in the City Library in Bordeaux.[163]

In spite of the fact that the statue was destroyed, its appearance is recorded by the aforementioned reductions as well as an excellent engraving by Nicolas-Gabriel Dupuis (1696 - 1771).[164] Lemoyne portrayed the king in antique dress with a billowing cloak about his shoulders and a baton in his outstretched right hand. He sits firmly on an elaborate saddle cloth astride his energetic parading horse, whose long tail has been tied up. The fiery quality of the horse's

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head as well as the king's flying draperies gives the statue a strong sense of movement, while the graceful play of line throughout the work and its elegant silhouette make it an unmistakable example of Rococo sculpture. The pedestal, with its large reliefs showing the "Battaille de Fontenoy" and Richelieu's capturing of Port-Mahon and its decorative trophies at the rounded corners, is further proof of the monument's Rococo style.

On the other hand Bouchardon's equestrian monument of Louis XV already falls within the trend of the classical reaction against Rococo excesses. The creation of this equestrian monument was more a scientific than an artistic accomplishment because of the artist's thorough academic approach to every aspect of the monument's conception and his intense application of detail.

In June 1748, at a time when Louis XV's popularity was at its peak, the magistrate of Paris decided to erect an equestrian monument to his honour in the city.[165] From the outset the king showed an interest in the undertaking and donated the square between the Tuileries and the Champs Elysées for the erection of the monument. This square became known as the Place de Louis XV.[166]

The already famous sculptor, Edmé Bouchardon, was chosen to execute the monument and on 23 October 1749 a contract was signed with him.[167] Bouchardon immediately started with an intensive study from nature as well as art. He began by making detailed studies of all the equestrian monuments in Paris - Henri IV, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. These drawings, which show measurements and indicate precise proportions, are at present in the Louvre.[168] After this Bouchardon borrowed a horse from a friend, Baron de Tiers, and for months he made studies of it from all angles.[169] Two hundred and ninety two of these studies are in the Louvre.[170] Bouchardon not only consulted Carlo Ruini's famous book "Dell' Anatomia e dell' Infirmita del Cavallo" (Bologna, 1598) for accurate anatomical studies of the horse[171], but he also made accurate drawings of the pedestal for the monument and suggested ideas for transporting and erecting it.[172] The more than 400 surviving drawings testify to Bouchardon's pains over this project and show us step by step how with scholarly precision the sculptor investigated and solved the problems of designing an equestrian monument.

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Once he was satisfied that he understood the anatomy of the horse, Bouchardon confidently started working on the composition of his monument. He hesitated for a time over which attitude to give the horse and made a small terra-cotta model of a rider on a prancing horse, but he seems to have dropped this idea and finally adopted the type of the imperator in triumph.[173]

Inspiration for the final small-scale model undoubtedly came from the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome, but certain irregularities were corrected by greater truth to nature. In the museum in Besancon is a wax model which could possibly be a preparatory study for the final small-scale model.[174] Bouchardon completed the small-scale model in 1752 and immediately started with the full-scale plaster model.[175] After working on this model for four years and a month, Bouchardon completed it on 8 January 1757.[176]

Originally the casting of the statue was to be done by Pierre Varin, but he died in November 1753 and his place was taken by Pierre Gor. Gor cast the colossal statue inside a specially built foundry on 6 May 1758 in the presence of a large audience.[177] The pouring of the metal took five minutes and four seconds.[178] Because the casting of the colossal statue was done with such ease and the problems of the group as a whole were so successfully solved, the city of Paris decided to commission the engraver, P.J. Mariette to publish a complete volume on this aspect of the work. Ten years after the casting of Bouchardon's statue, Mariette published his "Description des travaux qui ont précédé, accompagné et suivi la fonte en bronze, d'un seul jet, de la statue équestre de Louis XV le Bien-Aimé, dressée sur les mémoires de M. Lempereur, ancien échevin, par M. Mariette, honoraire-amateur de l'Académie royale de Peinture e Sculpture", a book illustrated with numerous plates showing the casting of the statue.[179]

Directly after the casting Claude Vassé (1716 - 1771) was commissioned to make seven bronze and seventeen plaster reductions of the statue for the king and his court.[180] In the Louvre and at Versailles there are surviving examples of Vassé's statuettes, which show the bareheaded king as a Roman general dressed in a cuirass with a cloak about his shoulders and a sword by his side.[181] He is seated on his horse on a plain saddlecloth which is only decorated with a scroll-like border pattern. He holds the reins firmly in his

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right hand against his hip. The restfully pacing horse is shown with its left front and right hind leg raised.

Bouchardon did very little work on the full-scale models himself, because he was already very ill at the time they were completed. In a solemn letter of 24 June 1762 he wrote to the city of Paris that he would prefer his work to be completed by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714 - 1785). Bouchardon died on 27 July 1762, but he had left accurate drawings and models for the completion of the pedestal of his monument. Three caryatids were completed, which meant that only one caryatid and two relief panels were still to be made.[182]

In February 1763 the completed statue was taken from Bouchardon's studio to the Place de Louis XV and placed in position on the pedestal.[183] The monument was unveiled on 20 June 1763.[184] From an engraving of the monument by Noël le Mire[185] as well as one by Mariette[186] we see the novel idea which Bouchardon conceived for his pedestal. In typical Neo-classical style, four female figures symbolizing the Virtues effortlessly support the platform on which the equestrian statue stands.[187] When Louis XV lost his popularity amongst the people, a popular rhyme about this statue originated, which ran: "O la belle statue, O le beau piédestal, les vertus sont à pied et les vices à cheval". The statue was completely destroyed on 11 August 1792, only the right hand of the king remaining.[188]

Bouchardon's statue was universally admired and strongly influenced Jacques Francois Joseph Saly's (1718 - 1776) equestrian statue of Frederick V of Denmark in Copenhagen[189] and Pierre Hubert Larchevêque's (1721 - 1778) equestrian statue of Gustav II Adolf in Stockholm.[190]

The most impressive equestrian statue of the Rococo was Etienne Maurice Falconet's monument to Peter the Great, commissioned by Catherine II for St Petersburg.[191]

Plans for an equestrian monument to the honour of Peter the Great of Russia already existed since 1716.[192] In 1764 Catherine the Great of Russia asked the Director of Fine Arts, Betskoi, to write out a competition for an equestrian monument to her father. A copy of this was sent to the Russian envoy at Versailles, Prince A.D. Galitzin. Galitzin, who was a friend of the French philosopher Diderot, asked

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him for advice. They asked the most important sculptors in France at the time to give estimates for such a monument and only Falconet's estimate was within the amount Catherine was offering.[193] Diderot then recommended Falconet to Catherine the Great. On 27 August 1766 a contract for the monument was signed between Prince Galitzin and the sculptor and in October that year Falconet went to St Petersburg, accompanied by his pupil Marie-Anne Collot.[194]

But the preliminary ideas for the monument originated long before Falconet ever saw St Petersburg. Later he recalled that one day while discussing the project with Diderot, who had suggested the erection of a gigantic fountain with allegorical figures surrounding a rock on which Peter the Great's statue stood, he had rejected such a Baroque conception and sketched the essential elements of his composition on a corner of Diderot's table.[195] This showed the czar on horseback rearing up on a rock, which symbolized the difficulties he surmounted in his effort of reform. Falconet's idea therefore was to make a radical departure from the tradition of Lemoyne and Bouchardon, and represent his hero not as a warrior but as a legislator, the wise ruler of his people.

Wittkower points out that Falconet's idea for his monument of Peter the Great is indirectly linked with Bernini's monument of Louis XIV by virtue of the metaphor of the rock, where like Bernini's Louis, Falconet's Peter "is shown at the summit of his achievement".[196] Initially, however, Falconet must have drawn some general inspiration from the Marly horses as well as from equestrian portraits by Rubens, for whom he had great admiration.

Falconet brought a small wax model with him from France. In St Petersburg he was given a free hand to realize his ideas. He immediately started with the small-scale model and completed it within eighteen months.[197] From February 1768 until 1772 Falconet worked diligently on the full-scale plaster model. An accurate drawing of this model by Rutheven Antonio Lossenko is at present in the Museum at Nancy.[198] Falconet's concern for naturalness is shown by his first modelling the czar naked. He eventually avoided both conventional Russian dress and typical Russian costume in favour of timeless robes. Since he had little interest in portrait sculpture he left the head of his figure to be executed by Marie-Anne Collot. One of his main problems with the horse was support. Although his plan was to

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express the "idea" of a hero without making use of allegory, technical considerations forced him to make use of a large snake beneath the hind legs of the horse. The bronze had to be heavier at the back than the front, to preserve its equilibrium and the snake helped to fix it to the rock.

Falconet's greatest problems arose with the casting of the colossal figure. Diderot asked Pierre Gor to do the casting, but his estimate for the work was preposterous. Another founder, Bennoit Ersman, worked from 1772 until 1774 on the moulds, but left after a quarrel with Falconet.[199] Falconet then decided to do the casting himself, but the first casting of 4 September 1775 was unsuccessful. Only the bottom half of the mould was filled. On 15 July 1777 the top half was cast and the two halves were successfully joined.[200] The cleaning and finishing of the bronze was done early in 1778, but Falconet left Russia in September before the statue was completed.

At that time the large rock which was to serve as a pedestal for the statue was already in its place on Admiralty Square in St Petersburg. This 1½ million kilogram block of granite was brought by two ships from the Finnish Gulf to St Petersburg in October 1770 and hauled to the site on cannon-balls on an iron roadway by five hundred men.[201] Here it was cut to the required shape by Falconet before he left. The monument was unveiled on 18 August 1782.[202]

Already in its iconography this monument belongs to a new era and differs notably from its predecessors. Peter the Great is no longer represented as a conqueror or ruler but he extends his arm in the gesture of the legislator, the civil reformer. Instead of having the traditional classical pedestal Peter the Great is shown on a clifflike granite boulder. In his search for naturalism, Falconet like Bernini before him, has resolved "the formal antagonism between pedestal and rider".[203]

NEO-CLASSICISM

During the second half of the eighteenth century a new artistic style, Neo-classicism spread from Rome to other parts of Europe. It showed a new interest in the antique originating from the archaeological excavations at Herculaneum, Paestum and Pompeii in the years from 1738 to 1756. Its art aesthetic was therefore built on archaeological

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foundations. The most important propogandist of the new movement was the German art historian Johann Winckelmann, who wished for a re-creation of the Greek spirit. He drew a sharp distinction between what he thought was classical Greek art and Roman copies and expressed admiration for the antique Greek ideals of calm simplicity and noble grandeur. Since the practice of art of this movement was overshadowed by aesthetic theory, the result was very often insipid and artificial. Human figures were idealized to disguise physical shortcomings and to show perfect anatomical forms. Rheims mentions that "bodies, in fact, were considered by portrait sculptors to be much the same as pedestals, and the sculptor was expected to transcend the physical traits of his model".[204]

From all parts of Europe artists streamed to Italy to participate in this "idolatry of Antiquity".[205] The most prominent sculptors of the movement were Antonio Canova (1757 - 1822) and Bertel Thorwaldsen (1768 - 1884). They were also the only sculptors to produce commemorative equestrian figures in this period.

Canova's two equestrian monuments stand on the Piazza del Plebiscito in Naples.[206] The one equestrian figure was begun in 1802 as a monument to Napoleon Bonaparte. The horse was completed in 1810 and Canova immediately started with the rider. Before it was completed the city of Naples commissioned Canova to make an equestrian statue of Joachim Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law and the new king of Naples instead.[207] After Napoleon's downfall the monument was finally changed to a statue of the rightful king of Naples, Charles III, and erected on the Piazza del Plebiscito in 1818. By the time of Canova's death in October 1822, only the horse of the second equestrian statue was completed. This model is at present in the museum at Passagno. Antonio Cali (1788 - 1886) completed the figure of Ferdinando I of Bourbon for Canova's second horse and after it was cast in bronze, it was erected as a counterpart to the equestrian statue of Charles III in 1829.[208]

Both these equestrian monuments were directly influenced by the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome and the horses of San Marco in Venice as well as the Balbi equestrian statues which were found at Herculaneum in 1750.[209] Both the riders are dressed in Roman armour and have cloaks over their shoulders and batons in their outstretched right hands.

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Thorwaldsen's equestrian statue of the Polish hero, Joseph Poniatowski in Warsaw is without doubt the most typical equestrian monument of the Neo-classical style.[210]

In 1817 Thorwaldsen was commissioned to make an equestrian monument of Prince Poniatowski for Warsaw.[211]

The contract for the monument which was sent to him in Rome in July 1818 stated that the statue was to have the same dimensions, bearing and dress as the Marcus Aurelius statue in Rome.[212] Since Thorwaldsen's idea was to represent the prince in Polish national dress just before his horse jumped from the precipice into the flooded Elster river, he decided to discuss the matter with the committee in person and visited Warsaw in 1820. A drawing of this initial idea is in the Thorwaldsen Museum in Copenhagen.[213]

In spite of Thorwaldsen's suggestions, the committee refused to change its mind and demanded a representation of a Roman general on a restfully pacing horse. After returning to Rome, Thorwaldsen postponed work on the monument for years until he received admonishing letters from Warsaw. Thorwaldsen then made studies of the Marcus Aurelius statue as well as that of M. Nonius Balbus the Elder and finished the full-scale plaster model in 1828.[214] This model is at present in the Thorwaldsen Museum in Copenhagen.

The model was sent to Warsaw in 1828 and Thorwaldsen cast it in bronze with the help of the sculptor Jacob Tatarkiewicz in 1830.[215] But the monument was never erected. After the Russians suppressed a Polish military revolt in November 1830, they refused to erect a monument to a Polish hero. The statue was therefore stowed away in Castle Modlin. In 1840 Prince Paskiewicz took the statue to his country estate in Russia and had it changed to a figure of St George.[216] After the Russian revolution in 1917 the statue was returned to Warsaw and erected there on 3 May 1923. It was destroyed in 1944 but has been replaced by a copy.

In all these Neo-classical equestrian monuments the antique example played a decisive role. This meant that aesthetic as well as technical problems were minimal. It was only the compositional problems which the sculptor had to solve.

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THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY

Just as the art of the nineteenth century is difficult to evaluate in its entirety because of its diversity, so it is impossible to make a thorough study of each and every equestrian monument erected during the period, because of the vast number which were made.[217] During the period in question bronze equestrian statues were indefinitely multiplied to such an extent that few important cities in Europe or America were without one or more examples. Statistics gathered in 1913 showed that there were about 630 equestrian monuments in the world, eighty-nine of which were in the United States of America.[218] For the purpose of this study a generalized view of the equestrian monuments of the nineteenth century will suffice.

The vast spread of wealth, the growth of a rich bourgeoisie and their assumption to power altered the tone of the equestrian monument after the Napoleonic wars. Henceforward it was no longer only the courts and aristocracy who commissioned equestrian statues but also middle class committees and public bodies representing the nation. They wanted equestrian statues of their heroes and usually dictated the form which these monuments were to take. As Rheims has pointed out, the taste of these bourgeoisie patrons was generally conservative.[219] Subsequently the demand was for exact, photographic representations.

It often was the case that by erecting a statue of a well-known person, the patron honoured himself in an arrogant way. This phenomenon has been called "Selbstbedenkmalungsarroganz".[220] This probably accounts for the vast number of monuments which cluttered the streets and squares of Europe in this time. In general the equestrian monuments were display pieces erected in public squares to ordinary men. Usually the emphasis was on the character of the rider, who was mostly portrayed in contemporary dress.

Certain fixed principles were laid down by the artists for the conception of the figural sculpture which includes equestrian monuments. They ruled that in such statues, the character of a person represented, should not be portrayed by allegories or symbols but solely by bodily gestures and the perfection of relative details which are in harmony with these gestures. The head of the figure

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was considered to be important and was not to be covered with a hat or any other headdress which would cast shadows on the face. In addition to the traditional paintings, busts and deathmasks which the sculptor used to obtain a likeness, the sculptor of the later nineteenth century also had the photograph. As an aid it was used in an increasing degree in sculpture since the 1880's.

The sculptors of equestrian figures of this time were particularly aware of the compositional possibilities of the equestrian statue. They knew that when an active leader was portrayed on horseback, his character had to be reflected in the stance of the horse. They also knew that light played an important role in large statues such as equestrian monuments. An equestrian figure often looked entirely different when it was taken out of the studio into the direct sunlight. For this reason sculptural planes were emphasized and proportions adjusted with the eye and not by mechanical means.

The Napoleonic wars resulted in the development of nationalist sentiments throughout Europe. War memorials and victory monuments mushroomed in almost every city in Europe. Very often these monuments were equestrian statues. A compositional innovation for the equestrian statue during the nineteenth century was the standing horse. After Waterloo, military leaders were often portrayed on a standing horse as if they were surveying the battlefield.[221]

Individual traits peculiar to the different nations became apparent in many nineteenth century equestrian monuments. These monuments often reflected the individual taste peculiar to a certain nation. The Italians generally preferred spirited romantic compositions showing much action such as the equestrian statue of Duke Emanuel Philibert of Savoy in Turin[222], that of Duke Ferdinand of Genoa also in Turin[223], that of Charles Albert also in Turin[224], that of King Vittorio Emmanuele II in Milan[225], and that of Amedeo of Savoy in Turin[226].

The British preferred symbolic or naturalistic equestrian statues such as the numerous equestrian statues of the Duke of Wellington[227], the equestrian statues of George III[228] and George IV in London[229], that of Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala in London[230], and George Frederick Watts' "Physical Energy" in Kensington Gardens in London[231]. Like the British the French showed a preference for

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symbolic and naturalistic monuments such as the equestrian statues of Jeanne d' Arc in Paris[232] and Rheims[233], the equestrian statues of Louis XIV in Paris[234] and at Versailles[235], and Lemot's equestrian statue of Henri IV in Paris[236].

The Germans on the other hand preferred realistic equestrian figures on over-decorated architectural pedestals containing a theatrical grouping of middle class virtues and heroes around the base such as the equestrian monument of King Frederick the Great by Christian Daniel Rauch (1777 - 1857)[237], that of Kaiser William I by Reinhold Begas (1831 - 1911)[238], those of Bismarck by Rudolf Siemering (1835 - 1905)[239] and the Maria Teresia memorial in Vienna by Kaspar Zumbusch (1830 - 1919)[240].

Since typical examples of nineteenth century equestrian statues will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the problems with which the sculptors of this type of equestrian monument had to contend, will be discussed there.

FOOTNOTES

1. Keller, U.: Reitermonumente Absolutistischer Fürsten, p. 4.

2. See figs. 83 and 84.

3. See chapter 5, p. 167.

4. Dhanens, E.: Jean Boulogne, Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo, pp. 274 - 285. Weihrauch points out that Giambologna earned much praise early in his career with a quadriga of prancing horses in an ephemeral medium for table decoration in 1565. See Weihrauch H.R.: Europäische Bronzestatuetten, p. 223.

5. Baldinucci, F.: Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua ..., p. 569.

6. Drawings of horses by Cigoli, Gabinetto dei Disegni, Uffizi, Florence Nos. N.866ORN and N.867ORN. See also Avery, C.: A. Radcliff and M. Leithe-Jasper: Giambologna 1529 - 1608 - ein Wendepunkt der Europäischen Plastik, p. 243.

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7. Statuette of a pacing horse, bronze, 24,8 cm high, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 24.212.23. It is not improbable that Giambologna was influenced by the antique horse head which served as a fountain in the Palazzo Medici at the time. Dr. Katharine J. Watson points out that this type of horse appeared for the first time in Giambologna's relief for the Salviati-chapel, which he made in collaboration with Antonio Susini in 1581. See Avery, C., A. Radcliff and M. Leithe-Jasper: Op. cit., p. 237. (See fig. 85.)

8. It is possible that Duke Ferdinando had been persuaded that an equestrian statue bearing the features of his father would be a more fitting monument to his remembrance than just a horse and he then changed his initial idea.

9. Horse with saddlecloth, bronze, 23,5 cm high, Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence, No. 348. (See fig. 86.) Numerous copies of this model were later made and various examples are at present in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna No. 5839; the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts; the Museo Arqueologico Naçional, Madrid; and the National Museum in Stockholm.

10. Statuette of a pacing horse, bronze, 23,5 cm high, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. A.148-1910. (See fig. 87.) There are also numerous copies of this figure which are at present in: the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen of England; the Art Institute, Chicago, No. 60.887; Die Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden; the Museo Arqueologico Naçional, Madrid, No. 52856; the Galleria Estense, Modena; the National Museum, Stockholm; the Landesmuseum, Stuttgart; and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, No. 5843.

11. The bronze horse and rider in the Museo Nazionale, Bargello in Florence, 35,3 cm high by the sculptor Baccio Bandinelli has in the past been incorrectly attributed to Giambologna as his small-scale model for the statue of Cosimo I. See Friis, H.: Op cit., p. 208 and Venturi, A.: Storia del' Arte Italiana, vol 10III, p. 766. (See fig. 88.)

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12. Equestrian statuette of Emperor Rudolph II, bronze, 63 cm high, National Museum, Stockholm, No. S.K.749. (See fig. 89.) Giambologna sent this statue to the emperor as a present towards the end of the sixteenth century.

13. Weihrauch, H.R.: Europäische Bronzestatuetten, p. 225. The same mould also seems to have been used for the bronze equestrian statuette of Ferdinando I (64 cm high) in the collection of the reigning sovereign of Lichtenstein at Schloss Vaduz (See fig. 90.) and for the bronze equestrian statuette of Henri IV (64,7 cm high) in the Wallace Collection in London. (See fig. 91.) The small differences in the figures such as the details on the saddles, the addition of sashes and different swordhandles were probably made in the wax before they were cast in bronze.

14. A description of Giambologna's studio during the casting of the horse is found in a document of 1591: A.S.F.: Fabbriche Medicee, f.121, cc.22v-23v.

15. Dhanens, E.: Op. cit., p. 276. In the Staatliche Museen Berlin - Dahlem No. 876 is a terra-cotta model of a pedestal which is without doubt a model for the pedestal of Cosimo's monument. (See fig. 92.) Avery C., A. Radcliff and M. Leithe-Jasper: Op. cit., p. 303.

16. Dhanens, E.: Op. cit., p. 274.

17. Keller U.: Op. cit., p. 21.

18. (See Figs. 93 and 94.) The history of this equestrian monument is as follows: A note in the florentine State Archives dated May 1600 for the payment of the casting of a bronze statuette, reads: "... per gittatura di'un cavallino configura servi il Gran Duca Ferdinando." See Bregenz: Meisterwerke der Plastik aus Privatsammlungen in Bodenseegebiet, p. 27. This probably refers to the statuette of Ferdinando, which is a replica of the Cosimo equestrian statue, only bearing the likeness of Ferdinando and which was probably given to Ferdinando as a present after the monument to his father had been completed. It is at present in

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Schloss Vaduz in Lichtenstein. See footnote 13 above. It is possible that this statuette encouraged Ferdinando to commission a full-scale monument of himself from Giambologna in 1601. However he must have felt that a repetition of his father's monument was unsuitable, since it would not indicate a difference between his rule and that of his father's. In fact a receipt dated December 1601 mentions a "new Horse" by Giambologna. Pietro Tacca eventually completed this monument. The large-scale plaster model was finished by July 1602 and it was cast on 24 October that year. The finishing of the statue lasted until April 1607 and it was officially unveiled as part of the decoration of Florence during the wedding of Cosimo II and Maria Magdalena of Austria in October 1608. See Avery, C., A. Radcliff and M. Leithe-Jasper: Op. cit., p. 233.

19. (See fig. 95.) The history of this statue is as follows: During the wedding of Marie dé Médici in October 1600, an equestrian figure of Henri IV made of sugar formed part of the table decoration. See Watson, K.: Sugar sculpture for grand ducal weddings from the Giambologna workshop, The Connoisseur, 189 (1978), p. 25. This figurine was a preliminary study for an equestrian monument which Marie ordered later from Giambologna for the Pont Neuf in Paris. Giambologna sent a small presentation model to Paris in 1604. This model is probaly the one at present in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon, No. 191. (See fig. 96.) In 1606 a wax portrait bust of King Henri IV was sent from Paris to Florence to assist the sculptor to get a good likeness of the king. The horse was cast in September 1607, but the figure of the king was only cast after his death in May 1610. After many setbacks the monument arrived in Paris in July 1614, where it was unveiled on the Pont Neuf on 23 August 1614. The monument was not yet complete, since the bronze figures of slaves designed for the pedestal of the statue of Ferdinando I by Cigoli were added to the pedestal of Henri's statue in 1618. They were executed by Pietro Francavilla (1548 - 1615), another of the students of Giambologna. The reliefs were only added in 1628. This monument was destroyed in August 1792 and the bronze was used for casting cannon. Yet the four slaves, three fragments of the rider and part of the horse were saved and are at present in the Louvre. See Nos. MR 3449, MR 3450, MR 3451,

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MR 3453. Thanks to various drawings and etchings, we have an accurate record of the original equestrian monument before it was destroyed. The most important of these are a contemporary drawing by Ludovico Cigoli at present in the Ashmolean Museum, an etching by L. Pauquet and various drawings by the sculptor Edmé Bouchardon in the Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre Nos. 24356 - 24359 and 24714 - 24717. In 1816 a copy of the original statue was made by the French sculptor F.F. Lemot (1772 - 1827) (See fig. 97.) but the themes of the plinth have been changed and it was again placed on the Pont Neuf. See Friis, H.: Rytterstatuens Historie I Europa fra Oldtiden indtil Thorvaldsen, pp. 252 - 262.

20. (See fig. 98.) The history of this statue is as follows: In 1606 Ferdinando I ordered an equestrian monument of Phillip III of Spain from Giambologna which he intended as a present for the Spanish king. Antonio Susini and Pietro Tacca then sent a presentation model based on the equestrian statuette of Ferdinando I by Giambologna to Ferdinando. This presentation model is at present in the collection of the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Hessen, No. G.K. III 3490. (See fig. 99.) A painted portrait of Phillip III by the Spanish artist, Pantoja de la Cruz, was then sent to Florence to serve as a model for the likeness of the Spanish king. See Justi, C.: Die Reiterstatue Philipps IV in Madrid von Pietro Tacca, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, 18 (1883) p. 308. It is possible that a small-scale model was then made and sent to Phillip, to give him an idea of what the final statue would look like. The whereabouts of such a scale model is unknown. Pietro Tacca, who was mainly involved with this monument, had the horse cast in 1608 at the time of Giambologna's death. The figure of the king was only finished after 1611. Pietro Tacca's brother officially presented the equestrian monument to the king of Spain in November 1616. It was unveiled in January 1617 in the royal gardens near the Casa del Campo. See Avery, C., A. Radcliff and M. Leithe-Jasper: Op. cit., p. 242.

21. Not only the above-mentioned statues in Italy, Spain and France were directly inspired by Giambologna's original model for the equestrian statue of Cosimo, but also the equestrian statuette of

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Charles Emmanuel of Savoy by Susini in the collection of the Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Hessen, No. G.K. III 3486 (See fig. 100.), that of Emperor Rudolph II in the National Museum in Stockholm, No. S.K. 749 (see footnote 12) and that of Phillip II of Spain by Hubert le Sueur in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. A.108 - 1956 (See fig. 101.) as well as various monuments such as:

(a) The equestrian statue of Connetable Henri I de Montmorency by Pierre Biard which was erected in front of the Castle Chantilli but was unfortunately destroyed during the Revolution. Fortunately we know what it looked like from an engraving by J. Picart. (See fig. 102.) and Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 266.

(b) The equestrian statue of Charles I of England by Hubert le Sueur at Charing Cross in London. (See fig. 103.) Although Le Sueur never was in the service of Giambologna or Tacca, he might have acquired valuable experience during the erection of the equestrian statue of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf by Pietro Francavilla in 1618. In fact his statue of Charles I follows very closely the pattern of the statue of Henri IV. The statue of Charles I was ordered by Lord Weston, Earl of Portland in 1631. Although eighteen months were allowed for the execution of the work, it was only cast in 1633 near the church in Covent Garden. It does not seem to have been erected before the commencement of the Civil War. During the war it fell into the hands of Parliament and was sold to a brazier, John Rivett with strict orders to break it up. Rivett however, cunningly concealed the statue underground and according to tradition he cast a large number of brass handles for knives and forks from a lot of old brass from his stock, vowing that they were made from the statue. After the Restoration the statue was again unearthed and presented to Charles II. It was then erected between July 1675 and March 1677 on a pedestal designed by Christopher Wren at Charing Cross. The tradition that the sculptor committed suicide on finding that he had forgotten to model the saddlegirths, is entirely without foundation because Le

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Sueur did not commit suicide and the straps are discernible when one looks carefully. See Gleichen, Lord E.: London's Open-air Statuary, p. 2 and Esdaile, K.A.: The Busts and Statues of Charles I, The Burlington Magazine, 91 (1949), p. 10.

(c) The equestrian monument of Grand Duke Leopold Wilhelm in Vienna. See Grossmann,O.: Das Reiterbild in Malerei und Plastik, p. 97.

22. See p. 211 of this chapter.

23. See figs. 104, 105, 106 and 107.

24. A bronze casting of the same model only bearing the head of Carlo Barberini is in the Collection Principe Barberini in Rome. (See fig. 108.)

25. See letter of 21 April 1616 in Pope-Hennessy, J.: Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture, vol III, p. 140.

26. Keller, U.: Op. cit., p. 28.

27. Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexicon der Bildenden Künstler, 24, p. 601.

28. Prancing horse after Giambologna's example, bronze, 25,5 cm high, collection of her Majesty the Queen of England (See fig. 109.) and various interpretations of Nessus and Dejanira, Louvre No. 176 and Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, No. H.23/95. In the collection of Dr. A. Schrafl in Zürich is a prancing horse which has been attributed to Giovanni Bologna's school. See Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., p. 226.

29. Bronze statuette of Louis XIII on a curvetting horse, 68 cm high, Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence. (See fig. 110.)

30. See Avery, C., A. Radcliff and M. Leithe-Jasper: Op. cit., p. 244.

31. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 215.

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32. The famous equestrian monument of Louis XIII which stood on the Place Royale now called the Place des Vosges in Paris until August 1792. We know this statue from a drawing by Edmé Bouchardon in the Louvre. It was the work of Daniele da Volterra and Pierre Biard. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 267 and chapter 5, p. 168 above.

33. We know about this from a letter which Tacca wrote to Cibo Pepoli on 29 January 1622 and from a letter of the duke, dated 3 June 1619 in which he acknowledged receipt of the models. See Avery, C., A Radcliff and M. Leithe-Jasper: Op. cit., p. 264 and Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., p. 233.

34. Equestrian statuette of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, bronze, 75 cm high, collection of the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Hessen, No. G.K.III 3489. (See fig. 111.)

35. (See fig. 112.) Koch, E.: Das Barocke Reitermonument in Osterreich, Mitteilungen der Osterreichischen Galerie, 63-64 (1975 - 76), pp. 38 - 47 and Weihrauch H.R.: Der Innsbrucker Brunnen des Caspar Gras, Pantheon 16 (1943), pp. 105 - 111.

36. Equestrian statuette of Archduke Leopold V by Caspar Gras, bronze, 36,5 cm high, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. 6025. (See fig. 113.) This statuette is part of a series of five similar statuettes, four of which are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the fifth in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. M. Leithe-Jasper says the following concerning them: "Die Statuetten sind in mehreren Teilen gegossen, die Köpfe abnehmbar und dadurch auch austauschbar. So sind z.B. die identischen Schweife der Rosse extra gegossen und angeschraubt. Die Reiter sind mit der Satteldecke, aber ohne die separat angefügten Arme gegossen und dann an die Pferde angeschraubt. Trotz dieser typischen Arbeitsweise für Serienerzeugnisse ist ein beachtlicher Qualitätsstandard gehalten worden." See Avery, C., A. Radcliff and M. Leithe-Jasper: Op. cit., p. 246.

37. See p. 190 above. Ebba Koch states the following concerning the

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origin of the idea of combining the equestrian figure with a fountain: "Die motivische Wurzel für die Verbindung von einem Brunnen mit einem sprengenden Ross ist der Pegasus-Brunnen, für den es im 16. Jahrhundert Beispiele in Italien gibt, etwa Tivoli, Bomarzo oder Bagnaia." See Koch, E.: Op. cit., p. 43.

38. See footnote 36 above.

39. Koch, E.: Op. cit., p. 43.

40. Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., p. 106

41. Koch, E.: Op. cit., p. 39.

42. Caramelle, F.: Caspar Gras (1585 - 1674), Leben und Werk, p. 150.

43. See chapter 5, p. 166 above.

44. See fig. 114.

45. Justi, C.: Miscelaneen aus Drei Jahrhunderten Spanischen Kunstlebens, II, p. 254.

46. See footnote 20 above.

47. This painting by Peter Paul Rubens was unfortunately destroyed in a fire in 1734, but a copy of it by Juan de Carreño, 337 x 262 cm is at present in the Uffizi in Florence.

48. From a letter by Commendatore di Serrano, dated 20 September 1636 published in Lewy, E.: Pietro Tacca, p. 69.

49. This portrait is probably the one by Velasques at present in the Pitti Palace.

50. Schaeffer, A.: Ross und Reiter, ihre Darstellung in der plastischen Kunst, p. 51.

51. MacCurdy, E.: The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci, vol. I, p. 529.

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52. Statuette of a curvetting horse by Pietro Tacca, bronze, 59 cm high, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. See Weihrauch, H.R.: Europäische Bronzestatuetten, p. 232. The ears of the horse are turned backwards as if it is listening to instructions from its rider.

53. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 217.

54. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 232.

55. Statuette of Charles II of the Two Sicilies by Giacomo Serpotta, bronze, Museo Pepoli, Trapani. (See fig. 115.) Bazin, G.: The Baroque, p. 317.

56. Manceri, E.: Giacomo Serpotta, L'Arte, 4 (1901), pp. 77 - 92.

57. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 231, fig. 140.

58. Bronze figure of Vittorio Amedeo on a stone horse, 2,7 m high, Palazzo Reale, Turin. (See fig. 116.) Other stone equestrian monuments of this time are few and often still of the traditional type. Two noteworthy examples are:

(a) The marble equestrian statue of Charles II of England on a pacing horse in the Park in front of Newley Hall, Ripon in Yorkshire. (See fig. 117.) The statue has a most interesting history. According to tradition the Polish Ambassador to the Court of St. James ordered an equestrian statue of his master, John Sobieski, from an unknown artist in Italy. It showed Sobieski trampling a Turk under his horse's feet. When it was finished, however, the Polish Ambassador could not pay for it, so Sir Robert Vyner, Lord Mayor of London, hearing of this, bought it and shipped it to England where on its arrival in 1672 he had the English sculptor Jasper Latham (d. 1693) alter the head to that of Charles II. Rupert Gunnis (Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660 - 1851, p. 234) however, points out that "only the horse was bought in

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Rome, so that the pedestal and the figure of Charles II may both be the work of Latham". When Mansion House was built in 1737, the statue was taken down and stored in a yard for forty years. In 1779 a descendant of Vyner took the statue to his country house at Gautby in Lincolnshire and in 1885 the statue was moved to its present position in Ripon. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., pp. 317 - 318.

(b) The stone equestrian statue of St. Wencelas on a standing horse in Prague which was made between 1678 and 1680 by the sculptor Johann George Bendl. See Stech, V.V.: Baroque Sculpture, p. 49, fig. 7.

59. Angelucci, A.: Il cavallo di marmo, Rivista contemporanea italiana, 15 (1867), pp. 326 - 348.

60. Friis incorrectly states that the figures of the slaves supporting the horse are of red marble. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 28.

61. Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Op. cit., p. 394 and Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 230.

62. It is possible that when Pietro Tacca refused to go to Turin to make an equestrian statue for the duke, he commissioned Rivalto instead. See p. 204 above.

63. Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Op. cit., p. 394.

64. See figs. 118 and 119.

65. Wittkower, R.: Gian Lorenzo Bernini, The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque, p. 233. Later after Bernini's equestrian statue was placed in the entrance to the Scala Regia in St Peter's, it received as counterpart the equestrian statue of Charlemagne by Augustin Cornacchini. (See fig. 120.) The idea of having the equestrian statues of Constantine and Charlemagne in the foreportal of St Peter's goes back to the time when the old Basilica of St Peter's still existed. See chapter 4, p. 111 above.

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66. Study for the equestrian monument of Constantine the Great, black and white chalk on grey paper, 310 x 267 mm, Academia de San Fernando, Madrid. See Brauer, H. and R. Wittkower: Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini, pl. 164a.

67. Harris, A.S.: Selected Drawings of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, p. vii.

68. The bronze statuette of Constantine which appeared on Christie's "Whitehead" Sale on 10 May 1898, No. 104 is not after one of Bernini's bozzetti but a later copy. See Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 234.

69. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 234.

70. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 234.

71. Study for the fall of drapery behind the equestrian statue of Constantine the Great, black and red chalk on grey paper, 354 x 222 mm, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig, Inv. No. 75 - 134.

72. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 51.

73. See chapter 5, p. 144 above.

74. According to Gabriel Peignot (Documents authentiques sur les dépenses de Louis XIV, p. 79) the total expense of Bernini's stay in France amounted to 103,025.18 livres. An astronomical amount for the visit of an artist. See Wittkower, R.: The Vicissitudes of a Dynastic Monument, Bernini's Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV, Essays in honour of Erwin Panofsky, p. 517.

75. The gradual evolution of this bust, which is at present in the Salon de Diane at Versailles, is one of the best documented works of art, mainly due to the diary entries of Bernini's French companion and interpreter Paul Fréart, Sieur de Chatelon. See Wittkower, R.: Gian Lorenzo Bernini, The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque, p. 230.

76. Wittkower, R.: The Vicissitudes of a Dynastic Monument,

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Bernini's Equestrian Statue of Louis XIV, Essays in honour of Erwin Panofsky, p. 518: "On this day (13 August 1665) Bernini described in Paris his idea of erecting in the square between the Louvre and the Tuileries 'deux colonnes comme la Trajane et l'Antonine et, entre les deux, un piédestal où serait la statue du Roi à cheval avec le mot de non plus ultra, allusion à celle d' Hercule'". Already at this early stage we have Bernini's reference to Hercules, indicating that Louis XIV was one better than Hercules as his kingdom stretched to the New World, far beyond the "columns of Hercules".

77. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 521.

78. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 521: "... Questa statue sarà del tutto diversa a quella di Costantino, perche Costantino stà in atto d'amirare la Croce che gl'apparve, e questa del Rè starà in atto di maestà, e di comando, nè io mai havrei permesso, che la statua del Re fosse una copia di quella di Costantino...".

79. Bozzetto for the equestrian statue of Louis XIV by Bernini, terra-cotta, 75 cm high, Galleria Borghese, Rome, Inv. No. CCLXIX. (See fig. 121.)

80. See chapter 2 p. 32. It is important to note that Bernini broke away from the curvetting horse and used the rearing type of Leonardo da Vinci instead. Bernini rather sacrificed correctness to the impression of rapid movement which he needed.

81. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 512.

82. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 525: "...La testa è già finita, e se i ritratti inviati sono simili, similissima; il rimanente del corpo in buonissimo stato."

83. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 503.

84. Design for the equestrian monument of Louis XIV, pen and brown ink with brown washes on paper, 270 x 385 mm, Museo Civico, Bassano, Inv. No. 186. Wittkower has the following to say about this drawing: "The drawing, by contrast, shows

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idiosyncrasies of Bernini's latest style; we find here what I would like to call a dynamic 'ornamentalization' of form, most clearly observable in the corkscrew twirls of the horse's tail and mane. It seems justifiable to date the drawing in the year 1673, when the statue was nearing completion and when Bernini turned to planning the formation of the rock." See Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 504.

85. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 527, No. 57.

86. See footnote 93 below.

87. Drawing of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV by an unknown artist, pen and brown ink, 552 x 418 mm, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Inv. No. Z3856.

88. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 514.

89. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 505: "The Roi Soleil sculptured smiling for eternity! From the point of view of French court etiquette no worse assault upon seemliness and decorum could be imagined, and the King's negative reaction was a foregone conclusion".

90. Marcus Curtius was a Roman hero, who, according to an old legend, gave his life for his city by leaping into a chasm which had opened in the Roman Forum. For this reason he was generally considered as a symbol of heroism.

91. Steinmann, E.: Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, 10(1917), pp. 337 - 380.

92. Janson, H.W.: The equestrian monument from Cangrande della Scala to Peter the Great, Sixteen Studies, p. 167.

93. From about 1670 on Charles Lebrun (1619 - 1690) busied himself with designs for a huge fountain near the Louvre. It was to consist of a marble mountain over thirty metres high with figures of chained slaves and eight river-gods who poured forth streams of water. On the summit was to be an equestrian statue of Louis

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XIV trampling the figures of Rebellion and Heresy. We know what the monument was to look like from numerous sketches and designs which have survived, such as Nicodemus Tessin's drawing in the National Museum in Stockholm of the final model, various designs by Lebrun in the Louvre, Inv. Nos. 6023-25, 6085 and 6087, and a drawing in the possession of Rudolph Wittkower in New York. These sketches clearly show that Lebrun pilfered the idea of a naturalistic rock formation for a base from Bernini. Girardon (1628 - 1715) was commissioned to execute Lebrun's design. He spent much time between 1679 and 1683 preparing the large models for the monument. By 1683 the marble for the monument was lying in the Louvre court. In September of that year Colbert died and his successor Louvois stopped the project, with the result that it was never completed. See Josephson, R.: Le Monument du Troimphe pour le Louvre, Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne, 53(1928), pp. 21 - 34.

94. See p. 224 above. Mention must here by made of other equestrian figures which were influenced by Bernini's example:

(a) The equestrian statue of Louis XIV by Jean Gobert which Cardinal Richelieu ordered for Castel Rueil in 1686. Two dated bronze models for this statue have survived namely one of 1685 in the Musèe de Maisons-Lafitte in Paris and one of 1689 in the Kunstakademie in Copenhagen. Both these statuettes show the king in contemporary military dress on a rearing horse. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 274. Later Gobert must have altered the same cast slightly to show the king dressed "á la romaine" and with his right hand on his hip instead of outstretched, but still on the same horse. An excellent example of the latter type is the bronze equestrian statuette of 1695 (86 cm high) in the Residenzmuseum in Munich. (See fig. 122.) A smilar one is in the Prado in Madrid. See Volk, P.: Darstellungen Ludwigs XIV auf steigendem Pferd, Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch 28(1966), p. 64.

(b) The sandstone equestrian statue of Margrave Christian Ernst in front of the castle in Bayreuth by the German sculptor Elias Ränz. (See fig. 123.) Although this statue,

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which is part of a fountain, is made in the High Baroque style which is typical of the work of Bernini, it is also a direct descendant of the type of equestrian statue exemplified by the statue of Vittorio Amedeo in Turin. Ränz made the statue between 1698 and 1700 after a design by Johann Leonhard Dientzenhofer, the court architect in Bayreuth. Margrave Christian Ernst is portrayed in contemporary armour on a prancing horse which tramples a Turk under its forelegs. This equestrian statue is typically Baroque in its realism, compactness and overwhelming decoration. Here the ideas of Bernini have been translated into the most pompous iconography of the German Baroque. See Brinckmann, A.E.: Barockskulptur, p. 360 and Friis, H.: Op. cit., pp. 354 - 355.

95. This statue, which is not an equestrian monument but a standing marble figure of the king, is at present in Chantilly. It survived the destruction of similar statues during the Revolution because it was taken down in January 1687 by order of the king and thereafter stored in the cellar of the Palais Bourbon. It shows the young king as a Roman hero with his right foot on the head of a vanquished warrior. See Steinmann, E.: Die Zerstörung der Königsdenkmäler in Paris, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft 10(1917), pp. 344 - 345. This statue was not the first of the king. The first statue was one made by Simon Guillain (1581 - 1658) in 1647 showing the king as a ten year old boy flanked by statues of his parents for the Pont au Change in Paris. The monument is described in detail in Piganoil de la Forces: Description de Paris II, pp. 76 - 78.

96. Weihrauch, H.R.: Europäische Bronzestatuetten, p. 403. The convention of representing the king in antique dress might have received royal acceptance when in 1662 Louis appeared as a Roman emperor at a tournament, but wore a helmet as well as a wig. See Bourgeois, E.: The Century of Louis XIV, p. 317.

97. Callisen, S.A.: The Equestrian statue of Louis XIV in Dijon and related monuments, Art Bulletin, 23(June 1941), p. 134.

98. There was a renewed interest in the equestrian statue of Marcus

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Aurelius during the last half of the seventeenth century in France. A complete casting of the antique equestrian statue was set up in a courtyard of the Louvre in 1685. See Callisen, S.A.: Op. cit., pp. 136 - 137.

99. Bazin, G.: The Baroque, principles, styles, modes, themes, p. 318.

100. Keller, U.: Reitermonumente absolutistischer Fürsten, pp. 54 - 56.

101. Callisen, S.A.: Op. cit., p. 132: "Hence in June or July 1685 the Intendants of the various provinces received strong hints, if not actual orders, to make such requests, and Pontchartrain, president of the Parliament of Brittany wrote on August 5: 'Outre l'autorité de M. de la Feuillade, qu 'on nous a cité mille et mille fois comme un auteur grave et souverain en cette matière on nous cité quantité d'intendans qui, suivant une instruction générale pour tous les intendans du royaume, avoient déjà fait élever de pareilles statues dans quelques provinces...'".

102. This square was named the Place Vendôme after the Duke César Vendôme, who owned a palace and gardens there, but the name was changed to the Place de Louis le Grand after 1700.

103. Keller, U.: Op. cit., p. 58.

104. Weihrauch mentions that "schon 1679 erhielt der Künstler 150 livres; 1680 sogar 1500 livres für Modelle des Reiterdenkmals". See Weihrauch, H.R.: Europäische Bronzestatuetten, p. 403.

105. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, 104 cm high, W. Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City. See Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., p. 403. Pierre Francastel refers to a model in the M.E. Sommier collection (99 cm high) in Paris as another of the early castings. See Francastel, P.: Girardon, p. 81, pl. XXXVI, fig. 48.

106. We know exactly what the completed monument looked like, because the sculptor, Edmé Bouchardon (1698 - 1762), made

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very accurate drawings of it when he started with his equestrian monument of Louis XV. These drawings are at present in the Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre. See Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., figure 61 and footnote 168 below.

107. Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., p. 403.

108. The existing reductions are:

(a) Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, 114 cm high, Louvre, Paris, No. 1320. See Keller, U.: Op. cit., pp. 64 - 68 figs. 12 and 13. (See figs. 124 and 125.)
(b) Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, 114 cm high, Institute of Art, Detroit. (See fig. 126.) Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., p. 403.

The above-mentioned examples are considered excellent replicas of the original monument which stood on the Place Vendôme. Other examples with slight differences are:

(c) Red wax equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, 75,5 cm high, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut. See Held, J.S. and D. Posner: 17th and 18th century Art, p. 170.
(d) Wax equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Museum of Barcelona, Barcelona. See Keller, U.: Op. cit., p. 129.
(e) Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Hermitage, Leningrad. See Brinckmann, A.E.: Op. cit., p. 335.

See also footnote 105 above for another two statuettes.

109. Keller, U.: Op. cit., p. 58.

110. Lister, M.: A Journey to Paris in the Year 1698, (London, 1699), p. 27. See Savage, G.: A Concise History of Bronzes, p. 202.

111. Bazin, G.: The History of World Sculpture, p. 395.

112. In this interim period Girardon completed another equestrian

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monument of Louis XIV for the Marshal de Boufflers' chateau at Beauvais. There exists a popular belief that it was originally planned for the Place Vendôme, but because it was too small, it was taken to Beauvais. Boislisle contradicts this legend and mentions that it stood for a century in the court of the Chateau de Boufflers until it was erected on the Market Square of Beauvais on 11 August 1788. See Boislisle, A. de: Notices historiques sur la place des Victoires et sur la place de Vendôme, Memoires del la société de l' histoire de Paris et de l' Isle-de France 15(1888), p. 250. This monument was engraved by Chevallier. See Jessen, P.: Das Barock im Ornamentstich, p. 198. The zinc equestrian statuette at Versailles of Louis XIV by Girardon No. 2194 is probably a replica of this monument. (See fig. 127.) Friis shows an engraving by Charpentier of the same model in Girardon's studio. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 281.

113. See figs. 128, 129, 130, 131 and 132.

114. Leonardo's notes were well known in France at the time. Cellini is supposed to have bought in France a Leonardo book "on the three great arts : sculpture, painting and architecture". See Cellini, B.: I trattati della oreficeria e della scultura, p. 225.

115. Lister, M.: Op. cit., p. 27. An engraving by Audran in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin shows the completed equestrian statue outside the foundry. (See fig. 133.)

116. Boislisle, A. de: Op. cit., p. 152. Various representations of the inauguration of Girardon's statue have survived. (See fig. 134.) Keller, U.: Op. cit., fig. 11

117. Steinmann shows a drawing which Jacques Bertaux made of the destruction of the monument in 1792. See Steinmann, E.: Op cit., taf. 57 Abb. 20. (See fig. 135.)

118. Boislisle, A. de: Notices historiques sur la place des Victoires et sur la place de Vendôme, Mémoires de la société de l' histoire de Paris et de l' Isle-de-France, 15 (1888), pp. 215 - 223 and Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 352. According to Friis a royal letter of 15 August 1685 showed that Nantes instead of Rennes,

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the capital, was chosen by the king as the place where the statue was to be erected, because Nantes was an important trading centre. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 292.

119. Callisen, S.A.: Op. cit., p. 131.

120. See fig. 136.

121. Volk, P.: Darstellungen Ludwigs XIV auf steigendem Pferd, Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch, 28(1966), p. 66. Volk quotes a document which describes the monument as follows: "Savoir que la figure du Roy sera de hauteur de dix pieds dix poulces depuis la plante des pieds jusques au sommet de la teste. Le cheval aura de longueur depuis le poitrail jusques au deffaut de la croupe neuf pieds sept poulces. La figure du Roy sera vestu à la Romaine avec son manteau imperial, ayant sa contenance grave et fiere, tenant de la main droite un baston de commandement et de la gauche les rênes du cheval. Le cheval sera cabré, ne se soutenant que des pieds de derrière et de la queue qui se fortiffiera sur la cymaise du pied destail. Le metal ou bronze sera de mesme matiere que celle que le Roy fait travailler pour Versailles a l'arsenal de Paris...."

122. Three drawings of Puget's monument of Louis XIV on the Place Royale in Marseille, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille. See Auquier, P.: Catalogue des Peintures, Sculptures, Pastels, et Dessins, Marseilles, 1908, Nos. 417 - 419.

123. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 290 and Boislisle, A. de: Op. cit., pp. 226 - 229.

124. Steinmann mentions that the German, Fisch, who visited southern France only described the monument as "vielleicht das vollkommenste Kunstwerk dieser Gattung auf der Welt". See Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 352.

125. Le Hongre had some experience with equestrian monuments since he cast the plaster figure of Louis XIV which was placed on a statue of a horse brought from Nancy in 1671 and placed in the courtyard of the Hotel Brion. See Boislisle, A. de: Op. cit.,

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pp. 117 - 118.

126. Callisen, S.A.: Op. cit., p. 132.

127. According to Callisen the horse weighed 18 000 kg and the rider 8 000 kg. Callisen, S.A.: Op. cit., p. 133.

128. Callisen S.A.: Op. cit., p. 140.

129. In the library of the Sorbonne there are side and front elevations of the pedestal and statue, catalogue No. R, IV, 15, No. 10 gr., folios 25 - 27 and in the Museum in Dijon drawings by J.B. Lallemand show the statue on a very plain pedestal with volutes at the corners. In the Prado in Madrid and the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden there are replicas of Le Hongre's statue which have often been taken for the work of Girardon. See Volk, P.: Op. cit., p. 77. (See fig. 137.)

130. Volk, P.: Op. cit., p. 66 and Boislisle, A. de: Op. cit., pp. 223 - 226.

131. Volk, P.: Op. cit., p. 66.

132. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse, 42 cm high, private collection, Paris. See Volk, P.: Op. cit., pp. 66 - 67. Numerous other statuettes of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse have often been associated with Desjardins' model for the statue in Aix-en-Provence, in spite of the fact that they were never intended for monumental execution.

(a) Bronze statuette of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse, 41 cm high, Musée de Versailles, No. 2172. (See fig. 138.)
(b) Bronze statuette of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse, 43 cm high, Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden, No. IX. 27. (See fig. 139.)
(c) Bronze statuette of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse, 48 cm high, private collection, Paris.
(d) Bronze statuette of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse, 60 cm high, Prado, Madrid.
(e) Bronze statuette of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse, 46 cm

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high, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, No. R 3812. (See fig. 140.)

(f) Bronze statuette of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse, 58,5 cm high, Waddesdon Manor.

(g) Bronze statuette of Louis XIV on a curvetting horse, 41,2 cm high, M. Knoedler & Co., New York.

At least seven more of these statuettes are known. Six are mentioned by Volk, P.: Op. cit., p. 83 and a seventh was advertised by A. Mavon in October 1970. (See fig. 141.) The statuette of Louis XIV was used as an example for the portrayal of other monarchs until as late as 1829:

(a) Bronze statuette of William III of England on a curvetting horse, 46,5 cm high, Royal collection, Windsor Castle.

(b) Bronze statuette of George I of England on a curvetting horse, 56,5 cm high, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. No. A. 210-1946.

(c) Bronze statuette of Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bayern by Guilaume de Grof (1680 - 1742) 1714, 53,5 cm high, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, No. R3973. (See fig. 142.)

(d) Plaster statuette of Charles XII of Sweden on a curvetting horse, 60 cm high, National Museum, Stockholm, No. S.K. 805.

Other equestrian statuettes which were directly influenced by the above-mentioned statuettes are:

(a) Bronze statuette of August the Strong by Jean Joseph Vinache (1653 - 1754), Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden. See Brinckmann, A.E.: Op. cit., p. 334. See footnote 134 below.

(b) Bronze statuette of August the Strong, 43 cm high, collection of Dr. A. Ciechanowiedki, London. See Volk, P.: Op cit., p. 78. See footnote 134 below.

(c) Ivory statuette of August the Strong by Wilhelm Kruger, previously in the Castle Museum, Gotha. See Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, vol. 21, p. 603.

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(d) Bronze statuette of George IV of England, 92 cm high, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.

It seems that the Italian sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652 - 1725) was also influenced by these statuettes when he designed an equestrian monument for Emperor Joseph I, a model of which is at present in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, No. R5035. This model closely resembles an equestrian statuette of Charles II of Spain by the same sculptor in the Prado, Madrid. See Weihrauch, H.R.: Die Bildwerke in Bronze und in anderen Metallen. pp. 180 - 182. (See fig. 143.)

133. Josephson, R.: Martin Desjardins et ses monuments de Louis XIV, Revue de l' Art ancien et moderne, 53(1928), p. 187.

134. The copper equestrian statue of August the Strong on the Neustädter Markt in Dresden has an interesting history. It seems that the initial idea for an equestrian statue for August the Strong originated with his building master, Zacharias Longuelune (1669 - 1748) in January 1715. A clay model of the king on a curvetting horse on an elaborate pedestal was made and later cast in bronze by the Parisian sculptor Jean Joseph Vinache. The complete model was in the Grünes Gewölbe until the Second World War. At present only the equestrian figure and the slaves of the pedestal remain. In 1722 the Italian sculptor Fusini was unsuccessfully approached to cast the monument and a younger Vinache (b. 1697) was asked to enlarge the original model. It was then cast in copper by the cannon founder, Ludwig Wiedemann (1694 - 1754) in November 1733 and after it was gilded and erected on the Neustädter Markt in Dresden, it was unveiled on 26 November 1736. One gets a good idea how poor the enlargement of the original model was when one compares the large monument with an original plaster model in the Staatliche Skulpturensammlung, Albertinium, No. 3444. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., pp. 359 - 363; Brinckmann, A.E.: Op. cit., p. 336 and Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 53. (See figs. 144 and 145.)

135. Galle, L.: Projet d'une statue équestre du Roi à Lyon, Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des départments, 27(1903), p. 448.

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136. In the Municipal Archives in Lyon there are drawings of the different elevations of the statue on an elaborate pedestal. See Callisen, S.A.: Op. cit., p. 133.

137. Terra-cotta statuette of Louis XIV on a pacing horse, 66 cm high, National Museum, Stockholm, No. S.K. 744. According to Josephson this statuette was bought from Desjardins' son, Jacques, by the Swedish traveller, Daniel Gronström, during a visit to Desjardins' studio and sent to Sweden in 1704. (See fig. 146.) Josephson, R.: Op. cit., p. 180.

138. See p. 246 footnote 98. It is possible that the Estates of Lyon-ais called for a statue which would resemble the Marcus Aurelius because we know that in 1627 the city of Lyon planned to erect an equestrian statue of Louis XIII by Clément Gendre who adapted the horse of Marcus Aurelius for his monument. See Callisen, S.A.: Op. cit., p. 137. It is also possible that Desjardins had seen Girardon's models for the statue on the Place Vendôme in Paris, because this statuette has much in common with Girardon's designs.

139. Engraving of the equestrian monument of Louis XIV by Desjardins. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. (See fig. 147.)

140. At present seven equestrian statuettes which reproduce the main characteristics of Desjardins' equestrian monument at Lyon are known:

(a) Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, 43,5 cm high, Wallace Collection, London. See Keutner, H.: Sculpture Renaissance to Rococo, p. 344. In Savage, G.: A Concise History of Bronzes, p. 201 this statuette has incorrectly been attributed to Girardon. (See fig. 148.)

(b) Bronze equestrian statuette of Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bayern, 95 cm high, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich No. R3972. This statuette is similar to the one in the Wallace Collection except for the head of the rider, the golden fleece and the coat of arms on the saddlecloth. See Weihrauch. H.R.: Op. cit., pp. 188 - 189. (See fig. 149.)

(c) Bronze model of Louis XIV on horseback with casting

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runners, Kunstindustrimuseum, Copenhagen. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 286 (See fig. 150.)

(d) Iron equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, previously in the collection of M. Le Francois of Rouen. See Chesneau, E.: Sculpture a l' Exposition Retrospective du Trocadéro, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 18(1878), p. 822. Especially noteworthy about this statuette is the supporting trophies under the belly of the horse, similar to that of the Girardon statuette at present in the Yale University Art Gallery. See Footnote 108 above.

(e) Steinmann mentions a similar statuette as the one in (d) in the Arnhold Collection in Berlin but attributes it to Girardon. See Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 376 footnote 123.

(f) Two statuettes, one in plaster and a smaller one in bronze were said to have been in Braunschweig. See Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 375 and Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., p. 188.

141. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 286.

142. Moulin, M.: Le Théme de la statue équestre dans l'oevre de Francois-Frédéric Lemot (1771 - 1827), Bulletin de la sociétè de l' art Francais, 1975, p. 233.

143. The best known examples are:

(a) The bronze equestrian statue of William III of England (1799) by John Bacon (1740 - 1799), St. James' Square, London. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 22. (See fig. 151.)

(b) The bronze equestrian statue of William III of England (1735) by Michael Rysbrack (1694 - 1770), Queen Square, Bristol.

(c) The gild lead and tin equestrian statue of William III of England (1732) by Peter Scheemakers (1691 - 1781), Market Place, Hull, Yorkshire. See Winney, M.: Sculpture in Britain 1530 to 1830, p. 91.

(d) The bronze equestrian statue of the Elector Johann Wilhelm (1713) by Gabriel Grupello (1644 - 1730), Marktplatz, Düsseldorf. See Till Leberecht Lahusen von: Das

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Reiterdenkmal des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von Gabriel Grupello - Plannungsgeschichte und Deutung, Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch 33(1971), pp. 125 - 160.

The equestrian statue of Francesco III d' Este, which was erected on the Piazza S. Agostino in Modena in 1773 and stood there until it was destroyed in 1797, was also of the same type as the late seventeenth century French equestrian statues. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., pp. 238 - 239. (See fig. 152.) A similar commission was the equestrian statue which was planned for King Charles XI of Sweden. Only a bronze model remains in the castle at Stockholm. This model shows that the equestrian statue was strongly influenced by Girardon's monument to Louis XIV in Paris. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 415.

144. See fig. 153.

145. Keller, U.: Op. cit., p. 91.

146. Schlüter must have been inspired by Girardon's statue of Louis XIV, which was not yet cast in bronze, but of which he must have seen a plaster model during his visit to Paris in 1695.

147. Ladendorf, H.: Das Denkmal des grossen Kurfürsten, p. 3. These models must have been lost.

148. Ladendorf, H.: Op. cit., p. 8.

149. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 52. At the time it was believed that the casting of an equestrian monument was a greater achievement than its invention. The bronze-founder Jacobi gained more credit for the casting of the statue of the Great Elector than its creator, because after it was cast, Jacobi was presented with a golden chain and had his portrait engraved at the expence of the State. See Osborne, H.: The Oxford Companion to Art, p. 381.

150. Keller, U.: Op. cit., p. 93.

151. Held, J.S. and D. Posner: 17th and 18th Centruy Art, p. 403.

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152. See footnotes 108 and 140 above and Volk, P.: Zwei Reiterstatuetten des Louis quinze in der Tradition des 17. Jahrhunderts, Pantheon, 28(1970), pp. 309 - 313.

153. Reductions of these figures were also very popular and numerous examples exist, such as "Fama", 61,8 cm high, Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden and the "Chevaux de Marly" of Coustou, 59,8 cm high, Wallace Collection, London. See Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., pp. 412 and 446. As intensely as he had criticized the equestrian statue of Bernini seventeen years earlier, Louis XIV lavished praise on Coysevox's groups of Mercury and Fame after they had been completed in 1702. When they were unveiled at Marly, Louis rewarded Coysevox with the highest pension ever given to an artist. (See figs. 154 and 155.)

154. Grossmann refers to this as follows: "Ein Fehler, ein wirklicher hässlicher Fehler sei aber festgestellt: die nicht durchtretende linke Hinterfessel. Auch der Nicht-Reiter erkennt sofort, wie sicher und kraftvoll die anderen Hufe auf den Boden treten, und wie gerade der Fuss, der im nächsten Augenblick das gesamte Gewicht von Reiter und Pferd tragen und vorwärts bringen soll, so zaghaft und unglücklich huft. Das Pferd 'lahmt hinten links'. Jeder Reiter würde es sofort wieder in den Stall führen." See Grossmann, O.: Op. cit., p. 87.

155. Courteault, P.: La Place Royale de Bordeaux, Archives de l'Art Francais, 12(1922), p. 124.

156. Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 356.

157. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XV, Museum of Bordeaux, Bordeaux. (See fig. 156.)See Réau, L.: Les Lemoyne. Une dynastie de sculpteurs au XVIIIe siècle, p. 75, fig. 42.

158. Falconet, E.M.: Observations sur la statue de Marc-Aurèle, Oeuvres, 1(1781), p. 272: "On disoit: c'est le cheval de Marc-Aurèle qui lui a fait faire celui de Louis XV. Ms. Le Moyne qui n'a pas plus vu que moi l'Italie, connoisoit le cheval du capitole par les oui-dire et par des desseins de la fidélité desquels il ne pouvoit pas être jugé."

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159. Kalnein W.G. and M. Levey: Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth century in France, p. 51: "Despite the rain, the 'Mercure' recorded with awe, the king had actually turned aside on his way to La Muette on 29 March 1735, to visit Lemoyne's studio; he had snubbed a courtier who tried to criticize the work and himself had drawn attention to the beauties of 'this superb monument'".

160 Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 296.

161. Courteault, P.: Op. cit., p. 12.

162. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 296.

163. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 296.

164. Engraving of the equestrian monument of Louis XV in Bordeaux by N.G. Dupuis, Bibliotèque Nationale, Paris. See Kalnein, W.G. and M. Levey: Op. cit., fig. 49. (See fig. 157.)

165. Roserot, A.: La Statue de Louis XV par Bouchardon, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 17(1897), p. 196.

166. After the Revolution it became the Place de la Révolution and today it is known as the Place de la Concorde. The layout of the square was done by Jacques Gabriel, who marked off a smaller rectangle on the spacious area of the square thereby giving the right proportions to the equestrian statue of the king in the centre of the vast expanse.

167. Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 357.

168. Bouchardon's drawings of equestrian monuments in Paris, red chalk, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Inv. No.'s 894 - 923.

169. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 300.

170 Bouchardon's studies of horses and riders, red chalk, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Inv. No.'s 924 - 1235.

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171. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 300.

172. Bouchardon's design for the pedestal and for the transportation of the monument, red chalk, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Inv. No.'s 1211 - 1293.

173. Terra-cotta equestrian statuette of a rider on a prancing horse by Bouchardon, 24 cm high, Collection G. Laillaut, Paris. (See fig. 158.) According to Roserot this model belonged to G. Laillaut in 1897. See Roserot, A.: Op. cit., p. 201.

174. Wax equestrian statuette of Louis XV on an elaborate base, 32 cm high, Musée de Besançon. (See fig. 159.) and Roserot, A.: Op. cit., p. 199.

175. Keller, H.: Die Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts, pp. 282 - 283.

176. Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 358.

177. Roserot, A.: Op. cit., p. 210.

178. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 307.

179. Roserot, A.: Op. cit., pp. 211 - 213.

180. Weihrauch, H.R.: Op. cit., p. 451.

181. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XV, 71 cm high, Salle Houdon, Louvre. (See fig. 160.) and Musée National de Versailles et des Trianons, Versailles.

182. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 307.

183. Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 359. Friis shows an interesting engraving of the machinery used to place the equestrian figure in position. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 308, fig. 196.

184. Keller, H.: Op. cit., p. 283. Steinmann shows an engraving by August de Saint-Aubin of the unveiling of the monument. (See fig. 161.) See Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., fig. 32.

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185. Le Mire's engraving of the equestrian monument of Louis XV by Bouchardon, Bibliothèque National, Paris. (See fig. 162.)

186. Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., fig. 31.

187. Bouchardon as well as Pigalle seems to have agreed with Voltaire when he criticized the idea of praising men by placing statues of men they had enslaved around their statues. Therefore Bouchardon and Pigalle did not use the conventional slaves around the base of this statue.

188. Steinmann, E.: Op. cit., p. 360.

189. Saly went to Denmark in October 1753 after Bouchardon had recommended him to execute the equestrian statue of Frederick V. Like Bouchardon he first made intensive studies from nature. He worked in the royal stables from July 1756 to August 1757. In 1759 the small-scale model was completed and in February 1764 the full-scale model was ready to be cast in bronze. It was cast in bronze on 2 March 1768 by the French founder, Pierre Gor and the cleaning and finishing of the bronze figure lasted throughout 1770. The statue was unveiled on 1 August 1771. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 387 - 403. A plaster model of the statue is at present in the Art Museum in Copenhagen and the large bronze statue stands at Amalienborg in Copenhagen.

190. The history of this equestrian monument started in 1755 when P.H. Larchevêque became the court sculptor in Stockholm. His initial model for an equestrian monument to Gustav II Adolf showed two prancing horses - one bearing the king and the other a figure of Victory crowning him. This model is at present in the National Museum in Stockholm, Inv. No. S.K. 959. In 1762 it was decided that the statue was only to consist of the king's statue and Larchevêque started with a new design. This 48 cm high model was finished in 1763 and is at present in the National Museum in Stockholm. The full-scale model was completed in 1772, but it was unsuccessfully cast in 1779, after Larchevêque's death, by the founder Gerhard Meyer. The monument was erected in 1791 after a second casting was successful. The other figures on the pedestal were only cast in 1906. They show Axel

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Oxenstierna standing in front of the pedestal below the raised right front leg of the horse, with a seated figure of History next to him. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., pp. 418 - 426.

191. See fig. 163.

192. Friis mentions that from 1716 until his death in November 1744, the Italian sculptor, Carlo Bartolommeo Rastrelli worked on an equestrian statue of Peter the Great. It was cast in 1761 by Alessandro Martelli and erected in St Petersburg (Leningrad). See Friis, H.: Op. cit., pp. 429 - 430.

193. According to Friis, Augustus Pajou wanted 600 000 livres, J.F.J. Saly 480 000, Guillaume II Coustou 450 000, Louis Vassé 400 000 and Falconet 300 000. See Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 431.

194. Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Op. cit., p. 219.

195. Kalnein, W.G. and M. Levey: Op. cit., p. 88.

196. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 516.

197. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 54.

198. Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Op. cit., p. 219.

199. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 434.

200. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 434.

201. Savage, G.: Op. cit., p. 216.

202. Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 54.

203. Wittkower, R.: Op. cit., p. 516.

204. Rheims, M.: 19th Century Sculpture, p. 15.

205. Rheims, M.: Op. cit., p. 15.

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206. See fig. 164.

207. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 441. A bust of Murat reproduced by Meyer was probably intended for this figure. See Meyer, A.G.: Canova, p. 90.

208. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 441.

209. See Chapter 3, p. 72 above.

210. See fig. 165.

211. Rosenberg, A.: Thorwaldsen, p. 68.

212. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 444.

213. Pen drawing for an equestrian monument by B. Thorwaldsen, Thorwaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, Inv. No. 259.

214. Friis, H.: Op. cit., p. 445.

215. Rosenberg, A.: Op. cit., p. 68.

216. Rosenberg, A.: Op. cit., p. 69.

217. Up to date no extensive study of the equestrian monuments of the nineteenth century has yet been undertaken.

218. Anonymous: Equestrian statue, The New International Encyclopaedia, vol. VIII, p. 43. The first equestrian statue to be erected in the United States of America was the rearing equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson in Lafayette Park in Washington. It was made and cast by Clark Mills (1815 - 1883) in a foundry which he built himself in Bladensbury, outside Washington in 1853. A 60 cm high model of this equestrian statue belongs to the New York Historical Society. See Armstrong, T.: 200 Years of American Sculpture, p. 49. The second equestrian statue in the U.S.A. was the well-known "George Washington" which was made by Henry Kirke Brown (1814 - 1886) and erected in Union Square, New York in 1856. Brown rejected

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Neo-classicism in favour of a thoroughly naturalistic style, thereby making his monument one of the most notable in the U.S.A. Other typical nineteenth century equestrian monuments in the United States of America are: General Thomas by J.Q.A. Ward (1830 - 1910), General McClellan by F.W. MacMonnies (1863 - 1937), General Sheridan by Gutzon Borglum (1867 - 1941) all in Washington; General Washington by Thomas Ball (1819 - 1911), Colonel Shaw by Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848 - 1907) and General Hooker by Daniel Chester French (1850 - 1931) and E.C. Potter (1857 - 1923) all in Boston; General W.T. Sherman by Augustus Saint-Gaudens in New York; General Slocum by Frederick MacMonnies in Brooklyn, N.Y.; General Robert E. Lee by Mercier in Richmond, Va. and the Volunteer Monument by Douglas Tilden (1860 - 1935) in San Francisco. See Quimby: The Equestrian Monuments of the World.

219. Rheims, M.: Op. cit., p. 9.

220. Mittig, H.E.: Denkmäler im 19. Jahrhundert, p. 9.

221. See footnote 227 below.

222. Bronze equestrian statue of Duke Philibert of Savoy (1838), 5 m high, by Carlo Marochetti (1805 - 1867). The monument shows the duke in medieval armour on a spirited charger. He is represented as "pacem redditurus", because he is about to sheath his sword. The completed model was exhibited in the courtyard of the Louvre in 1833 and after it was cast in bronze, it was erected in Turin in 1838. See Zeitler R.: Die Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, p. 287.

223. Bronze equestrian statue of Duke Ferdinand of Genoa (1867), 3 m high, by Alfonso Balzico (1820 - 1901) on the Piazza Solferino in Turin. (See fig. 166.) The statue shows the duke during the Battle at Novara as he steps from his fallen horse with his sword ready to do battle. See Zeitler, R.: Op. cit., p. 288.

223. Bronze equestrian statue of Charles Albert, 5 m high, by Carlo Marochetti in Turin. The monument shows Charles Albert on a parading horse with his sword held high in the air. He is

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dressed in contemporary military dress. See Fattorusso, J.: The Wonders of Italy, p. 17.

225. Bronze euqestrian statue of King Vittorio Emmanuele II (1896) 4 m high, by Ercole Rosa (1846 - 1893), Piazza del Duomo, Milan. (See fig. 167.) The statue shows the king in military dress with his sword drawn to do battle. He is seated on a powerful recoiling horse. See Rheims, M.: Op. cit., p. 228.

226. Bronze equestrian statue of Amedeo of Savoy, 3,5 m high, by David Callandra (1856 - 1915) in Turin. (See fig. 168.) The statue shows Amedeo in military dress as he leans back on his rearing horse.

227. The best known examples are:

(a) Bronze equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington (1846), 9 m high, by Matthew Cotes Wyatt (1777 - 1862) at Aldershot.
(b) Bronze equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington (1844) by Sir Francis Chantrey (1781 - 1841), Royal Exchange, London. (See fig. 169.)
(c) Bronze equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington (1888) by Sir Edgar Boehm (1834 - 1890), Hyde Park Corner, London. (See fig. 170.)

All these statues show the duke, telescope in hand and in the undress uniform on his standing charger "Copenhagen" as he views the battlefield. See Physick, J.: The Wellington Monument, pp. 1 - 27.

228. Bronze equestrian statue of George III (1836) by Matthew Cotes Wyatt, Cockspur Street, London. (See fig. 171.) The statue shows the king wearing a tight little wig and thin pigtail and military dress on a spirited horse with a long pointed tail. He sits erect on his parading horse and holds out his three-cornered hat in salute. See Gunnis, R.: Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660 - 1851, pp. 446 - 447.

229. Bronze equestrian statue of George IV (1843) by Sir Francis

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Chantrey on Trafalgar Square, London. (See fig. 172.) The statue shows the bare-headed king on a restful standing horse with a baton which rests on his hip and with a long cloak about his shoulders. This statue is said to be the earliest showing a restful standing horse. See Gleichen, E.: London's Open-air Statuary, p. 11.

230. Bronze equestrian statue of Field-Marshall Lord Napier of Magdala (1891) by Sir Edgar Boehm at the upper end of Queen's Gate, London. (See fig. 173.) Both the horse and its rider are remarkably life-like and alert-looking. This statue is a replica of the one which was erected in Calcutta.

231. See Chapter 7, p. 308 below.

232. Bronze equestrian statue of Joan of Arc (1899) by Emmanuel Frémiet (1824 - 1910) on the Place des Pyramides, Paris. (See fig. 174.) The statue shows the Maid of Orleans in medieval armour as she stands straight up in the stirrups and holds a flag above her head. The Direction des Beaux-Arts commissioned the statue in December 1872, but after it was erected in 1874 Frémiet was not satisfied with the massive horse. When the group was threatened by excavations in 1899, Frémiet took the opportunity to have the statue removed and he substituted another one from an already prepared model. The earlier statue was erected in Nancy in 1890. See Angrand, P.: Une-ou deux - Jeanne d' Arc sur la Place des Pyramides?, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 77(1971), pp. 341 - 352. Of all the nineteenth century sculptors Frémiet made the most equestrian statues. Other examples of his equestrian statues are: Louis of Orleans at the Castle at Pierrefonds (1870), Stephan the Great for Jassy in Romania (1882) and Velasques in the Garden of the Louvre, Paris (1891).

233. Bronze equestrian statue of Joan of Arc (1896) by Paul Dubois (1829 - 1905) on the Place du Parvis, Rheims. The statue shows Joan of Arc in medieval armour with a sword in her right hand on a swiftly pacing horse. The statue was cast in 1895 and erected before the cathedral in Rheims in 1896. A copy was placed in front of the church of St Augustine in Paris in 1900.

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234. Bronze equestrian statue of Louis XIV on a prancing horse, (1822) by Francois Joseph Bosio (1769 - 1845) on the Place des Victoires in Paris. The statue shows the king "á la romaine" on a prancing horse.

235. Bronze equestrian statue of Louis XIV (1837) by Pierre Cartellier (1757 - 1831) and his student Petitot, in front of the Palace at Versailles. (See fig. 175.) Cartellier's last monumental work, an equestrian statue of Louis XV was altered to one of Louis XIV in 1830. Only his horse was used, the rider was created by Petitot.

236. See footnote 19 above.

237. Bronze equestrian statue of Frederick the Great, 5,66 cm high, (1851), Park of Sanssouci, Potsdam. (See fig. 176.) The commission was given to Rauch in 1839, but he only started work in September 1841. The full-scale model of the equestrian figure was completed in 1846 and it was cast in bronze by K.L. Friebel in 1850. It was unveiled on 31 May 1851 on the "Unter den Linden" in Berlin. See Schaeffer, A.: Op. cit., p. 54. The statue shows Frederick the Great with a three-cornered hat on his head, a large cloak wrapped about his shoulders and his right hand on his hip as he bends slightly forward on his lively warhorse. The base is decorated with four life-size equestrian figures and numerous standing figures and reliefs.

238. Bronze equestrian statue of William I, 9 m high (1898), previously Berlin, but destroyed in World War II. (See fig. 177.) Begas received the commission for this colossal national monument after his model was selected in December 1892. The equestrian statue on its pedestal was 20 metres high. It was cast by Walter and Paul Gladenbeck from 1895 - 1897. The emperor calmly sat on his horse which was led by a female, "Victory", bearing a palm branch. He had a Prussian helmet on his head, wore a greatcoat and rested his baton on his right thigh. The pedestal was decorated with reliefs and four "Victories" as well as four colossal lions. See Meyer, A.G.: Reinhold Begas, pp. 102 - 126.

239. Rudolph Siemering made a number of Bismarck monuments, the

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most important being his "Siegesdenkmal in Leipzig" and the Bismarck memorial in Frankfurt am Main, both of which were destroyed during or soon after the Second World War. See Scholz, U.M.U.: Das Leben und werk des Berliner Bildhauers Rudolf Siemering, pp. 151 and 258. The former was designed by Siemering in 1874 and unveiled on 18 August 1888 on the Marktplatz in Leipzig. It showed a standing figure of "Germania" on a high pedestal with Emperor William I seated in a niche below her. At the four corners were standing soldiers with banners as well as the equestrian statues of Prince Frederick of Prussia, Prince Albert of Saxony, Otto von Bismarck and Helmut von Moltke.

The other monument was begun in 1895 as a Bismarck memorial for Berlin. It was unveiled in front of the theatre in Frankfurt am Main on 10 May 1908. It showed Otto von Bismarck as a dragon slayer. "Germania" was represented on horseback with a banner over her shoulder, while Bismarck led her horse past a recumbent dragon. The pedestal was richly decorated with reliefs. A surviving example of Siemering's equestrian monuments is his Washington memorial in the Benjamin Franklin Parkway in Philadelphia (U.S.A.).

240. This monument was erected in 1888 by Frans Joseph I on the Maria Theresa Square in Vienna. It shows the seated empress on a high pedestal surrounded by four equestrian figures. See Dehio, G.: Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst, vol. 4, p. 235.

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CHAPTER 7

EQUESTRIAN STATUES IN SOUTH AFRICA

From the beginning of the twentieth century until as late as the middle of the nineteen-fifties the different nineteenth-century European traditions for the erection of commemorative equestrian statues spread to the colonies. In most cases the erection of these monuments was just a continuation of a tradition which existed in the mother countries to honour the great sons of the nation. Generally these equestrian figures commemorated national leaders or famous generals or were used as part of war memorials. Occasionally specific events, where the horse played an important role, were commemorated.

Very often casting facilities were absent in the colonies or local foundries lacked the experience to cast large monumental equestrian figures, with the result that many of the early equestrian statues in the different colonies were cast and even made in Europe. Often, as was the case in South Africa, prominent colonial government officials were acquainted with the skillful sculptors of their mother countries and commissioned them to execute the monuments. The fact that these sculptors were often not acquainted with the countries in which their equestrian monuments were to be erected, all too often resulted in the monuments being erected in environments which did not do them justice.

Different European sculptural traditions are evident in the equestrian statues which were erected in South Africa during the early years of the twentieth century - the Rhodes memorials in Cape Town and Kimberley as well as the Volunteer War Memorial in East London represent the British tradition while the equestrian statue of Dick King in Durban and that of General Louis Botha in Cape Town reflect the Italian tradition. The German tradition is represented by the Herero War Memorial in Windhoek. Once local sculptors started making equestrian monuments, they were directly and indirectly influenced by these traditions. Coert Steynberg, (1905 -)[1] for example, not only studied in England but also made a thorough study of the Rhodes equestrian statue in Kimberley before he commenced with his first equestrian monument. Hennie Potgieter (1916 -)[2] stayed in Italy for

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a time, where he learnt a great deal about the Italian sculptural tradition. Both these sculptors received technical help from the Italian founder, Vignali, who established a foundry in Pretoria in the 1930's.

Once the local sculptors began making equestrian monuments the environmental problems were solved, but then new problems manifested themselves. Because there was no sculptural tradition in South Africa and the members of the committees usually came from the general public, unreasonable and non-sculptural demands were often made on the sculptors. Large monuments were expected to be completed within a matter of months and non-aesthetic detail and poses were often demanded. The sculptor thus not only had to deal with technical and compositional problems, but he also had an educational task.

The first equestrian statue to be erected in South Africa was that of Cecil John Rhodes in Kimberley.[3] This monument has a very interesting history: Shortly after Cecil John Rhodes' death in April 1902, certain prominent citizens in Kimberley considered the erection of a memorial to him in the city.[4] A public meeting was convened for the evening of 17 April 1902 in the Town Hall of Kimberley and at the meeting the inhabitants of Kimberley unanimously resolved to erect a public memorial in honour of Cecil Rhodes in the city.[5] Further the form of the monument, its size and the place where it would be erected was discussed.[6] An executive committee, known as the "Rhodes Memorial Committee" was elected to collect funds for the proposed monument.[7] In a leading article in the local newspaper certain suggestions in connection with the proposed monument were made the following day, including a suggestion that the British sculptor, Hamo Thornycroft[8], be asked to carry out the commission.[9]

Since the success of the project depended on available funds, the committee immediately opened local subscriptions. An old friend of Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Alfred Beit, who took the keenest interest in the project from the outset, used his influence in raising supplementary subscriptions among friends and admirers of Rhodes in England.[10]

After £3039 (R6078) was subscribed locally and another £2804 (R5608) was collected in England through Mr. Beit's efforts, the committee decided to proceed with the erection of the memorial.[11] Mr. Beit, who

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was in England at the end of 1903, was asked to make enquiries about the sculptor who had been suggested for the proposed memorial.[12] Beit consulted the English sculptor, George Frederick Watts (1817 - 1904) who felt that Hamo Thornycroft was indeed a good choice because he was a great admirer of Cecil Rhodes.[13] After Mr. Beit had made certain that Thornycroft would accept the commission, he approached the committee in Kimberley and suggested that the commission be entrusted to Thornycroft.

From the outset Hamo Thornycroft showed enthusiasm for the project and he suggested an equestrian monument in bronze instead of a statue in white marble as proposed. The committee accepted his suggestion and asked him to prepare a small-scale model[14]. Early in 1904 Thornycroft started working on the required small-scale model of Cecil John Rhodes on horseback.[15] Later this plaster model was brought to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and was in the possession of the City of Salisbury until 1953.[16] It depicted Cecil Rhodes in his characteristic attitude of contemplation astride a restfully standing Cape pony. He is represented in the same plain clothes which he wore during the memorable indaba in the Matoppos in August 1896, has a low-crowned boater on his head and a map of Africa open on his right knee. It appears as though he is in conversation with someone on foot. For the likeness Thornycroft mainly relied on photographs of Cecil Rhodes seeing that he did not know him personally. To help the sculptor, Mr. Beit ordered a Cape pony, such as the one which Rhodes used to ride, from his farm in South Africa.[17] The pony was used as a model to ensure that the monument would be true to life in all respects.

At about the same time the site in Kimberley where the monument was to be erected, was suitably enclosed and laid out with plants and trees. This site had been offered to the committee by Mr. Beit in October 1902 after he had thought that it would be better to erect the statue in the centre of the city instead of on its outskirts as was originally proposed.[18]

From the end of 1904 until the end of 1905 Thornycroft worked on the 3,9 m high full-scale plaster model of the equestrian statue. Early in 1906 the preliminaries for the casting of the statue in bronze was

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made by Messrs. J.W. Singer and sons of Frome in Somerset, England.[19] The casting and cleaning of the bronze took most of 1906.

In the meantime Thornycroft worked on the three panels for the pedestal of the equestrian statue.[20] The panels were to represent: (a) Rhodes speaking in the Cape House of Assembly, (b) Rhodes taking his degree at Oxford University and (c) Rhodes meeting the indunas at the Matoppos. Much research went into the making of these panels. They were constructed either from photographs or descriptions of the scenes which were sent to Thornycroft.

For the panel showing Rhodes speaking in the Cape House of Assembly, the sculptor made use of the well-known compositional device of making all the perspective lines converge in the head of the Speaker, Sir David Tennant, while the figure of Rhodes is the only figure to cut these lines vertically. Rhodes therefore immediately draws attention. Lifelike portraits of the members such as John X. Merriman, J.W. Sauer, P.H. Faure and others, as they appeared in the days of Rhodes, are included in this panel. In spite of all the detail and the clever use of compositional devices, the panel remains stiff and devoid of life.

A more successful panel is the one showing Rhodes during the negotiations with the Matabele chiefs in the Matoppos. There were no photographs of this meeting, so the sculptor had to reconstruct the scene from descriptions.

In the middle of the panel we see Rhodes seated majestically on a large rock with Dr. Hans Sauer, Johann Colenbrander and Vere Stent behind him. All around them on the right side of the panel sit the Matabele chiefs. Once more the attention is focused on Rhodes because he is the highest figure in the scene.

The third panel, which was intended for the back of the pedestal, shows Rhodes in the centre of the scene receiving his degree of Doctorate in Civil Law from the Dean of Oxford University in June 1899. The scene is too crowded and the awkward perspective of the entrance and figures in the foreground spoil the general effect.

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All three panels were completed in plaster early in 1907 and were sent to Frome to be cast in bronze by J.W. Singer and sons.[21]

The pedestal, of Cornish granite, was made in Cornwall by Messrs. John Freeman, Sons and Company, according to a design by Hamo Thornycroft. Towards the beginning of July 1907 it was completed and ready to be shipped to South Africa.[22]

On 21 August 1907 the equestrian statue and the pedestal, packed in forty crates, were shipped free of charge with the S.S. Gaika to Cape Twon.[23] When the statue and pedestal were shipped to South Africa the panels were not yet cast in bronze and it was decided that they could be shipped at a later date. The statue and pedestal arrived in Cape Town on 2 September 1907 and were then transported free of charge by train to Kimberley.[24]

After arrival in Kimberley on 5 September 1907, the pedestal was erected by Messrs. Church and McLauchlin of Kimberley with the assistance of the English sculptor Mr. J.M. Swan R.A. (1847 - 1910), who had specially come to Kimberley from Cape Town early in October to give advice with the erection of the monument.[25] The panels were completed early in October 1907 and immediately dispatched to Kimberley, where they were put in their places on the pedestal.[26] The equestrian monument was unveiled on 4 December 1907 by the Governor of the Cape, Sir Walter F. Hely-Hutchinson.[27]

For his representation Thornycroft chose the popular nineteenth century standing horse with hardly any movement except for the head which is turned to the left. This type of horse was much easier to make since there was no problem with equilibrium. In his composition the sculptor has successfully portrayed "Rhodes as Explorer". Careful attention has been given to the smallest detail, such as the outline of the African continent and the words "Africa" and "Indian Ocean" on the map, the creases in Rhodes' lounge suit, the beautiful mane of the horse and the unconventional bridle.

In this monument we notice a problem which the sculptor, who was not acquainted with the harsh South African sunlight, did not foresee. The bright sunlight sharpens the highlights and intensifies the shadow values in the statue. All the detail and delicate folds,

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which are functional in the softer European light, are totally lost in the South African light and dark shadows tend to transform subtle detail into grotesque meaningless shapes.

Many new techniques developed during the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, were of great benefit to the sculptor who wanted to perfect the detail of his model. Forge welding was greatly improved, which meant that neater seams could be made when parts were to be joined. The sand casting method which had already been used in ancient Greece for large bronzes, was developed to great technical precision with the result that very accurate casts were possible. Exact enlargement of small-scale models was made easier by the perfection of the pointing machine. All these factors contributed to the exact realism of the Rhodes equestrian statue in Kimberley.

Another quite different type of late nineteenth century equestrian figure, which found its way to South Africa, was that which at present forms part of the Rhodes Memorial in Cape Town.[28] Symbolism rather than realism is the main motif for this equestrian group.

The history of this memorial can be reconstructed as follows: On 11 April 1902, after Cecil John Rhodes had been buried in the Matoppos, a Cape member of parliament, Mr. T.L. Schreiner, suggested that Cape Town should erect a memorial in his honour.[29] A meeting of the citizens of Cape Town was arranged for 16 April in the Town House. At this meeting it was decided to go ahead with the proposal, but no definite site was agreed upon. One of the suggestions was to erect "a huge cairn on the slopes of Devil's Peak commanding a view of the Cape Peninsula surmounted with a bronze statue of Mr. Rhodes looking North"[30].

Further an executive committee was chosen to raise funds.[31] Subscriptions were immediately opened. By 14 May 1902 no definite site had yet been chosen.

On 2 July 1902 a meeting was held in London to erect a memorial to Cecil Rhodes there. One of the London committee members, Earl Grey, contacted the Rhodes Memorial Executive Committee in Cape Town and suggested that the local committee in Cape Town should merge funds with the larger London committee under the auspices of the Lord

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Mayor of London.[32] Shortly afterwards the London committee was told that while Rhodes was in England in 1899, he saw a full-scale plaster equestrian figure called "Physical Energy" in the studio of the famous English artist Mr. G.F. Watts.[33] On seeing the group Rhodes had remarked that it was exactly what he would like one day to erect to commemorate the completion of the Cape to Cairo railway.[34] However, he never fulfilled this wish. It was therefore suggested that the London committee should ask the sculptor G.F. Watts if he would allow his group "Physical Energy" to be used as a memorial to Rhodes.[35]

The unfinished statue portrayed a nude male figure astride a strong champing horse. The nude figure only sat on a cloth and guided the horse by a single rein without bit or bridle. He leaned far back and held his right hand above his eyes as if he was scanning the horizon for some or other sign. This 3,6 m high figure was designed for an inclined plinth. Watts explained his idea as follows: "The idea is symbolically to suggest that activity which, something achieved, is always impelling man to undertake some new enterprise. The horse restrained by the hand as on the tiller of a rudder, not reining back, is a symbol of something done for the time, while the rider looks out for the next thing to do. The incline of the plinth is slightly symbolic of a rising wave."[36]

Watts had started this figure twenty years earlier merely as an exercise. In this respect he later stated: "The work was begun and carried on simply as an exercise, often left entirely or worked upon for a few hours during the year. Being a plaster, it could be left while other work occupied my time."[37] To Watts it was the emblem of energy, achievement and vision. He wanted to complete it some day and erect it on the Thames Embankment as a memorial to the great men of all ages.

Earl Grey and Starr Jameson were asked to discuss the matter with the sculptor.[38] Watts agreed that his statue could be used for a Rhodes memorial and added that perhaps it was fitting that an unfinished life should be commemorated by an unfinished work. He did not want to profit by the offer of the committee and only expected payment for the material he had used for the figure. He

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presented it as a gift out of affection and admiration for the genius of Cecil Rhodes.

In February 1903 preparations were made to have the equestrian figure cast in bronze.[39] The figure was cast in four separate parts by the Italian founder, Alexander Parlanti at the Albion Bronze Works at Parson's Green in England from February until October 1903.[40]

It seems that initially the intention of the London committee was to erect the equestrian figure on a fringe of the Matoppos known as "Mount Effefe", but subsequently the idea was dropped in favour of the Park adjoining the hotel at the Victoria Falls where it could be more readily seen by visitors to the Falls.[41] This plan never materialized.

On 10 August 1903 the London committee instructed the Committee in Cape Town to abandon the collection of funds temporarily since "it would be inadvisable to attempt to start a big fund in the interest of the Rhodes Memorial as people were only just beginning to breathe after the many sacrifices incidental to the war".[42] The whole project was therefore shelved until 25 January 1905.

The casting of the equestrian figure was, however, completed in October 1903 and instructions from Earl Grey to pack it and ship it to South Africa were awaited. This did not take place immediately because in April 1904 the equestrian figure was exhibited at the Royal Academy.[43] At this stage the statue "Physical Energy" still had no connection with the Rhodes memorial in Cape Town.

On 25 January 1905 the Cape Town committee met again in the Town House and decided to proceed with the erection of a large monument to Cecil Rhodes in Cape Town.[44] A sub-committee was elected to lay this idea before the London committee.[45] On 20 February 1905 the sub-committee reported that the London committee had agreed to place the larger contributions of De Beers Company (£20,000) and the Chartered Company (£5,000) at the disposal of the Cape Town Executive Committee and were of the opinion that the proposals of Mr. Herbert Baker should be accepted.[46]

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As early as May 1902 Herbert Baker mentioned in a letter that Rhodes had always wanted to erect a temple "in the form of the Greek Doric Temples at Paestum" on his Groote Schuur estate on the eastern side of Table Mountain.[47] It was this proposal which impressed the members of the sub-committee and induced them to decide that the "memorial will take the form of a bastion with an approach by means of steps upon either side"[48]. The Office of Work in London then presented the bronze equestrian figure "Physical Energy" to the Cape Town committee for the Rhodes Memorial and it was decided to include it in the design of the monument on the Groote Schuur estate.[49] On 11 August 1905 the architect Herbert Baker was officially commissioned "to proceed with drawings, specifications and quantities for the Rhodes Memorial on the Groote Schuur estate on the understanding that the cost inclusive of all charges incidental to the work shall not exceed the sum of £20,000.[50] The firm Herbert Baker and Franscis Masey immediately started with the designs. Building, however, only commenced after 25 April 1906, when the Rhodes trustees gave permission for the memorial to be erected on the Groote Schuur estate.[51]

By September 1907 so much progress had been made with the granite architectural part of the memorial that the equestrian figure could be placed on its pedestal. The initial idea of having panels illustrating the principal episodes in the life of Cecil Rhodes around the pedestal of the equestrian figure was abandoned in favour of eight colossal sphinx-like lions, which were to be placed on platforms on either side of the steps leading up to the portico.[52] The English animal sculptor, J.M. Swan, came to Cape Town on 7 September 1907 to advise the Rhodes Memorial Executive Committee on the placement of the equestrian figure "Physical Energy" and at the same time he was asked to take measurements of the platforms on the steps so as to prepare models of the lions.[53] In May 1908 Mr. Swan was officially commissioned to make the recumbent lions.[54]

Because complaints were recieved about the monument not having a statue or bust of Rhodes, the Rhodes Memorial Executive Committee decided to place a bust of him in the portico and Mr. Swan was asked to make it. When Mr. Swan died in 1910 this bust was not yet finished, but the Rhodes Memorial Executive Committee nevertheless

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decided to have the unfinished work cast in bronze and placed in the portico.[55].

In the meantime the gardens were laid out and the bronze lions were placed in their positions on the steps.[56] The completed monument was unveiled on 5 July 1912 by Earl Grey, who had come to Cape Town especially for the unveiling.[57].

Watts' equestrian statue "Physical Energy" which stands on a low plinth in front of the monument was designed for the open air and has an architectural grandeur well suited to its position. In its unfinished state it produces the effect of ruggedness, simplicity and power. The sculptor never intended it to be an exactly realistic representation of a horse and rider, but has purposely conventionalized the group in order to place the emphasis on power and vigour. The roughness of the surface-modelling of this equestrian figure successfully absorbs the harsh South African sunlight. This in turn accentuates the simplicity of the group and adds to its monumentality.

Another sculptural tradition which found its way to South Africa early in this century was the Italian tradition of equestrian monuments. The earliest example of this type is the equestrian monument of Dick King in Durban.[58]

The idea to erect a monument to commemorate Dick King's famous ride from Durban to Grahamstown in May 1842 was first suggested in 1862, but because of the bad financial position of the country at the time, the plan was abandoned.[59] It was only revived in 1905, when at a dinner of the Old Colonists in Durban, Mr. E.L. Accut, a parliamentarian, suggested that funds should be collected for the purpose of erecting a statue to the honour of the Natal hero.[60] As a result of this renewed interest in the project, a public meeting was arranged for 31 July 1905 in the Council Chamber in the Durban Town Hall.[61] At this meeting an Executive Committee[62] was elected to raise money and after discussion as to the form which the memorial should take, it was agreed to erect an equestrian monument. Subscription lists were opened and the reports on the intention of the committee to erect a memorial to the honour of Dick King was widely publicized in newspapers in South Africa as well as in England.[63] Various artists were approached to submit designs.

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Initially the money poured in, but later it came in slower and slower, with the result that after three years the committee had only collected £649 17s. (R1 299,70). In April 1908 the Natal Government asked the committee to abandon for the present the collection of funds because of the financial depression in the country at the time.[64] It was therefore decided to invest the money at the Natal Building Society to earn interest until the depression had passed.

It was only in May 1911 that the Executive Committee resumed the suspended work with the assistance of a sub-committee comprising a number of ladies who volunteered to obtain subscriptions.[65] By September 1912 £1,150 (R2 300) had been collected and the committee reconsidered the designs which had earlier been submitted.[66] A sketch of an equestrian figure by a local artist, Mr. H.H. Grellier (1880 - 1943)[67], was considered to be the best of the designs laid before the committee at an earlier date.[68] However, it was decided to leave the choice to the subscribers. At a meeting of the subscribers early in 1913, the Executive Committee was told to do what it thought best. They therefore decided to invite new tenders for the work and told one of the members, Mr. Milligan, who was in Rome at the time, to collect information concerning various types of monuments there.[69] While in Europe, Mr. Milligan contacted the English sculptor Hamo Thornycroft, who had already completed a War Memorial for Durban, and asked him to prepare a design for the Dick King Memorial.[70] Thornycroft sent a rough sketch showing an allegorical figure of "Durban" in bronze standing on a huge rock and beckoning for help, to the committee in June 1913.[71] His quotation for such a memorial was £1,350 (R2 700). Since the committee thought that this quotation was too high, they gave the commission to the Ascoli Brothers of the Carrara Marble Company in Amatikulu, Natal.[72] This firm of monumental masons which had its head office in Carrara in Italy, tendered to produce Mr. Grellier's design with slight alterations for £1,200 (R2 400). The equestrian statue was made and cast in bronze in Italy in 1914.[73] It shows a tired rider with a large hat on his head riding with long stirrups in typical farm style, his valise in front of him across the saddle and the horse at a brisk walking pace.[74] The committee was very careful with the information that they supplied regarding the dress of Dick King and the appearance of his horses. Reference to old records led the committee to put Dick King in ordinary civilian dress. They found that his mounts were military

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horses. This meant that his horses were shod and had to be represented as such.

Towards the end of January 1914, Mr. H.H. Grellier sent a number of designs for the panels to the committee for approval.[75] They approved all the designs, but Grellier himself was not very satisfied with one of the panels. One depicted two rowing boats crossing the Bay to the Bluff with two horses in tow and the other, with which Grellier was not entirely satisfied, showed Dick King and his native helper, Ndongeni, on their journey through the bush.[76] These panels were first drawn full-size on paper and then modelled in wax. In June 1914 they were cast in bronze at the Natal Iron, Concrete and Asbestos Works (now the Durban Fulkirk Iron Company) at Jacobs.[77] These panels, which were cast by Mr. H.H. Austin, were completed early in September 1914.[78]

Already in June 1914 measurements for the stone base for the equestrian statue were received from Italy, and the architect, Wallace Paton, was asked to design the base.[79] It was built locally by Messrs. Kelly and Cross of Durban with Greytown stone.

The equestrian statue, however, only arrived in June 1915 and with the help of Wallace Paton it was placed on its pedestal.[80] By 20 July 1915 the monument, which stood on the Victoria Embankment at the foot of Gardiner Street, was ready to be unveiled.[81] It was unveiled on 14 August 1915 by the Mayor of Durban, Mr. J.H. Nicolson.[82]

This very realistic group dramatically depicts both horse and rider as being drained of the last ounce of their strength at the end of the long journey. Although the group is anatomically well conceived, there are technical problems. The broad-rimmed hat of the rider cast such a dark shadow on his face that it merely becomes a silhouette. Unfortunately because the panels and the rider were made by different persons, there is no resemblance between the Dick King on the panels and the Dick King of the equestrian statue.

Another example of a typical Italian equestrian monument of the nineteenth century in South Africa is the equestrian monument of General Louis Botha on Stal Plein in Cape Town.[83]

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On 4 September 1919 shortly after the death of General Louis Botha a public meeting was convened by the Administrator of the Cape Province, Sir Frederic de Waal "to consider the question of erecting a monument in Cape Town to the memory of the late General Louis Botha".[84] At this meeting, which was held in the Provincial Council Chamber, an Executive Committee was elected and steps were taken to solicit subscriptions and donations from the public for the proposed monument.[85] Circulars were sent to all Chairmen of Divisional Councils and Mayors of the different towns in the Province, inviting their co-operation in the matter of collecting funds. An appeal for funds in the press was very successful.[86] As a result of the combined efforts of the central committee in Cape Town and the local authorities throughout the Province a sum of over £8,330 (R16 000) was collected within six months.[87] A Ladies' Committee under the leadership of Lady de Waal collected a large sum by means of special subscription lists and street collections. With a total sum of £11,500 (R23 000) in 1927, the committee felt that definite steps to erect the monument could be taken and a meeting was called to decide on the form which the monument would take.

The committee decided that the monument should be the Cape Province's tribute to General Botha and that he was therefore to be represented on horseback in the uniform of the Commandant-General of the Union Defence Force. Further they also had to decide about the matter of entrusting the execution of the monument to a particular sculptor or offering it for open competition. After thorough discussion, the committee unanimously decided on a world-wide competition. The first prize would be £500 (R1 000) and the second prize £150 (R300).[88]

A paper containing the full details of the competition was compiled and printed. Clause 3 of the conditions governing the competition shows how restricted the competitors would be. It determined that "in order to illustrate the subject, each competitor is required to furnish a model of his design in plaster to one-eighth full-size. It is proposed that the memorial should take the form of an equestrian statue in bronze, surmounted on a stone pedestal of a total height of approximately 15 - 20 feet, including the pedestal. Gen. Botha should be represented at the age of about 40, in military uniform and it is considered that the photographs supplied will furnish information

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regarding his general appearance and apparel sufficient for the competition, though further details will be available to the winner for his final work. Any arrangement of steps or surrounding ornament that competitors may wish to form part of their designs to be included in the model."[89] It was also determined that all competition models had to reach Cape Town on or before 1 March 1928 and that neither the models nor the packing in which they were sent should bear any distinguishing marks which might reveal the competitor's name before the final adjudication was made. In order to prevent the slightest possible suspicion of favouritism or of artistic bias through the infuence of some well-known name, the committee decided that the names and addresses of the competitors had to be forwarded to them in sealed envelopes, which would not be opened until after the final adjudication. In the meantime the City Council of Cape Town presented a small formal garden on Stal Plein, for the purpose of erecting the monument, to the committee.[90]

In July 1927 sculptors throughout the world were invited to submit designs.[91] The press gave valuable assistance in making known the details of the competition all over the world. Each intending competitor could obtain a copy of the conditions governing the competition together with a plan of the site of the memorial and two prints of photographs of General Botha upon payment of a deposit of two guineas (R4,20). Deposit fees and requests for details of the competition were received from Australia, Austria, Belguim, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Spain and the United States of America as well as from within South Africa.[92] By January 1928 the models started arriving in Cape Town and they were temporarily housed at the Technical College.[93]

By the closing date of the competition, eighty-three entries from all parts of the world were received.[94] These models were exhibited in one of the spacious halls of the new Post Office Annexe at the lower end of Parliament Street, where the committee would judge them and where the public could view them from 17 until 21 April 1928.[95] The committee co-opted the services of Professor J.L. Wheatley, head of the Michaelis School of Fine Arts at the time, to assist them as adviser and assessor and he was asked to select three models which he considered to be the best.[96] He was assisted by the architect, Mr. F.K. Kendall, who was a member of the committee.

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When the committee met again in May 1928 they decided to select the winner from the three models selected by Professor Wheatley.[97] The final choice of the committee was a design of Professor Raffaello Romanelli of Florence, with the design of the French sculptor, M. George Malissard second, and a special third prize which was awarded to the Australian sculptor, Paul R. Montford.[98]

Professor Romanelli's small-scale model showed General Botha as a lithe figure in military dress astride a parading Italian war horse. He has a cap on his head and looks to his left. In typical Italian military style he has his right hand on his hip and leans back in the saddle while he draws in the reins with his left hand. This militaristic posture was probably typical of an Italian general, but definitely not that of General Botha. The uniform and figure of the general was incorrect since the sculptor never knew Botha. The horse beats the air with its left foreleg, while both hind legs are placed next to each other. The ears of the horse point forward and the wind lifts the mane on the left side. The general impression is that of a military leader surveying a march past of his troops. The model was mounted on a low granite pedestal with steps on all four sides.[99]

Shortly before the choice of the Committee was revealed, a controversy broke loose in the Cape newspapers on the question why the commission was not given to a South African sculptor from the outset. The artist, Gwelo Goodman, wrote the following: "We want to put up a memorial statue to the memory of General Botha, and yet the very first thing we do is to circularise sculptors all over the world for participation in an open competition. They may be very good artists. But what does General Botha really mean to them? How can they possibly convey in their monument - which should be typically South African - any real national South African individuality or atmosphere? .... A fine sculptor, such, for instance, as Kottler, could have been given a commission of, let us say 100 guineas, to submit a model ... I would much sooner see erected in this country a tentative effort by a South African, which might, at least, possess some national character, than a perhaps more complete, but (in the circumstances) soulless effort coming from overseas."[100]

As a result of the controversy the committee considered to commission the South African sculptor Moses Kottler to make a model of an

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equestrian monument of General Louis Botha.[101] Professor Wheatley would then be asked to judge between Kottler and Romanelli's designs. Professor Wheatley refused to do this because he considered it unreasonable. The committee therefore asked dr. F.V. Engelenburg, the Editor of "Die Volkstem" to assist them as adviser and together they decided that Moses Kottler would make a bust of General Botha which would serve as a model for Romanelli so that a true likeness could be guaranteed.[102]

In July 1928, the aged Italian sculptor, Raffaello Romanelli, to whom the first prize for the Botha monument in Cape Town was awarded, died.[103] This left the Executive Committee with the difficult task of deciding who would complete the monument. The French sculptor, George Malissard, who had won the second prize, immediately claimed the right to execute the work, but the committee decided that Professor Romanelli's son, Romano, who was also a noted sculptor, would execute his father's design.[104] The Committee asked him to submit photographs of the different works which he had completed as well as a model which it was understood he had prepared for the Botha Memorial Competition, but did not submit when he heard that his father was participating.[105]

The contract for the execution of the equestrian statue was signed early in 1929. A complete uniform of the South African Defence Force as worn by General Botha as well as a complete set of saddlery was supplied by the Defence Authorities in South Africa and together with the bust of Moses Kottler these were forwarded to the sculptor in Florence.[106] Romanelli immediately started working on the twice life-size plaster model.[107]

In the meantime the committee asked the architect, Mr. F.K. Kendall, to design a pedestal for the equestrian statue as well as the layout of the site. They, however, only had funds for the statue and its pedestal but not for the layout of the gardens around the statue and therefore they turned to the Government and the City Council of Cape Town for financial help.[108] Neither the City Council of Cape Town nor the Government could assist the committee financially with the layout of the site and at a meeting of 19 August 1929 the committee was recommended to adopt the simplest form of pedestal and

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to erect this pedestal in the most suitable position on Stal Plein without attempting any layout.[109]

Romano Romanelli completed the twice life-size plaster model in November 1929 and the committee sent Mr. F.K. Kendall to Florence to inspect the work before it was cast in bronze.[110] Mr. Kendall also had to take measurements of the base plate of the statue for the correct dimensions of the pedestal which he was to design. Romanelli was allowed to proceed with the casting of the large figure and towards the end of December 1929 much progress had been made with the moulds for the bronze casting.[111] The equestrian statue was cast in bronze in Italy in 1930. Towards the end of 1930 the completed bronze equestrian figure was shipped to Cape Town. The pedestal designed by Mr. F.K. Kendall was erected on Stal Plein by Mr. A. Hoheisen. Towards the end of January 1931 the equestrian statue was placed on the completed pedestal and final arrangements were made for the unveiling.[112] The ceremony was conducted on 10 February 1931 by Lady De Waal, wife of Sir Frederic de Waal, who could not attend personally because of ill health.[113]

In its composition this equestrian group typifies the romantic nineteenth-century approach of the Italian sculptor. The horse as well as the rider shows an exaggerated dramatic bearing which gives the whole a certain rigidity. The swirling lines in the figure of the horse contrast strongly with the proud erect figure of the rider and thereby break all unity between horse and rider. The sculptor saw all generals in terms of a pompous Italian general and therefore totally missed the character of General Botha. Since the diagonal movement in the horse is pronounced, the group seems to fall off the front of the beautiful slender pedestal. A more rugged pedestal would have been better suited to this equestrian group.

Towards the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, South African sculptors were beginning to receive more and more of the commissions for commemorative sculpture which had previously been given to European sculptors. Because the South African sculptors were attuned to the conditions locally, they could more readily convey in their monuments that which was typically South African. It all depended on whether they were given the chance to prove themselves. As Gwelo Goodman stated in 1928 "It does not really

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matter whether a sculptor has or has not before done an equestrian statue. Sculptors cannot afford, as a general rule, to make life-size equestrian statues merely for their amusement. If they are not given the chance to attempt such a work, they, naturally, do not attempt it on their own. But it is no valid reason because he had never done it before why a really good artist should not be fully capable of carrying out an equestrian statue."[114]

This chance came in 1939 when the young South African sculptor, Coert Styenberg, was commissioned to make an equestrian statue of General Louis Botha for Pretoria.[115] The history of this project is as follows: Soon after General Louis Botha's death in August 1919, Mr. Charles Maggs of Pretoria donated £1,000 (R2 000) for a memorial in honour of the general in Pretoria.[116] A small committee, which later became known as the Louis Botha Memorial Committee, was formed to raise funds.[117] Funds kept pouring in and when the £30,000 (R60 000) mark was reached, the committee decided to close the subscription lists. At the time a Ladies' Committee under the leadership of General Botha's daughter, Lady Helen de Waal, was struggling to find permanent accommodation for the numerous orphans of the influenza epidemic of 1918.[118] Lady de Waal therefore approached the Louis Botha Memorial Committee and related that it was the desire of her mother, brothers and sisters that half of the funds subscribed for a memorial to her father be used for the building of an orphanage in Pretoria.[119] In 1921 the Louis Botha Memorial Committee donated £15,000 (R30 000) towards the erection of the Louis Botha Home for Children and decided that a separate fund would be kept for some other form of memorial.

By 1928 it was decided that as regards the site of the proposed memorial, the most obvious one would be near the Union Buildings in Pretoria, since General Botha was the architect of the Union of South Africa. A letter was written to the Government of General J.B.M. Hertzog asking permission to erect the memorial on the grounds of the Union Buildings in Pretoria, but no reply was received.[120] In September 1929 three members of the Memorial Committee were appointed to approach the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, personally about the matter, but he refused to give permission to erect a monument in honour of Louis Botha on the grounds of the Union Buildings because he believed that the initiative was taken for

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political gain by a few admirers of General Botha and not by the country in general.[121] Thus the whole idea of erecting a monument in honour of General Botha degenerated into a political issue. A site near the Union Buildings offered by Mr. Charles Maggs was not considered appropriate and the project was postponed to a later date.[122]

In April 1930 the committee asked the sculptor, Fanie Eloff, who had made a study of General Botha's head in 1910, to model a bust of the general for future reference.[123] Up to this date the form of the memorial had not yet been discussed.

It was only in 1937, with the layout of the gardens of the newly completed City Hall in Pretoria, that the idea of erecting a statue in honour of Louis Botha in Pretoria was once more taken up. The City Council of Pretoria was approached in regard to a site in front of the new City Hall and the Mayor of Pretoria at the time, Mr. H.W. Dely, agreed that the committee could have the site for the erection of the monument.[124] The committee found the site appropriate because it was believed that General Botha initially wanted to erect the Union Buildings there. On 22 September a meeting was called to discuss the form which the monument would take.[125] At the meeting the committee decided upon a bronze standing figure of the general in the dress of the time and a sub-committee was elected to proceed with the preliminary task of finding a sculptor to execute the monument.[126]

The original idea was to hold a competition open to sculptors throughout the world, but after the secretary, Mr. L. Esselen, had had discussions with the sculptor Coert Steynberg, it was decided to entrust the work to him in collaboration with the architect Mr. Gordon Leith.[127] The initial idea of a standing figure was altered to one of General Botha seated in an armchair on a koppie of rocks with an effigy of his horse in the proximity of the main statue.[128] In April 1938 Steynberg convinced the members of the committee that an equestrian statue would be aesthetically more appropriate by tabulating the disadvantages of the armchair idea and the advantages of an equestrian statue.[129] He was then asked to prepare a model of the equestrian figure, one-eighth full-size, to present to the committee for approval.[130]

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When the members of the committee saw the scale-model some of them were dissatisfied with the posture of the horse. One of the members wanted a horse with a straight neck such as could be seen on old photographs of the General. Mr. Esselen, however, suggested that the sculptor make two quarter-scale models - one as he would like the statue to be and one as proposed by the committee.[131]

Coert Steynberg now started collecting reference material such as photographs of General Botha in order to get some detail of his scale-model correct. He also notified the secretary of the committee that the quarter-scale models would be ready to be viewed in January 1939.[132]

For the model of his own choice Steynberg thoroughly planned his composition. Later he explained his ideas as follows: "Ek het gedink dat hoewel ek genl. Botha as 'n Boeregeneraal wou voorstel, ek darem iets meer moes gee as net 'n blote portret van hom en sy perd soos afgeneem op een van die foto's van hom wat ek in die hande gekry het. Daarop worl genl. Botha gesien op 'n wit perd wat staan met 'n reguit nek, die oë half toe en 'n agterbeen 'op die plek rus'. Die soort dinge het natuurlik gebeur. Dit kon 'n baie warm dag en die perd moeg gewees het ens. maar dit is nie dinge wat op die lange duur gaan tel of ons gaan inspireer nie. Ek het gevoel dat die Generaal die persoon is wat sy mense onder sy beheer het. Genl. Botha in sy hoedanigheid as Kommandant-generaal het die Boeremagte gekontroleer. So het ek dan probeer om daardie idee simbolies uit te druk en wel deur die kragelement in die perd voor te stel. Die man op die perd kontroleer daardie krag met toom en stang .... Genl. Botha word daarin voorgestel waar hy te perd net bo op 'n koppie of randjie kom en die teuls (sic.) intrek om die wêreld te bespied. Die perd se voorpoot is nog in the lug .... Die enkel van die regtervoorbeen dui aan dat die perd nog op hierdie been op en af wieg. Sy ore het hy na agter getrek om te hoor wat die bevel is en die sterthare waai nog so effens in the wind wat oor die koppie trek. Ek het probeer om met alles al die ledemate en ander vorms van perd en ruiter, ewewig te tref tussen beweging en stilstand."[133]

Early in January 1939 Coert Steynberg made preliminary enquiries from the founder Mr. R. Vignali in Pretoria about the cost of the enlargement of the quarter-scale model.[134] The members of the

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committee came to see the quarter-scale models at the sculptor's studio. The one model showed the general dressed in the service dress of a South African War general as he leans back in the saddle and reins in his pacing horse with its arched neck.[135] The other figure looked more like a farmer herding his cattle than a Boer War general. Although General J.C. Smuts immediately preferred the former figure, some of the other members felt that it was not General Botha's horse and proposed that the sculptor go and take a look at the horse of the Rhodes Memorial in Kimberley.[136] Nevertheless, at this meeting the committee decided upon the first idea and commissioned Steynberg to carry on with the full-scale model on condition that certain changes were made.

The committee was anxious to make the monument as true to life as possible and much care and patience was exercised to get the smallest detail correct. When Steynberg started with the full-scale model, he had to start from the beginning with an intensive study of the type of horse which General Botha rode. In March 1939 the committee sent Steynberg to Kimberley to study the equestrian statue of Rhodes there.[137] Steynberg was impressed with the treatment of the mane and tail of the Rhodes horse, but he felt that although the type of horse was appropriate for Rhodes, it would not be suitable for a statue of General Botha.[138] Mr. Esselen supplied the sculptor with a horse which he had found at the Police Depot near Pretoria and which resembled very closely "Bles", the big, powerful, sixteen hand bay which General Botha rode. At Onderstepoort the sculptor made a thorough study of the anatomy of the horse.[139]

After a long search Mr. Esselen found a South African War saddle at Greytown in Natal and he borrowed a bridle from a former burgher at Hennops River near Pretoria.[140] Since Steynberg had never seen General Botha, he had to make the statue from photographs and descriptions. Personal clothing was studied at the Cultural History Museum in Pretoria.[140a] Even the koppie on which the horse's hooves rest had to be authentic, so a visit to Trichardt, in the Eastern Transvaal, was made to make a copy of a hill on which General Botha often stood.

Before Steynberg could start with the full-scale model, however, he first had to build a large enough studio to contain it on his property

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in Pretoria North. This was completed towards the end of 1939. The founder Renzo Vignali's father was brought from Italy to help with the construction of the armature for the full-scale model.

Renzo Vignali and his father constructed the iron and wood armature inside Steynberg's new studio.[141] Steynberg had to model the full-scale model directly in Plaster of Paris because he feared that if it were modelled in clay the dry atmosphere of Pretoria would cause the clay to crack since it would be difficult to keep such a large clay model sufficiently moist. Once the founders had completed the rough armature Steynberg, with the help of his brother, Johan, did the final modelling.[142] Work on this full-scale model took about seven months and towards the middle of July 1940 it was completed and approved by the committee.[143] Casting could now be done. Vignali came and took the casts in sections in Steynberg's studio. Certain parts of the model, such as the arms and legs of the rider and the tail of the horse, had to be cut away and cast separately.[144] These moulds were completed by December 1940.[145]

In the meantime Coert Steynberg started with the panels for the pedestal.[146] There were to be six panels in bas-relief depicting scenes from General Botha's life. The first shows him as a boy rounding up his father's sheep; the second shows him on commando as Commandant General in the South African War (1899 - 1902); the third shows him as Prime Minister of the Transvaal under Responsible Government; in the fourth he is represented as addressing the National Convention in the Senate House; the fifth shows him at the Peace of Versailles; and the sixth shows him as Prime Minister of the Union, on the steps of the Union Buildings. By June 1941 Steynberg had completed four of the six panels, two small and two large ones[147], and two months later the last two were also finished.[148]

At the time a granite pedestal was designed by the architect, Mr. J.S. Cleland, and erected in the middle of the garden in front of the City Hall in Pretoria. Before the statue and panels could be placed in position, the committee decided to postpone the erection till after World War II. The statue was therefore stored by City Engineering Works until the end of 1945.[149]

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While final preparations were made early in 1946 to finish the statue before it would be erected in front of the City Hall, General J.C. Smuts decided that the City Hall site should be reserved for a statue of the founder of Pretoria, President M.W. Pretorius, and that the Louis Botha monument should be placed at the Union Buildings.[150] Members of the committee and the sculptor went to the Union Buildings in February 1946 to select the most suitable site. Mr. Teichman, the Secretary of the committee at the time, described this visit as follows: "I remember the day that the Right Hon. N.J. de Wet, Mr. J.S. Cleland and I met at the Union Buildings to look at suitable sites. There was at first some idea of erecting the statue on one of the upper terraces, but we felt that its proportions would not fit in there and that also it would throw its surroundings somewhat out of focus. Then someone thought of the end of the long sloping lawn at the foot of the lower terraces. I remember Steynberg was so delighted and excited that he jumped the fence like a schoolboy and at once began measuring up the gound."[151]

Towards the end of February 1946 Mr. J.S. Cleland designed a new 5,6 m high pedestal and it was executed in Brits granite, so as to conform to the granite used in the Union Buildings, by Messrs. Sinclair and Company of Pretoria.[152] The completed monument was unveiled by the eldest daughter of General Botha, Lady Helen de Waal, on 15 August 1946.[153]

This equestrian statue is undoubtedly the most striking example in South Africa. It blends perfectly with its surroundings and has a monumentality and grandeur which few other equestrian statues in South Africa possess. There is a masterful unity and harmony in the whole. The harmony is a result of the strict geometry of the figure and its pedestal. As Steynberg once pointed out, the whole composition fits into a circle.[154] The stepped sides of the pedestal contribute to the harmony of the whole.

Anatomically the horse as well as the rider are well proportioned and the slight texture of the surface-modelling enhances the gradual transitions in the curvature of the surfaces and subdues the reflection of the harsh South African sunlight. Although the monument reflects influence from the British tradition in its simple

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realism, it nevertheless possesses a ruggedness which is typically South African.

Steynberg's second equestrian monument, that of General C.R. de Wet in Bloemfontein, is the only equestrian monument with a prancing horse in South Africa.

The idea to erect a monument in honour of General C.R. de Wet originated at the unveiling of the monument of President M.T. Steyn in Bloemfontein on 28 September 1929.[155] On 20 December 1929 a meeting under the chairmanship of General E.A. Conroy was held in Bloemfontein to discuss this proposal.[156] The sculptor, Anton van Wouw (1864 - 1945) was also present at this meeting. The meeting welcomed the idea to erect a monument to General de Wet with enthusiasm and proposed that a Central Committee be appointed to raise £12,000 (R24 000) for an equestrian statue of the general in Bloemfontein. Soon after this meeting General Conroy invited twenty nine persons from all provinces in South Africa to serve on a Central Committee.[157]

At the Central Committee's first meeting in Cape Town on 18 January 1930, it was decided to raise funds through Provincial committees and the sculptor Anton van Wouw was asked to prepare a scale model for an equestrian statue of General De Wet. In the beginning the General Christiaan de Wet Memorial Fund grew steadily, but during the depression of the early thirties everything came to a standstill. Further delay came when the "Sentrale Volksmonumente-komitee" asked the De Wet Memorial Committee to suspend its collection of funds provisionally so as not to hinder the collection of funds for the proposed Voortrekker Monument.[158]

On 28 June 1939 a congress was held in Bloemfontein to reconsider the erection of a monument to General De Wet. An Executive Committee was elected, but before anything was done the Second World War broke out.[159] Once more the project had to be postponed.

In 1948 the City Council of Bloemfontein gave a site in front of the station to the General Christiaan de Wet Memorial Committee for the erection of the proposed equestrian statue of General de Wet and in July of that year the secretary of the committee wrote to Coert

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Steynberg and asked him to come to Bloemfontein to inspect the site with a view to erecting a monument there.[160] Soon after visiting Bloemfontein, Steynberg made suggestions about the improvement of the site. He was then asked to prepare drawings for an equestrian statue.[161]

Nothing further happened until December 1949 when Steynberg was asked to prepare a few scale models to lay before the Executive Committee.[162] Early in January 1950 Steynberg informed the secretary of the committee, Mr. R.B. Saayman, that he had already started with a few preliminary models,[163] and in May 1950 he delivered three models at the Free State Technical College [164]. The committee only met on 30 August 1950 to discuss these models.[165] The model selected by the committee showed General De Wet on a lively horse which swerves to one side but is compelled in another direction by the rider. This pose symbolized the tactics for which General De Wet was famous during the South African War - he always did the unexpected. Although the models were only tentative representations, the committee published a photograph of the one chosen in the local newspaper. This photograph invited severe criticism with regards to the appearance of the General.[166] From the criticism of the preliminary model Steynberg gained invaluable advice about the character and bearing of the general for the quarter-scale model which he was to make. A great deal of the information concerning General De Wet's person, however, was contradictory.

On 18 October 1951 the contract for the proposed equestrian monument of General C.R. De Wet was signed.[167] This contract called for a twice life-size bronze equestrian statue of General De Wet for £16,000 (R32 000). The committee wanted the monument completed for unveiling on 7 October 1954, which was the centenary of the birth of General C.R. De Wet.

Since October 1950 Steynberg had been busy with intensive research as regard the appearance of General De Wet during the South African War. He was especially interested in information about the details of the general's dress, his habits and his physical appearance. General De Wet's son, Izak, gave the sculptor valuable information about the bearing of his father.[168]

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By November 1951 the quarter-scale model was completed in Plaster of Paris and the Executive Committee was asked to approve it.[169] The committee, however, only met in the sculptor's studio on 15 January 1952, and approved the model.[170] This model showed the general astride a prancing horse and pointing with his folded sjambok over the head of the horse. He was dressed in plain clothes, had a revolver on his hip and a small hat on his head.[171]

In February 1952 Steynberg started with the full-scale plaster model. Progress was slow since the armature for the prancing horse was intricate. The full-scale model was completed towards the end of January 1954 and Steynberg waited for final inspection by the committee. The members of the Executive Committee visited his studio on 30 January 1954 and approved the full-scale model.[172] The founders, Vignali of Pretoria North, could therefore start with the moulds.[173] The committee wanted the casting to be completed not later than 21 September 1954.[174] A contract signed with the founders in June 1954 stated that "the casting must be carried out in such a way that the group can be loaded and transported by road to Bloemfontein, which means that the neck of the horse and the top of the body of the General through the waist must be cast separate and not fixed in position until the group is safely erected at Blomefontein, where the Contractor (the founders) must have them fixed in an approved manner."[175]

In April 1954 detailed specifications were compiled for the erection of the pedestal in front of the station in Bloemfontein.[176] Already at that time there were people who felt that the site in front of the station was not appropriate for an equestrian statue. The Provincial Administration felt that the site in front of the Raadsaal would be more appropriate and offered it to the committee in July 1954.[177] The architect, D.G. Daneel, was asked to discuss the design of a new pedestal with Coert Steynberg, who was very ill at the time. Together they designed a new asymmetrical pedestal which emphasized movement.

By the end of July 1954 the design for the pedestal was completed to Steynberg's satisfaction and tenders were invited for its erection.[178] The building of the pedestal was started on 19 August 1954 by the firm E.E. Bolt and Sons.[179] It was completed by the end of

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September 1954 and plans were made to transport the bronze statue, which had also just been completed, from Pretoria to Bloemfontein.[180]

The equestrian statue arrived in Bloemfontein early in October 1954 and it was immediately placed in position on its pedestal. As planned the monument was unveiled on 7 October 1954 by Mr. Izak de Wet.[181]

In this equestrian monument the sculptor tried to represent the dynamic character of General De Wet through the vigorous movement of the horse and the asymmetrical design of the pedestal. In order to emphasize this movement he portrayed the mane and tail of the horse as blowing in the wind. This movement is repeated in the awkward stylized grass at the feet of the horse. Although used as a support for the forelegs of the horse, the pointed shark-fin-like tufts of grass do not harmonize with the rest of the monument and look like flames. This alters the iconography of the monument. Instead of the impetuous Boer General, he becomes a Marcus Curtius who leaps into the flames.[182].

Steynberg's equestrian figure of Commandant-General A.W.J. Pretorius in Pretoria is an excellent example of a monument which has been spoiled by the intervention of the committee.[183]

After the unveiling of the Louis Botha equestrian statue at the Union Buildings in Pretoria in August 1946, General J.C. Smuts, on behalf of the Louis Botha Memorial Committee gave the pedestal, which had been erected for the Louis Botha equestrian statue in front of the City Hall in Pretoria, but which had not been used, as a first contribution towards a monument for the founders of Pretoria, Andries Pretorius and his son M.W. Pretorius.[184]

At a special meeting of the City Council of Pretoria's General Purposes Committee in October 1947, it was decided to recommend to the City Council to write out a competition for statues of these leaders.[185] Further it was suggested that the sculptors Coert Steynberg, Moses Kottler, W. de S. Hendrikz, H. Potgieter, I. Mitford-Barberton and Fanie Eloff be asked to submit models. The Council agreed to the proposals in February 1948 and approached the Government and the Provincial Administration asking whether they would be prepared to share the cost of erecting the statues.[186]

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Neither the Government nor the Province would help financially and the City Council therefore decided in April 1949 to put £3,000 (R6 000) aside annually for the purpose of erecting the statues.

Since he wanted the monuments completed for the centenary celebrations in Pretoria in 1955, the Mayor of Pretoria personally contacted Coert Steynberg on 6 September 1949 and inquired from him how long it would take him to complete the proposed monuments.[187] The same day Coert Steynberg replied in writing that such a commission would take five years to complete. Therefore, on 13 October 1949, the General Purposes Committee recommended to the City Council of Pretoria that Coert Steynberg should be asked to design the statues and submit models with estimates of costs.[188] Towards the end of November 1949 the Town Clerk of Pretoria informed Coert Steynberg that the City Council had decided to go ahead with the erection of the statues and asked whether he was prepared to accept the commission.[189]

Steynberg accepted the commission and informed the Town Clerk that he would immediately start with preliminary models.[190] In the meantime the sculptor started with intensive reasearch as to the physical appearance of the two Trekker leaders. He made four preliminary models, and early in February 1950 he informed the Town Clerk that the models were ready to be viewed in his studio in Pretoria North.[191] The selection committee, however, only came together early in April 1950 and selected two models, one showing Andries Pretorius on a horse with its head lowered and standing on a high pedestal with M.W. Pretorius standing against the front of the pedestal and pointing upwards to his father[192] and the other showing Andries Pretorius on a lively horse with its head held high. Later the committee, however, selected the design showing Andries Pretorius on a horse with its head lowered. The sculptor had convinced them that this design was better suited to the architecture of the City Hall than the other one.

On 12 July 1950 Steynberg quoted £22,900 (R45 000) for the Pretorius statues.[193] This quotation was accepted and he immediately started with one-third scale models for the two statues.[194] Early in 1951 the one-third scale models were approved by the selection committee and on 26 April 1951 a memorandum of agreement was signed.[195] Yet in

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spite of an agreement that the selection committee would not interfere with his design, they demanded that the two figures be separated by a fish-pond. Their reasons were that the two figures did not live at the same time and could not be seen as a unity. Although the sculptor was very dissatisfied with this decision, he was helpless. Steynberg started with the full-scale model of M.W. Pretorius in January 1952.[196]

Only after the M.W. Pretorius statue was cast in bronze in December 1952, did Steynberg start with the full-scale model of the equestrian statue of Andries Pretorius.[197] He made the full-scale model in his studio in Pretoria North and by the end of 1954 it was ready to be cast in bronze.[198] After it was approved by the selection committee, the founders Vignali of Pretoria North made the moulds in the sculptor's studio. The casting was completed in August 1955 and both statues, that of M.W. Pretorius and the equestrian statue of Andries Pretorius were erected in front of the City Hall in Pretoria under the supervision of the sculptor.[199] The monument was unveiled by Colonel I.J. Meyer, a great-grandson of Andries Pretorius, on 21 October 1955.[200]

The equestrian statue of Andries Pretorius shows a broadshouldered figure dressed in a suit and with a top-hat on his head astride a pacing horse. The head of the horse is bent down and its tail forms a wide arch. The rider holds the reins with his left hand, has a sword by his side and holds his down-pointed rifle in his right hand. He looks straight ahead of him. Unfortunately the geometry of the group was entirely broken when the committee decided to move the standing figure of M.W. Pretorius away from the base of the equestrian statue. Initially, as already mentioned, M.W. Pretoius was to stand against the front of the pedestal directly below the head of his father's horse. The sculptor had planned the group in such a way that a spiral which runs through the M.W. Pretorius figure would have been continued in the equestrian statue of Andries Pretorius. This explains the unnatural long neck and lowered head of the horse. The proportions of the rider were increased slightly from the waist upwards to compensate for the height at which it is seen. However, instead of producing the desired effect, this adjustment caused the rider to look grotesque and the horse to look too small for the rider.[201] Although the granular surface-finish of the figure becomes

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monotonous, it is nevertheless functional since it does not reflect light.

The first equestrian statue to be cast by a South African born founder was the equestrian statue of General Koos de la Rey by Hennie Potgieter.[202]

As a result of the controvery over the equestrian monuments of Generals Botha and De Wet in the South African Parliament early in 1930, the citizens of Lichtenburg, the home-town of General Koos de la Rey, wrote to the Government and asked for a monument of General De la Rey.[203] In Lichtenburg a committee was formed under the leadership of Mr. H.H.W. Hesse to erect a monument in honour of the general.[204] This committee immediately started with a national fund-raising campaign. The sculptor Anton van Wouw was approached to make a model of the general on his horse, "Bokkie".[205] Van Wouw completed a model showing the general with his hat in his hand astride a recoiling horse with an arched neck.[206] The whole project, however, was abandoned when funds ceased to accumulate during the depression of the nineteen-thirties. The money which was collected was donated towards the completion of the General De la Rey Memorial Hospital and the committee was dissolved.

A completely new effort was made to erect a monument to the memory of General De la Rey when Colonel I. Meyer, who had served with the general during the South African War, wrote to the sculptors Hennie Potgieter and Coert Steynberg in February 1957 to enquire about the cost of an equestrian statue of the general.[207] Hennie Potgieter gave the lowest quote.[208]

On 14 June 1957 Colonel Meyer called a meeting of war-veterans in Potchefstroom to consider the erection of a monument of General De la Rey in the Western Transvaal.[209] At the meeting a General De la Rey Memorial Committee was elected with the idea of raising funds[210], and Lichtenburg donated a site for the proposed monument.[211]

Funds accumulated very slowly and by May 1959 only £1,000 (R2 000) had been collection. Yet the committee decided to proceed with the erection of the equestrian statue. They wanted it to be completed by September 1964 in time for the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the

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general. At a meeting of the committee on 25 August 1959 it was decided to send a delegation to Hennie Potgieter to discuss the proposed monument with him. The delegation met at Potgieter's home on 26 September 1959 and as a result of the discussions the secretary informed Potgieter on 15 December 1959 that he had been chosen to execute the monument of General De la Rey.[212] Further the secretary asked the sculptor to prepare a sketch or model which could be presented to the committee on 27 February 1960, and noted that they were enthusiastic about his idea of placing the figure directly on the ground instead of on a pedestal.

In the meantime Potgieter had already acquired a plan of the site in Lichtenburg from the Town Clerk[213] and had started with a small-scale plaster model.[214] The model showed General De la Rey with a whip in his right hand and a hat on his head astride a recoiling horse. Potgieter presented his model to the committee in Potchefstroom on the prescribed date. The committee was very pleased with the 45 cm high preliminary model and commissioned the sculptor to proceed with the full-scale plaster model, once certain small changes were made to the design.[215] The contract for the execution of the monument was signed at the home of the sculptor on 19 March 1960.[216]

Before he started with the full-scale model of the equestrian statue, Hennie Potgieter first erected a large new studio at the back of his property at Hartbeespoort dam.[217] With the construction of the armature of the full-scale model Potgieter made use of a completely unique techique. Instead of using the traditional armature, he first made the body of the horse in an inverted position on the floor of his studio using the "wooden frame" method for the enlargement.[218] Once the body was completed, it was turned right-side-up and hoisted into a position where plaster legs which were made separately could be fitted.[219] These legs were strengthened by thick pipes within them. The method saved so much time that Potgieter could complete the full-scale model within three months. By June 1964 the full-scale model was completed and Potgieter waited for the committee to approve it.[220] When the committee met at the sculptor's studio on 13 June 1964, Professor A.L. Meiring, who acted as art adviser in the absence of Professor Gerrit Dekker, found fault with the model and the sculptor was requested to make certain adjustments. The

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full-scale model was finally approved on 8 August 1964 and Potgieter was requested to proceed with the casting in bronze.[221] The founder Hennie Joubert immediately started making the moulds for the casting in bronze.

In December 1964 Potgieter gave instructions to the Town Engineer of Lichtenburg with regards to the layout of the pond and hill where the statue would be mounted in front of the Town Hall.[222]

Joubert completed the casting of the full-scale equestrian statue by 20 February 1965 and plans were made to transport the statue to Lichtenburg by road.[223] The figure was transported to its destination on 22 February 1965 and mounted on four concrete pillars in front of the Town Hall.[224] The space between the pillars was filled with soil and planted over with grass. The monument was unveiled on 27 February 1965 by the State President, Mr. C.R. Swart.[225]

The statue is unique in that it has no pedestal, but stands on the ground. It shows General De la Rey dressed in ordinary clothes with a hat on his head and a whip in his right hand as he proudly sits on his horse which paws the ground with its left foreleg. The general has a long beard and a pouch and revolver strapped across his chest. Both horse and rider face to the right, which is also the most striking viewpoint of the group.

To conclude this chapter on equestrian monuments in South Africa, reference must be made to the three questrian statues which serve as war memorials. They are the Volunteer Memorial in East London, the Herero War Memorial in Windhoek and the Burgher Monument in Ermelo.

The oldest war memorial showing an equestrian statue in South Africa is the Volunteer Memorial in East London.[226] Unfortunately very few records remain to tell the history of this equestrian statue.

It seems that Sir George Farrar initiated the idea of erecting a memorial to the memory of the officers and men of the Colonial Division who fell in the South African War (1899 - 1902) when he donated £1,000 (R2 000) to this end early in 1907.[227] The

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Municipality of East London donated £500 (R1 000) while every man of the Colonial Division contributed a day's salary.

With £3,000 (R6 000) to spare, the committee entrusted with the erection of the monument approached the well-known British sculptor, William Reynolds-Stephens (1862 - 1943) to design the statue.[228]

A series of photographs of Captain G.J. Hearn M.C., astride a typical colonial horse was made in King Williamstown and sent to London to Reynolds-Stephens, who used them instead of a live model.[229] Captain Hearn was chosen as the model because of his popularity and soldierly bearing.

By the end of March 1907 the sculptor had already completed the scale model and was ready to start with the full-scale equestrian statue.[230] The full-scale model was completed during the first half of 1908 and cast in bronze in England. In June 1908 the life-size bronze equestrian figure was exhibited as "The Scout of War" at the Royal Academy.[231]

The equestrian statue shows a young trooper dressed in a British uniform of the South African War and leaning forward in his saddle astride a restfully standing horse. He has two bandoliers across his chest and a hat, the brim of which has been turned up on the left side, on his head. He uses his left hand to shield his eyes from the sun as he scans the horizon. He holds his rifle in front of him across the saddle with his right hand. The awkward position of the hind legs of the horse is an indication that it is tired after a long ride. The ears of the horse are cocked forward as if it hears something which the rider cannot see.

In August 1908 a 2,7 m high pedestal of green marble was erected in front of the City Hall in East London by Mr. Charles Keam.[232] The equestrian figure was shipped to East London in September 1908 where it was mounted on its elegant pedestal and the bronze tablets bearing the names of the fallen were attached to the sides of the pedestal. The memorial was unveiled on 9 November 1908 by the commander of the Colonial Division, General Sir E.Y. Brabant.[233]

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The realism of this equestrian group spoils it aesthetically. Although the awkward striding hind legs of the horse realistically show that it is tired, the hind quarters of the horse do not fit in aesthetically with the rest of the figure. The high elegant pedestal, however, is well suited to the figure.

An important example of German sculpture at the beginning of this century can be seen in the Herero War Memorial or "Rider of South West Africa" as it is commonly called. It stands on a high granite pedestal between the Alte Feste and the Lutheran Church in Windhoek.[234]

This equestrian statue came into being when in July 1908 on the initiative of Colonel Ludwig von Estorff, 1000 Mark was donated for the erection of a monument in Windhoek in memory of the German soldiers who fell during the Herero and Hottentot uprisings of 1903 to 1907 and during the Kalahari expedition of 1908.[235] After 5000 Mark had been collected by July 1909, the committee in charge of the project decided in Berlin that a competition would be held to select a sculptor for the monument.[236] At the close of the competition, two models were chosen - one by Adolf Kürle (1865 - 1912)[237] and the other by Carl Möbius (1876 -).[238]

Later however, the committee decided to give the commission to Adolf Kürle. He made and cast the twice life-size equestrian statue in Berlin and by 1911 it was ready to be shipped to Southern Africa.[239]

In the meantime Colonel Von Estorff had acquired a site between the German Lutheran Church and the Alte Feste in Windhoek for the erection of the statue and a pedestal of South West African granite was erected there.[240]

The equestrian statue arrived in Swakopmund from Hamburg in November 1911. The large crate containing it was immediately transported by rail to Windhoek, where preparations had already been made for the placing of the statue on its pedestal. The sculptor Adolf Kürle came all the way from Germany to Windhoek to supervise the erection of the statue. It was unveiled on 27 January 1912, the birthday of the then German Emperor, by the Governor of South West Africa, Dr. Theodor Seitz.[241]

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This equestrian statue is an idealized representation of a typical German colonial cavalryman of the beginning of this century. The alert rider sits erect in his saddle astride a standing horse and holds the reins firmly in his left hand, while his rifle is held ready in his right hand. The butt of the rifle rests on his right thigh. The rider has a large hat, the brim of which has been turned up on the right side, on his head and jack-boots on his feet. He looks to his left while the horse, with ears cocked and nostrils dilated, looks to the right.

The only marble equestrian statue in Southern Africa is the Burgher Monument which stands on a high granite pedestal in Ermelo.[242]

Early in 1926 a committee was elected to erect a memorial for the seventy two burghers of the Ermelo district who had fallen during the South African War.[243] In March 1926 the committee arranged a meeting with the Town Clerk of Ermelo to discuss a site for the proposed memorial.[244] During a second meeting which was held on 26 May 1926 three sites were proposed, namely in front of the Town Hall, on the Market Square and on the northern side of the park.

At about the same time the committee contacted the Transvaal Monumental Works in Johannesburg and asked for a quotation for a life-size equestrian figure in white marble.[245] This firm's quotation was £875 (R1 750) for a life-size equestrian statue made in Italy.[246] The committee accepted the quotation and requested the firm to proceed with the execution of the monument. In the mean time the committee started raising funds for the proposed monument.

In April 1934 the committee decided to erect the monument on the square in front of the church.[247] Mr. Sjoerd Alkema of Ermelo was commissioned to erect a granite pedestal on the site.[248] It was completed early in 1935 and the equestrian figure, which had just arrived from Italy, was placed in position on it. The monument was unveiled on 31 May 1935 by General J.C. Smuts.[249]

This equestrian statue shows a bearded burgher dressed in everyday clothes with a hat on his head and a bandolier across his left shoulder as he sits erect on his restfully standing horse. He holds the reins with his left hand and his right hand rests on his right

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hip. His rifle is slung over his right shoulder and the belly of the horse is supported by a tree-stump. The figure was carved from numerous blocks of marble which have been joined skillfully. Though the figure is very realistic, the horse is proportionately smaller than its rider. Two technical problems in this marble figure which the sculptor could not solve satisfactorily are the support of the belly of the horse and the marble reins. The clumsy tree-stump under the belly of the horse spoils it aesthetically. A more pleasing solution for the stiff marble reins would have been to create them in bronze as the ancient Greeks and Romans did.

FOOTNOTES

1. Coert Lourens Steynberg was born at Hennopsrivier near Pretoria in 1905. He studied at the Grahamstown School of Art from 1925 to 1927 and then at the Royal College of Art, London from 1928 to 1930 under Professor G. Ledward and Henry Moore. He gained his Associateship in 1930 and travelled extensively in Europe. In 1932 he was commissioned for a statue of Bartholomeu Dias for the facade of South Africa House in London. This was the beginning of the sculptural career of one of South Africa's most prolific sculptors. He returned to South Africa in 1934 and was commissioned for statues of statesmen and well known public figures. Some of his monuments are: The Bloedrivier Monument in Natal, the Centenary Monument in Potchefstroom, the Huguenot Monument in Paarl, the Sarel Cilliers statue in Kroonstad, the Jannie Marais statue in Stellenbosch, the Peace of Vereeniging Monument in Vereeniging, the Gen. Hertzog statue in Pretoria and many more. In 1953 he received a medal from the "S.A. Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns" and in 1976 he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Pretoria. See Bosman, E.C.L.: Coert Steynberg.

2. Hendrik Christoffel Potgieter was born in Paul Roux in the Orange Free State in 1916. He received art tuition at the Witwatersrand Technical College under James Gardner and Eric Byrd in the thirties. He was awarded a gold medal in Lichtenburg in 1935 and in Pretoria in 1937. He is known for numerous public commissions such as "Wording" in Vanderbyl Park, "Lente" in Pretoria, "Getemde Vryheid" in Pretoria,

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"Wekroep" in Germiston, "Saaier en Maaier" in Pretoria, the Curt von Francois statue in Windhoek and many more. In the late thirties he worked on panels for the Voortrekker Monument, for which he was required to stay in Florence for a few years.

3. See fig. 178.

4. The idea of erecting a memorial originated when Rhodes' cortége passed through Kimberley early in April 1902 on its way to the Matoppo Hills in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). In the local newspaper of 17 April 1902 we read: "A public meeting will be held in the Town Hall this evening at 8 o' clock to consider the question of a memorial to the late Mr. Rhodes." See Anonymous: Day by Day, The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 17 April 1902, p. 5.

5. Anonymous: A Rhodes Memorial, The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 18 April 1902, p. 5.

6. They felt that the memorial should be in the form of a free-standing statue "which will strike the attention of every visitor who comes to Kimberley, and also daily remind the people of this town of Mr. Rhodes' great labours and stimulating example" and not an "addition of a new ward to a hospital or anything of that kind". See Anonymous: Op. cit., 18 April 1902, p. 5. Those present at the meeting felt that, because Rhodes disliked bronze and preferred white marble, the memorial should be carved in white marble. It was agreed that the size of the memorial would depend on the size of the site, and two sites in Kimberley, namely the Market Square and "the high plateau which has already furnished a splendid site for the Honoured Dead Memorial" were proposed.

7. The executive committee consisted of: Mr. M. Cornwall (Chairman until his death on 4 February 1906), Mr. F. Hirschhorn (Chairman after Mr. Cornwall's death), Mr. Justice P.M. Laurence and Mr. Justice Lange, Mr. Advocate Simpson, Captain T. Tyson, Mr. J.J. Christie (Civil Commissioner of Kimberley), Mr. W. Sagar (Mayor of Kimberley), Mr. C.K. O'Molony (Secretary), Mr. L.M. Hastings (Assistant-secretary) and Messrs. W.T. Anderson, G.H. Ronas, D.J. Haarhoff, R.H. Henderson C.M.G.,

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C.E. Nind, H.A. Oliver C.M.G., J.D. Tyson and W.H. Foley. See Anonymous: Rhodes memorial - the proposed statue, Diamond Fields Advertiser, 18 April 1902, p. 7.

8. This sculptor of monumental figure groups was the son of the sculptors Thomas and Mary Thornycroft and was born in London on 9 March 1850. He studied Greek art in the British Museum and entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1869. In 1871 he went to Italy and on his return in 1872 helped his father with the Park Lane Fountain for which he did the figures of "Comedy", "Shakespeare" and "Fame". He gained his A.R.A. in 1881 and R.A. in 1888. From 1882 until 1914 he taught sculpture at the Royal Academy Schools. He was knighted in 1917 and died on 18 December 1925 at Oxford.

His most famous public monuments are: Alfred the Great (Winchester), General Charles Gordon 1885 (Victoria Embankment), Oliver Cromwell 1899 (Westminister), Gladstone (Strand), King Edward VII (Karachi), Queen Victoria (Royal Exchange and Durban), Dean Colet (St. Paul's School) and the War Memorial in Durban. See Chamot, M., D. Farr and M. Butlin: The Modern British paintings, drawings and sculpture, vol II, p. 721.

9. Anonymous: Op. cit., 18 April 1902, p. 5.

10. Anonymous: D.F. Advertiser Shilling Fund, Diamond Fields Advertiser, 19 April 1902, p. 5.

11. Anonymous: The Rhodes Statue, Diamond Fields Advertiser, 4 December 1907, p. 5.

12. Anonymous: Op. cit., 4 December 1907, p. 5.

13. See footnote 33 below.

14. In 1907 bronze casts were made of this small-scale model (33 cm high) and one was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1907. See Kimberley Public Library: Rhodes Memorial Correspondence - letter: J. Foat - F. Hirschhorn, London, 20 September 1907.

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15. Anonymous: Kimberley's statue to the late Mr. Rhodes, South Africa, 16 January 1904, p. 183.

16. According to the "Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition Catalogue" of 1953, p. 114, the plaster scale model of the equestrian statue belonged to the City of Salisbury. Enquiries to the public relations officer of the City Council of Salisbury as well as to the Directors of the National Gallery and National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia in July 1979 revealed that these bodies had no knowledge as to the whereabouts of the plaster scale model.

17. Anonymous: Op. cit., 4 December 1907, p. 5.

18. Anonymous: Rhodes Statue, The Cape Argus, 5 December 1907, p. 3.

19. Tonder, J.J. van: 17 Perd- en Ruitermonumente in Suid-Afrika, p. 49.

20. See figs. 179, 180 & 181.

21. Anonymous: The Rhodes Statue at Kimberley, South Africa, 7 December 1907, p. 646.

22. Kimberley Public Library: Rhodes Memorial Correspondence - letter: T.J. Milner - F. Hirschhorn, Cape Town, 21 August 1907.

23. Kimberley Public Library: Rhodes Memorial Correspondence - letter: Myburgh & Thomas - F. Hirschhorn, Cape Town, 21 August 1907.

24. Kimberley Public Library: Rhodes Memorial Correspondence - letter: Myburgh & Thomas - F. Hirschhorn, Cape Town, 21 August 1907.

25. Anonymous: Rhodes Statue, Diamond Fields Advertiser, 4 December 1907, p. 7.

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John Macallan Swan, the animal painter and sculptor, was born at Old Brentford on 9 December 1847. He studied art at the Lambeth School of Art, the Royal Academy Schools and later in Paris with Gerome and Frémiet. He was made R.A. in 1905. He died on the Isle of Wight on 14 February 1910. See Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikom der bildenden Künstler, vol. 32, p. 337.

26. Kimberley Public Library: Rhodes Memorial Correspondence - letter: John Foat - F. Hirschhorn, London, 20 September 1907: "the panels will be ready next week and I am going down to Frome to view them before they are packed for shipment. If satisfactory, I have arranged with Messrs. Donald Currie & Co. to forward by the mail steamer 'Walmer Castle' leaving Southampton on Sept. 28th they will be consigned to you through Messrs. Myburgh & Thomas Cape Town. The panels will be photographed & copies forwarded in due course."

27. Anonymous: Rhodes Memorial, The Star, 5 December 1907, p. 7 and Anonymous: The Rhodes Memorial at Kimberley, South Africa, 4 January 1908, p. 28.

28. See figs. 182 & 183.

29. Schreiner, T.: The Rhodes Memorial, Cape Times, 11 April 1902: "Now that the tired body of Cecil Rhodes has been laid to rest in the peace of the distant hills, the time has come for his numerous admirers to decide what form their permanent memorial of him will take."

30. Anonymous: Looking North, The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 19 April 1902, p. 5 and Anonymous: The Late Mr. Rhodes - a national memorial, The Cape Times, 17 April 1902.

31. This committee consisted of: Sir. G. Sprigg (Prime Minister of the Cape), Mr. W. Thorne (Mayor of Cape Town), the President of the Chamber of Commerce, the Chairman of the Table Bay Harbour Board, the Cape Town agent of the British South Africa Company and Messrs. T.L. Schreiner, C.A. Owen Lewis, W.T. Buissinne, J. Garlick, E.J. Edwards, S. Cowper, J.D.

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Cartwright, T.J. O'Reilly and all the Mayors of every town in South Africa. See Anonymous: The Late Mr. Rhodes, The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 19 April 1902, p. 5.

32. Anonymous: National Memorial, The Cape Times, 3 July 1902, and Liberman, H.: Rhodes Memorial, Cape Town Mayor's Minutes, 1905, p. 26.

33. George Frederic Watts was born in London and entered the Royal Academy Schools as a young boy. In 1844 he visited Italy and stayed in Florence for three years. Mainly a painter of portraits and allegorical subjects, he also from time to time tried his hand at sculpture. A large number of his portraits, presented by him to the nation, are at present in the National Portrait Gallery, London. His other equestrian figure, that of Lupus Grosvenor (1884) in the stableyard of Eaton Hall in Cheshire, is similar to the "Physical Energy" but the rider is clothed. See Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, vol. 35, p. 199. We do not know who told the committee in London about this Statue. The most likely person is Herbert Baker, who knew Rhodes very well.

34. Anonymous: Unveiling of the Rhodes Memorial, The African World, December 1912, p. 21.

35. Anonymous: Op. cit., December 1912, p. 23. For a photograph of the full-scale plaster model see South Africa, 10 October 1903, p. 99.

36. Anonymous: Mr. Watts and his ideal, The African Review, 14 February 1903, p. 275.

37. Anonymous: Op. cit., 14 February 1903, p. 275.

38. Calitz, P.M.H.: Die Rhodes-gedenkteken teen die hang van Tafelberg, 17 Perd- en Ruitermonumente in Suid-Afrika, p. 56.

39. Anonymous: Op. cit., 14 February 1903, p. 275.

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40. Anonymous: The Statue "Physical Energy", South Africa, 24 October 1903, p. 274.

41. Anonymous: The statue of "Physical Energy" for the Victoria Falls "Park of Peace", South Africa, 10 October 1903, p. 99.

42. Liberman, H.: Op. cit., p. 26.

43. Anonymous: Sculpture at the Royal Academy, The Builder, 18 June 1904, p. 651 and Anonymous: The Royal Academy, The Times of London, 30 April 1904, p. 12. In 1904 a bronze cast of "Physical Energy" was erected in Kensington Gardens in London. See Gleichen, E.: London's Open-Air Statuary, p. 71. (See fig. 184.) Another bronze cast was later made and presented to the City of Lusaka by the British South Africa Company but it was removed to Salisbury when Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) became independant. See Anonymous: Statue of Rhodes returned to British South Africa Co., Time, 18 December 1964, p. 33.

44. Anonymous: Rhodes memorial - committee meeting, The Cape Times, 26 January 1905.

45. This sub-committee consisted of Dr. T. Smartt, Sir. W. Thorne, M.J.W. Jagger, Mr. H. Liberman (the Mayor of Cape Town), Mr. J.M. Stephen and Mr.F. Masey.

46. Liberman, H.: Op. cit., p. 26.

47. Baker, H.: The Late Mr. Rhodes - his artistic side, The Cape Times, 1 May 1902.

48. Liberman H.: Op. cit., p. 26.

49. Liberman, H.: Op. cit., p. 26.

50. Liberman, H.: Op. cit., p. 26.

51. Calitz, P.M.H.: Op. cit., p. 55.

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52. Baker H.: The Rhodes Memorial, The Times of London, 5 July 1912, p. 7.

53. Kimberley Public Library: Rhodes Memorial Correspondence - letter: F. Hirschhorn - J.A. Stevens, Cape Town, 5 September 1907. For J.M. Swan see footnote 25 above.

54. Anonymous: Mr. J. Swan R.A., The Builder, 9 May 1908, p. 552.

55. Baker, H.: The late Mr. Swan, The Times of London, 5 April 1910, p. 15.

56. There is no indication when the lions were placed in position but it must have been between April 1909 and April 1910. See Baker, H.: Op. cit., p. 15 and Anonymous: Progress of the Rhodes Memorial, Groote Schuur, The State, April, 1909, p. 438.

57. Anonymous: Unveiling of the Rhodes Memorial, The African World, December 1912, pp. 19 - 23.

58. See fig. 185.

59. Anonymous: Dick King Memorial - Equestrian statue decided upon, The Natal Mercury, 1 August 1905, p. 10.

60. Anonymous: Memorial to Dick King, South Africa, 11 September 1915, p. 406.

61. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - memorandum of the meeting of 31 July 1905 by J. Orr and Anonymous: Op. cit., 1 August 1905, p. 10.

62. The Executive Committee consisted of: Mr. E.L. Acutt (Chairman), Sir David Hunter, Mr. J. Ellis-Brown (Mayor of Durban), Sir Benjamin Greenacre, Mr. G.W. Palmer (Secretary and Treasurer) and Messrs. R. Jameson, W.G. Baker and P. Davis.

63. Anonymous: The man who saved Natal, The Standard, 5 September 1905; Anonymous: A brave South African, The

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Morning Post, 20 October 1905; Anonymous: Memorial to a brave man, The Diamond Fields Advertiser, 20 October 1905; Anonymous: Memorial to a South African, The Cape Times, 21 October 1905; Anonymous: A brave Farmer, People, 22 October 1905; Anonymous: Dick King's Ride, Cork Constitution, 28 October 1905; Anonymous: Memorial to a brave South African, Liverpool Courier, 23 October 1905; Anonymous: Memorial to a brave South African, Plymouth Western News, 23 October 1905; Anonymous: Memorial to a Natal Farmer, Manchester Guardian, 23 October 1905; Anonymous: Dick King's Ride, Brighton News, 28 October 1905; Anonymous: Dick King's Ride, The Evening Standard, 23 October 1905.

64. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter : F. Lovate - M. Palmer, 8 April 1908.

65. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - circular of the Dick King Memorial Executive Committee, 24 May 1911.

66. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter : G.W. Palmer - R.H. Tatham, 16 September 1912: "In regard to the actual Statue no decision has ever been come to, though we have several designs on hand, but the estimates given are probably out of date now and we should have to obtain new tenders."

67. Henry Harley Grellier was born in South Africa and studied art in London. He first worked as a commercial artist in Durban and then joined the Civil Service. After retiring he devoted all his time to his art. His public commissions include: Carved fanlights for the Land Bank and the United Building Society Building in Cape Town and also work on the Town Hall in Stellenbosch. See Jeppe, H.: South African Artists 1900-1962, p. 125.

68. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: G.W. Palmer - R.H. Tatham, 16 September 1912: "Of all the many photos laid before the Committee in the earlier days the one I send you by post today is probably the one

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which will be accepted, but that point has not yet been decided." (See fig. 186.)

69. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: Anonymous - Mr. W. Palmer, 17 January 1913: "I have asked Mr. Milligan, when he is at Rome, to collect as much information as he can for the Committee, as to the various forms."

70. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: Sir H. Thornycroft - Mr. Milligan, 9 June 1913.

71. See Fig. 187.

72. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: Anonymous - Messrs. Ascoli Bros., 3 February 1914: "I beg to place on record that your tender for the erection of the Dick King Memorial Statue complete (except for the panels and inscription which are to be supplied by us here) as per photos of the model submitted by you for a sum of Twelve hundred pounds (£12000) payable on completion of the work is hereby accepted."

73. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: Ascoli Bros. - G.W. Palmer, 15 June 1914: "I almost every week receive news from my people in Italy saying that the work is proceeding very well."

74. A very similar type of equestrian monument is that of Guiseppe Missori on the Piazza G. Missori in Milan by Riccardo Ripamonti. (See fig. 188.)

75. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: H.H. Grellier - G.W. Palmer, 4 February 1914.

76. See figs. 189 and 190.

77. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: E. Impson & Sons - Town Clerk, 11 June 1914.

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78. Anonymous: Dick King Memorial, Natal Mercury Pictorial, 4 September 1914, p. 1611.

79. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: Ascoli Bros. - G.W. Paton, 15 June 1914.

80. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: Chairman - Town Clerk, 11 June 1915: "The Statue has now arrived and it is expected that the work will be completed by the end of the present month."

81. Local History Museum, Durban: Dick King Memorial Committee Papers - letter: Ascoli Bros. - The Honourable Secretary, 20 July 1915.

82. Anonymous: Memorial unveiled today, Natal Mercury, 14 August 1915, p. 11.

83. See figs. 191 and 192.

84. Anonymous: Botha memorial for the city, The Cape Times, 30 May 1929, p. 15.

85. The Executive Committee consisted of: Sir. Frederic de Waal (Chairman), Sir David de Villiers Graaf, Sir Harry Hands, Mr. D.S. Partgiter (the Mayor of Cape Town) and Messrs. J.S. Dunn, J.B. Taylor, A. Weisbecker (Treasurer) and A.L. Bowley (Secretary). Later Mr. F.K. Kendall and Mr F.S. Malan were added to the committee. See Anonymous: The General Botha memorial - exhibition of competitive designs, The Cape Times, 12 April 1928, p. 11.

86. Anonymous: Ruiterstandbeeld genl. Louis Botha onthul, Die Burger, 11 February 1931, p. 8.

87. Anonymous: Standbeeld vir genl. Botha, Die Burger, 30 May 1929, p. 8 and Anonymous: The General Botha memorial - exhibition of competitive designs, The Cape Times, 12 April 1928, p. 11.

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88. Anonymous: Botha memorial for the city, The Cape Times, 30 May 1929, p. 15.

89. Anonymous: The General Botha memorial - exhibition of competitive designs, The Cape Times, 12 April 1928, p. 11.

90. Anonymous: Op. cit., 12 April. p. 11.

91. Anonymous: Op. cit., 12 April. p. 11. Some of the committee members approached sculptors in England to send in designs. In an article (Anonymous: Die Standbeeld van genl. Botha, Die Burger, 8 January 1929, p. 7) we read how Mr. J. Dunn, a member of the Committee, visited a sculptor in London and ordered a statue of Gen. Botha. In the same article mention is made of a visit by Mr. L. Esselen, the organizing secretary of the South African Party, to the studio of the sculptor Sydney March, who later entered a model. This model was sold by Sotheby's in London in May 1970 and is at present in the National Cultural History and Open-air Museum in Pretoria. See Anonymous: Long-distance bidding, Sunday Express, Mainly for Men, 24 May 1970 and Anonymous: Africana-veiling in Londen, Die Transvaler, 13 May 1970. (See fig. 193.)

92. Anonymous: The General Botha Memorial - exhibition of competitive designs, The Cape Times, 12 April 1928, p. 11. The South African sculptor, Anton van Wouw also participated in this competition. See Cohen, M.J.: Anton van Wouw, sculptor of South African Life, p. 40. (See fig. 194.)

93. Anonymous: Botha memorial for the city, The Cape Times, 30 May 1929, p. 15.: "....The committee wishes to place on record its sincere appreciation of the assistance rendered by the authorities of the Cape Town Technical College in providing storage accommodation for some weeks for the large number of models received for the competition."

94. Anonymous: The Louis Botha Memorial, The Cape Times, 26 May 1928, p. 15.

95. State Archives, Pretoria: Department of Public Works Files,

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D.O.W. 4/76 Volume 32
A.L. Bowley - O.W. Staten, 18 March 1928
and Anonymous: The General Botha Memorial - exhibition of competitive designs, The Cape Times, 12 April 1928, p. 11. (See figs. 195 and 196.)

96. Anonymous: Op, cit., 12 April 1928, p. 11.

97. Anonymous: Die standbeeld van Generaal Botha, Die Burger, 28 May 1928, p. 8.

98. Anonymous: The Louis Botha Memorial, The Cape Times, 26 May 1928, p. 15. In their choice the Committee did not look at detail but rather at the general idea. (See figs. 197 and 198.)

99. (See fig. 199.) Raffaello Romanelli (1856 - 1928): He was born on 13 May 1856 in Florence and was the son and pupil of the sculptor, Pasquale Romanelli. Professor Romanelli was the sculptor of numerous monuments in Italy, amongst others an equestrian monument of Garibaldi in Siena (See fig. 200.) and an equestrian monument of Charles Albert of Savoy on the Quirinal in Rome. See Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, vol. 28, p. 547. Especially noteworthy is the close resemblance of the Garibaldi horse to that of Louis Botha.

100. Anonymous: Evolution of a South African School of Art, The Cape Times, 21 Apirl 1928.

101. J. du Preez Scholtz mentions that in D.C. Boonzaier's diary the following entry occurs: "....'Kottler calls this evening to fetch two books in which there are portraits of General Botha on horseback as he appeared during the Boer War. K. has been invited to submit a model for the statue of Botha which is to be erected in Stal Plein (....) I have also lent him a book on the anatomy of a horse.' (26.6.'28)." See Scholtz, J. du P.: Moses Kottler: his Cape years, p. 79.

102. Anonymous: Ruiterbeeld van genl. Botha, Die Burger, 16 January 1929, p. 9. Moses Kottler did not participate in the

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original competition, because he was against such competitions and because he felt that the work should have been given to a South African from the outset. The bust which Moses Kottler made in 1931 was presented to Mrs. Botha by the Botha Monument committee after the erection of the equestrian monument. At present there is a bronze cast of the bust in the National Gallery in Cape Town. (Inv. No. 605).

103. State Archives, Pretoria: Department of Public Works Files, D.O.W. 4/76 Vol 32.
A.L. Bowley - The Acting District Engineer
Cape Town, 26 July 1928.

104. Anonymous: Op. cit., 16 January 1929, p. 9.

105. State Archives, Pretoria: Department of Public Works Files
D.O.W. 4/76 Vol 32.
A.L. Bowley - The Acting District Engineer
Cape Town, 26 July 1928.

106. Anonymous: Op. cit., 30 May 1929, p. 15.

107. Anonymous: Standbeeld vir Genl. Botha, Die Burger, 30 May 1929, p. 8.

108. State Archives, Pretoria: Department of Public Works Files, D.O.W. 4/76 Vol 32.
A.L. Bowley - The Secretary, D.P.W.,
14 August 1929.

109. State Archives, Pretoria: Department of Public Works Files
D.O.W. 4/76 Vol 32.
O.W. Staten - the Under-secretary,
22 August 1929.

110. Anonymous: Standbeeld vir genl. Botha - Professor Romanelli se werk byna voltooi, Die Burger, 15 November 1929, p. 6 and Anonymous: Botha statue for Cape Town - Ready for unveiling in 1930, The Cape Times, 16 November 1929, p. 13.

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111. Anonymous: Prof. Romanelli at work on the Botha statue, The Cape Times (weekly supplement), 21 December 1929. The monument was photographed by Mr. Lochner de Villiers while on a visit to Italy in December 1929. (See fig. 201.)

112. Anonymous: Botha Statue Unveiling, The Cape Times, 2 February 1931, p. 9.

113. Anonymous: Ruiterstandbeeld Genl. Louis Botha Onthul, Die Burger, 11 February 1931, p. 8 and Tonder, J.J. van: 17 Perd- en Ruitermonumente in Suid-Afrika, p. 71. In the Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, vol. 2, p. 453 the date of unveiling is incorrectly given as 2 February 1931.

114. Anonymous: Evolution of a South African School of Art, The Cape Times, 21 April 1928, p. 12.

115. See figs. 202 and 203.

116. Teichman, W.: The Statue of Louis Botha, Architect of the Union of South Africa, The Outspan, 16 August 1946, p. 32.

117. This committee consisted of: Mr. A. Robertson (Administrator of the Transvaal and Chairman), Mr. D. van Velden (Secretary for the Transvaal), Dr. F.W. Engelenburg, Col. H. Mentz, Mr. J.P. Jooste and Mr. L. Esselen the Secretary after the death of Mr. D. van Velden.

118. Anonymous: 'n Waardige Monument vir 'n Waardige Kindervriend, Bylae tot "Die Volkstem", 8 August 1946, p. 14.

119. Anonymous: Op cit., 8 August 1946, p. 14.

120. Anonymous: Standbeeld van wyle Genl. Botha - die Kommissie se Standpunt, Die Burger, 21 September 1929, p. 6.

121. Anonymous: Die Standbeeld vir Genl. Botha, Die Burger, 22 January 1930, p. 7.

122. Anonymous: Op. cit., 21 September 1929, p. 6.

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123. Anonymous: Borsbeeld van genl. Botha - deur Fanie Eloff uit gips vervaardig, Die Burger, 5 April 1930, p. 10: "Die Bedrywigheid van Fanie Eloff beteken darem dat daar ten mindste (sic.) een beeldhouer is wat die kop van wyle Louis Botha bestudeer het. Dit is daar ook om hierdie rede dat die Transvaalse Monumentekommissie Eloff versoek het om 'n Bothakop uit gips te vervaardig. Hierdie kop moet dan as leidraad dien vir die vervaardiging van 'n Botha-figuur, wat later aan een of ander kunstenaar opgedra sal word."

124. Teichman, W.: Op. cit., p. 32.

125. Anonymous: Besluit oor Bothastandbeeld voor die Nuwe Stadsaal, Die Volkstem, 22 September 1937, p. 1.

126. The committee consisted of General J.C. Smuts (Chairman), Col. H. Mentz, Col. W.R. Collins, Sir W. Dalrymple, Sen. B.D. Pienaar and Messrs. W. Bezuidenhout, J.P. Jooste, L. Esselen (Secretary), J.J. Alberts, H.L. Lindsay and S.C. Black. Anonymous: Op. cit., 22 September 1937, p. 1.

127. Anonymous: Botha Statue, The Star, 7 February 1938, p.. 15 and Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letters: L. Esselen - C.L. Steynberg, 1 February 1938 and letter: Crankshaw Bros. - C.L. Steynberg, 4 February 1938.

128. Anonymous: Botha Monument for Pretoria, Pretoria News, 13 October 1938, p. 5.

129. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - Circular C.L. Steynberg, 11 April 1938.

130. Steynberg, C.L.: Hoe die Standbeeld Ontstaan het, Bylae tot "Die Volkstem", 8 August 1946, p. 10.

131. Steynberg, C.L.: Op. cit., p. 10.

132. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter : C.L. Steynberg - Mr. Louis Esselen, 30 November 1938.

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133. Steynberg, C.L.: Op. cit., p. 10.

134. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter : R. Vignali - C.L. Steynberg, 10 January 1939: "I beg to confirm to you, my verbal quotation of £200-0-0. The above quotation is for work carried out in a strong armature in wood and steel and covered with about 2" thickness of plaster of Paris. I shall leave all round the work 1" space for you for the finishing of the model."

135. See fig. 204.

136. See p. 269 above.

137. Steynberg, C.L.: Op. cit., p. 10.

138. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - Report on the Statue of Cicel (sic.) Rhodes at Kimberley, 7 March 1939.

139. Steynberg, C.L.: Op. cit., p. 10.

140. Teichman, W.: Op. cit., p. 32.

140a. The Cultural History Museum later changed its name to the National Cultural History and Open Air Museum, Pretoria.

141. See footnote 134 above. Steynberg described the making of the armature as follows: "Met die opbou van die raamwerk om die gips te hou het wyle mnr. Renzo Vignali en sy vader (die Bronsgieters) baie gehelp. Eers is daar 'n yster raamwerk (sic.) gemaak en toe een van hout daarop vasgeskroef. Honderde stukkies hout van 1" vierkant en verskillende lengtes moes gemeet, gesaag en vasgeslaan word op die houtstellasies. Die punt van almal moes twee duim onder die oppervlakte wees. Oor al die punte het ons toe halfduim ogiesdraad getrek en daaroorheen goiingsak wat in gips gedoop was. Die het my toe die kern gegee waaroorheen ek met gips kon modelleer. See Steynberg, C.L.: Op. cit., p. 10.

142. Steynberg, C.L.: Op. cit., p. 10.

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143. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter : sculptor - Mr. J.C. Cleland, 30 July 1940: "As I have completed the Statue of Gen. Louis Botha in Plaster of Paris and as it has been approved by the Memorial Committee, I should like to request for another draw on the Statue."

144. Steynberg, C.L.: Op. cit., p. 10.

145. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: Mr. Steynberg - Mr. J.S. Cleland, 18 December 1940. The statue was the biggest casting in bronze made in South Africa at the time and weighed 3½ tons. It was almost 5,7 m high. (See fig. 205.)

146. Initially the committee wanted the South African artists Eleanor Esmonde-White and Le Roux Smith le Roux to make the panels. See Anonymous: Botha Monument for Pretoria, Pretoria News, 13 October 1938, p. 5. However, already in November 1938 the committee decided that Steynberg would also be entrusted with the execution of them. See Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: sculptor - Mr. Louis Esselen, 30 November 1938.

147. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: C.L. Steynberg - Mr. J.S. Cleland, 5 June 1941.

148. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: C.L. Steynberg - Mr. J.S. Cleland, 26 August 1941.

149. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: J.S. Cleland - Mr. Jooste, 21 December 1945.

150. Teichman, W.: Op. cit., p. 33

151. Teichman, W.: Op. cit., p. 33.

152. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: J.S. Cleland - W.R.F. Teichman, 26 February 1946. An elaborate formal layout, consisting of fountains and pillared arcades, was never completed.

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153. Anonymous: Unveiling of the Botha Statue to-day, Pretoria News, 15 August 1946, p. 1.

154. Steynberg, C.L.: Op. cit., p. 10: "Meetkundig beskou pas die vorm van die standbeeld van die kant gesien in 'n sirkel. Die lyn gaan langs die opgeligte voorbeen, die voorkop, die Generaal se hoed, die perd se boude en regteragterbeen weer om na die voorbeen. Die meeste vorms binne die sirkel 'straal' van die middelpunt uit."

155. Anonymous: Gedenkteken vir Genl. C.R. de Wet, Die Burger, 12 December 1929, p. 6.

156. Anonymous: Plan om 'n standbeeld van Genl. C.R. de Wet op te rig, Die Burger, 23 December 1929, p. 7.

157. The members of the Central Committee were: Cape Province: Sen. W.A. Hofmeyr, Mr. W.P. Steenkamp, Gen. P. Kritzinger, Mr. J.H. Conradie, Col. B. Bouwer and Comdt. A.J. de Kock. O.F.S.: Mr. C.T.M. Wilcocks, Mr. E.R. Grobler, Min. N.C. Havenga, Rev. J.D. Kestell, Sen. C. van Niekerk, Mr. H.J. Otto, Comdt. J.M. Els, Col. W. Nussey, Comdt, J. du Toit, Comdt. Van Schalkwyk and Gen. M. Botha. Transvaal: Mr. J.S. Smit, Min. P. Grobler, Min. O. Pirow, Gen. J.C. Kemp, Col. M. du Toit and Col. A.H. Nussey. Natal: Min. E.G. Jansen and Sen. A.T. Spies. S.W.A.: Mr. M. Maritz. The three secretaries were: Mr. G. Fraser, Mr. A. Schmidt and Mr. R.B. Saayman. See Anonymous: Statue of Late Gen. de Wet, The Cape Times, 22 February 1930, p. 14.

158. Tonder, J.J. van: 17 Perd- en Ruitermonumente in Suid-Afrika, p. 24.

159. The Executive Committee consisted of: Gen. E.A. Conroy (Chairman), Mr. C.A. van Niekerk, Mr. C.A. Ebersohn, Mr. J.J. de Wet, Mr. J.H.B. Reitz, Mr. A.F. Schmidt, Mr. C.J.R. Smit, Mr. W.J.C. Brebner, Mr. S.C. Hattingh and Mr. R.B. Saayman (Secretary).

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160. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - C.L. Steynberg, 12 July 1948.

161. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - C.L. Steynberg, 23 July 1948.

162. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - Coert Steynberg, 19 December 1949.

163. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: C. Steynberg - R.B. Saayman, 7 January 1950: "Op die oomblik is ek al besig met die maak van die modelle en hoop om hulle voor die einde van Februarie daar in Bloemfontein af te lewer."

164. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - Sen. J.H.B. Reitz, 16 June 1950.

165. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - Coert Steynberg, 18 August 1950.

166. Renier: Genl. de Wet, Die Volksblad, 5 September 1950, p. 2. Other letters followed in "Die Volksblad" of 9 and 15 September 1950.

167. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - Memorandum of Agreement, 18 October, 1951.

168. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: I.J.C. de Wet - C. Steynberg, 14 May 1951.

169. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - Dr. Pellissier, 18 October 1951.

170. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - C. Steynberg, 16 January 1952. The date of the approval is incorrect in Dr. J.J. van Tonder's book 17 Perd- en Ruitermonumente in Suid-Afrika, p. 28. Steynberg explained the quarter scale model to the Secretary of the committee as follows: "Die kwartskaal model (sic.) is 'n stadium, of meer bepaald, een van die reeks voorafgaande studies wat noodsaaklik is vir my om

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die groot standbeeld tot die voldoening van die Komitee ten uitvoer te bring. Die Komitee het nl. met my, soos u weet, 'n ooreenkoms gesluit om vir hom 'n Ruiterstandbeeld, twee maal lewensgroot, van Gen. De Wet te maak. Voordat ek die groot model aangepak het, het ek eers tekeninge, sketse en klein modelletjies en 'n kwartskaal model (sic.) gemaak om die wense van die Komitee te wete te kom en te wys wat my idee is. Terselfdertyd dien die kwartskaal model (sic.) ook om vir my die regte proporsies en afmetings te gee wanneer ek aan die groot model werk." See Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: C. Steynberg - Mr. Saayman, 29 January 1952.

171. Photographs of this model appeared in Die Vaderland, 16 April 1951 and Die Transvaler, 8 May 1951. Steynberg had a bronze casting made of the quarter scale model during 1952 for a shooting trophy for the Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging. See Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: M.C. Botha - C. Steynberg, 22 January 1952 and letter: A.B. Cloete - C. Steynberg, 13 April 1953. This trophy is at present in the Oorlogsmuseum van die Boererepublieke in Bloemfontein. (See fig. 206.)

172. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - C. Steynberg, 22 January 1954. This full-scale plaster model is at present still in the sculptor's studio in Pretoria North.

173. As far back as September 1950 Steynberg had received a quotation of £3,000 (R6 000) for the casting of the equestrian statue in bronze from Victoria Vignali. See Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: V. Vignali - C. Steynberg, 4 September 1950.

174. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: C. Steynberg - R.B. Saayman: "Die gieters onderneem om die beeld in tyd klaar te maak in brons, sodat dit nog vervoer en opgerig kan word voor die 7de Okt. a.s. Hulle sal plaaslik 'n paar helpers kry en oortyd werk waarvoor hulle kan £600 ekstra vra.... Die gieters is al druk besig met die neem van die

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vorms." The information in J.J. van Tonder: Op. cit., p. 29 that the full-scale model was delivered at the founders is quite incorrect. The founders made their moulds in Steynberg's studio.

175. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - Memorandum of Agreement, 1 June 1954.

176. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - Spesifikasie van materiaal te verskaf en werk te doen by die oprigting van die voetstuk vir die Gen. De Wet-Ruiterbeeld te Bloemfontein, 8/4/54.

177. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: R.B. Saayman - C. Steynberg, 7 July 1954.

178. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: Coert Steynberg - Mr. Daniel, 26 July 1954.

179. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: C.S. Daniel - C. Steynberg, 19 August 1954.

180. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: A. Hendrikz - C. Steynberg, 15 September 1954.

181. Anonymous: Grand Climax to Simple and dignified Ceremony, The Friend, 8 October 1954, p. 1 and Anonymous: Mr. Havenga pays tribute to Gen. De Wet - Statue unveiled in Bloemfontein, Pretoria News, 8 October 1954, p. 5. (See figs. 207 and 208.)

182. See Chapter 6 p. 244 above.

183. See fig. 209.

184. See p. 289 above.

185. Anonymous: Standbeeld van stigter van Pretoria, Die Valderland, 24 October 1947, p. 15.

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186. Duffey, A.E.: Openbare beeldhoukuns in Suid-Afrika met spesifieke verwysing na vollengte losstaande standbeelde, Dissertation 1976, p. 177.

187. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: Coert Steynberg - Burgemeester van Pretoria, 6 September 1949.

188. Anonymous: City Council's plan for statues of Trekkers, Pretoria News, 14 October 1949, p. 4. At the same meeting The General Purposes Committee recommended that a selection committee consisting of Professor A.L. Meiring, Mr. A. Hendrikz, Mr. J.H. Pierneef, Mr. Le Roux Smith le Roux and Professor A.N. Pelzer should be appointed to advise the Council.

189. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: Stadsklerk - Coert Steynberg, 21 November 1949.

190. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: Coert Steynberg - Stadsklerk, 26 November 1949.

191. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: C. Steynberg - Stadsklerk, 6 February 1950.

192. The idea here is very much the same as that of P.H. Larchevêque's equestrian monument of Gustav II Adolf in Stockholm. See chapter 6, footnote 190 above.

193. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: Coert Steynberg - Stadsklerk, 12 July 1950: "Na goedkeuring van Ontwerpe en enige aanneemlike suggesties vir verbetering sal ek saamwerk met 'n Boukomitee (waaronder 'n geskiedkundige) om probleme te bespreek en om die Stadsraad op hoogte te hou met vordering van werk, maar sien nie kans om ander kunstenaars (vernaam nie-beeldhouers) toe te laat om my werk aanhoudend te verander volgens hulle eie smaak."

194. (See figs. 210 and 211.) These models are at present still in the studio of the sculptor in Pretoria North.

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195. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - Akte van Ooreenkoms, 26 April 1951.

196. Duffey, A.E.: Op. cit., p. 178.

197. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: C.L. Steynberg - Stadsklerk, 2 January 1953.

198. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Steynberg papers - letter: V. Vignali - Mr. Steynberg, 3 December 1954.

199. Duffey, A.E.: Op. cit., p. 179.

200. Anonymous: Pretoriusbeeld met luister onthul, Die Transvaler, 22 October 1955, p. 1.

201. Professor A.L. Meiring, who was adviser to the committee is said to have believed that the proportional size of all objects had to be increased the higher they were placed and it is possible that he influenced the sculptor in this respect.

202. See fig. 212.

203. Anonymous: Hulde aan Boere-generaals - Standbeeld vir wyle genl. de la Rey gevra, Die Burger, 31 January 1930, p. 6.

204. Beer, J. de: De la Rey Standbeeld is droom wat waar geword her, Die Transvaler, 19 February 1965, p. 14. The Secretary was Mr. J.W. du Preez of Lichtenburg.

205. Beer, J. de: Op. cit., p. 14: "Laastens noem ek nog net die feit dat Anton van Wouw deur die eerste komitee genader is om die standbeeld te maak en dat ook 'n interessante brief van hom ontvang is. Daarin meld hy dat hy 'n perd gesien het wat net soos Bokkie, die generaal se perd lyk en dat hy voornemens is om sy model daarvan te maak."

206. (See fig. 213.) This model is in the Van Wouw House in Pretoria. The sculptor Hennie Potgieter, who later made the statue of General De la Rey for Lichtenburg states that he never

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saw Van Wouw's model. It is remarkable to see how two sculptors working on the same project but separated by space and time, intuitively produced models which have much in common.

207. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Potgieter papers - letter: I. Meyer - Hennie Potgieter, 9 February 1957.

208. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Potgieter papers - letter: H. Potgieter - Col. Meyer, 15 February 1957: "Ek sal 'n ruiterfiguur van die Gen. (sic.) maak en oprig vir £13,000 (dertien duisend pond), d.w.s. tweemaal lewensgrote (sic.)."

209. Tonder, J.J. van: 17 Perd- en Ruitermonumente in Suid-Afrika, p. 9.

210. The committee consisted of Col. J. Meyer (Chairman), Dr. J.A.L. Taljaard (Secretary), Dr. A.C.S. Schulenburg, Dr. J.S. du Plessis, Mr. N.J. de Jager, Mr. C.G.C. Rocher, Mr. W.J. de Wet and Mr. A.J.G. Oosthuizen. The Town Council of Lichtenburg was represented by Mr. G. le Roux.

211. Tonder, J.J. van: Op. cit., p. 8.

212. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Potgieter papers - letter : J.A.L. Taljaard - Hennie Potgieter, 15 December 1959: "Dit is vir my 'n groot eer om u hiermee te kan meedeel dat my Komitee op sy jongste vergadering, na aanhoor van die verslag van die afvaardiging na u, eenparig besluit het om, sonder die oorweging van enige ander kunstenaar, u te benoem as beeldhouer vir die standbeeld van Genl. de la Rey."

213. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Potgieter papers - letter : G. Stegmann - Hennie Potgieter, 20 November 1959.

214. (See fig. 214.) Mr. Potgieter notes that later five bronze casts were made of this model.

215. Anonymous: Komitee ingenome met Gipsmodel van Kunstenaar, Die Transvaler, 29 February 1960, p. 2. The art advisers to the committee were: Professor G. Dekker, Dr. T.T. Cloete and Mr.

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Henning Kruger. Already at the time it was decided that the statue would be cast in bronze by the South African born founder, Hennie Joubert, who had received his training from Renzo Vignali in Pretoria North.

216. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Potgieter papers - Contract, 19 March 1960.

217. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Potgieter papers - letter: H. Potgieter - Dr. J.A.L. Taljaard, 18 August 1960.

218. The "wooden frame" method involved the use of two calibrated wooden frames - a small frame which was suspended above the scale model and a proportionately enlarged frame which was suspended above the armature for the full-scale model. The small frame was used to determine measurements at fixed points on the scale model which was then transferred to the full-scale model by means of the proportionately enlarged frame. See Lanteri, E.: Modelling and Sculpture, vol. III, pp. 74 - 108.

219. See fig. 215.

220. Anonymous: De la Rey-Ruiterbeeld, Die Noordwester, 21 August 1964, p. 1. and S.A. Digest, 12 June 1964, p. 3.

221. Anonymous: Op cit., 21 August 1964.

222. Art Archives, University of Pretoria: Potgieter papers - letter: H. Potgieter - Die Sekretaris, 5 February 1965 and letter: H. Potgieter - Die Stadsklerk, 17 May 1965.

223. Rand Daily Mail, 20 February 1965, p. 3. The head of the general was cast separately and was only welded onto the body after the figure was placed in position. This was necessary for the transportation by road to Lichtenburg.

224. Anonymous: Abnormal load, The Star, 22 February 1965, p. 3.

225. Anonymous: Man with a whip - a town remembers, Rand Daily Mail, 27 February 1965, p. 1.

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226. See figs. 216 and 217.

227. Anonymous: Colonial Division Memorial, The Star, 10 November 1908, p. 2.

228. William Reynolds-Stephens was born of British parents in Detroit, U.S.A. on 8 August 1862. He was educated in England and Germany and later studied at the Royal Academy Schools. After 1894 he worked solely as a sculptor. He was influenced to some extent by the sculptor Alfred Gilbert (1854 - 1934) and Pre-Raphaelite medievalism. He made many memorials, including those of Sir William Orchardson in St Paul's in London and Archbishop Lord Davidson at Lambeth Palace. He was knighted in 1931. He died at Timbridge Wells on 23 February 1943. See Chamot, M., D. Farr and M. Butlin: The Modern British paintings, drawings and sculpture, vol II, p. 547.

229. Anonymous: Like dad, like granddad, Daily Dispatch, 27 May 1975, p. 5.

230. Anonymous: War Memorial S.A., The Builder, 30 March 1907, p. 406.

231. Anonymous: Sculpture at the Royal Academy, The Builder, 27 June 1908, p. 734.

232. Anonymous: East London, Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa, vol. 4, p. 187.

233. Anonymous: To the fallen - memorial at East London, The Eastern Province Herald, 10 November 1908, p. 7.

234. (See figs. 218.) It is interesting to see how an old tradition survives even in the colonies. Traditionally the German equestrian monuments of the Middle Ages were erected between the palace and the cathedral. See chapter 4 p. 111 above.

235. Krynauw, D.W.: Die Alte Feste und der Reiter von Südwest, p. 46.

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236. Krynauw, D.W.: Op. cit., p. 46.

237. Adolf Kürle was born in Cassel on 20 March 1865 and studied art at the Academy in Cassel and Städelinstitut in Frankfurt am Main. He was known for his Bismarck Memorial in Deutsch-Krone and his Wissmann Memorial in Dar-es-Salaam. He took part in the Berlin Exhibition in 1909. See Bénézit, E.: Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs, p. 330 and Thieme, U. and F. Becker: Op. cit., vol. 22, p. 71.

238. According to Krynauw two bronze castings of Möbius' model still exist in South West Africa. The one is in the possession of a Mr. H. Klein in Windhoek and the other stands on the grave of Major O. Scultetus in the graveyard in Swakopmund. See Krynauw D.W.: Op. cit., p. 49.

239. Krynauw D.W.: Op. cit., p. 48.

240. Initially the idea was to erect a marble pedestal but this was abandoned in favour of a granite pedestal.

241. Anonymous: Das Landesfest am Kaisertage, Der Südwestbote, 31 January 1912, p. 1 and Anonymous: Kaisers Geburtstagsfeier und Enthüllung des Landeskrieger-Denkmals, Deutsche-Südwest-afrikanischen Zeitung, 2 February 1912, p. 2 and 6 February 1912, p. 2.

242. See figs. 219 and 220.

243. The committee consisted of Mr. J.J. Joubert (Chairman), Mr. J. Smit (Secretary) and Messrs. A. van Niekerk, P. Alberts, R. van Rensburg, J. Marnewick, N. Wolmarans, F. Grey, S. Venter, G. Stapelberg, A. de Clerq, M. Stoop and P. Human.

244. Tonder, J.J. van: Op. cit., p. 97.

245. See advertisement "Herinnering", Die Huisgenoot, 16 April 1937, p. 73: "Hier word afgebeeld die Burger-monument op Ermelo, ontwerp en opgerig deur ons."

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246. Anonymous: Gen. Smuts at Ermelo - to unveil Monument, Rand Daily Mail, 30 May 1935, p. 12.

247. Tonder, J.J. van: Op. cit., p. 98.

248. Anonymous: Standbeeld - onthulling Vrydag op Ermelo - indrukwekkende Plegtigheid, Die Vaderland, 28 May 1935, p. 7.

249. Anonymous: Gen. Smuts unveils Boer War monument, Rand Daily Mail, 1 June 1935, p. 13 and Anonymous: Memorial to Burghers, The Star, 31 May 1935, p. 18.

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CONCLUSION

In conclusion something must be said about the equestrian statue in the present time. Though it is generally believed that the equestrian statue is something of the past, all indications point to a revival of the theme in our time. It may be true that the celebrity in our time is rarely put in the saddle, but in spite of this, the compositional complexity of the theme still appeals to the modern sculptor. The traditional equestrian statue might be dead, but the theme still lives on. Social realist versions of equestrian subjects still appear from time to time, but these are mostly anachronisms. The modern sculptor of equestrian statues is no longer interested in the specific, but rather in the universal. A bronze equestrian statue of Kaiser Ludwig of Bayern by the German sculptor, Hans Wimmer (1907 -) which was made in the nineteen sixties for the Alten Hof in Munich, testifies to this.[1] It does not show the specific physical appearance of Kaiser Ludwig, but is rather the portrayal of a universal emperor. It could represent any leader, anywhere. The rider is a synthesis of aristocratic mankind. The stylized horse becomes a universal horse. It shows skilful synthesis of the most prominent equine qualities from the ancient West as well as the ancient East. Archaic Greek equestrian form has successfully been fused with the T'ang horses of ancient China to create this modern universal image. The statue stands on a rough concrete rectangular pedestal which tapers slightly to the top. Another excellent modern example of an equestrian monument is the statue of Queen Wilhelmina on the Rokin in Amsterdam, which was made in 1965 by the Dutch sculptor, T. van der Pant.[2] It is the only commemorative equestrian statue in Western Art showing a female sovereign on horseback. The Queen is dressed in a long riding skirt and sits side-saddle on a comical horse which has long ears and a peculiar gait. The pedestal, which is in the form of a funnel which stands on its point, is exceptional.

It is only in our time with its diversity of sculptural approaches that the limited compositional possibilities available to the sculptor of the past for the representation of the man on horseback, have been increased. Since the creation of the first representation of man on horseback, only three possibilities were acceptable - the rider on the standing horse, the rider on the horse in movement and the rider on the prancing horse. Because the modern sculptor is no longer

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interested in the outer appearance of the horse or whether it is stationary or in movement, but rather in that which is visible behind these phenomena, a great diversity of formal possibilities have become available to him. The horse and rider figurines of Marino Marini (1901 -) and Fritz Koenig (1924 -) are examples of this new approach to the theme.

Marino Marini did not strive for unity between horse and rider, but used the disintegration of this unity as a tragic theme. Man has lost control and is in a panic situation. The master-servant relationship between rider and horse has disintegrated in Marini's equestrian figures. The rider becomes a helpless figure with stumps of arms flung out in violent gestures of absolute despair, while he sits on a primordial horse-like beast which has elongated, widely stretched legs and an upthrust head. Impossible poses become possible in compositions such as "Miracolo" (1953)[3], where the horse rears perpendicularly on its haunches and the rider falls beckwards. Horse and rider have become opponents. Marini has stated that he seeks "to commemorate in them something tragic, in fact a kind of Twilight of Man"[4].

Fritz Koenig takes a complete opposite view to the theme. He prefers rigorous simplification. His horses and riders are combined into insoluble unities. His figure "Nocturnal Riders" (1959)[5] shows horses and riders which have been reduced to their basic forms and then fused into a compact unity. It is almost as if the bond between horse and rider has taken on a visible shape.

In conclusion reference must also be made to an equestrian statue in London by Elizabeth Frink (1930 -). This is her life-size "Horse and Rider" in Piccadilly which was made for Trafalgar House Investments in 1975. In the group, volume as opposed to muscularity plays the dominant role.

Now that the entire history of the equestrian statue from its inception in Archaic Greece to the present day has been traversed and the main problems associated with the theme have been identified and discussed, it is clear that the complexity of the sculptural form and the historical significance of its iconography, make the equestrian

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statue one of the most inspiring themes for sculptor and art historian alike.

FOOTNOTES

1. (See figs. 221 and 222.) See Roethel, H.K.: Der Bildhauer Hans Wimmer, (Munich, 1975).

2. (See fig. 223.)

3. See fig. 224.

4. Strachen, W.T.: Towards Sculpture, p. 175.

5. See fig. 225.

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THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE

A study of its history and the problems associated with its creation.

by

ALEXANDER EDWARD DUFFEY

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Department: HISTORY OF ART

Degree: DOCTOR PHILOSOPHIAE

Through the ages the portrayal of man on horseback has provided the sculptor with the challenge to solve one of the most baffling compositional problems in Art. The problem involves the balancing of a vertical mass on a large horizontal one, which in its turn rests on slender supports. To add to the complexity, the natural gait of the horse is unsuitable for artistic reproduction and must be skilfully modified so as to look natural and be aesthetically acceptable. Further, horse and rider must form a unity, which reflects the character of the rider.

In spite of the formidable technical, compositional and aesthetic problems associated with this type of sculpture, the monumental equestrian statue has always been a popular form for honouring heroes and sovereigns. The representation of man controlling the powerful majestic horse and at the same time looking down on his fellow men from his elevated position on the back of the horse, appealed to the depostic ruler as well as to the man on the street.

The monumental equestrian statue had its origin in the sixth century B.C. in ancient Greece. Since then it has flourished in times of autocracy. The ancient Greeks solved most of the technical, compositional and aesthetic problems of the equestrian statue.

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The Romans inherited the tradition of erecting equestrian statues from the Greeks and made it the sole privilege of sovereigns. Solutions to technical and compositional problems were taken over directly from the Greeks. The Romans, however, preferred bronze as a medium instead of marble. In spite of the compositional freedom which the use of bronze gave the sculptors, the Romans preferred a restful figure showing a rider as triumphator.

During the Middle Ages most of the Roman equestrian statues were destroyed, with the exception of a few. The Marcus Aurelius in Rome was mistaken for a statue of Emperor Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and it was spared. Since it showed a barbarian beneath the forelegs of the horse, the statue became symbolic of Christianity overcoming paganism. In this sense the equestrian statue acquired symbolic funerary implications. Stone was the favourite medium and the sculptors of the Middle Ages solved numerous problems associated with the creation of an equestrian statue in this medium. Bronze equestrian figures were neglected because the technical know-how of the Greeks and Romans had been lost.

The Renaissance once more focussed the attention on the individual, thereby reviving the truly secular commemorative equestrian statue of Classic Antiquity. Technical, compositional and aesthetic secrets of Antiquity were gleaned from surviving equestrian statues and antique sources. Donatello revived the Roman tradition of monumental bronze equestrian statues with his Gattamelata, while Verrocchio created the first secular equestrian monument since Antiquity with his Colleoni equestrian monument. Although Leonardo's Sforza and Trivulzio equestrian statues have not survived, the solutions which he found to technical, compositional and aesthetic problems while working on them, were to have a profound influence on all later equestrian statutes. A complete revisal of the commentaries on his notes connected with these monuments have proved that he not only renewed the entire technical approach to this sculptural form, but he also found new compositional and aesthetic solutions which completely revolutionised the creation of equestrian statues.

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During the period from the Baroque to the end of the nineteenth century, Leonardo's innovations were implemented. The Giambologna studio in Italy established the proto-types for all Baroque equestrian statues. The French inherited this tradition. A complete history of all the French equestrian statues before the French Revolution is given. During the nineteenth century technical improvements resulted in the mass production of equestrian statues throughout the world.

A complete history of all the equestrian monuments in South Africa is given and it is indicated how this form was adapted to South African conditions. Modern technical and compositional methods are discussed and evaluated.

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DIE RUITERSTANDBEELD

'n Studie van die geskiedenis daarvan en die probleme verbonde aan die skepping van so 'n standbeeld.

deur

ALEXANDER EDWARD DUFFEY

Leier: PROF. DR. F.G.E. NILANT

Departement: KUNSGESKIEDENIS

Graad: DOCTOR PHILOSOPHIAE

Deur die eeue heen het die uitbeelding van die ruiter te perd vir die beeldhouer die uitdaging gebied om een van die gedugste komposisionele probleme in Kuns op te los. Die probleem behels die balansering van 'n vertikale massa op 'n groter horisontale massa wat dan weer op sy beurt op dun stutte rus. Om by te dra tot die ingewikkeldheid, is die natuurlike gang van die perd nie geskik vir kunssinnige uitbeelding nie en moet dit behendig gewysig word om natuurlik te lyk en esteties aanvaarbaar te wees. Verder moet perd en ruiter 'n eenheid vorm, wat die karakter van die ruiter weerspieël.

Ten spyte van die gedugte tegniese, komposisionele en estetiese probleme verbonde aan hierdie kunsvorm, was die monumentele ruiterstandbeeld nog altyd gesog vir die verering van helde en heersers. Die uitbeelding van die mens wat die kragtige perd bedwing en terselfdertyd neerkyk op sy medemens vanuit sy verhewe posisie op die rug van die perd, het byval gevind by die despoot sowel as by die man op straat.

Die monumentele ruiterstandbeeld het sy oorsprong gehad in die sesde eeu v.C. in antieke Griekeland. Sedertdien het dit floreer in tye van outokrasie. Die ou Grieke het meeste van die tegniese, komposisionele en estetiese probleme van die ruiterstandbeeld opgelos.

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Die Romeine het die tradisie om ruiterstandbeelde op te rig geërf by die Grieke en by hulle was dit die alleenreg van vorste. Oplossings vir tegniese en komposisionele probleme is direk oorgeneem by die Grieke. Die Romeine het egter brons bo marmer verkies vir hierdie beelde. Ten spyte van die komposisionele vryheid wat brons die beeldhouers gebied het, het die Romeine verkies om 'n rustige figuur wat die ruiter as 'n oorwinnaar voorstel, weer te gee.

Gedurende die Middeleeue is die meeste Romeinse ruiterstandbeelde vernietig, met die uitsondering van enkeles. Die Markus Aurelius in Rome is verkeerdelik aangesien vir 'n beeld van keiser Konstantyn, die eerste Christenkeiser, en is daardeur gespaar. Omdat dit 'n barbaar onder die voorpote van die perd gehad het, het die standbeeld simbolies geword van die Christendom se oorwinning oor die heidendom. In hierdie sin het die ruiterstandbeeld simboliese begrafnis-implikasies aangeneem. Klip was die gewildste medium en die beeldhouers van die Middeleeue het talle probleme verbonde aan die maak van 'n ruiterstandbeeld in hierdie medium opgelos. Brons-ruiterbeelde is egter verwaarloos omdat die tegniese kundigheid van die Grieke en Romeine verlore gegaan het.

Die Renaissance het weer eens die aandag gevestig op die individu en daarby die werklike vereringsruitermonument laat herleef. Die tegniese, komposisionele en estetiese geheime van die oudheid is herwin deur die oorblywende ruitermonumente noukeurig te ondersoek en antieke bronne na te gaan. Donatello het die Romeinse Gattamelata laat herleef en Verrocchio het die eerste wêreldlike ruiterstandbeeld sedert die oudheid met sy Colleoni ruiterstandbeeld geskep. Alhoewel Leonardo se Sforza- en Trivulzio-ruiterstandbeelde nie behoue gebly het nie, het die oplossings van tegniese, komposisionele en estetiese probleme wat hy gevind het terwyl hy aan hulle gewerk het, vérrykkende gevolge gehad vir alle latere ruiterstandbeelde. 'n Algehele hersiening van die kommentaar op sy notas wat verband hou met hierdie ruiterstandbeelde het bewys dat hy nie net die hele tegniese benadering tot hierdie kunsvorm hernieu het nie, maar hy het ook nuwe komposisionele en estetiese oplossings gevind, wat 'n omwenteling in die maak van ruiterstandbeelde meegebring het.

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Gedurende die tydperk vanaf die Barok tot aan die einde van die negentiende eeu, is Leonardo se vernuwings op die proef gestel. Die Giambologna-ateljee in Italië het die proto-tipes geskep vir alle Barokruiterstandbeelde. Die Franse het hierdie tradisie geërf. Die volledige geskiedenis van Franse ruiterstandbeelde voor die Franse Rewolusie word bespreek. Tydens die negentiende eeu het tegniese verbeterings gelei tot die massa-produksie van ruitermonumente dwarsoor die wêreld.

Die geskiedenis van alle ruiterstandbeelde in Suid-Afrika word gegee en daar word aangedui hoe hierdie kunsvorm by Suid-Afrikaanse omstandighede aangepas is. Moderne tegniese en komposisionele metodes is bespreek en geëvalueer.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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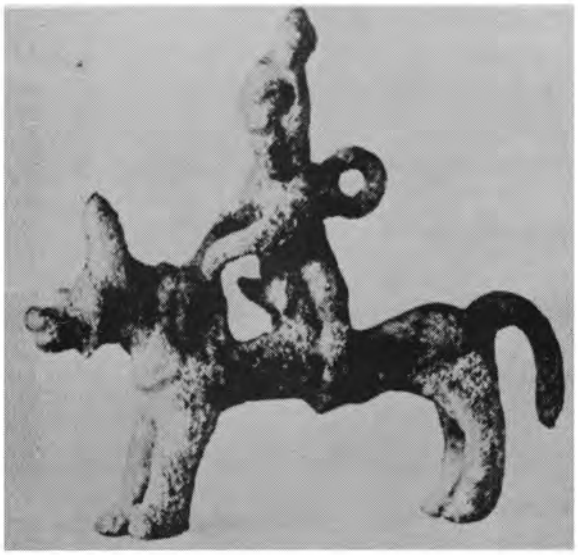


Fig. 1. One of the earliest bronze horse and rider figurines, Collection R. Haase, Paris.

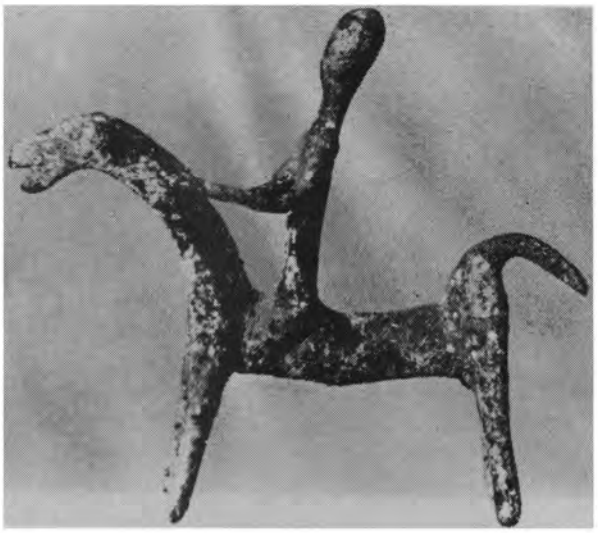


Fig. 2. Bronze equestrian figurine, Adam Collection.



Fig. 3. Early bronze votive offering, Eric de Kolb Collection. New York.



Fig. 4. Bronze equestrian warrior from Dodone, National Museum, Athens.

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Fig. 5. Wooden horse on the neck of a relief pithos from Mykonos, Mykonos Museum.



Fig. 6. The Prinias frieze, Herakleion Museum, Crete.



Fig. 7. Fragment of an equestrian statuette from Sparta, British Museum, London.



Fig. 8. Bronze statuette of a warrior on horseback from Grumentum, British Museum, London.

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Fig. 9. The Rampin Rider, Louvre, Paris and Acropolis Museum, Athens.

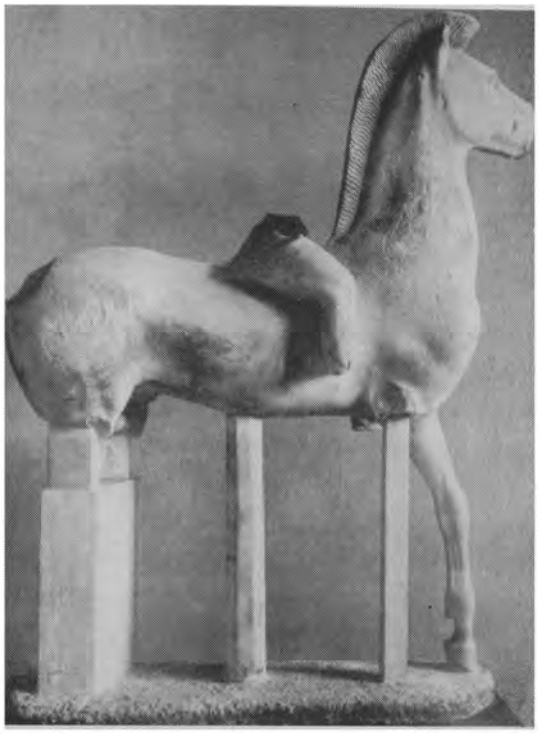


Fig. 10a and b. Fragment of a marble equestrian figure, No. 700, Acropolis Museum, Athens.





Fig. 11. Fragment of a marble horse No. 697, Acropolis Museum, Athens.

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Fig. 13. Fragment of a marble equestrian figure No. 4119, Acropolis Museum, Athens.



Fig. 12. Fragment of a large marble horse No. B, Acropolis Museum, Athens.



Fig. 14. Fragment of a marble equestrian figure, Kerameikos Museum, Athens.



Fig. 15. Marble relief of a rider on horseback, Barracco Museum, Rome.



Fig. 16. Fragment of a marble equestrian figure No. 148, Acropolis Museum, Athens.

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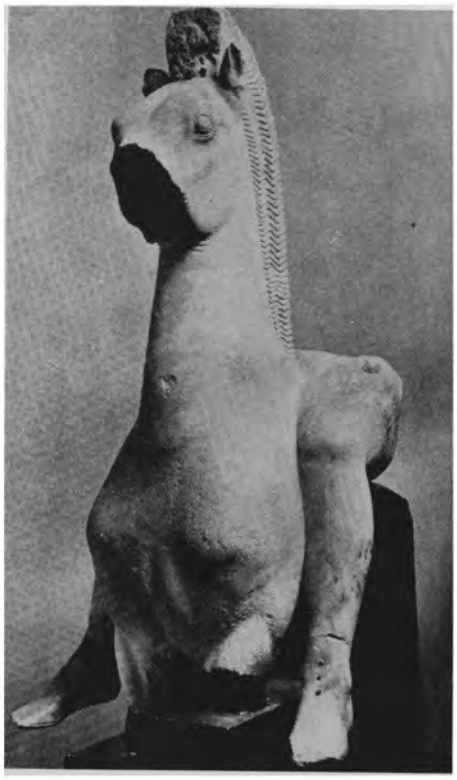




Fig. 17a and b. The Persian Rider No. 606, Acropolis Museum, Athens.



Fig. 18. Bronze horse, Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York.



Fig. 19. Bronze horse, National Museum, Athens.

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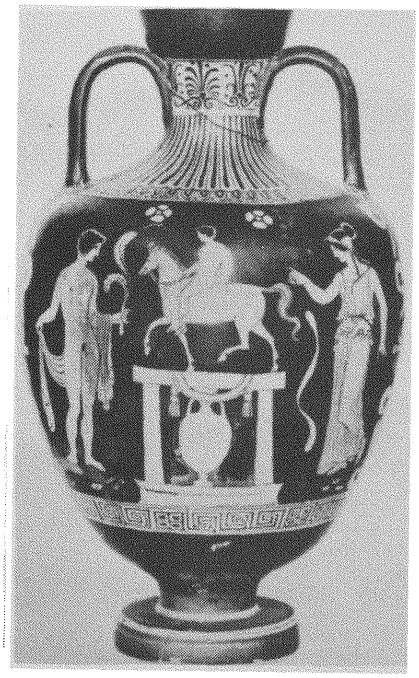


Fig. 20. Lucanian red-figure amphora decorated with the grave monument of a young horseman, previously in the Schloss Museum, Schwerin.

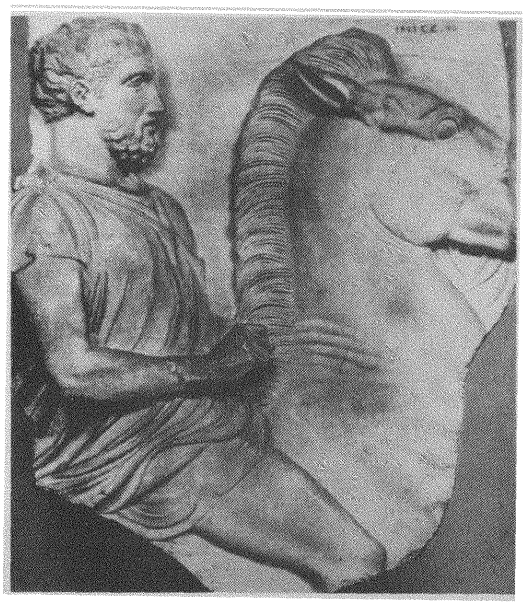


Fig. 21. Fragment of a marble relief of a rider on horseback, Vatican Museum, Rome.



Fig. 22. Marble Relief of a horseman, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 23. Marble statue of a boy on horseback, Palazzo Orlando, Florence.

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Fig. 24. Dexileos relief, Kerameikos Museum, Athens.



Fig. 25. Bronze equestrian statuette of Alexander the Great. National Archaeological Museum, Naples.

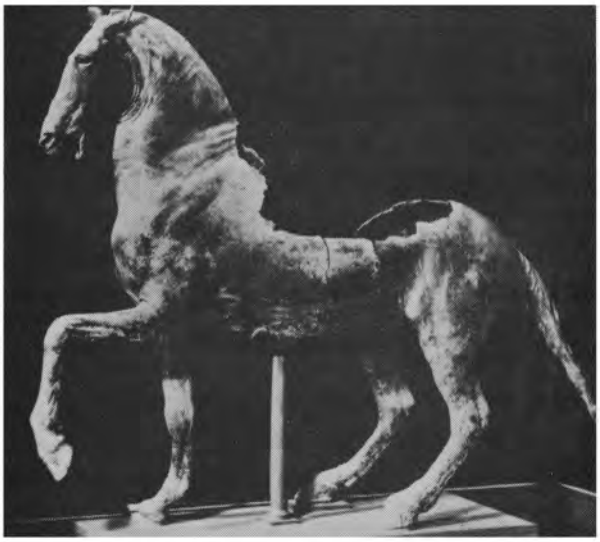


Fig. 26. Bronze horse, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.



Fig. 27. Bronze head of a horse, Archaeological Museum, Florence.



Fig. 28. Bronze head of a horse, National Museum, Naples.

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Fig. 31. Bronze horse and rider from Artemision, National Museum, Athens.



Fig. 29. Marble statue of a wounded Amazon on horseback, National Archaeological Museum, Naples.



Fig. 32. Bronze statuette of a rider on a prancing horse, British Museum, London.



Fig. 30. Fragment of a marble horse from Lanuvium, British Museum, London.



Fig. 33. Horse head of gilded bronze from Herculaneum, National Museum, Naples.

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Fig. 34. Bronze horse head from Herculaneum, National Museum, Naples.



Fig. 35. Bronze torso of a rider from the theatre at Herculaneum, National Museum, Naples.



Fig. 36a and b. Bronze equestrian statue from Pompei, National Museum, Naples.



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Fig. 37. Marble equestrian statuette, British Museum, London.



Fig. 38. Marble equestrian statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus the Elder, National Museum, Naples.



Fig. 39. Marble equestrian statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus the Yonger, National Museum, Naples.



Fig. 40 a and b. Marble equestrian statue of Antoninus Pius, Villa Barberini, Castel Gandolfo.



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Fig. 41. Marble equestrian statuette, Vatican Museum, Rome.



Fig. 42. Unfinished stone equestrian statue, Historisches Museum von der Pfalz, Speyer.



Fig. 43. Bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, Campidoglio, Rome.



Fig. 44. Drawing of the equestrian statue of Emperor Justinian, Library of the University of Budapest, Budapest.

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Fig. 45. Seal of the city of Pavia, Archivio Communale, Pavia.



Fig. 46. Seal of the city of Pavia, Museo Civico, Pavia.



Fig. 47. Woodcut of the "Regisole" by Pochedrappi.

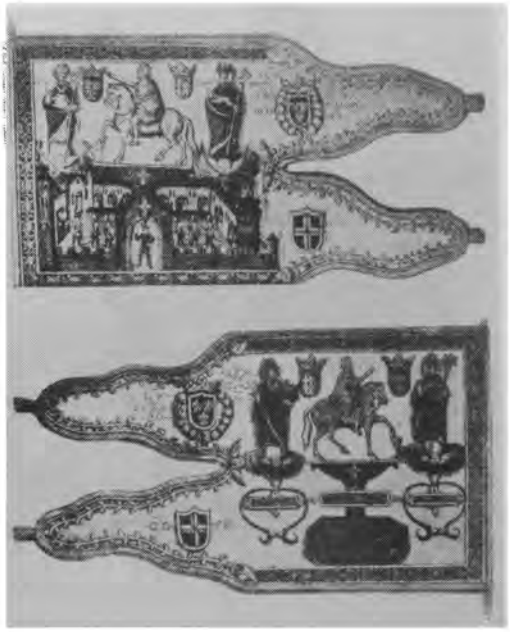


Fig. 48. Banner of Pavia with the "Regisole", Pierre Crolot's flagbook, State Archives, Fribourg.



Fig. 49. Fragment of a stone equestrian statue from Auxerre.

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Fig. 50. Bronze equestrian figurine from Altino, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Fig. 51. Stone equestrian funeral stele, Provinzialmuseum, Halle.



Fig. 52. Bronze equestrian figurine of Charlemagne, Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 53. Equestrian statue of Constantine, facade of Châteauneuf-sur-Charente.



Fig. 54. Equestrian statue of Constantine, sideportal of the church of Saint-Pierre in Melle.

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Fig. 55. Marble equestrian figure of St Martin sharing his mantle with a beggar, interior of Lucca Cathedral, Lucca.

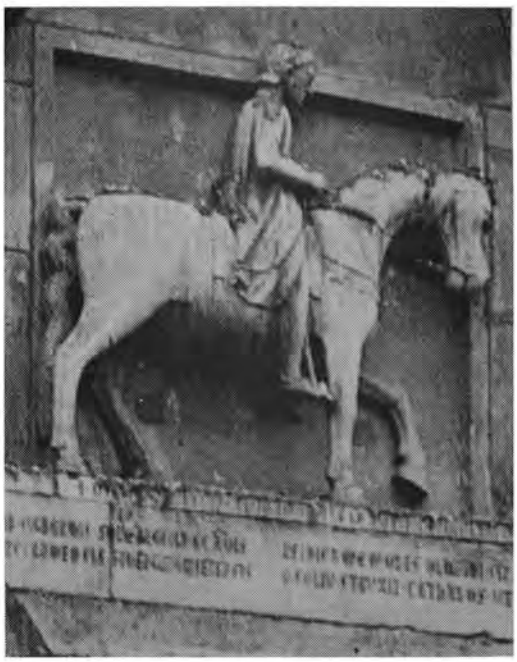


Fig. 56. Sandstone equestrian figure of Oldrado da Tresseno, Palazzo della Ragione, Milan.



Fig. 57. Sandstone equestrian figure of the Bamberg Rider, interior of Bamberg cathedral, Bamberg.



Fig. 58. Sandstone equestrian statue of Emperor Otto I, Kulturhistorisches Museum, Magdeburg.

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Fig. 59. Marble equestrian statue of Cangrande della Scala, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona.

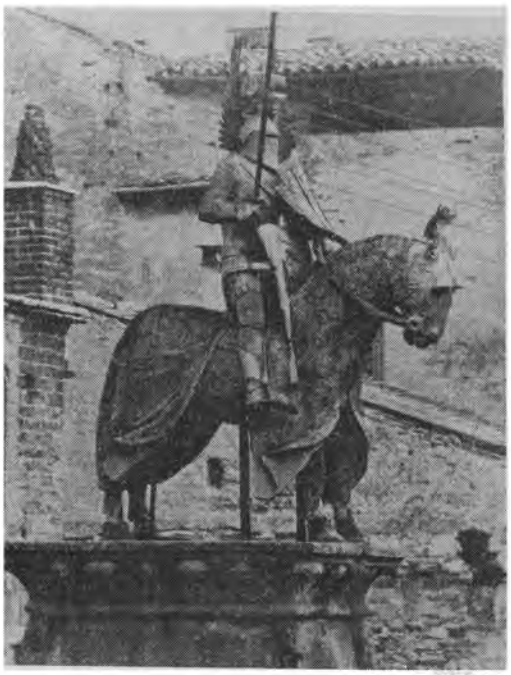


Fig. 60. Marble equestrian statue of Mastino II della Scala, Sagrato di S. Maria Antica, Verona.

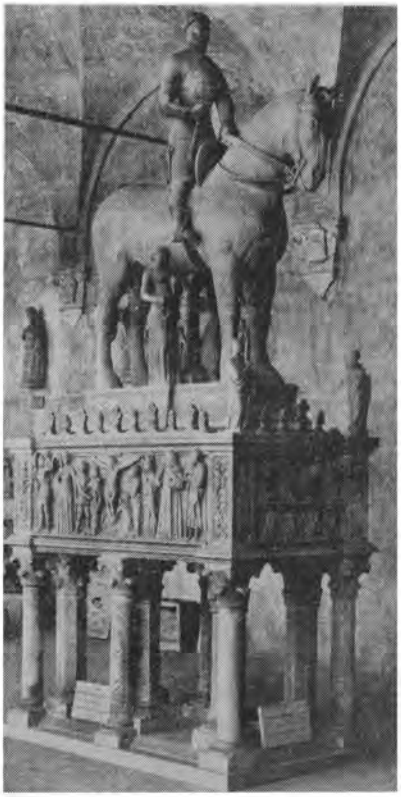


Fig. 61. Marble equestrian statue of Bernabò Visconti, Museo del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.



Fig. 62. Marble equestrian statue of Cansignorio della Scala, Sagrato di S. Maria Antica, Verona.

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Fig. 63. Bronze equestrian figure of St George and the dragon, Third court of the Hradschin, Prague.



Fig. 64. Drawing of the equestrian tomb statue of Pietro Farnese.



Fig. 65. Wooden equestrian figure of Paolo Savelli, interior of the Basilica of the Frari, Venice.



Fig. 67. Marble equestrian monument of Spinetta Malaspina, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

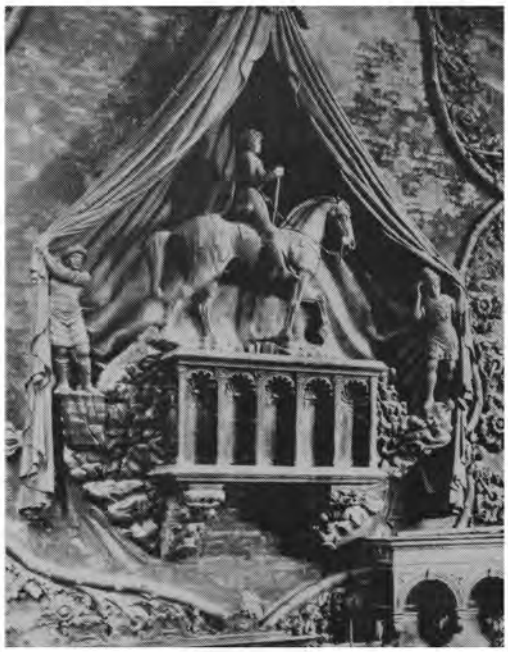


Fig. 66. Stone equestrian tombstatue of Cortesia Serego, interior of the church of St Anastasia, Verona.

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Fig. 68. Marble equestrian figure of Lelo II Camponeschi, interior of the church of S. Giuseppe, Aquila.



Fig. 69. Paolo Uccello's fresco of Giovanni Acuto in the church of St Maria del Fiore, Florence.



Fig. 70. Bronze equestrian statue of Nicolo d' Este, Palazzo Estense, Ferrara.



Fig. 71. Donatello: Bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, Piazza del Santo, Padua.



Fig. 72. Wooden horse of Donatello, Sala della Ragione, Padua.

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Fig. 73. Verrocchio: Bronze equestrian statue of Bartholomeo Colleoni, Piazza di Scuola di San Marco, Venice.

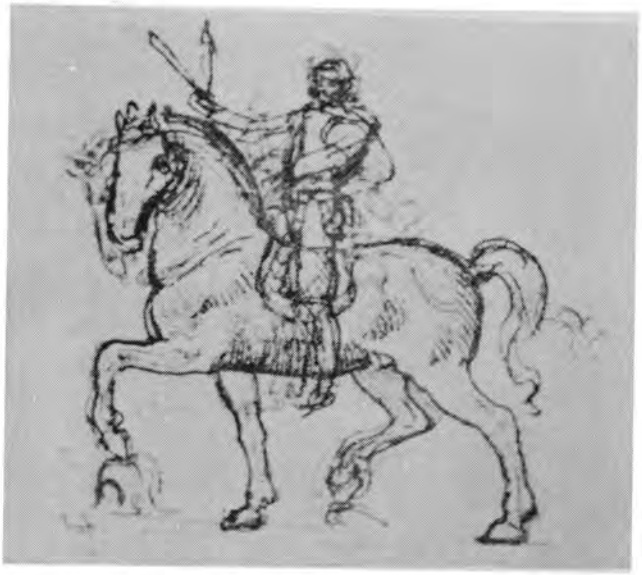


Fig. 74. Leonardo da Vinci: Drawing for the equestrian statue of G.G. Trivulzio drawn over an earlier sketch, Windsor folio 12356 recto, Royal Library, Windsor.

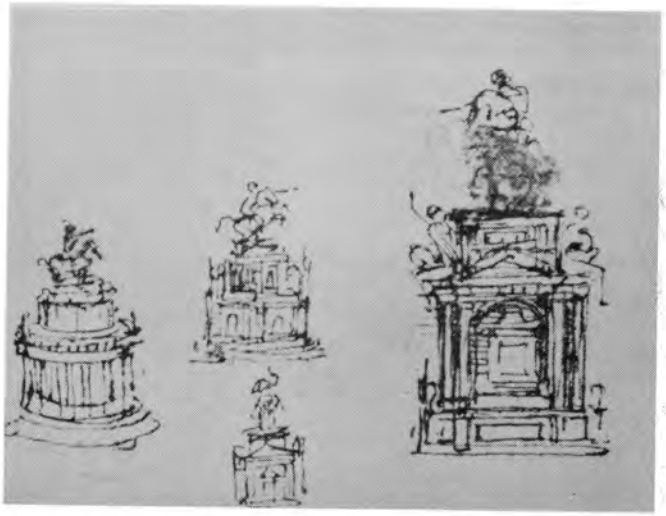


Fig. 75. Leonardo da Vinci: Designs for the Trivulzio monument, Windsor 12353, Royal Library, Windsor.



Fig. 76. Leonardo da Vinci: Designs for the Trivulzio equestrian monument, Windsor folio 12355, Royal Library, Windsor.



Fig. 77. Leonardo da Vinci: Equestrian statuette for the Trivulzio monument, Szépmüvészeti Museum, Budapest.

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Fig. 79. Leonardo da Vinci: Designs for the equestrian statue of G.G. Trivulzio, Windsor folio 12360, Royal Library, Windsor.



Fig. 78. Leonardo da Vinci: Design for the equestrian statue of G.G. Trivulzio, Windsor folio 12354, Royal Library, Windsor.



Fig. 81. Anonymous: Bronze equestrian statuette of G. Trivulzio, Musco Civico, Milan.



Fig. 80. Leonardo da Vinci: Final design for the equestrian statue of G.G. Trivulzio, Windsor folio 12343, Royal Library, Windsor.

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Fig. 82. Bronze statuette of a horse, Bayerische Nationalmuseum, Munich.





Fig. 83 and 84. Giambologna: Bronze equestrian statue of Cosimo I, Piazza della Signoria, Florence.



Fig. 85. Giambologna: Bronze statuette of a pacing horse, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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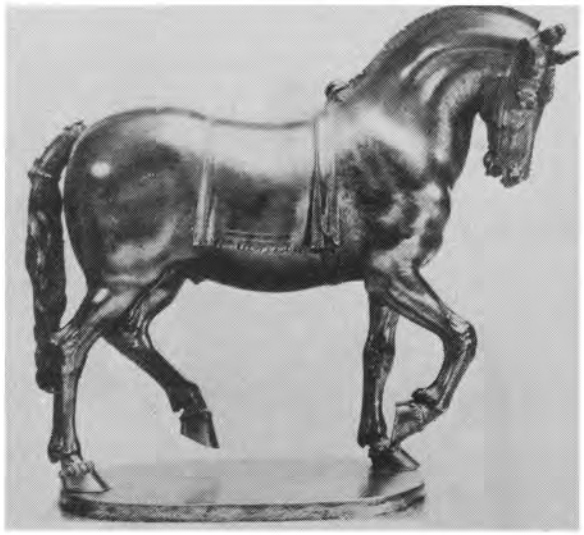


Fig. 86. Giambologna: Bronze statuette of a horse with saddlecloth, Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence.



Fig. 87. Giambologna: Bronze statuette of a horse, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 88. B. Bandinelli: Bronze horse and rider, Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence.



Fig. 89. Giambologna: Bronze equestrian statuette of Emperor Rudolf II, National Museum, Stockholm.

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Fig. 90. Giambologna & P. Tacca: Bronze equestrian statuette of Ferdinando I, Schloss Vaduz, Lichtenstein.



Fig. 91. Giambologna & P. Tacca: Bronze equestrian statuette of Henri IV, Wallace Collection, London.



Fig. 92. Giambologna: Model for the pedestal of the equestrian statue of Cosimo I, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

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Fig. 93 and 94. Giambologna & P. Tacca: Bronze equestrian statue of Ferdinando I, Piazza SS. Annunziata, Florence.

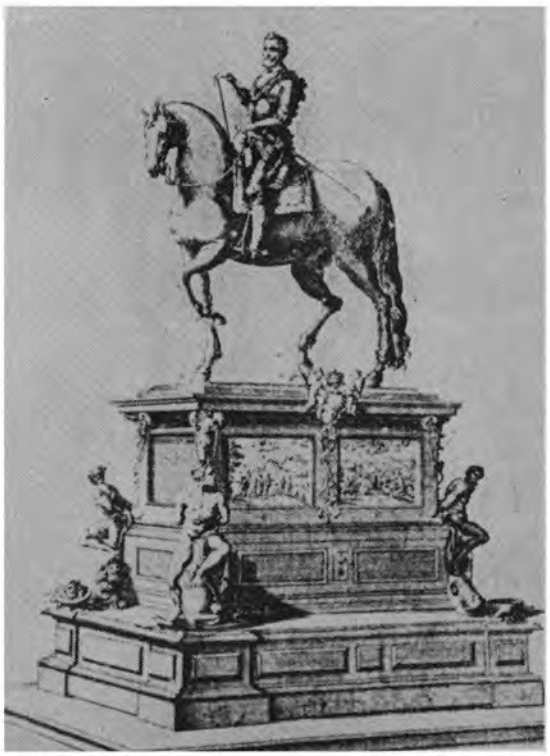


Fig. 95. Giambologna & P. Tacca: Engraving of the equestrian monument of Henri IV which stood on the Pont Neuf in Paris.



Fig. 96. Giambologna & P. Tacca: Bronze statuette of Henri IV of France, Musée de Beaux-Arts, Dijon.

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Fig. 97. F.F. Lemot: Bronze equestrian statue of Henri IV of France, Pont Neuf, Paris.



Fig. 98. Giambologna & P. Tacca: Bronze equestrian statue of Phillip III of Spain, Plaza Mayor, Madrid.



Fig. 99. Giambologna: Bronze equestrian statuette of Phillip III of Spain, Collection of the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Hessen.



Fig. 100. A. Susini: Bronze equestrian statuette of Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, Collection of the Staatliche Sclösser und Gärten, Hessen.

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Fig. 101. H. Le Sueur: Bronze equestrian statuette of Phillip II of Spain, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 102. J. Picart: Engraving of the equestrian statue of Connetable Henri I de Montmorency by Pierre Biard.



Fig. 103. H. le Sueur: Bronze equestrian statue of Charles I of England, Charing Cross, London.





Fig. 104 and 105. F. Mochi: Bronze equestrian statue of Ferdinando Farnese, Piazza dei Cavalli, Piacenza.

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Fig. 106 and 107. F. Mochi: Bronze equestrian statue of Rannccio Farnese, Piazza dei Cavalli, Piacenza.



Fig. 108. F. Mochi: Bronze equestrian statuette of Carlo Barberini, Collection Principe Barberini, Rome.



Fig. 109. Giambologna: Bronze prancing horse, Collection of the Queen of England.

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Fig. 110. P. Tacca: Bronze statuette of Louis XIII on a curvetting horse, Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence.



Fig. 111. P. Tacca: Bronze equestrian statuette of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy, Collection of the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Hessen.



Fig. 112. C. Gras: Bronze equestrian statue of Leopold V of Austria, Innsbruck.



Fig. 113. C. Gras: Bronze equestrian statuette of Leopold V, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

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Fig. 114. P. Tacca: Bronze equestrian monument of Phillip IV of Spain, Plaza de Oriente, Madrid.



Fig. 115. G. Serpotta: Bronze equestrian statuette of Charles II of the Two Sicilies, Museo Pepoli, Trapani.

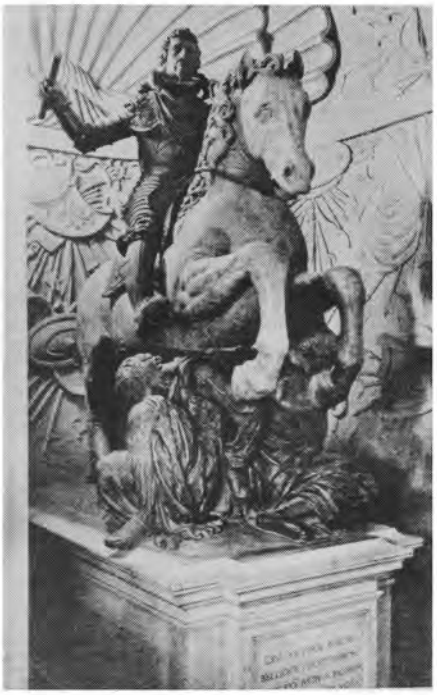


Fig. 116. A. Rivalto: Bronze figure of Vittorio Amedeo on a stone horse, Palazzo Reale, Turin.



Fig. 117. Anonymous: Marble equestrian statue of Charles II of England, Newley Hall, Ripon.

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Fig. 118. G. Bernini: Marble equestrian monument of Constantine the Great, St Peters, Rome.



Fig. 119. G. Bernini: Marble equestrian statue of Louis XIV of France, Versailles, Later changed to Marcus Curtius.



Fig. 120. A. Cornacchini: Marble equestrian monument of Charlemagne, St Peters, Rome.



Fig. 121. G. Bernini: Terra-cotta equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Galleria Borghese, Rome.

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Fig. 122. J. Gobert: Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Residenzmuseum, Munich.



Fig. 123. E. Ränz: Sandstone equestrian statue of Margrave Christian Ernst, Bayreuth.



Fig. 124 and 125. F. Girardon: Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Louvre, Paris.



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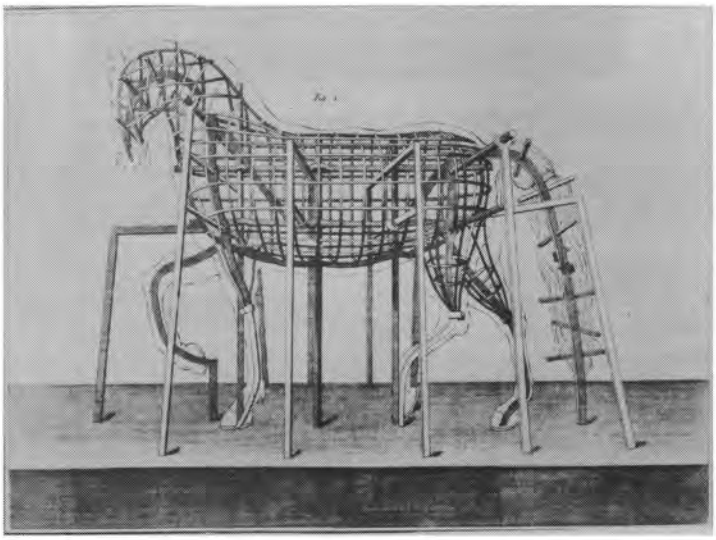
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Fig. 126. F. Girardon: Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Institute of Art, Detroit.



Fig. 127. F. Girardon: Zinc equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Versailles.



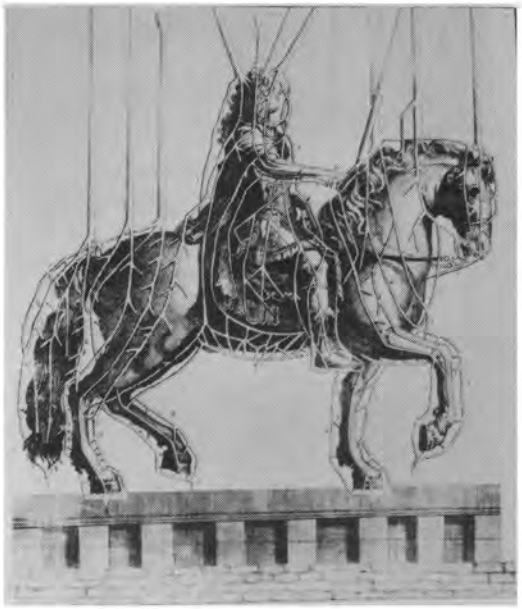
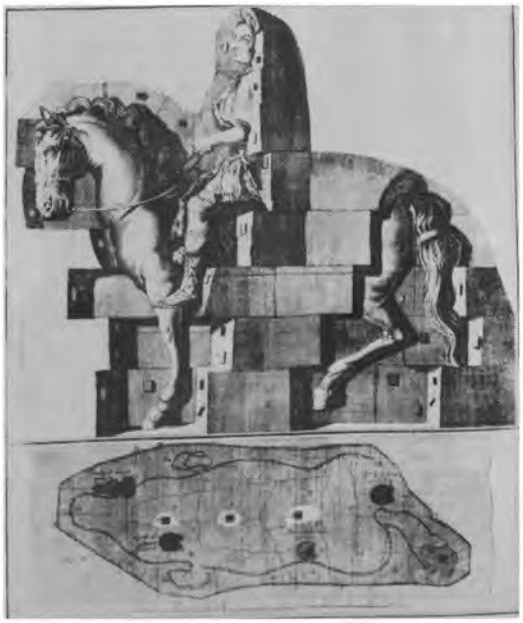
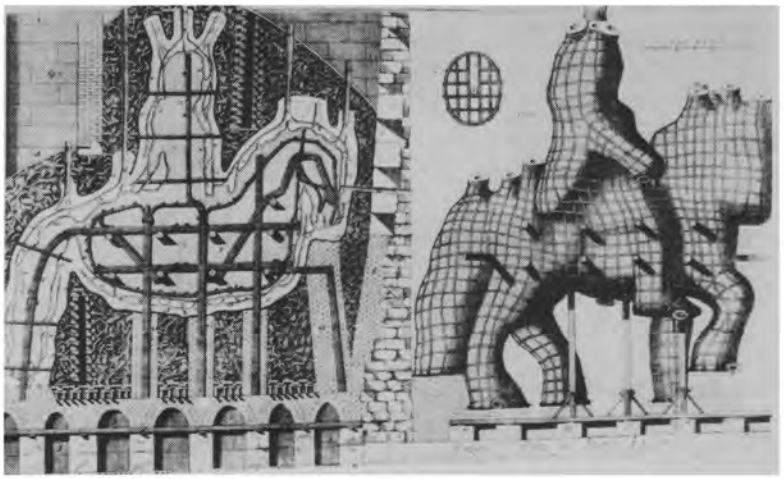


Fig. 128, 129, 130, 131 and 132. Boffrand's engravings of the casting of Girardon's statue of Louis XIV.





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Fig. 133. J. Audran: Engraving of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV by Girardon.



Fig. 134. Engraving of the unveiling of Girardon's monument of Louis XIV on the Place Vendôme.



Fig. 135. J. Bertaux's drawing of the destruction of Girardon's equestrian monument of Louis XIV.



Fig. 136. S.Thomassin's engraving of Antoine Coysevox's equestrian statue of Louis XIV in Rennes.

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Fig. 138. Bronze equestrain statuette of Louis XIV, Versailles.



Fig. 137. E. le Hongre: Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV for Dijon, Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden.



Fig. 140. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.



Fig. 139. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden.



Fig. 141. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, A. Mavon.

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Fig. 142. G. de Grof: Bronze equestrian statuette of Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bayern, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.



Fig. 143. G.B. Foggini: Bronze equestrian statuette of Emperor Joseph I, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.



Fig. 144. Plaster equestrian statuette of August the Stong, Albertinium, Dresden.



Fig. 145. Copper equestrian statue of August the Strong, previously in the Neustädter Markt, Dresden.

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Fig. 151. J. Bacon: Bronze equestrian statue of William III of England, St James' Square, London.



Fig. 152. Drawing of the equestrian statue of Francesco III d' Este, previously in Modena.



Fig. 153. A. Schlüter: Bronze equestrian statue of the Great Elector Frederick William of Prussia, Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

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Fig. 154 and 155. G. Coustou's Marly horses, Paris.



Fig. 156. J.B. Lemoyne: Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XV, Museum of Bordeaux, Bordeaux.

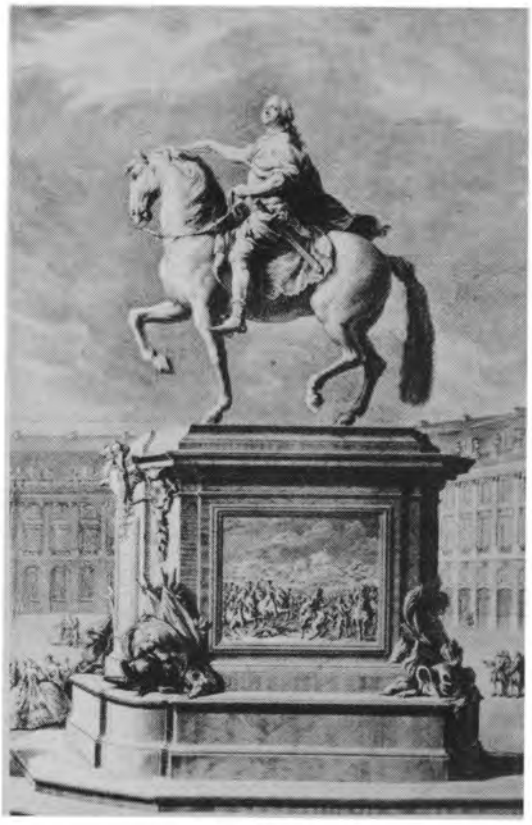


Fig. 157. N.G. Dupuis' engraving of the equestrian statue of Louis XV by Lemoyne, Bibliothèque National, Paris.

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Fig. 158. E. Bouchardon: Terra-cotta equestrian statuette of a rider on a prancing horse, Collection Laillaut, Paris.



Fig. 159. E. Bouchardon: Wax equestrian statuette of Louis XV, Musée de Besancon, Besancon.



Fig. 160. E. Bouchardon: Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XV, Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 162. Le Mire's engraving of the equestrian monument of Louis XV by Bouchardon, Bibliotèque National, Paris.



Fig. 161. A. de Saint-Aubin's engraving of the unveiling of the equestrian monument of Louis XV by Bouchardon.

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Fig. 163. E.M. Falconet: Bronze equestrian statue of Peter the Great of Russia, Leningrad.



Fig. 164. A. Canova: Bronze equestrian monument of Charles III of Spain, Piazza del Plebiscito, Naples.



Fig. 165. B. Thorwaldsen: Bronze equestrian monument of Joseph Poniatowski, Warsaw.



Fig. 166. A. Balzico: Bronze equestrian statue of Duke Ferdinand of Genoa, Piazza Solferino, Turin.

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Fig. 167. E. Rosa: Bronze equestrian monument of King Vittorio Emmanuele II, Piazza del Duomo, Milan.



Fig. 168. D. Callandra: Bronze equestrian monument of Amedeo of Savoy, Turin.



Fig. 169. Sir F. Chantrey: Bronze equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, Royal Exchange, London.

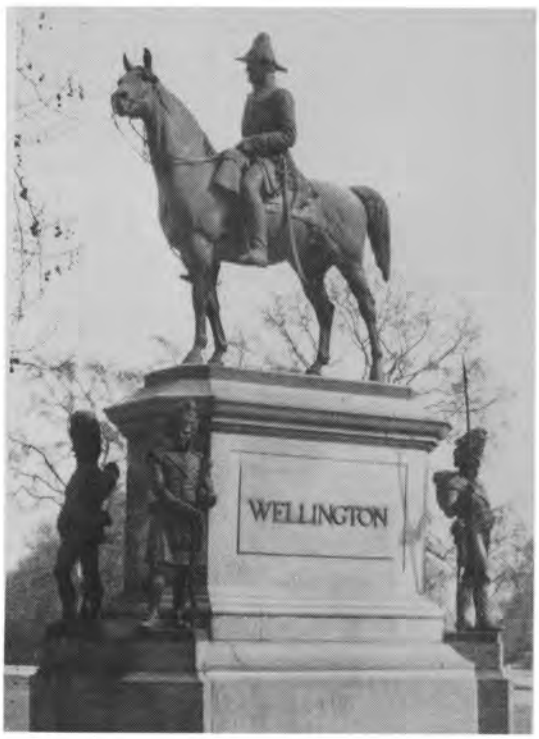


Fig. 170. Sir E. Boehm: Bronze equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, Hyde Park Corner, London.

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Fig. 171. M.C. Wyatt: Bronze equestrian statue of George III, Cockspur Street, London.



Fig. 172. Sir F. Chantrey: Bronze equestrian statue of George IV, Trafalgar Square, London.



Fig. 173. Sir. E. Boehm: Bronze equestrian monument of Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala, Queen's Gate, London.



Fig. 174. E. Frémiet: Bronze equestrian statue of Joan of Arc, Place des Pyramides, Paris.

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Fig. 175. P. Cartellier: Bronze equestrian statue of Louis XIV, Palace of Versailles.



Fig. 176. C.D. Rauch: Bronze equestrian monument of Frederick the Great, Park of Sanssouci, Potsdam.



Fig. 177. R. Begas: Bronze equestrian statue of William I. Previously in Berlin, destroyed.

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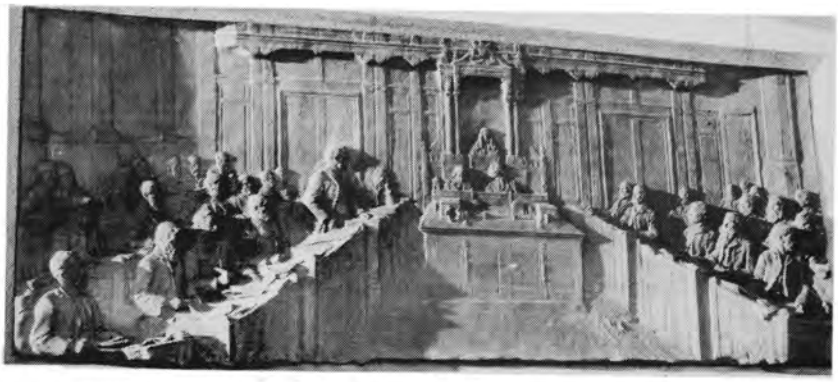


Fig. 179. H. Thornycroft: Rhodes speaking in the Cape House of Assembly.



Fig. 178. H. Thornycroft: Bronze equestrian monument of Cecil John Rhodes, Kimberley.



Fig. 180. H. Thornycroft: Rhodes taking his degree at Oxford.



Fig. 181. H. Thornycroft: Rhodes meeting the indunas at the Matopos.

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Fig. 182 and 183. G.F. Watts: Rhodes Memorial, Cape Town.





Fig. 184. G.F. Watts: Physical Energy, Kensington Gardens, London.



Fig. 185. Ascoli Bros: Bronze equestrian statue of Dick King, Victoria Embankment, Durban.

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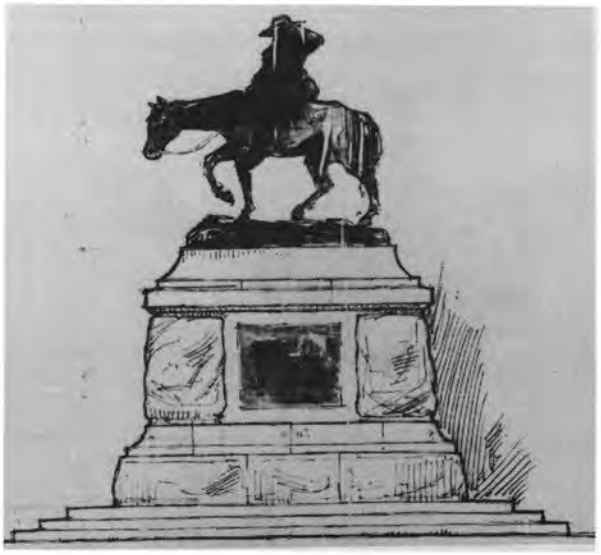


Fig. 186. H.H. Grellier: Design for the Dick King Memorial, Local History Museum, Durban.



Fig. 187. H. Thornycroft: Design for the Dick King Memorial, Local History Museum, Durban.



Fig. 188. R. Ripamonti: Bronze equestrian statue of Giuseppe Missori, Piazza G. Missori, Milan.



Fig. 189. H.H. Grellier: Dick King and G. Cato crossing the bay to the Bluff.



Fig. 190. H.H. Grellier: Dick King and Ndongeni on their journey through the bush.

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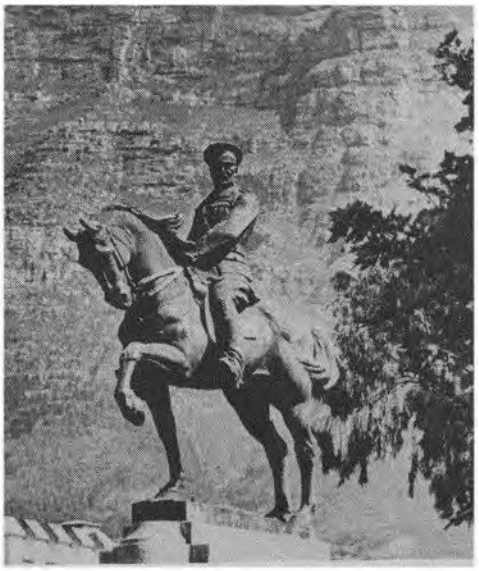


Fig. 191 and 192. R. Romanelli: Bronze equestrian statue of General Louis Botha, Stal Plain, Cape Town.



Fig. 193. S. March: Bronze equestrian statuette of General Botha, National Cultural History & Open-Air Museum, Pretoria.



Fig. 194. A. van Wouw: Bronze statuette of General Botha.

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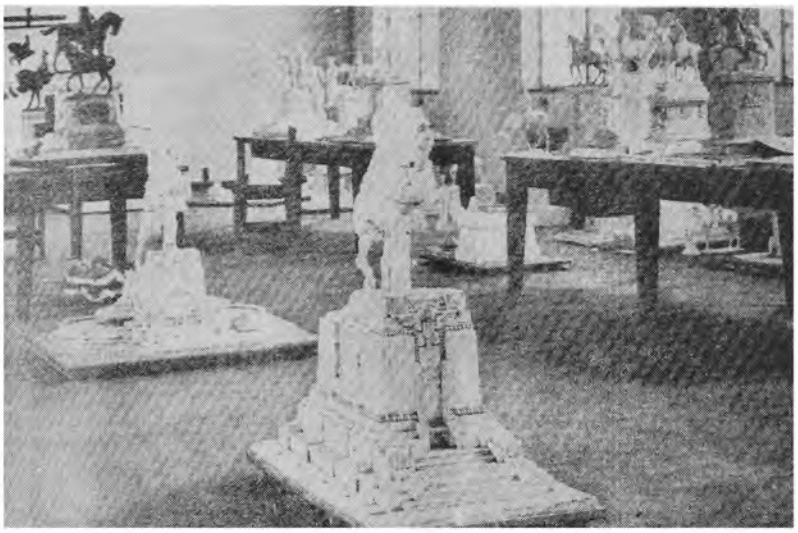


Fig. 195 and 196. Exhibition of the models in Cape Town in 1928.

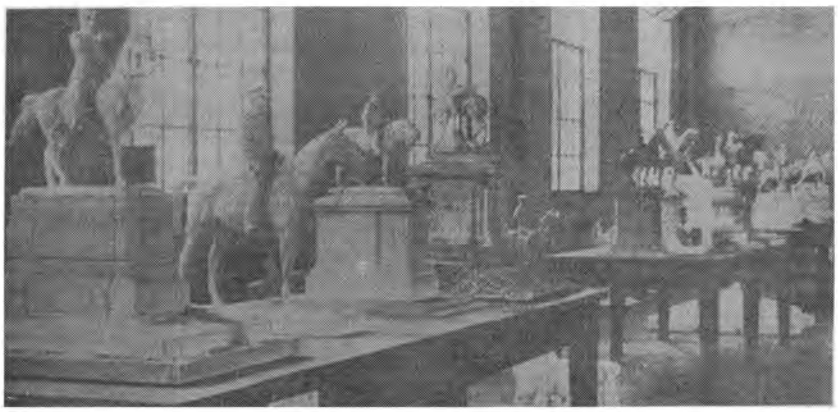




Fig. 198. P.R. Montford: Model for the Louis Botha Memorial, Cape Town.



Fig. 197. M.G. Malissard: Model for the Louis Botha Memorial, Cape Town.



Fig. 199. R. Romanelli: Winning model for the Louis Botha Memorial in Cape Town.

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Fig. 200. R. Romanelli: Bronze equestrian statue of Garibaldi, Siena.



Fig. 201. Prof. Romanelli at work on the Botha equestrian statue, Italy 1929.





Fig. 202 and 203. C. Steynberg: Bronze equestrian monument of General Louis Botha, Union Buildings, Pretoria.

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Fig. 204. C. Steynberg: Scale model for the Louis Botha Statue, Pretoria.



Fig. 205. The sculptor C. Steynberg with the full-scale model after it was cast in bronze in 1940.



Fig. 206. Scale model for the equestrian statue of General C.R. de Wet, Bloemfontein.





Fig. 207 and 208. C. Steynberg: Bronze equestrian statue of General C.R. de Wet, Bloemfontein.

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Fig. 209. C. Steynberg: Bronze equestrian monument of General Andries Pretorius, Pretoria.



Fig. 210 and 211. Models for the Pretorius monuments in Pretoria.





Fig. 212. H. Potgieter: Bronze equestrian statue of General K. de la Rey, Lichtenburg.



Fig. 213. A. van Wouw: Equestrian statuette of General K. de la Rey, Van Wouw House, Pretoria.

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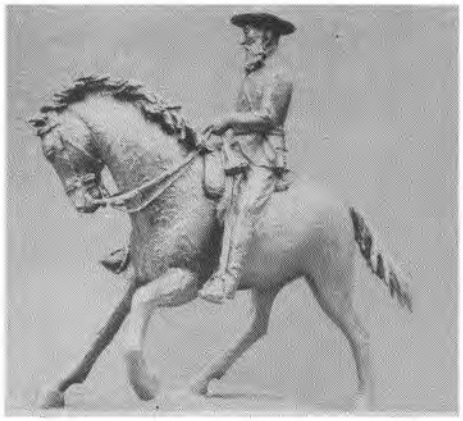


Fig. 214. H. Potgieter: Small-scale model of the equestrian statue of General K. de la Rey.

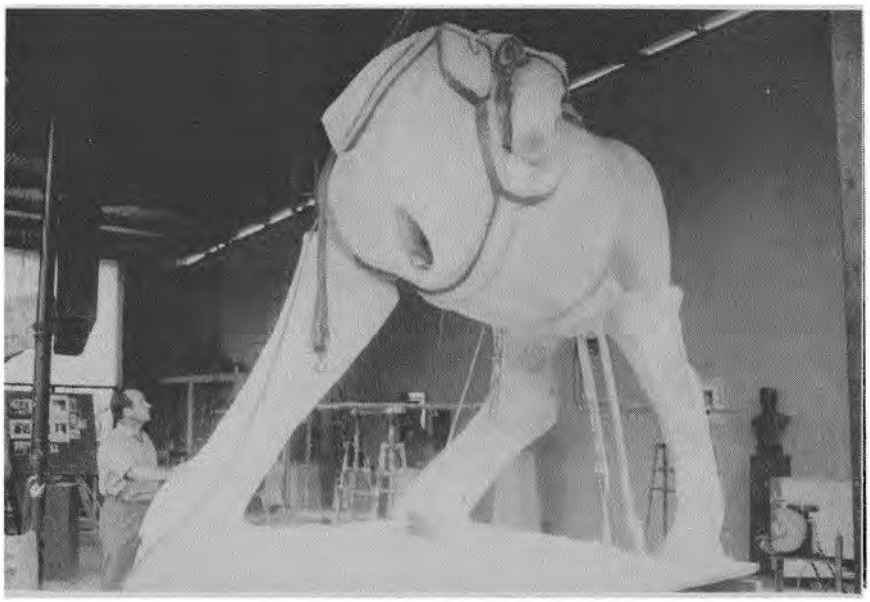


Fig. 215. The sculptor H. Potgieter working on the full-scale model for the De la Rey equestrian statue.





Fig. 216 and 217. W. Reynolds-Stephens: Volunteer Memorial, East London.

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Fig. 218. A. Kürle: The Herero War Memorial, Windhoek.



Fig. 218b. Unveiling of the Herero War Memorial in Windhoek in 1912.





Fig. 219 and 220. Transvaal Monumental Works: The Burgher Monument, Ermelo.

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Fig. 221 and 222. H. Wimmer: Bronze equestrian statue of Emperor Ludwig of Bayern, Munich.



Fig. 223. Bronze equestrian statue of Queen Wilhelmina, Rokin, Amsterdam.

Fig. 224. M Marini: Bronze equestrian figure "Miracolo".





Fig. 225. F. Koenig: Bronze equestrian figures "Nocturnal riders".

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Fig. 146. M. Desjardins: Terra-cotta equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, National Museum, Stockholm.



Fig. 148. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV, Wallace Collection, London.



Fig. 147. J. Audran's engraving of Desjardin's equestrian statue of Louis XIV in Lyon, Kupferstichkabinet, Berlin.



Fig. 149. Bronze equestrian statuette of Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bayern, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.

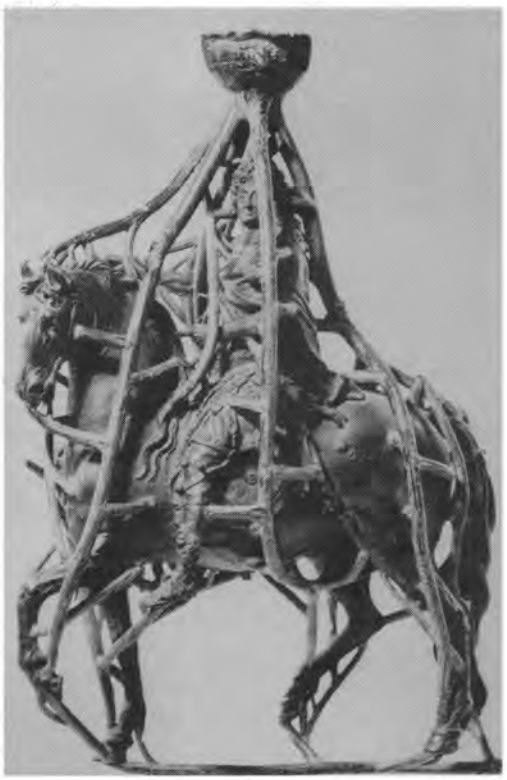


Fig. 150. Bronze equestrian statuette of Louis XIV with casting runners, Kunstindustrimuseum, Copenhagen.

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