MICHELANGELO AS PATRON: THE CONSTRUCTION OF HIS ARTISTIC AND

SOCIAL IDENTITIES THROUGH PORTRAITURE

by

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(Under the Direction of Shelley E. Zuraw)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines how Michelangelo advanced his artistic and social identities through portraits executed by his closest friends. By placing these portraits within their respective historical contexts, this study sheds light on how Michelangelo controlled his image in a fashion analogous to his patrons. Above all, the portraits of Michelangelo are an extension of his desire remove himself from the traditional social constructs for an artist in order to achieve artistic autonomy. Michelangelo as the patron of portraits has been previously overlooked, which may have been a result of their unusual nature in the context of self-images of artists and Michelangelo's relationship with portraiture. Beginning in the second decade of the sixteenth century and until his death in 1564, Michelangelo oversaw the production of his portrait in various media, including drawings, paintings, prints, sculptures, and a portrait medal. The earliest portraits of the artist by Fra Bartolommeo and Guiliano Bugiardini visually connect Michelangelo to the illustrious artistic traditions of Florence. In particular, Bugiardini's portrait represents Michelangelo in a specific garment that has been misunderstood in the

modern literature. Twenty years later, Michelangelo asked either Jacopino del Conte or Daniele da Volterra to execute a painted portrait that reinforced Michelangelo's conception of his social status as an artist of noble birth. This portrait marks the beginning of a period in which Michelangelo directly participated in the construction of his social identity through painted and engraved portraits, numerous publications addressing Michelangelo's artistic theories, and two biographies. Late in his life, Michelangelo turned to Leone Leoni to execute his portrait medal, which aimed to advance both his social and religious aspirations. After the artist's death, Daniele da Volterra and Lionardo Buonarroti desperately tried to maintain Michelangelo's wishes for his image through a funerary monument that would have been adorned with a bronze bust by Daniele. Like the tomb, Michelangelo's image was quickly appropriated by Giorgio Vasari, who used Michelangelo and his appearance as an emblem for both artistic genius and accomplishment.

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B.A., University of Nebraska at Omaha, 2000

M.A., University of Georgia, 2003

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2013

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For Ilsa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project could not have been completed without the support of my friends, family, and committee members. Although I am unable to list each individual who helped me along the way, I would like to acknowledge those who played crucial roles in my success. I would like to thank my dissertation committee for their support, time, and effort. I would like to especially express my gratitude to Dr. Shelley Zuraw. She has been a true inspiration in not only her scholarship and teaching, but in her role as my advisor. I cannot begin to express the extent of my appreciation for her guidance, enthusiasm, time, effort, and steadfast belief in the project. Above all else, I would like to thank her for taking a chance on me. Also, I am thankful to have also worked with Dr. Andrew Ladis, who was taken from all of us far too soon. His insights and encouragement at the beginning of the project were with me for throughout. During the course of my research, I was fortunate to receive financial support from various sources. I would like to thank the Lamar Dodd School of Art, the committees for the UGA Graduate Dean's Award, the Pope-Hennessy Travel Grant, the Andrew Ladis European Travel Award, the Willson Center for the Humanities Graduate Research Grant.

Over the course of the past thirteen years, Shannon Pritchard and Sarah Crain have provided constant support through their unwavering friendship. As it appeared that my life and dissertation were unraveling, they were there by my side. I will be forever indebted to them for that. I would also like to express my gratitude to Titus Childers, who, in many ways, made this journey more enjoyable with his laughter and insight. A

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INTRODUCTION

From the mid-1510s until his death, Michelangelo oversaw the production of at least nine different portraits of himself executed in various materials including drawings, paintings, prints, sculpture, and medals. These images were the prototypes for nearly one hundred copies by other artists and, thus, are the basis for the fame of his physical likeness. Given the sheer number of portraits and the array of materials utilized, Michelangelo's campaign to advance his likeness through portraiture rivaled that of any prince, pope, or ruler. Yet, what is more surprising than the number or variety of portraits is that Michelangelo was able to create and advance his public persona in a way unlike any other artist during the Renaissance.

The portraits of Michelangelo served in the construction of both his artistic and social identities, which were directed at the audiences in Florence and Rome. In many ways, these portraits can be seen as an extension of the modern understanding of the artist's social rise from artisan to intellectual. Earlier artists began to mold their public personae through self-portraits, but these were often included in larger narratives.[1] Michelangelo, instead, carefully crafted his self-image by commissioning his portrait, a tradition associated not with images of artists, but with those of their patrons. Michelangelo's ambition to be seen as an artist who was socially equal to the aristocracy is clearly evident when the portraits are considered as a whole.

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[1] This issue will be addressed at length in Chapter 2.

The advancement of Michelangelo's identity through commissioned portraits represents a unique phenomenon. Although there are examples of artists asking others to execute their portrait prior to Michelangelo–as in Piero di Cosimo's portraits of Giuliano and Francesco Giamberti da Sangallo–most of these requests are isolated incidents.[2] No other artist had instigated such a campaign in order to control his image. Over the course of his career Michelangelo repeatedly employed members of his inner circle to create his portrait. This activity must be seen as comparable to that of a more traditional patron in the Renaissance.

In order to understand the purpose of these portraits, one needs a clear appreciation of Michelangelo's idiosyncratic conception of himself as an artist and a member of the social elite. The most accessible evidence can be found in Ascanio Condivi's *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti,* 1553, which is generally believed to have been dictated by Michelangelo.[3] In the opening sentence, Condivi interweaves both of Michelangelo's artistic and social identities when he writes: "Michelangelo Buonarroti, the unique painter and sculptor, was descended from the counts of Canossa, a family from the region of Reggio which was noble and illustrious as much for its own merits and antiquity as for its connections with imperial blood."[4] Later, Condivi offers a divine

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[2] The double-portrait by Piero di Cosimo, as well as other examples of commissioned portraits of artist will be addressed in Chapter 3.

[3] For more on Michelangelo's role in Condivi's publication, see Lisa Pon, "Michelangelo's *Lives*: Sixteenth-Century Books by Vasari, Condivi, and Others," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996), 1015-1037. The advancement of Michelangelo's identities through Condivi's biography will be addressed in Chapter 4.

[4] Ascanio Condivi, *Life of Michelangelo*, translated by Alice Sedgwick Wohl, second edition, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 5.

justification for not only Michelangelo's birth, but also his artistic gifts: "[S]uch a birth must be of a noble and lofty genius, destined to succeed universally in any undertaking, but principally in […] painting, sculpture, and architecture."[5] In this sense, Michelangelo understood his birthright to be both his nobility and artistic talents.

On the surface, Condivi's passages can be seen as keeping with the general aim of Renaissance artists to elevate their social status. It is more likely, however, that these statements are indicative of Michelangelo's personal quest for artistic autonomy, a major theme throughout Condivi's biography of the artist.[6] By claiming his right to be included among the aristocracy through his noble bloodline, Michelangelo advances an identity that was uncommon among both artists and the nobility.[7] Most importantly, Michelangelo believed that his birthright–one that elevated his position above the common artist to a status shared with his patrons–extricated him from the traditions of the patron-artist relationship. Such lofty conceptions of himself, both artistically and

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[5] Condivi, *Life*, 6.

[6] Michelangelo's quest for artistic autonomy is best seen in Condivi's account of the artist's relationship with Pope Julius II. For more on this relationship, see pages 16-23 below. It is perhaps due to Michelangelo's desire to be freed from the constraints of his patrons, above all, that he was reluctant throughout his career to execute portraits for his patrons. The topic of Michelangelo and his attitudes towards portraiture as an artist is treated in Chapter 1.

[7] Michelangelo was one of only four notable artists during Renaissance to have been born to a noble family. The others are Donatello, Leon Battista Alberti, and Filippo Brunelleschi. For a discussion of Michelangelo's understanding of his nobility, see Paul Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden: Michelangelo and the Poetic Origins of Italian Renaissance Art*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 3-5; see also, William E. Wallace, "Michael Angelus Buonarotus Patritius Florentinus," in *Innovation and Tradition: Essays on Renaissance and Culture (Collana di Studi sul Rinasciemento Studies in Renaissance Art and Culture, 1)*, edited by Dag T. Andersson and Roy Eriksen, (Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 2000), 60-74.

socially, were conveyed not only through the portraits themselves, but also through his behavior as a patron in commissioning them.

The extent of Michelangelo's control over his image is highlighted in Condivi's biography. In the last lines, Condivi leaves the reader with a detailed account of the artist's physical appearance:

> He has always had good color in his face, and his stature is as follows: his is of medium height, with broad shoulders, and the rest of his body is rather slight in proportion to his shoulders. […] Thus his temples project somewhat beyond his ears and his ears beyond his cheeks and the latter beyond the rest of his face, so that his head in proportion to the rest of his face can only be called large. The forehead seen from the front is square, the nose a bit flattened, not by nature but because when he was a boy a man called Torrigiano de'Torrigiani, […] the nose, just as it is, is proportionate to the forehead and to the rest of the face. His lips are thin, but the lower one is slightly thicker so that seen in profile it projects a little. His chin goes well with the features already mentioned. The forehead in profile protrudes almost beyond the nose, which is just less than straight, except for a little lump in the middle. The eyebrows are scanty, the eye might be called rather small, horn colored but changeable, with little flecks of yellow and blue. The ears are of proper size; the hair is black and likewise the beard, except that, at his age of seventy-nine years, the hairs are plentifully streaked with white. The beard is forked, between four and five fingers long, and not very thick...[8]

This description can be seen as an attempt to elevate Michelangelo to the ranks of the great ancient rulers and thinkers, as its literary form deliberately recalls Suetonius and Homer.[9] It may have also served a practical purpose. In providing the key recognizable

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[8] Condivi was the first biographer to offer a physical description of Michelangelo, *Life of Michelangelo*, 108. Relying heavily on Condivi, Giorgio Vasari included the same description in the 1568 edition of Michelangelo's biography, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, translated by Gaston du C. de Vère, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), II, 746-747.

[9] For a recent discussion on the descriptions of the physical likeness found in Suetonius and Homer, see Bill Gladhill, "The Emperor's No Clothes: Seutonius and the Dynamics of Corporeal Ecphrasis," *Classical Antiquity* 31 (2012), 315-348.

features of Michelangelo's appearance, Condivi establishes a fixed iconography for the sanctioned portraits of the artist. Amazingly, it still served the same function well into the modern age. Although both types of commissions are undocumented, the portraits and Condivi's biography together indicate that Michelangelo stepped out of the traditional role of an artist and assumed that of a patron in order to project his particular artistic and social identities.

The first record of the visual rather than literary portraits of Michelangelo is found in Giorgio Vasari's 1568 *Vita* of the artist, in which he states, "Of Michelangelo we have no other portraits but two in painting, one by the hand of [Giuliano] Bugiardini and the other by [Jacopino] del Conte, one in bronze executed in full-relief by [Daniele] Ricciarelli [da Volterra], and this one by the Chevalier Leone [Leoni]; from which portraits so many copies have been made…."[10] Of those listed by Vasari, the portrait by Bugiardini was the only one to receive any further treatment by the author.[11] Among this list, Vasari curiously does not include the other portraits of Michelangelo that were certainly known by him, including his own frescoes that included a portrait of Michelangelo among the witnesses to the historical narrative.[12] Vasari's decision not to mention the numerous other representations of Michelangelo from the sixteenth century surely implies a distinction between them and the four he lists. It is likely, then, that this

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[10] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 727.

[11] The portrait is discussed in Vasari's *Vita* of Bugiardini, *Lives*, I, 312-313. Vasari's own treatment of Michelangelo's features will be addressed in the Conclusion.

[12] Interestingly, Vasari does identify portraits of Michelangelo in other *Vite*. These occurances will be treated in Chapter 5.

short list represents Vasari's acknowledgement of these four portraits as being executed under Michelangelo's control.

Vasari's account of the portraits has been the foundation for the modern literature on the subject, which began more than two hundred years ago. Richard Duppa was the first scholar to address the portraits of Michelangelo in his *Life of Michelangelo with His Poems and Letters* from 1806.[13] Duppa mostly relied on Vasari's account, but he did not know the location of the paintings by Jacopino or Bugiardini. The author expanded Vasari's list to include both Marcello Venusti and Guilio Bonasone among those artists who executed portraits of Michelangelo.

The next major contribution to the study of the portraits of Michelangelo was made by Gaetano Milanesi, who further enlarged Vasari's initial list with several painted portraits and an engraved image.[14] Although later scholars have challenged his attributions, Milanesi located several portraits in Florence, Rome, and Paris, which now are considered to be among the most important images of Michelangelo. Milanesi's discoveries certainly spurred a wider interest in the portraits of Michelangelo, culminating in Ernst Steinmann's 1910 exhibition at the Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome, that brought together over one hundred portraits of the artist.

In connection with the exhibition, Steinmann published his *Die Portraitstellungen des Michelangelos* in 1913, which has served as the foundation for all later scholarship

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[13] Richard Duppa, *Life of Michelangelo with his Poems and Letters*, (London: J. Murray, 1806), 260-266.

[14] Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori scritte da Giorgio Vasari*, edited by Gaetano Milanesi, reprint, vol. 7 (Florence, 1875-1885; Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1906), 330-333.

on the subject.[15] Steinmann's monumental publication catalogues one hundred and seven

images of Michelangelo dating between the third decade of the sixteenth century and the

end of the nineteenth century. Using Vasari's list of four portraits as the foundation of

his study, Steinmann included all known copies and derivations. Although Steinmann

included images executed after Michelangelo's death, he discusses many sixteenth-

century portraits that were not treated by Vasari.

Over the course of the twentieth century, there were attempts by scholars to

explain some of these images individually, such as Deoclecio Redig de Campos, "Das

Porträt Michelangelos mit dem Turban von Giuliano Bugiardini," published in 1965.[16]

On occasion, some scholars have contributed to Steinmann's list, such as Charles de

Tolnay's *L'omaggio a Michelangelo di Albrect Dürer*, 1972.[17] Between the early 1990s

and the present, Paul Barolsky and William E. Wallace have both published extensively

on Michelangelo's self-construction, thereby providing a crucial foundation for an

understanding of the commissioned portraits.[18]

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[15] Ernst Steinmann, *Die Portraitdarstellungen des Michelangelo*, Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1913. Steinmann's exhibition also led to Paul Garnault, *Les Portraits de Michelange*, Paris: Fontemoing, 1913. This publication, however, is much less extensive than Steinmann's treatment, and therefore has been mostly disregarded in the modern literature.

[16] Deoclecio Redig de Campos, "Das Porträt Michelangelos mit dem Turban von Giuliano Bugiardini," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965*, edited by Gert von der Osten Georg Kaufmann, and Herbert von Einem, (Berlin: Mann, 1965), 49-51.

[17] Charles de Tolnay, *L'omaggio a Michelangelo di Albrect Dürer*, Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1972.

[18] As the list of their published works is vast, I offer only the most relevant to this topic. Paul Barolsky: *Michelangelo's Nose: A Myth and Its Maker*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990; *Faun in the Garden*; "Michelangelo and the

Early in this century, Pina Ragionieri, the director of the Casa Buonarroti, spearheaded a series of exhibitions and accompanying catalogues that aimed at revisiting Steinmann's contribution. Unlike other modern studies that focused on one image or artist, Ragionieri was one of the first scholars since Steinmann to address the portraits as a group. The first of these, *Vita di Michelangelo*, in 2001, was both an exhibition and a catalogue.[19] Although the catalogue contained only brief discussions of the portraits, it offered an updated bibliography. In 2003, Ragionieri published "Ritratti di Michelangelo" in the exhibition catalogue *Michelangelo tra Firenze e Roma*.[20] A summary of the most important portraits, it still relies heavily on Steinmann. Ragionieri's earlier studies served as the foundation for three more exhibitions with accompanying catalogues for which she was both curator and editor: *Michelangelo: Disegni e altri tesori della Casa Buonarroti di Firenze*, 2007; *Michelangelo: The Man and the Myth*, 2008; and, *Il Volto di Michelangelo*, 2008.[21] In addition to showcasing

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Image of the Artist as Prince," in *Renaissance Representations of the Prince*, edited by Roy Eriksen and Magne Malmanger, (Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 2001), 30-35. William E. Wallace: "Miscellanea Curiositae Michelangelae: A Steep Tariff, a Half Dozen Horses, and Yards of Taffeta," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47 (1994), 330-350; "Michael Angelus Buonarotus," 60-74; "Zio Michelangelo," in *Watching Art: Writings in Honor of James Beck*, edited by Lynn Catterson and Mark Zucker, (Perugia: Ediart, 2006), 263-270; *Michelangelo: The Artist, the Man, and His Times*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

[19] Lucilla Bardeschi Ciulich and Pina Ragionieri, *Vita di Michelangelo*, Florence: Mandragora, 2001.

[20] Pina Ragionieri, "Ritratti di Michelangelo," in *Michelangelo tra Firenze a Roma*, (Florence: Mandragora, 2003), 13-17.

[21] An accompanying catalogue was published for each of these exhibitions for which Pina Ragionieri served as the editor: *Michelangelo: Disegni e altri tesori della Casa Buonarroti di Firenze*, Perugia: Quattroemme, 2007; *Michelangelo: The Man and the*

many of the most important images together for the first time since Steinmann's exhibition, these recent shows and their catalogues indicate the growing interest in the study of the portraits of Michelangelo. To date, however, the only other discussion of note is Andrea Donati's *Ritratto e figura nel manierismo a Roma: Michelangelo Buonarroti, Jacopino del Conte, Daniele Ricciarelli*, 2010.[22] Although still reliant upon Steinmann's model, Donati's research has provided evidence for the provenance of some of the key images, which has, in some cases, led to the reattribution of certain portraits.

Despite all of the contributions over the past two hundred years in the understanding of the portraits of Michelangelo, no one has considered why Michelangelo commissioned these portraits. This dissertation treats these portraits in their historical, social, and artistic contexts in hopes of gaining a better understanding of the significance of these commissioned portraits in the Renaissance. Michelangelo's decision to have portraits made of himself at critical moments in his career was surely done to advance his social and artistic identities. The number and variety of portraits of Michelangelo executed under his control speak to the evolving nature of his conception of himself and of his image.

The first images commissioned by Michelangelo from Fra Bartolommeo and Giuliano Bugiardini aimed to distance his likeness from the earlier depictions by Raphael and Albrecht Dürer, who both used Michelangelo's portrait as an emblem of artistic

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Myth. Syracuse: Syracuse University Art Galleries, 2008; ed. *Il Volto di Michelangelo*. Florence: Mandragora, 2008.

[22] Andrea Donati, *Ritratto e figura nel manierismo a Roma: Michelangelo Buonarroti, Jacopino del Conte, Daniele Ricciarelli*, San Marino: Asset Banca, 2010.

genius.[23] Unlike the images produced by Raphael and Dürer, which ultimately served to elevate their own rank as artists, the portraits by Fra Bartolommeo and Bugiardini served to promote Michelangelo as the sole heir to the illustrious artistic traditions of Florence.

As he aged, Michelangelo's ambitions for his self-image can be viewed as an extension of his quest for artistic autonomy. Through both the act of proclaiming to be of noble blood and projecting his status through commissioned portraits in paintings by Daniele da Volterra, engravings by Giulio Bonasone, and a medal by Leone Leoni, Michelangelo assumed a role that was equal to that of his patrons.[24] By adopting this role, Michelangelo proclaimed that his artistic and noble birthrights extricated him from the confines of the traditional artist-patron relationship. Once we accept that he controlled these portraits as a patron, a broader picture of Michelangelo's conception of himself emerges and we gain a better appreciation of Michelangelo's greatest creation, himself.

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[23] This subject is treated in Chapter 3.

[24] These issues will be addressed in both Chapters 4 and 6.

CHAPTER 1

"NON ERA MIA ARTE": MICHELANGELO AND PORTRAITURE

The portraits of Michelangelo signify a major innovation in the evolving status of the artist in the Renaissance. The idea that Michelangelo exerted control over the portraits made of him is perhaps startling considering his public disdain for the practice of the genre. Although Michelangelo was openly opposed to executing portraits, and even went as far to claim it was not his art ("*non era mia arte"*), it does not mean that he did not recognize their potential in perpetuating his identity as both an artist and a member of the social elite.[25] The portraits made of Michelangelo can be viewed as running parallel to the Renaissance traditions of both portraits and self-portraits. Through an examination of his relationship with portraiture as an artist, we can begin to separate his artistic attitudes from those of his social ambitions. In order to gain a fuller understanding of Michelangelo's aims as both an artist and patron, these ideas have been treated individually. This chapter will examine Michelangelo's unique relationship with portraits as an artist. His role within the traditions of self-portraiture will be addressed in the next chapter.

The emergence of the independent portrait in the Renaissance has been associated with the rise of the humanistic interest in the individual as provided by ancient

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[25] Michelangelo expressed that portraiture was not his art ("*non era mia arte*") in a letter to Gianfrancesco Fattucci in 1523. The letter and its context is addressed below.

examples.[26]   Based on such ancient prototypes, Florentines during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries commemorated individuals and their accomplishments through the rendering of their likenesses in a variety of materials. In the execution of a portrait, perhaps more than any other type of artistic commission during the Renaissance, the artist was limited by the desires of the patron to advance the patron's identity, which often demanded a certain level of verisimilitude.[27]   The artist-patron relationship as it specifically relates to portraiture is fundamental to the understanding of not only Michelangelo's production of portraits, but also of the commissioning of his own likeness from artists in his immediate circle.

In attempts to explain Michelangelo's approach to portraiture, scholars have relied upon later accounts of his artistic theories expressed in treatises regarding imitation

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[26] The literature addressing Renaissance portraiture is vast and has been the topic of both monographs and recent exhibitions. For a discussion of the relationship between the portrait and the rise of the "cult of personality," see John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), 3-63. For a brief discussion of the rise of the Renaissance portrait based on the classical example, see Luke Syson, "Witnessing Faces, Remembering Souls," in *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, edited by Lorne Campbell, Miguel Falomir, Jennifer Fletcher and Luke Syson, (London: National Gallery, 2008), 15-16; and, Patricia Rubin, "Understanding Renaissance Portraiture," in *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*, edited by Christiansen and Weppelmann, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 11-13. For general discussions of portraits in the Renaissance, see Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th, and 16th Centuries*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990.

[27] There are numerous examples that demonstrate the extent of the patron's control over his or her image, but perhaps the most famous and best documented are the portraits of Isabella d'Este (1474-1533). For a recent discussion of Isabella's control over such portraits, see Beverly Louise Brown, "Portraiture at Courts of Italy," in *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*, 45-47. For a broader discussion of the patron's involvement in artistic commissions, see Jonathon K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 19-24.

and copying.[28] In these treatises, the authors highlight the limitations of the fifteenth-century approach to capturing an accurate and reliable likeness from life ("*ritrarre dal naturale*").[29] Based on these secondary accounts, Michelangelo viewed the aim of an artist was to overcome the constraints of nature. This attitude, however, would have been inherently in conflict with the patron's desires to advance his or her public identity

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[28] It is generally believed that Michelangelo's attitudes towards imitation of nature were recorded in Vincenzo Danti, *Trattato della perfette proporzioni* (1567), and Francesco de' Hollanda's *Diálogos em Roma* (1548). For a history of Danti's treatise, see John Summers, "The Sculpture of Vincenzo Danti: A Study in the Influence of Michelangelo and the Ideals of the Maniera," PhD diss., (Yale University, 1969), 492-497. For a discussion of Danti's translation of Michelangelo's ideals, see Charles de Tolnay, *The Art and Thought of Michelangelo*, translated by Nan Buranelli, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 83, 88. The date of composition and subsequent publication of de' Hollanda's work is not clear, for a discussion see Grazia Dolores Folliero-Metz, ed. *Francisco de Hollanda, 'Diálogos em Roma (1538): Conversations on Art with Michelangelo Buonarroti*, (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1998), 5-8; for an English translation, see Francisco de' Hollanda, *Four Dialogues on Painting*, translated by Aubrey F.G. Bell, Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1979. For a discussion of Michelangelo's attitudes towards imitation in art and poetry, see Robert Clements, "Michelangelo and the Doctrine of Imitation," *Italica* 23 (1946), 90-99; and, Judith Dundas, "The *Paragone* and the Art of Michelangelo," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21 (1990), 87-92. In his discussion on imitation, Danti clearly defines two opposing ideas: *ritrarre* and *imitare*. The author states that *ritrarre* is, "…to make something exactly as another thing is seen to be…," and defines *imitare* as, "…to make a thing not only as another has seen the thing to be (when that thing is imperfect), but to make it as it would have to be in order to be of complete perfection." The translation is offered by David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 279. Also in the same publication, for a discussion of the possible origins of Michelangelo's theory of imitation, see 242-249. The entire passage is available in Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte de cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, (Bari: Laterza, 1960), I, 241.

[29] For a discussion of the concept of *ritrarre dal naturale*, see Johanna Woods-Marsden, "*Ritratto dal naturale*: Questions of Realism and Idealism in Early Renaissance Portraits," *Art Journal* 46 (1987), 209-216. For a discussion of the patron's desire for their likeness, see Lorne Campbell, "Making of Portraits," in *Renaissance Faces: Van Eyck to Titian*, edited by Campbell, Falomir, Fletcher, and Luke Syson, (London: National Gallery, 2008), 35-40.

through a recognizable likeness.[30] Unfortunately, Michelangelo did not oversee the

production of these literary accounts, and, therefore, they cannot be seen as entirely

reliable. Their discussions of the limits of imitation are applicable, however, to the

demands of the patron's desire for verisimilitude and Michelangelo's quest for artistic

autonomy. It is, perhaps, this particular artist-patron relationship that served as the

genesis of Michelangelo's reluctance to accept portrait commissions.

Michelangelo was probably introduced to the restrictions placed upon the artist

during the production of portraits while in the workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-

1493). Michelangelo entered Ghirlandaio's workshop by June of 1487, when he was

twelve years old.[31] As the leading Florentine painter in the last quarter of the fifteenth

century, Ghirlandaio was celebrated by Vasari in the *Vite* for his ability to capture the

likeness of the sitter:

> [A]lthough he was a goldsmith in his boyhood, yet, by devoting himself
> ever to design, he became so quick, so ready, and so facile, that many say
> that while he was working as a goldsmith he would draw a portrait of all
> who passed the shop, producing a likeness in a second; and of this we still
> have proof in an infinite number of portraits in his works, which show a
> most lifelike resemblance.[32]

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[30] For Michelangelo's views of the limitations of nature, see Edwin Panofsky, *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), 81. For a recent discussion on this topic, see Luba Freedman, "The Concept of Portraiture in Art Theory of the Cinquecento," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 32 (1987), 63-82.

[31] For a discussion of the documents regarding Michelangelo's entry into Ghirlandaio's workshop, see Jean K. Cadogan, Cadogan, Jean K. "Michelangelo in the Workshop of Domenico Ghirlandaio," *The Burlington Magazine* 135 (1993), 30-31; also Wallace, *Michelangelo: Artist, Man, and His Times,* 51-52. Vasari's statement that Michelangelo entered the workshop on April 1, 1488, is inaccurate, *Lives*, II, 644. For Condivi's account of Michelangelo's time in Ghirlandaio's workshop, see *Life*, 9-10.

[32] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 516.

Since there is no evidence for Vasari's account, it can be seen as a trope used to describe the numerous recognizable portraits depicted in his frescoes. The number of portraits executed by Ghirlandaio, both independently and included in large narratives, speaks to his ability to meet the patron's desire of verisimilitude in regards to their likeness. Ghirlandaio's ability to create a recognizable likeness is further supported by the circumstances surrounding one of his last commissions, the *Malatesta Altarpiece* [Fig. 1].[33] In 1493, Ghirlandaio received the commission for the altarpiece from Elisabetta Aldobrandini that was to include portrats of several members of her family. Unfortunately, the artist died prior to executing the portraits, and the responsibility of completing them fell to his brother, Davide. The patron believed the portraits did not accurately resemble the sitters and through litigation received a reduction in the final price.[34] In this particular example, the capturing of an accurate likeness of the sitter literally had a price. Although Michelangelo left Ghirlandaio's workshop long before the litigation of the *Malatesta Altarpiece*, he was certainly exposed to this type of demand regarding portraits while under the master's tutelage in the Sassetti Chapel, Santa Maria Novella. Based on this early introduction to the patron's role within the realm of portrait production, Michelangelo may have viewed the patron's demand for a recognizable likeness as artistically restrictive. This inherent conflict in the production of portraits may have served as the foundation of Michelangelo's opposition to the practice.

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[33] The altarpiece was to be placed in the Malatesta Chapel in San Cataldo, Rimini. For a discussion of the altarpiece, see Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio: Artist and Artisan*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 270-274; and, Rubin, "Understanding Renaissance Portraiture," 5-6.

[34] For a discussion of the litigation, see Cadogan, *Domenico Ghirlandaio*, 272. The document is transcribed by Rubin, "Understanding Renaissance Portraiture," 378 note 12.

One of the major themes in Condivi's biography of Michelangelo is the artist's conflict with patrons in his ambition for artistic autonomy; this is perhaps no more evident than in the commissions he received to execute portraits.[35] Michelangelo's first portrait commissions came from Pope Julius II, who asked the artist to execute his tomb and effigy as well as a monumental bronze portrait. Based on the accounts provided by both of the artist's biographers, these projects represent two of the greatest artistic tragedies in Michelangelo's career.[36] It can be further suggested, based on letters and documents, that these commissions were fodder for Michelangelo's growing disdain for portraiture. The effigy of Pope Julius II is problematic as his tomb was first commissioned in 1505, but it did not reach completion until the 1540s.[37] Although the

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[35] Condivi offers numerous examples of Michelangelo's quest for artistic autonomy, but the most notable are the commissions for Pope Julius II, *Life*, 39-58. For more on Condivi's account of the Julian commissions and Michelangelo quest for artistic autonomy, see Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 129-137. This idea is further supported by Vasari's discussion of the execution of the Pope's tomb in which he states that Julius had a corridor built between his palace and Michelangelo's studio, *Lives*, II, 659. This type of oversight on the part of Julius II is a recurring theme in most of the commissions offered to Michelangelo such as the Sistine ceiling. Given the pope's likely involvement in both the likeness and iconography of the portrait, it is easy to see why Michelangelo, who held artistic freedom in the highest of regards, would find fault with the process of portraiture.

[36] Condivi is responsible for describing the commission of the tomb as a tragedy, *Life*, 77. Vasari is kinder in his assessment, but admits, "Truly this whole work has turned out very well, but not by a great measure as it had been planned in the original design," *Lives*, II, 690.

[37] The history of the tomb is long and complicated, as it extended over four decades and had several revisions to the contract. The final contract for the commission was signed in August of 1542 and installation of the wall tomb in San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome began in 1545, with the last of the marble sculptures installed in 1547. The literature that addresses the Julius Tomb is vast. The critical sources include Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: The Tomb of Julius II*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. For a discussion of the various contracts, see John Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture. Volume III: Italian High Renaissance & Baroque Sculpture*, (London and New

final project was designed by Michelangelo, the majority of the work was delegated to other sculptors, including the recumbent effigy of Julius [Fig. 2] that has been traditionally attributed to Tommaso Boscoli.[38] Since the effigy comes late in the artist's career, it offers little insight into the formulation of Michelangelo's attitudes towards portraiture during his early career. For this, it is best to turn to the bronze portrait of the pope, which was placed on the façade of S. Petronio, Bologna.[39]

York: Phaidon Press, 1996; 2000), 425-435, esp. p. 435, which includes a bibliography for the effigy; Claudia Echinger-Maurach, *Studien zu Michelangelos Juliusgrabmal.* 2 vols., Hildesheim and New York: G. Olms, 1991; also by the same author, *Michelangelos Grabmal für Papst Julius II*, (Munich: Hirmer, 2009), 133-142. For a recent discussion of the first commission, see Ralph Lieberman, "The One That Got Away: Michelangelo on the First Version of the Tomb of Julius II," in *The Historian's Eye: Essays on Italian Art in Honor of Andrew Ladis*, edited by Hayden Maginnis and Shelley Zuraw, (Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, 2009), 153-159.

[38] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 690. For a discussion of Boscoli's biography and his relationship to Michelangelo, see William E. Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Genius as Entrepreneur*, (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 95-96. Although it was planned from the beginning of the commission, the effigy was not executed until the 1530s. Claudia Echinger-Maurach has pointed out that despite several contracts for the tomb, the effigy is only mentioned in the final contract (August 1542). She also dates it as early as 1533-1534, "Michelangelo's monument for Julius II in 1534," *Burlington Magazine* 145 (May 2003), 336. For a bibliography regarding the effigy, see Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 435. Most scholars have traditionally followed Vasari's attribution; however, Antonio Forcellino attributes parts of the figure to Michelangelo, *Michelangelo Buonarroti: Storia di una passione erotica*, (Torino: Einaudi, 2002), 102. There have been a growing number of scholars who have accepted this attribution, including Claudia Echinger-Maurach, who believes elements of the effigy were executed by Boscoli, and the face and hands were carved by Michelangelo, *Studien zu Michelangelos Juliusgrabmal*, 344. Echinger-Maurach has recently revisited the issue, *Michelangelos Grabmal für Papst Julius II*, 133-143. Although outside the scope of this project, the shifting meaning of the Julius effigy and its attribution to Michelangelo may alter our understanding of the Julius II tomb.

[39] For more on the bronze portrait of Julius II, see Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Youth*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), 38-39, 219-223; Norbert Huse, "Ein Bilddokument zu Michelangelos 'Julius II.' in Bologna," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 12 (1966), 355-358; and, Michael Rohlmann,

Unfortunately, the portrait was destroyed in 1511, leaving scholars to focus mostly on the tense and mercurial relationship between Pope Julius II and Michelangelo that led to the commission.[40] Michelangelo's biographers provide the most information regarding the commission. Given that these accounts were written nearly fifty years later, it is likely that some of the details of the events were fabricated to conform to Michelangelo's biographical construct. According to both, the artist was forcibly asked to execute the bronze portrait of Pope Julius II at the end of 1506.[41] Prior to the commission and while still in Rome, Michelangelo was repeatedly denied an audience with the pope, which prompted the artist to leave the city in a fit of rage.[42] Julius II did not take kindly to Michelangelo's departure and demanded that the artist meet him in

"Michelangelos Bronzestatue von Julius II: zu Geschiechte und Bedeutung päpstlicher Ehrentore in Bologna und Ascoli," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 31 (1996), 187-206.

[40] Vasari states that the sculpture was taken down and dismantled by the Bentivoglio and the bronze was sold to the Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, who had it forged into a cannon, which was dubbed "La Giulia," *Lives*, II, 664. For the literature concerning the provenance of the bronze, see de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Youth*, 221. The cannon was prominently featured in a now-lost portrait of Duke Alfonzo I d'Este by Titian, which dates to 1523. The portrait is known through copies, for a discussion of the portrait and history of the cannon, see Paul Joannides, "Titian and Michelangelo/Michelangelo and Titian," in *The Cambridge Companion to Titian*, edited by Patricia Meilman, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 121-145. Among the scholars who discuss the biographical episodes surrounding the portrait are: de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Youth*, 38; Howard Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 95-97; and Wallace, *Michelangelo: Artist, Man, and His Times*, 80-88.

[41] Condivi, *Life*, 38-39; Vasari, *Lives*, II, 663-665.

[42] In a letter to Gianfrancesco Fattucci dated December 1523, Michelangelo recalls that he requested an audience with Julius II to ask for payment for the expenses he incurred during the early stages of the tomb, *Il Carteggio di Michelangelo*, edited by Giovanni Poggi, Paola Barocchi, and Renzo Ristori, S.P.E.S.: Florence, 1979, III, 10-11. The letter is translated in English by E.H. Ramsden, *Letters*, (Stanford: Stanford Unversity Press, 1963), I, 148-150.

Bologna. As Condivi's account suggests, Michelangelo arrived in the city at the end of

November 1506 to an uncertain fate:

> Michelangelo knelt down and loudly begged [Julius II's] forgiveness, pleading that he had erred not out of wickedness but out of indignation…The pope remained with his head bowed and a disturbed expression on his face, answering nothing, when a monsignor, sent by Cardinal Soderini to exonerate and recommend Michelangelo, wanted to intervene and said, "Your Holiness must disregard his offense, because he offended through ignorance. Painters, outside of their art, are like that." To which the pope answered angrily, "You are saying insulting things about him which we do not say. You are the ignoramus and the wretch, not he…."…The pope, having vented most of his wrath upon the bishop, called Michelangelo closer, pardoned him, and enjoined him not to leave Bologna until he had given him another commission [i.e. the bronze portrait].[43]

Condivi's passage differs in its detail and dramatization of the account from an early

description that Michelangelo provided in a letter to Gianfrancesco Fattucci in 1523:

> Then the first time that Pope Julius went to Bologna I was forced to go there, with a rope round my neck, to ask his pardon, whereupon he gave me his figure to do in bronze, which was about seven braccia in height, seated. When he asked me what it would cost, I replied that I believed it could be cast for about a thousand ducats; but it was not my trade (*non era mia arte*) and that I did not want to be obliged to do it.[44]

The letter continues to discuss the commission, but only with regard to Michelangelo's

insufficient pay. The letter could be read to suggest that Michelangelo executed the

portrait as a means to regain the favor of the pope. When compared to the letter,

Condivi's account elaborates upon the events to stress that Michelangelo had undergone a

trial, and the portrait served as his punishment.

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[43] Condivi, *Life*, 38.

[44] The translation is by Ramsden, *Letters*, I, 148. For the letter in its original transcription, see *Carteggio*, III, 7.

Based on the differences between the two accounts, it is possible that Condivi, and therefore Michelangelo, transformed the artist's reconciliation with his patron into a metaphor in an attempt to explain the problematic nature of portraiture. As suggested by Condivi, Julius II exercised his authority to confine the artist to the city of Bologna. Michelangelo's imprisonment, whether mythic or factual, can be seen as a metaphor of the patron's control over the artist and, by extension, his image. This type of control is also suggested by both of Michelangelo's biographers, who state that the pope made an official visit to the studio during the production of the portrait.[45] It is unclear as to the nature of the visit, but when placed in the context of the accounts of the Sistine ceiling offered by both Condivi and Vasari, a striking similarity in the relationship between the artist and his patron emerges.[46] In both biographies, Michelangelo not only defiantly ignored Julius's suggestions for the ceiling, but also attempted to limit Julius's access to the chapel while he was working. Even if these accounts were fabricated in an attempt to elevate the status of the artist, they do indicate Michelangelo's quest for artistic autonomy.[47] The fact that both biographies share this common theme highlights that it was an important facet of Michelangelo's artistic identity. In the practice of portraiture, however, this would be an inherent conflict of interest, where the patron has a more

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[45] Condivi, *Life*, 38; Vasari, *Lives*, II, 664. The date is suggested by de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Youth*, 38.

[46] Condivi, *Life*, 57-58; Vasari, *Lives*, II, 667-668.

[47] For a discussion of the accounts of the bronze portrait and the Sistine ceiling provided by Condivi and Vasari as partial fabrications in an attempt to bolster Michelangelo's artistic identity, see Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 146-148. See also Ralph Lieberman, "The One That Got Away: Michelangelo on the First Version of the Tomb of Julius II," in *The Historian's Eye*, edited by Maginnis and Zuraw, 153-160.

active role than usual.[48] The restrictions placed upon Michelangelo in the production of

any portrait may explain his statement to Fattucci with regard to the Julius II bronze as

"non era mia arte."[49]

In addition to the limitations of the commission, Michelangelo's displeasure with

the bronze portrait may also lie within the image itself. The portrait of Julius II

participated in a tradition of images that can be traced back to Arnolfo di Cambio's

Seated Portrait of Boniface VIII, c. 1298 [Fig. 3].[50] Michelangelo was certainly familiar

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[48] For more on the patron-artist relationship regarding portraiture, see above note 27.

[49] Michelangelo's comment has been interpreted as a reference to his ability to execute a monumental bronze sculpture. It may, also, be viewed as a double-entendre, and therefore may be suggestive of his attitude towards executing portraits, as well. If the phrase was intended to suggest his ability in bronze, it can be seen as a statement of humility. By the time Michelangelo received the commission for the Julius II portrait, had already been asked by Cardinal Jean Bilhères to execute the bronze David in 1502, which was later lost when it was sent to France as a gift. For a discussion of the history of the commission for the bronze David, see Francesco Caglioti, "Il *David* bronzeo di Michelangelo (a Benedetto da Rovezzano): il problema dei pagamenti," in *Ad Alessandro Conti, 1946-1994. Quaderni del Seminario di Storia della Critica d'arte*, edited by Francesco Caglioti, Miriam Fileti Mazza, and Umberto Parrini, Vol. 6. (Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 1996), VI, 85-132.

[50] Condivi describes the statue as, "[B]efore he [Julius II] left [Bologna], Michelangelo has already made a clay model of the statue. And, since he was in doubt as to what to do with the left hand, having made the right hand in the gesture of benediction, he inquired of the pope, who had come to see the statue, whether he would like it if he made a book in the other hand. 'What book,' was the pope's response; 'a sword: because I for my part know nothing of letters.' And, joking about the forceful gesture of the right hand, he said smilingly to Michelangelo, 'This statue of yours, is it giving the benediction or a malediction?' To which Michelangelo rejoined, 'It is threatening this populace, Holy Father, if they are not prudent,'" *Life*, 38-39. Vasari follows Condivi's description, *Lives*, II, 664. For a discussion of the visual evidence and contemporary accounts, see de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Youth*, 220; Huse, "Michelangelos 'Julius II.' in Bologna," 355-358; and Rohlmann, "Michelangelos Bronzestatue von Julius II," 187-206. For a discussion of Arnolfo's portrait of Boniface VIII in the context of his other portraits, see Georgia Sommers Wright, "The Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness in the Fourteenth Century," *Gesta* 39 (2000), 122. Michelangelo's image can also be linked to the type represented by Jacopino da Tradate's *Pope Martin V*, 1421-1418, in the Museo del

with Boniface's portrait, as it adorned the façade of the Florentine Duomo during the sixteenth century. The placement of Arnolfo's image reinforced the spiritual authority of the pope, which is further suggested by its reliance upon the seated image of St. Peter in the Vatican.[51] Michelangelo's adherence to the tradition of the seated papal portrait is also supported by the bronze's presumed influence, as seen in Vincenzo Danti's image of Pope Julius III in Perugia [Fig. 4], and Baccio Bandinelli's proposed monument for Clement VII [Fig. 5].[52] Like the portrait of Boniface VIII, Michelangelo's portrait can also be usefully compared to the seated portrait of Charles of Anjou, c. 1277, on the Capitoline [Fig. 6], an emblem of secular authority.[53] Julius perhaps intended his portrait to serve both ends, as he had just returned Bologna to the control of the Papal States. Certainly, the Bolognese viewed the image as a symbol of Julius's secular authority, as it was destroyed once they had reclaimed the city from the Pope in 1511.

Duomo, Milan. However, this sculpture was intended for the high altar. For a discussion of the history of the image of Martin V, see John Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture. Volume I: Italian Gothic Sculpture*, (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 1996; 2000), 132, 258.

[51] Scholars have debated the attribution and date of the bronze St. Peter, which has been identified as either an ancient sculpture or a work by Arnolfo dating between 1290-1295. For a discussion of its possible origins, see Angiola Maria Romanini, "Nuovi dati sulla statua bronzea di San Pietro in Vaticano," *Arte medievale* 4 (1990), 1-50.

[52] For an early discussion of Bandinelli's sketch, see de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Youth*, 222 no 247. For a recent discussion, see Jutta Götzmann, "Der Triumph der Medici: Zur Ikonographie der Grabmäler Leos X und Clemens VII in S. Maria sopra Minerva," in *Praemium Virtutis*, edited by Joachim Poeschke and Britta Kusch-Arnhold, (Müster: Rhema, 2005), II, 171-200. For an illustration and brief discussion of the Julius III statue in Perugia, see Joachim Poeschke, *Michelangeo and His World: Sculpture of the Italian Renaissance*, trans. Russell Stockman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 232-33

[53] For more on the possible connection between the image of Boniface VIII and the seated image of Charles of Anjou, see Sommers Wright, "Reinvention of the Portrait Likeness," 122.

Although Michelangelo's bronze portrait of Julius II participated within the visual traditions of portraiture, it was perhaps the involvement of the patron, above all else, that Michelangelo believed restricted him artistically. Unlike the bronze portrait of Julius II, Michelangelo was given slightly more artistic autonomy for the effigies of the first two Medicean dukes, Giuliano de' Medici (Duke of Urbino, 1479-1516) [Fig. 7] and Lorenzo de' Medici (Duke of Nemours, 1492-1519) [Fig. 8], for the Medici Chapel at San Lorenzo. The effigies are a part of a larger program that commemorates the lives of the two Dukes, or *Capitani*, and the two *Magnifici*: Lorenzo (1449-1492) and Giuliano (1453-1478).[54] The project was overseen by the pope's cousin Cardinal Giulio de'Medici (the future Pope Clement VII).[55] During the early stages of the project, the Cardinal had significant input into the overall design, but there is no other record that he was involved in the development of the iconography.[56]

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[54] In his interpretation of the chapel, Vasari referred to the Dukes as *Capitani*, *Lives*, II, 681. The literature on the Medici Chapel is vast, and, therefore, I list only the essential bibliographic sources: Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: The Medici Chapel*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948; Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 47-80 and 437-446; L.D. Ettlinger, "The Liturgical Function of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 22 (1978), 287-304; Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo,* 75-134. For more recent discussions, see Magne Malmanger, "Dukes or Dummies?: The Commemoration of the *Captitani* in the Medici Chapel," in *Basilike Eikon: Renaissance Representations of the Prince,* edited by Roy Eriksen and Magne Malmanger, (Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 2001), 36-49; Yonni Ascher, "Michelangelo's Projects for the Medicean Tombs: Rereading of the Story of the Medici Chapel," *Artibus et historiae* 23 (2002), 83-96.

[55] The chapel was commissioned either by or on the behalf of Pope Leo X (Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici) in response to the death of the young Lorenzo in 1519. For a discussion of the history of the commission through documentary evidence, see Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo,* 75-81.

[56] The cardinal rejected Michelangelo's suggestion of a freestanding, monumental tomb. For more on the rejected designs see Pope Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 438. For a recent discussion of the involvement of Cardinal Giulio

The seated images of the *Capitani* are located at the center of each wall tomb and placed in a niche above the sarcophagus. Both their position on the monument and their poses represent a break from traditional funerary monuments of the fifteenth century, which depicted the effigy of the deceased as recumbent on top of the sarcophagus. This type is represented by Donatello's tomb of Pope John XXIII Coscia, c. 1424-1431 [Fig. 9], located in the Florence Baptistery. Arguably it served as the prototype for several wall tombs in Florence, including Bernardo Rossellino's tomb for Leonardo Bruni, c. 1446-1448 [Fig. 10] in Sante Croce.[57] Michelangelo not only separates the sarcophagus from the effigy, but his figures are seated and alert. The only visual precedent for Michelangelo's representation of the dukes is Antonio Pollaiuolo's tomb of Pope Innocent VIII, 1492-1498, [Fig. 11] where the seated image of the pope is paired with a recumbent effigy.[58] When these two effigies are viewed together they represent the

with the Medici tomb project, see William E. Wallace, "Clement VII and Michelangelo: An Anatomy of Patronage," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, edited by Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 189-198.

[57] For a discussion of the influence of Donatello's tomb of Pope John XXIII, see John Pope-Hennessy, *An Introduction to Italian Sculpture. Volume II: Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 1996; 2000), 139-179, esp. 142. For the history of the Bruni tomb, see Antonio Natali, "Il pianto delle Muse: I sepolcri di Leonardo Bruni e Carlo Marsuppini monumenti del'Umanesimo," in *Il Pantheon di Santa Croce a Firenze*, edited by Luciano Berti, (Florence: Giunti, 1993), 17-55.

[58] Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 177. According to Pope-Hennessy, this is the first time that we see a life statue of the pope on a funerary monument. It is worth mentioning that the present configuration of the monument in St. Peter's is the result of the monument being moved from its original location in 1507 and subsequently moved again in 1606. It was originally installed in Old St. Peter's with the sarcophagus on top and the effigy of the seated pope on the ground. The original composition is preserved in a drawing by Maarten van Heemskerck, which is included in C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die Römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, (Berlin, 1916), II, plate 27.

separation of the mortal flesh that is, Giovanni Battista Cibo as Pope Innocent VIII, from

the institution of the Christ's spiritual authority, suggested by the seated and activated

image of the pope that is embodied by the papacy.[59] By separating his effigies from their

emblems, Michelangelo also emphasized the Medici's position as rulers, not as

individuals.[60]

Since the *Capitani* did not participate in commission of their own tombs,

Michelangelo was seemingly free of an interest in verisimilitude, typically associated

with fifteenth-century funerary monuments in Florence. In earlier monuments, sculptors

sometimes relied upon deathmasks as the foundation in the production of tomb effigy.[61]

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[59] The embodiment of the individual and the office in two tomb effigies derives from the critical argument of Ernst H. Kantorowicz, T*he King's Two Bodies. A Study of Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957): a brief discussion of tombs appears on pp. 431-36.

[60] Malmanger, "Dukes or Dummies?," 40. For a discussion of the unlikely early genesis of portrait-likeness on curial tombs. see Julian Gardner's appendix on "Tombs and Portraiture" in *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 172-75.

[61] For a discussion of Florentine preoccupation of preserving the image of an individual, see Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait in the Renaissance*, 9. Even though Vasari gives the credit to Andrea del Verrocchio for beginning the practice, sculptors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had used deathmasks as a model when carving the effigy of the deceased, *Lives*, I, 555-556. The process of making a life-mask, which could have been used in making a deathmask, is described in detail by Cennino Cennino, *The Craftsman's Handbook: 'Il Libro dell'Arte,'* translated by Daniel V. Thompson, Jr., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933), 124-126. For a discussion of the preservation of likeness associated with deathmasks, see Sharon T. Strocchia*, Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 45-46, 251 note 55; and, Jeanette Kohl, "Gesichter Machen: Büste und Maske im Florentiner Quattrocento," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 34 (2007), 81-82. For a discussion of the rise of a true likeness of the sitter in late medieval period, see Sommers Wright, "Reinvention of Portrait Likeness in Fourteenth Century," 117-134. Deathmasks were still used for the production of portraits of the deceased in the first half of the sixteenth century. In addition, Silvio Cosini was asked to make a deathmask of Niccolò Capponi in 1529, which was turned into a wax sculpture. For a discussion of Cosini's bust of

However, there is no existing record for a deathmask of the dukes, which may not have been needed as Michelangelo was certainly familiar with their likenesses through both first-hand knowledge and portraits such as those executed by Raphael [Figs. 12 and 13].[62]

When Michelangelo's effigies are compared to the painted portraits of the Dukes, it becomes apparent to what extent Michelangelo was willing to reinvent their likenesses. In the case of Michelangelo's image of Giuliano, the viewer can immediately recognize a marked departure in the representations of the nose, brow, and eyes, which are now more proportionate with the rest of the face. These are some of the same features that Vasari praised in his discussion of the effigy: "Duke Giuliano, so proud a figure, with the head, the throat, the setting of the eyes, the profile of the nose, the opening of the mouth, and the hair [are] all so divine."[63] Likewise when compared to Raphael's portrait, Michelangelo also idealized the features of Lorenzo. Most notably is the sitter's nose,

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Raffaello Maffei, which is also believed to be based on a deathmask, see Rolf Bagemihl, "Cosini's Bust of Raffaello Maffei and Its Funerary Context," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (1996), 41-57. For more on their use in Renaissance Florence, see Strocchia, *Death and Ritual*, 46, 251 note 55.

[62] It is worth noting that a deathmask was executed of Lorenzo de' Medici; however, since Michelangelo never executed his effigy, it is unknown if he would have utilized it. For more on Lorenzo de' Medici's deathmask, see Alison Luchs, "Lorenzo from Life?: Renaissance Portrait Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici," *The Sculpture Journal* 4 (2000), 6-23; and, Adrienne Catherine DeAngelis, "On the Ashmolean bust of Lorenzo de' Medici," *Sculpture Journal* 13 (2005), 5-17. Raphael's portraits were the source for several sixteenth-century copies of the *Capitani*. For a recent discussion, see Tom Henry and Paul Joannides, "Raphael: *Lorenzo de' Medici*," in *Late Raphael*, edited by Tom Henry and Paul Joannides, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2012), 269-272. Although the original portrait of Giuliano is thought to be lost, it is known through a workshop copy now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which provides a comprehensive bibliography through an online database, "After Raphael, *Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici*," accessed 12.30.12, http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001823?rpp =20&pg=1&ft=raphael+giuliano&pos=1.

[63] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 682.

which in Raphael's portrait disproportionately dominates his face, whereas in Michelangelo's effigy the nose is more restrained and symmetrical.

Michelangelo's representations of the Medicean Dukes depart so greatly from their known physical likenesses that it has been argued that he created idealized images of character types.[64] Although the images of the deceased may allude to their personalities, de Tolnay has pointed out that the character types of the effigies do not match their corresponding personalities.[65] Instead, the images of the Dukes reflect each other's character. This perplexing issue has led scholars to suggest that the names of the sitters were misidentified.[66] In a famous letter dated July 28, 1544, Niccolò Martelli offers what is believed to be Michelangelo's attitude towards the sculptures:

> They say that poets are adulators and liars, an idea which I […] don't deny, but let's see why they do it. Michelangelo […] having to sculpt there the illustrious lords of the most felicitous house of the Medici, did not use as his models Duke Lorenzo and Lord Giuliano as Nature had portrayed and composed them, but rather gave them a size, proportion, decorum, grace, and splendor which he thought would bring them more praise, in such a way that the people gazing at them would be amazed. Thus, if famous writers at times add something to the truth they do it to make them [the subjects] more wonderful for future centuries.[67]

The letter suggests that the aim of the artist, or writer, was to bring praise to the patron or sitter. By representing the characteristics of the Medici, as opposed to their likeness,

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[64] For a review of the literature regarding the interpretation of the images of the Dukes, see Malmager, "Dukes or Dummies?," 36-39.

[65] de Tolnay, *The Medici Chapel*, 140.

[66] For a brief bibliography that addresses this issue, see Malmanger, "Dukes or Dummies?," 48 note 28.

[67] Translated by Nelson and Zeckhauser, *Patron's Payoff*, 102. The letter was published in Florence in 1546 as a part of *Il primo libro delle lettere di Nicolo Martelli*, 49, recto.

Michelangelo elevates their appearance to his lofty notions of art as an intellectual expression. Thus, Michelangelo ultimately brought eternal glory not only to the *Capitani* and the Medici family, but also to himself.[68]

In later years, Michelangelo continued to elevate the likeness of an individual into an ideal representation. In one case, he accomplished this through the apparently personal endeavor of making a drawing of Tommaso Cavalieri.[69] In the 1568 edition of the *Vita*, Vasari states that Michelangelo, "made a life-size portrait of Messer Tommaso [Cavalieri] in a cartoon, and neither before nor afterwards did he take the portrait of anyone, because he abhorred executing a resemblance to the living subject, unless it were

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[68] Although outside the scope of this project, Michelangelo's decision to represent the character of the sitters in opposing images does have a precedent in Florence: the wall murals for the funerary monuments of Paolo Uccello's *Equestrian Monument of Sir John Hawkwood*, 1436, and Andrea del Castagno's *Equestrian Monument of Niccolò da Tolentino*, 1455-1456, in the Florentine Duomo. Like the *Capitani*, the images of Hawkwood and Tolentino are active, heroic, armored, idealized types that have been seen as reflective of their personality types. Furthermore, it has been suggested that these frescoes were intended to be seen together, which brings glory to both the *condottieri* and Florence. For a discussion of the images of the *condottieri* as reflective of their personalities, see Eve Borsook, "The Power of Illusion: Fictive Tombs in Santa Maria del Fiore," in *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and its Sculpture*, edited by Margaret Haines, (Fiesole: Edizioni Cadmo, 2001), 74. For a discussion of the images as idealized portraits, see Jan de Jong, "Portraits of Condottieri," in *Modeling the Individual: Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance*, edited by Karl Enenkel, Betsy de Jong-Crane, and Peter Liebregts, (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi B.V., 1998), 75-91, esp. 86-87.

[69] The drawing has traditionally believed to be lost. For a discussion of Michelangelo's portrait of Cavalieri, see Michael Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 11-12; also, Hugo Chapman, *Michelangelo Drawings: Closer to the Master*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 209. Paul Joannides suggests that a large drawing portrait in Musèe Bonnat, Bayonne, may be the portrait of Cavalieri by Michelangelo, "On the Recto and On the Verso of a Sheet Drawings by Michelangelo at Princeton," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 54 (1995), 2-11.

of extraordinary beauty."[70] Although Vasari's statement is partially inaccurate – since he had previously discussed Michelangelo's bronze portrait of Pope Julius II – he does offer an explanation to why the artist preferred not to execute portraits and, at the same time, provides the impetus for the portrait of Tommaso. Although the cartoon is generally believed to be no longer extant, there is an account from an artist who saw it in the Farnese collection at the beginning of the seventeenth century, who described it as divinely sketched and the sitter's facial features as beautiful ("*con quei begli occhi, e bocca, e naso*").[71] The description of Tommaso's facial features depicted in the portrait validates Vasari's statement regarding Michelangelo only executing a portrait when the person was of extraordinary beauty. Based on both accounts, the drawing appears to have been something more than a mere record of Tommaso's appearance.

Tommaso (d. 1587) was of a Roman noble family and shared an especially close relationship with Michelangelo beginning in the early 1530s, one that continued until the artist's death.[72] Although it is uncertain when Tommaso was born, he was described as a youth when he first met the artist. It is likely that Michelangelo executed the portrait sometime around 1532, when Michelangelo traveled to Rome from Florence.[73] They

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[70] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 737.

[71] For the entire passage, see Johannes Wilde, *Michelangelo and His Studio*, (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1953), 97.

[72] For a biographical treatment of Tommaso, see Wallace, *Michelangelo: Artist, Man, Times*, 176-180.

[73] Michelangelo traveled between Florence and Rome no less than three times between 1532 and 1534, which included a stay in Rome for nine months beginning the late summer of 1532. For a discussion of Michelangelo's trips during this period, see Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo,* 130.

often exchanged letters and poems, and Michelangelo's affinity for the youth is also manifested in a series of presentation drawings that the artist sent as demonstrations of how to draw.[74] In a poem that may have been addressed to Tommaso, Michelangelo contrasts earthly beauty and the pursuit of divine love:

> Hope can indeed at times ascend on high with my burning desire
> and not prove false, for if all our emotions were displeasing to
> heaven, to what end would God have made the world?
>
> What juster [sic] reason for my loving you can there be, than to give
> glory to that eternal peace from which derives the divine element
> in you that brings pleasure, and that makes every noble heart
> pure and devout?
>
> False hope is harbored only by that love that which dies with the
> beauty that is worn away by each passing minute, and so is subject
> to the variation wrought in a beautiful face.
>
> Sweet indeed is the hope found in a chaste heart: it does not fail
> Because of changes caused in the husk or brought by the final
> Hour, and is here below a pledge of paradise.[75]

Following the conceit offered by the poem, the portrait of Tommaso becomes an allegory of ephemeral beauty, which is further supported by Vasari's statement that the image was an example of "extraordinary beauty." The poem also suggests that the artist, as one who captures and preserves God's creations, is elevated to the rank akin to that of the divine creator. In this context, the Tommaso portrait follows Michelangelo's exploration of the

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[74] For a discussion of Michelangelo's poetry and letters sent to Tommaso, see Leonard Barkan, *Michelangelo: A Life on Paper*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 240 and 242-243. Barkan aslo discusses the presentation drawings, 226-234. For more on Michelangelo's presentation drawings, see Hirst, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 111-117; and Chapman, *Michelangelo Drawings*, 224-227.

[75] The poem is translated by Christopher Ryan and reproduced in Barkan, *Michelangelo: A Life on Paper*, 242. The poem was either written for Tommaso or Vittoria Colonna, but may have been intended for both.

ideal form in the series of male and female "divine heads" produced throughout the 1520s.[76]

Vasari's passage on Tommaso's portrait also offers insight to another aspect of Michelangelo's attitudes towards the practice of portraiture. The author states that Michelangelo had executed the image as a cartoon, possibly implying that Michelangelo executed the cartoon in preparation for a painted image. It this is correct, it would have been in keeping with the practices of portraiture in Florence in the late 1520s and early 1530s as seen in the works of Pontormo and Bronzino.[77] In the context of Michelangelo's career in the early 1530s, however, he may have intended for the painted image to be executed by another artist. Leading up to the cartoon of Tommaso, Michelangelo repeatedly provided drawings and cartoons for other artists, who, in turn,

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[76] Like the presentation drawings provided to Tommaso, William E. Wallace argues that the "divine heads" may have been given to Michelangelo's "pupils," Tommaso and Antonio Mini as pedagogical aids, "Instruction and Originality in Michelangelo's Drawings," in *The Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop*, edited by Andrew Ladis, Carolyn Wood, and William Eiland, (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), 113-133. For a recent discussion of the "divine heads," see Chapman, *Michelangelo Drawings*, 205-211. For more on the wider distribution of these drawings, see Elizabeth Cropper, "Pontormo and Bronzino in Philadelphia: A Double Portrait," in *Pontormo, Bronzino, and the Medici*, edited by Strehlke, 21-22.

[77] Both Pontormo and Bronzino would often execute a portrait drawing, perhaps from life, in preparation for a painted image. For example, around 1532-1534, Bronzino had executed a drawing of an unknown sitter (commonly referred to as a young man with a lute) in preparation for a painted portrait, which is currently in the Uffizi. For a discussion of the drawing and its relation to the painting, see Carl Brandon Strehlke, "Bronzino: Study of Man with Lute," *Pontormo, Bronzino, and the Medici: The Transformation of the Renaissance Portrait in Florence*, (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2004), 104-105.

would either use them as examples to study or convert them into finished products.[78] In

fact, in the period that Michelangelo made the portrait of Tommaso, he was especially

active in this type of exchange. In 1531, Michelangelo provided a cartoon to Pontormo

of the *Noli me tangere*.[79] A commissioned project, this type of exchange reveals

Michelangelo's willingness to provide cartoons to painters in the early 1530s. Based on

both the date of the portrait of Tomasso and Vasari's description of it as a cartoon, it is

likely that Michelangelo intended it to serve as a demonstration of ideal beauty or to be

given to another artist to execute into a painting, or, perhaps, both.

   Although the Tommaso cartoon may no longer be extant, we can gain a fuller

appreciation of its appearance through another "portrait" drawing by Michelangelo. The

drawing of Andrea Quaratesi (1512-1585) [Fig. 14] shares many of the same

circumstances and ideas.[80] The drawing was likely produced in Florence between 1528

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[78] For a discussion of this type of activity and Michelangelo's artistic relationships, see
Barbara Agosti, *Michelangelo, amici e maestranze: Sebastiano del Piombo, Pontormo,
Daniele da Volterra, Marcello Venusti, Ascanio Condivi*, (Florence: E-ducation, 2007),
passim.

[79] For a discussion of the commission and Michelangelo's participation, see Michael
Hirst and Gudula Mayr, "Michelangelo, Pontormo und das 'Noli me tangere' für Vittoria
Colonna," in *Vittoria Colonna Dichterin und Muse Michelangelos*, edited by Sylvia
Verino-Padgen, (Wein: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 1997), 335-344; and, Elena
Marongiu, "Pontormo: *Noli Me Tangere*," in Agosti Agosti, *Michelangelo, amici e
maestranze*, 240-245. Although Michelangelo provided the cartoon, he was not willing
to concede control over the project. Michelangelo had Pontormo execute the painting in
his house so he could keep a watchful eye over the project, Pina Ragionieri, "Pontormo:
Noli Me Tangere," in Pina Ragionieri*, Casa Buonarroti*, (Milan: Electa, 1997), 87.

[80] The drawing is located in the British Museum. The portrait is surprisingly not
mentioned by either of Michelangelo's biographers. For a discussion of the drawing and
its history, see Wilde, *Michelangelo and His Studio*, 97-98. The drawing is discussed by
Hirst, who believes it to be a comparable image to the Tommaso cartoon, just executed to
a lesser degree of finish and on a smaller scale, *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 11. For
a recent discussion, see Barkan, *Michelangelo: A Life on Paper*, 197-198.

and 1532, and therefore is more or less contemporaneous with the Tommaso portrait.[81]

Moreover, many of the aspects of Michelangelo's relationship with Andrea are analogous to those with Tommaso; most importantly, the artist had remarked in letters on Andrea's exceptional beauty. [82] It is therefore probable that, like the image of Tommaso, the impetus for the portrait of Andrea was as much about the sitter's beauty as the sitter himself.

The drawing of Andrea represents the only extant image by Michelangelo that could be seen as an attempt to capture a sitter's likeness. The image depicts Andrea in bust-length and in a three-quarter pose. His face is frontal, although he averts his eyes from the viewer. These motifs are associated with other portraits produced in Florence during the late 1520s and 1530s; but, it is doubtful that Michelangelo intended the drawing to serve solely as a portrait. The sheet was apparently passed down through the Quaratesi family as it was in the possession of his grandson Giovanni Quaratesi in 1645 when Carlo Dolci (1616-1687) executed a copy of it.[83] Michelangelo probably gave the

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[81] Despite not being mentioned in either of Michelangelo's biographies, the portrait drawing was known to a wider audience in Florence, and it has even been suggested that it influenced the portrait style of Bronzino, Joannides, "On the Recto and On the Verso," 4.

[82] Like Tommaso, Andrea was from a noble family and had received instruction in drawing from Michelangelo. For a discussion of the relationship between Michelangelo and Andrea, and their exchange of letters, see Wilde, *Michelangelo and His Studio*, 97-98. For a recent discussion, see Deborah Parker, *Michelangelo and the Art of Letter Writing*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15.

[83] The date of Dolci's copy is based on the following inscription included on the sheet, "Questo disegno è copiato dall' originale quale è in casa del sig. Gio: Quaratesi et è di mano di Michelangelo et è il ritratto d' Andrea di Rinieri Quaratesi mio nonno e questo è di mano di Carlin Dolci fatto d'Ott.re 1645," For a discussion of this copy and others, see

drawing to Andrea not to use as a preparatory drawing for a finished painting–or even as

a model for someone else's painting–but as a pedagogical aid, much in the same fashion

as Michelangelo's "divine heads" discussed above. Later artists may have understood

that the drawing was prepared for this purpose since there are only drawn copies of it.

The personal aspect of the drawings for and of Tommasso and Andrea allowed

Michelangelo to explore the transformation of a likeness into a representation of the

ideal. Michelangelo further developed the notion of an idealized portrait in his image of

the *Brutus* [Fig. 15], variously dated between 1539 and 1540, or after 1548.[84]

Michelangelo's bust is considered to be the first over life-sized marble portrait bust since

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Paul Joannides, *Inventaire général des dessins italiens: Michel-Ange, élèves et copistes*, (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2003), 251-252.

[84] Roberto Ridolfi proposes a date of 1546 for both the bust and Giannotti's *Dialogues*, which he connected to the preparation of Michelangelo's seventieth birthday; he further identifies the *Brutus* as a reciprocal gift for his friends, *Opuscoli di storia letteraria e di erudizione: Savonarola, Machivelli, Guicciardini, Giannotti*, Firenze: Bibliopolis, 1942. Charles de Tolnay suggests the sculpture was begun c. 1539, *Tomb of Julius II*, 133. The date of c. 1539-1540 is maintained by Irving Lavin, "On Illusion and Allusion in Italian Sixteenth-century Portrait Busts," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119 (1975), 357. Pope-Hennessy dates the bust between 1546 and 1550, which he sees as the first response to Giannotti's *Dialogues* and the death of Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 414. The sculpture's connection to Giannotti and Ridolfi will be addressed in the discussion below. Thomas Martin argues the bust had influenced the development of sixteenth-century portrait busts, and, therefore, must predate the works of Bandinelli and Cellini, "Michelangelo's *Brutus* and the Classicizing Portrait Bust in Sixteenth-century Italy," *Artibus et Historiae* 14 (1993), 67-83. Michael Hirst believes there is no strong grounds for an early date of 1539 and favors the bust as either an image created in the memory of the assassin, Lorenzino, who was killed in 1548, or a product inspired by the Giannotti's *Dialogues*, "Michelangelo and his First Biographers," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 94 (1997), 78 note 50, 79. Caroline Elam agrees the bust dates to the period either before or immediately after the death of Lorenzino in 1548, "'Chè Ultimo Mano!': Tiberio Calcagni's Marginal Annotations to Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998), 488 no. 34.

antiquity.[85] The sculpture's form, pose, expression and drapery are derived from Roman

imperial portrait types, as represented by the bust of Caracalla, c. 212-217 CE [Fig. 16].

Moreover, Michelangelo's use of the socle and rounded termination associated with

ancient prototypes breaks from the traditions of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

where the termination is a lateral, straight line across the sitter's bust, such as that found

in Mino da Fiesole's *Bust of Piero de' Medici*, 1453 [Fig. 17].[86]

Michelangelo's use of motifs associated with Roman imperial authority in his

idealized representation of Brutus (85 BCE-42 BCE) opens the possibility of irony as

Brutus was the protagonist in the assassination of the Roman dictator, Julius Caesar (100

BCE-44 BCE). The subject matter of Michelangelo's sculpture has been connected with

the struggles associated with advocates of the Florentine Republic, which was disbanded

in 1532 with the appointment of Duke Alessandro de' Medici (1510-1537) by Emperor

Charles V. In his treatment of the sculpture in Michelangelo's *Vita*, Vasari mentions that

it was done for Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (1501-1550) at the request of Donato Giannotti

(1492-1573); the lack of documentation however, has led some scholars to suggest that it

was a personal endeavor on Michelanglo's part.[87] Whether or not the work was a

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[85] Martin, "Michelangelo's *Brutus* and Classicizing Portrait Bust," 67.

[86] Lavin, "Illusion and Allusion," 353.

[87] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 730. For a discussion of Michelangelo's relationship with Giannotti, see Donald James Gordon, "Giannotti, Michelangelo and the cult of Brutus," in *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and lectures*, edited by Donald James Gordon, (Berkely: University of California Press, 1975), 233-246. Surprisingly, there is no mention of the bust in Condivi's *Vita* of Michelangelo. Based on Vasari's account and an annotation in a copy of Condivi's *Vita* of Michelangelo by Tiberio Calcagni, Elam believes the portrait was never given to the cardinal, who died in 1550; and suggests it remained in Michelangelo's possession until c. 1555-1556, when it was given to Calcagni to complete, "Chè Ultimo Mano!," 488-489. For Michelangelo's relationship with

commission or a personal endeavor, both Ridolfi and Giannotti were close friends with the artist, and therefore Michelangelo was likely given the artistic autonomy he so desired.

Vasari's passage connects the sculpture to a group of Florentine Republican exiles living in Rome with whom Michelangelo was in contact.[88] It has been suggested that the bust was produced to commemorate the assassination in 1537 of Alessandro de'Medici by Lorenzino de'Medici (1514-1548), which, at the time, many viewed as opening the way for the return of the Florentine Republic. In this interpretation, although the image does not capture his likeness, it serves, to connect Lorenzino's actions to those of Brutus's assassination of Caesar.[89] Whether or not Giannotti commissioned the work, he certainly played a significant role in the genesis of the sculpture.[90] Giannotti was an

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Calcagni, see William E. Wallace, "Michelangelo, Tiberio Calcagni, and the Florentine *Pietà*," *Artibus et Historiae* 21 (2000), 81-99.

[88] During his last Roman period (1534-1564), Michelangelo was known to have been in close contact with a circle of Florentine exiles, who were supporters of the Florentine Republic. For more on this group, see Paolo Simoncelli, "Florentine *Fuorusciti* at the Time of Bindo Altoviti," in *Raphael, Cellini and a Renaissance Banker: The Patronage of Bindo Altoviti*, edited by Alan Chong, Donatella Pegazzona, and Dimitrios Zikos, (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2003), 285-317.

[89] There is no evidence, whether visual or literary, to suggest that the bust resembles Lorenzino de'Medici. For a discussion, see Martin Weinberger, *Michelangelo: The Sculptor*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), I, 330. For a discussion of the bust as an ideal representation of Brutus, see Manfredi Piccolomini, *The Brutus Revival: Parricide and Tyrannicide During the Renaissance*, (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 38-39.

[90] Giannotti was the last Secretary of State for the Republic and outspoken advocate for the Republican liberty. He was one of the most notable members of Florentine exiles with whom Michelangelo as associated, and the artist referred to him as "suo amicissimo." For an early discussion on Michelangelo's relationship with Giannotti, see

advocate for the liberty of the Republic while in exile in Rome. In fact, he penned numerous works that both spoke out against the tyrannical reign of the Medici and championed the ideals of the Republic. He even wrote on the subject of tyrannicide as it related to the ancient Romans, Brutus and Caissus.[91] In several of Giannotti's writings he justified the murder of Caesar, as it was the aim of Brutus and Caissus to preserve the Republic of Rome. In particular, he states in his *Dialogues*, "Who kills a tyrant does not kill a man but a beast in the form of a man…therefore Brutus and Caissus have not committed a sin in killing Caesar."[92] Giannotti and other exiled Republicans believed Brutus's actions parallel their own struggles with tyranny. It is this particular sentiment that led them to view Lorenzino as a hero and to refer to him as the "nuovo Bruto."[93]

Based on his friendship with Giannotti and his sympathies towards the Florentine Republic, the subject of Michelangelo's sculpture is an obvious allusion to Lorenzino's assassination of the duke; however, Michelangelo's use of Roman imperial portrait type may suggest another aspect of the assassin. While Florentine exiles, and presumably

de Tolnay, *Tomb of Julius II*, 76. For a recent discussion and bibliography of Giannotti's writings, see Simoncelli, "Florentine *Fuorusciti*," 285, 300 and 318 note 2.

[91] For more on the medieval and Renaissance authors who had variously viewed Caesar's assassination as either tyrannicide or murder, see Piccolomini, *Brutus Revival*, 35-94. Piccolomini also discusses the history of the subject in Florence, 40-51. For more on the subject's history in Florence, see Sarah Black McHam, "Donatello's Bronze 'David' and 'Judith' as Metaphors of Medici Rule in Florence," *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001), 36.

[92] This view was shared by Michelangelo as Giannotti's *Dialogues* grew out of discussions with the artist. For a discussion of Michelangelo as one of the interlocutors, see Piccolomini, *Brutus Revival*, 89-92.

[93] According to de Tolnay, there was a tradition that when a Florentine kills or attempts to kill a Medici this person receives the title, "nuovo Bruto," *Tomb of Julius II*, 76. The other individuals who have been honored with title include: Cola Montana, Pietro Paolo Boscoli, and Rinuccini.

Michelangelo, regarded Lorenzino as a hero, others viewed him as a degenerate and miscreant. In his *Storia fiorentina*, Benedetto Varchi unflatteringly depicts Lorenzino as an individual who repeatedly demonstrated his disdain for authority.[94] Of the many examples he provides, Varchi recalls a famous event from when Lorenzino was in Rome working for Clement VII. One evening in 1534, Lorenzino became enraged and mutilated several of the portraits on the Arch of Constantine and on a sarcophagus in San Paolo fuori le Mura.[95] To escape persecution by the pope, he immediately fled the city for Florence. These events may have been the impetus of Michelangelo's choice to utilize the ancient type of the portrait bust to commemorate Lorenzino's assassination of the duke. As Varchi's account suggests, Lorenzino's decapitation of ancient portraits was viewed not as mere vandalism, but as an attack against authority. By representing an idealized Brutus within the traditions of Roman emperors, Michelangelo poetically elevates Lorenzino's attacks against the emblems of tyrannical authority, both in marble and blood, to the level of the heroic.

In an analogous fashion to the drawings of Tommaso and Andrea and to the Medici effigies, Michelangelo sought to use the idealized image of Brutus to convey

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[94] Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina: con aggiunte e correzioni tratte dagli autografi e corredata di note*, (Florence, 1721; Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003), 266.

[95] For a discussion of the account, see Piccolomini, *Brutus Revival*, 82-83. Lorenzino's actions created such a stir in Rome that Francesco Maria Molza (1489-1544) gave an oration at Roman Academy that called for the academicians to "cut back this pestiferous plant so that it would no longer creep and grow wildly." For a discussion of Molza's address, see Stephanie H. Jed, *Wings for Our Courage: Gender, Erudition, and Republican Thought*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 218-220 note 106, esp. 219. Based on two late sixteenth-century accounts, Lorenzino was also responsible for the decapitation of several figures in Nicola Pisano's *Last Judgment* on the Pisa Baptistery pulpit. For a discussion of these later accounts and their possible motivations, see Max Seidel, "A Sculpture by Nicola Pisano in the 'Studiolo' of Cosimo I de' Medici," *The Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973), 599-600, 602.

aspects of character that go beyond the simple act of faithfully capturing a likeness. These later projects differ greatly from Michelangelo's bronze portrait of Pope Julius II in that Michelangelo was freed from the constraints of the typical patron-artist relationship. For Michelangelo, his artistic autonomy was a result of the patron's recognition of his genius. Although he was not willing to succumb to his patron's desires for portraits, Michelangelo would follow their example by participating in the role of the patron in the construction of his own image.

CHAPTER 2

NO, SERIOUSLY, *"NON ERA MIA ARTE"*: MICHELANGELO AND THE

TRADITION OF SELF-PORTRAITURE

Just as Michelangelo was reluctant to execute portraits for his patrons, he was equally opposed to creating his self-portrait, and likely did so only once. This particular aspect of Michelangelo's career is especially surprising in the context of artists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who used their self-portrait–either included within narratives or as an independent image–to promote themselves and their craft. This tradition, nonetheless, led to Michelangelo's development of his image through commissioned portraits. Indeed, many of the motifs used in the portraits of Michelangelo drew upon earlier artists' self-portrayals.

Prior to Michelangelo's lifetime, there are only a few examples of portraits of artists, and the majority of these are self-portraits.[96] The first autonomous self-portrait is commonly believed to have been created by Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) around

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[96] The history of portraits of artists by other artists will be discussed below in Chapter 3. Given the significance of the self-portrait in the rise of the status of the artist during the Renaissance, there are very few sources in the modern literature that address its history in Italy. The most important of these is Joanna Woods-Marsden's *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998. Many of the images discussed below can also be found in her text.

1435 [Fig. 18].[97]   The bronze plaquette depicts Alberti in profile from the top of his

shoulders; over which is draped an *all'antica* cloak.   To the left of the portrait is Alberti's

personal device of the winged eye, and his initials, "L. BAP.," are on the right.[98]   The

oval shape of the portrait was derived from ancient gems, and the sitter's profile follows

the tradition of ancient Roman coins.[99]   In addition to its classically inspired formal

qualities, the choice of bronze, which was considered to be a noble material in antiquity,

advances not only Alberti's noble birth, but also his humanistic pursuits.[100]   It is not

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[97] For a recent discussion of the medal, see Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Master of the Italian Renaissance*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 101-102 and 105-109; and, Eleanora Luciano, "Alberti's Self-portrait Medal," in *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*, edited by Keith Christiansen and Stefan Weppelmann, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), 190-192.   An extensive bibliography is available through the National Gallery of Art's online database, "Leone Battista Alberti, *Self-portrait*," accessed 2.11.13, http://www.nga.gov/fcgi-bin/tinfo_f?object=43845&detail=lit.

[98] Alberti first used the emblem when he sent a draft of his *Philodoxeos* to Lionello d'Este in 1438.   For a discussion of the meaning of the emblem, see Renée Watkins, "L.B. Alberti's Emblem, the Winged Eye, and his Name, Leo," *Mitteillungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 9 (1960), 256; Christine Smith, "The Winged Eye: Leon Battista Alberti and the Visualization of the Past, Present, and Future," in *The Renaissance, From Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture*, edited by Harry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnago Lamugnani, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 452-455; and Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, 102-106.

[99] Stephen K. Scher, "Introduction to Renaissance Portrait Medal," in *Perspectives on the Renaissance Medal*, edited by Stephen K. Scher, (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), 3.

[100] Luciano, "Leon Battista Alberti, *Self-portrait*," 190.   Alberti was the illegitimate child of Lorenzo Alberti, a politically powerful Florentine merchant, who was exiled from the city by the Albizzi.   For a discussion of Alberti's education and his humanistic endeavors, see Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, 6-11.

surprising, then, that Alberti's self-portrait had an immediate impact on the development

of portrait medals associated with rulers and princes.[101]

The influence of Alberti's medal on the development of the autonomous self-

portrait of artists, however, likely did not occur until Antonio Filarete (1400-1469)

executed his own self-portrait medal [Fig. 19] around 1460.[102] Like Alberti's plaquette,

Filarete's medal is oval and depicts the artist in profile with his personal emblem of bees

arranged around him. In contrast to Alberti, however, Filarete aimed to promote his skill

as a craftsman and to demonstrate how his services would benefit his patrons. This

theme is closely related to his personal device, the bee. According to the artist's treatise

on architecture, bees were symbolic of an artist's relationship with his patron: the insect

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[101] The most notable portrait medals that were influenced by Alberti's self-portrait are Pisanello's *Medal of John VIII Palaeologus*, c. 1438-39, and *Medal of Leonello d'Este*, c. 1441; and Matteo de' Pasti's *Medal of Guarino Guarini da Verona*, c. 1453. For a discussion of the medals by Pisanello, see Stephen K. Scher, "Pisanello, *John VIII Palaeologus*," and "Pisanello, *Leonello d'Este*," in Christiansen and Weppelmann, eds., *Renaissance Portrait*, 197 and 203; see the same publication by the same author for a discussion of Matteo de' Pasti's medal, see page 211.

[102] For a discussion of the history of the medal and its iconography see the following: Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait in the Renaissance*, 208; Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 234-235; and Robert G. Glass, "Filarete at the Papal Court: Sculpture, Ceremony, and the Antique in Early Renaissance Rome," PhD Dissertation. (Princeton University, 2011), 299-300. Filarete's medal is perhaps the first evidence of Alberti's influence on artist's self-portrait medals. This is not to say, however, that other artists did not produce medals for themselves. Pisanello's self-portrait medal, c. 1440s, may represent the first self-portrait medal produced after Alberti's. Unlike Filarete's medal, however, Pisanello's medal does not indicate any awareness of Alberti's plaquette, surprising considering that both Pisanello and Alberti had associations with the court of Ferrara during this period. It is for these reasons that scholars view the attribution of the medal as problematic, and therefore has been variously attributed to Pisanello, Antonio Marescotti, and a follower of Pisanello. For a discussion of the issue of attribution, see Luciano, "Pisanello, *Self-portrait*," in *Renaissance Portrait*, edited by Christiansen and Weppelmann, 202.

was peaceful, speedy and industrious, but had the potential to sting if provoked.[103] On

the reverse, Filarete continued the motif by depicting himself in the act of carving a hole

in a laurel tree; that the tree is full of honey is suggested by the numerous bees on it. In

the upper right is the sun, which extends its rays towards the sculptor. According to the

inscription on the medal, the sun can be viewed as a metaphor for the patron, "VT SOL

AVGET APES SIC NOBIS COMODA PRINCEPS" ("As the sun nourishes the bees, so

the prince fosters beneficial conditions for us"). [104] Both the self-portrait and inscription

suggest the mutual benefits of his employment to Filarete's would-be patron, which

includes the patron being viewed as an enlightened prince who encourages the flourishing

of artistic activities through his patronage.

Filatere's medal served as a device of self-promotion that would be echoed by

subsequent artists in both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who sought to gain the

favor of patrons through the use of a self-portrait medal.[105] The rise of the self-portrait

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[103] Filarete's treatise on architecture was written in the early 1460s. Woods-Marsden transcribes the following passage from the treatise: "The bees are peace-loving, fruitful, and conscientious animals who harm no one who does not harm them but when they are touched and their goods are taken away, they attack ferociously. Thus will the men of this city [Sforzinda] be. They will be a great people like bees, for they have a lord and have justice in them. When their lord can no longer fly, they carry him. This they do through clemency and the love they bear their lord. In the same way these people will love their lord," *Renaissance Self-Portraiture*, 81.

[104] The translation of the inscription is by Luciano, "Filarete, *Self-portrait*," 252.

[105] Several artists executed self-portrait medals, or had portrait medals executed, during the second half of the fifteenth century and on into the sixteenth century. For an early catalogue of those artists, see George Francis Hill, *Portrait Medals of Italian Artists of the Renaissance*, London: P.L. Warner, 1912. For a discussion of self-portrait medals in the sixteenth century, see Philip Attwood, "Self-Promotion in Sixteenth-century Florence: Baccio Bandinelli's Portrait Medal," *The Medal* 10 (1997), 3-9. See, also, Jack Freiberg, "Vasari's Bramante and the Renaissance of Architecture in Rome," in *Reading*

medal can also be seen as another example of Renaissance artists signaling their evolving status.[106] These medals were intended for a select audience. More public self-images occurred, at least initially, when artists added their features to large-scale narratives. It is this tradition that led, eventually, to the first painted autonomous self-portraits.

The first painted self-portraits in Florence emerged during the fourteenth century, where artists included themselves among the audiences and witnesses in large biblical histories.[107] Many of these early self-images, however, were not identified until the sixteenth century by Giorgio Vasari and often cannot be corroborated by any other written or visual evidence.[108] This is not to say, however, that all of his identifications were fabricated or wrong. In the examples where a self-portrait is accepted by modern scholars, it has been suggested that the artist was attempting not only to identify his craft, but also appears to have been motivated by his religious devotion.

Vasari, edited by Anne B. Barriault, Andrew Ladis, Norman E. Land, and Jeryldene M. Wood, (Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, 2005), 137.

[106] Ames-Lewis, *Intellectual Life of the Artist*, 209-245.

[107] For a brief discussion of self-portraits in narratives during the second half of the fourteenth century, see Anton W. A. Boschloo, "Perceptions of the Status of Painting: The Self-Portrait in the Art of the Italian Renaissance," in *Modeling the Individual*, edited by Enenkel, de Jong-Crane, and Liebregts, 52-53.

[108] Vasari identifies ninety-two self-portraits in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*. The motivation of his identification of artistic self-portraits, some of which were used as the source for the woodcut frontispieces included in the 1568 edition, appears to have been to elaborate upon his larger narrative of the rise in social standing of the artist. For a discussion of Vasari's identification of self-portraits, see Wolfram Prinz, "Vasaris Sammlung von Künstbilnissen: mit einem kritieschen Verzeichnis der 144 Vitenbildnisse in der zweiten Ausgabe der Lebensbeschreibungen von 1568," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 12 (1965/66), 1-158. For a recent discussion of the use of portraits, see Sharon Gregory, "The Outer Man Tends to be a Guide to the Inner: The Woodcut Portraits in Vasari's *Lives* as Parallel Texts," in *The Rise of the Image: Essays on the History of the Illustrated Art Book*, edited by Rodney Palmer and Thomas Frangenberg, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 51-85.

One of the earliest examples of a self-portrait identified by Vasari that is generally accepted by scholars was executed by Andrea di Cione (c.1308-1368), commonly called Orcagna. Among the participants in his relief of the *Death of the Virgin*, 1359 [Fig. 20], on the back of the tabernacle at Orsanmichele, Florence, Orcagna represented himself on the right side of the composition among the apostles.[109] He clearly distinguishes himself from the group by appearing in contemporary clothing. By including his image as a witness to the miraculous event, the artist sought spiritual salvation, which is analogous to the traditions associated with donor portraits in religious narratives, as represented by the portraits of Malatesta family members in Ghirlandaio's altarpiece [Fig. 1].[110] Although Orcagna's religious desires cannot fully be dismissed, his self-image is also a device of self-promotion. This concept is implied by the inclusion of his signature, which is located within the relief on the base of the Virgin's bier and reads, "ANDREAS CIONIS, PICTOR FLORENTINUS, ORATORII ARCHIMAGISTER EXTITIT HUJUS, MCCCLIX." Surprisingly, the signature promotes him as both a painter and the man responsible for the monument, but not explicitly as its sculptor. It is the inclusion of his self-image in the marble relief that implicitly advances this aspect of his artistic identity. This type of dual self-identification – though text and image – becomes a powerful tool in Orcagna's promotion of himself as a practitioner of all three major disciplines: painting, sculpture, and architecture.

The inclusion of Orcagna's self-portrait within a sculpted narrative was a remarkable event. Despite Vasari's assumptions, it appears not to have had an immediate

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[109] For a discussion of the monument as a whole, see Gert Kreytenberg, *Orcagna's Tabernacle in Orsanmichele, Florence*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), passim.

[110] For the literature addressing the altarpiece, see above note 33.

impact. It was not until the fifteenth century that artists began to include their self-images with some degree of frequency. Artists began to call more attention to their self-image, as in Lorenzo Ghiberti's (1378-1455) famed self-portraits on the bronze doors of the Florentine Baptistery [Fig. 21].[111] The first of these self-portraits, with its Latin signature, both commemorates his achievement and advances his identity as an artist and intellectual. In 1459, Benozzo Gozzoli (c. 1421-1497) included his self-image among the portraits of the Medici family who collectively participate in and witness the miraculous event of the Procession of the Magi [Fig. 22].[112] By including his image among such prominent Florentines, Benozzo attempted to elevate his social status. Unlike Orcagna and Ghiberti, who had separated their signatures from their self-images, Benozzo made his presence explicit by inscribing his name, "BENOTII," on his hat. In contrast to Benozzo's insistence on his membership in the Medici entourage, by the end of the century artists increasingly isolated themselves. Standing at the edge of a scene, they bear witness to the event and implicitly to their production of it.[113] This latter notion–portrait as signature–is easily recognizable in the frescoes of Piero Perugino (c.

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[111] Ghiberti gave his self-portrait particular emphasis by locating it at eye-level in the frame of the narratives. For a discussion of Ghiberti's self-portrait on the bronze doors, see Yael Even, "Lorenzo Ghiberti's Quest for Professional Autonomy," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 58 (1989), 1-6. For Ghiberti's self-fashioning, see Creighton Gilbert, "Ghiberti and the Destruction of Art," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 6 (1995), 135-136.

[112] For a discussion of Benozzo's use of his self-image in the construction of his artistic identity, see Francis Ames-Lewis, "Reconstructing Benozzo Gozzoli's Artistic Identity," in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, edited by Mary Rogers, (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2000), 33-49, esp. 37-38.

[113] This type of image is represented by Sandro Bottticelli's *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1475-1476. For more on the identification of Botticelli's self-portrait within the image, see Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self- Portraiture*, 48-50.

1446/1450-1523) and Pinturicchio (1454-1513), who depicted themselves as the subjects of fictive paintings hanging on the wall within larger narratives [Fig. 23 and Fig. 24]. Perugino's self-portrait is a part of the decorations in the Sala dell'Udienza, Collegio del Cambio, Perugia, and dates to 1500. Pinturricchio's self-portrait is included in the scene of the Annunciation in S. Maria Maggiore, Spello, and dates to 1502. Unlike the previous self-portraits, these by Perugino and Pinturicchio can be seen solely as devices of authorship as they do not participate in the biblical history.

Perugino's and Pinturicchio's treatment of their self-portraits as fictive paintings within the biblical narrative serves as a bridge between self-images in narratives and the rise of the autonomous self-portrait. The identification of the first autonomous self-portrait in Italy has not been universally accepted; scholars have variously linked the tradition to Giorgione, Leonardo, or Raphael.[114] Of this group, Raphael likely

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[114] There are four portraits that, if accepted, could represent the earliest painted autonomous self-portraits produced in Italy. The first is a panel in the Royal Collection, Hampton Court, and has been identified as an early self-portrait by Raphael dating between 1505-1506. John Shearman accepts the panel as a self-portrait by Raphael based on the quality of execution and comparable style, and offers an overview of the early attributions, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 208-211 no. 217. Lucy Whitaker and Martin Clayton, however, reject both the attribution to Raphael and the identity of the sitter, and ascribe the panel to a follower of Raphael, identifying it as of an unknown sitter, *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection: Renaissance and Baroque*, (London: Royal Collections Publications, 2007), 44-46. The second painting is located in the Uffizi, Florence, and has also been attributed to Raphael and dated to c. 1520; however, many scholars have been reluctant to accept it as an authentic work. For a discussion, see Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 171. The third, a panel located in the Museo delle Antiche Genti di Lucania, Vaglio Baslicata, was recently attributed to Leonardo da Vinci and has been dated between 1505-1510. For a discussion of the scientific basis of the attribution, see Nicola Barbatelli, Peter Hohenstatt; and Orest Kormashov, eds. *E' Rinascimento: Leonardo, Donatello, Raffaello (The Purported Self-Portrait of Leonardo da Vinci)*, Treviso: Marte Editrice, 2010. The final self-portrait is by Giorgione and has been dated to c. 1508. It is currently located in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Germany. The

contributed the most to the development of the genre in Italy. Raphael may have been introduced to the power of the autonomous self-portrait as a demonstration of artistic skill and intellect through Dürer, who sent the Italian artist a self-portrait around 1515.[115] The importance of the event was not lost on Vasari, who records it in Raphael's *Vita*:

> Now, the fame of this most noble craftsman [Raphael], by reason of the aforesaid works and many others, having passed into France and Flanders, Albrect Dürer, a most marvelous German painter, and an engraver of very beautiful copperplates, rendered tribute to Raphael out of his own works, and sent to him a portrait of himself, a head, executed by him in gouache on cloth of fine linen, which showed the same on either side, the lights being transparent and obtained without lead-white, while the only grounding and coloring was done with watercolors, the white of the cloth serving for the ground of the bright parts. This work seemed to Raphael to be marvelous, and he sent [Dürer], therefore, many drawings executed by his own hand, which were received very gladly by Albrecht. That head was among the possessions of Giulio Romano, the heir of Raphael, in Mantua. [116]

A drawing sent by Raphael does survive and was inscribed by Dürer with the date of 1515, which indicates that Vasari's account is accurate.[117] Evidently, Raphael thought

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painting (oil on paper transferred to canvas) is generally accepted to be by Giorgione; however, it was cut down as suggested by a seventeenth-century print in the British Museum. Unclear in the painting, the print indicates that Giorgione had depicted himself in the guise of the biblical David holding the head of Goliath, which suggests the intended purpose of the painting was not a self-portrait, but a religious narrative. For a discussion of the painting, see Katherine T. Brown, *The Painter's Reflection: Self-Portraiture in Renaissance Venice, 1458-1625*, (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2000), 71-77.

[115] For a discussion of the exchange between Dürer and Raphael, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of the Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art*, (Chicago and London: The Chicago University Press, 1993), 95-96; and Alice M. Kaplan, "Dürer's "Raphael" Drawing Reconsidered," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 50-58.

[116] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 731.

[117] The drawing by Raphael is currently in the Albertina; for a discussion see Kaplan, "Dürer's "Raphael" Drawing," 50-58.

highly enough of Dürer's self-portrait that he left it to his most trusted assistant, Giulio

Romano, which may have been an indication of its high craftsmanship and conceit.[118]

Although Dürer's self-image is no longer extant, Vasari's detailed description suggests

that he may have seen it while it was in Giulio's possession. Moreover, Vasari may have

relied on Guilio's account concerning the exchange between Dürer and Raphael. The

event not only marks a direct exchange between Northern European and Italian artists,

but also signifies the emergence of the autonomous self-portrait in Italy in the form of a

gift. Despite the lack of a direct precedent for the self-portrait serving as a gift, it may be

viewed as an extension of Renaissance customs associated with court portraiture.

By the time of the correspondence between Dürer and Raphael, courts in both

Italy and the North had occasionally used portraits as gifts to strengthen political

alliances and arrange marriages.[119] The tradition then expanded to expressions of

friendship between close friends and intellectuals, such as Raphael's double-portrait of

Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzono, 1516 [Fig. 25].[120] The composition of a

double-portrait is particularly rare in the sixteenth century, and it appears to have been

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[118] Koerner, *Moment of the Self-Portraiture*, 95-96.

[119] In an attempt to establish political ties, not only could a portrait be offered, but a dignitary could send an artist to execute the portrait of the potential ally, such as in the case of Gentile Bellini traveling to Constantinople in 1479 to paint the portrait of the Sultan Mehnet on the behalf of the Venetian state, Peter Humphrey, "The Portrait in Fifteeth-century Venice," in *The Renaissance Portrait*, edited by Christiansen and Weppelmann, 58-59. For a discussion of the use of portraits as diplomatic gifts, see Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 193-220, esp. 196-208; and Jennifer Fletcher, "The Renaissance Portrait: Functions, Uses and Display," in *Renaissance Faces*, edited by Campbell, Falomir, Fletcher, Syson, 48-51. Also, Brown, "Portraiture at Courts of Italy," 38.

[120] For a recent discussion of the portrait and an extensive bibliography, see Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, 284-288.

used specifically in illustrations of friendship.[121]   Although the identity of the patron is

uncertain, the finished portrait was sent to the sitters' mutual friend, Pietro Bembo.[122]

According to Renaissance customs of gift-giving, the recipient was then obligated to the

presenter in some fashion.   In this case, there is no evidence to suggest that Bembo had

offered anything in exchange.   Instead, the portrait probably served as a visual reminder

of the mutual obligation of loyalty.   The friendship-portrait type was also produced in the

North.   In 1517, Quentin Matsys (c. 1455/56-1530) was commissioned to execute

portraits of Desiderius Erasmus and Pieter Gillis [Figs. 26 and 27].[123]   The portraits were

then sent to their mutual friend, Sir Thomas Moore.   Both of these examples suggest a

portrait was given to affirm the friendship between individuals.   Prior to the

communication between Dürer and Raphael, however, there does not appear to be any

similar event of an artist sending a self-image.   The occasion of Dürer's gift of his

likeness may have served as the impetus for Raphael to execute his self-portrait with an

unknown sitter, c. 1519 [Fig. 28], which is analogous in its composition to the double-

portrait of Navagero and Beazzano.[124]

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[121] Fletcher, "Renaissance Portrait: Functions, Uses and Display," 51.

[122] For a discussion of the friendship between Navagero, Beazzono, and Bembo, see Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, 284.

[123] The paintings are well documented in letters. For a discussion of the commission and the portrait, see Lorne Campbell, Margaret Mann Phillips, Hubertus Schulte Herbrüggen, and J.B. Trapp, "Quentin Matsys, Desiderius Erasmus, Pieter Gillis, and Thomas More," *The Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978), 716-725.

[124] For a recent discussion and bibliography for the so-called *Self-portrait with Unknown Sitter*, see Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, 296-300. Woods-Marsden connects its composition with the double-portrait of Navagero and Beazzano, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture*, 129-130.

The genesis of this self-image by Raphael may be a result of both Dürer's gift and the tradition of friendship-portraits. The tracing of Raphael's motivation for the self-portrait is complicated by the lack of a certain identification for the other sitter, who has been identified, among others, as Giulio Romano and Pietro Aretino. Given the similarity of the composition and date to the double-portrait of Navagero and Beazzano, it is likely that Raphael intended it to be a gift. Unfortunately, it is unknown for whom the painting was intended.[125] Regardless of the portrait's recipient, Raphael appears to have directly influenced the rise of the self-portrait in Italy if only in function, since most self-images from the mid- and late-1520s were given as gifts.

The next known self-portrait to be executed in Italy was by Parmigianino (1503-1540), who gave the painting to Clement VII as a gift in 1524 [Fig. 29].[126] The virtuosic image was painted to mimic the artist's appearance in a convex mirror. Vasari not only describes the portrait in his *Vita* of Parmigianino, but gives it special praise.[127] Due to Parmigianino's unique ability demonstrated by his self-image, Vasari suggests that the pope then awarded the painter a prestigious commission. Regardless of the reason for

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[125] Cecil Gould suggests that if the identity of the other sitter is accepted as Pietro Aretino, the painting may have been a gift for their mutual friend, Agostino Chigi, "Raphael's Double-Portrait in the Louvre: An Identification for the Second Figure," *Artibus Historiae* 10 (1984), 59.

[126] For a discussion of the painting's provenance and bibliography, see Mary Vaccaro, *Parmigianino: The Paintings*, (Turin: Umberto Allemandi and Co., 2002), 194.

[127] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 934-936. For a discussion of Vasari's passage in the 1568 and its modifications from the 1550 edition, see David Ekserdjian, *Parmigianino*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 129-132.

Clement VII's patronage, Parmigianino's self-portrait took on greater meaning subsequently as it continued to be given as a gift to others.[128]

As Vasari's account suggests, the gift of Parmigianino's self-portrait was a significant event and, perhaps, even widely known. The painting may have, therefore, influenced the production of self-images by other artists. Between 1525 and 1530, Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531), Domenico Beccafumi (1484-1551), and Francesco Primaticcio (1504-1570) executed self-images [Figs. 30, 31, and 32] that are all of the same relative size and composition as Parmigianino's self-image. In each, the artist is seen from above the shoulders and in three-quarter pose. Although the intended purpose of each image is unknown, the reliance upon Parmigianino's self-portrait may suggest that they, too, served as gifts. Of the three, only Andrea's [Fig. 30] is mentioned by Vasari, who states that the artist chose to execute the painting in fresco because he had left over materials from a larger project.[129] In his brief treatment of the painting, Vasari mentions that the portrait was still in the home of Andrea's wife, Lucrezia, in 1568. It is likely that since the image was executed years prior to his death and never left his wife's possession that Andrea had presented it to his wife as a gift. This understanding is further supported by Vasari, who states that although Andrea had wished to paint a portrait of his wife with the left-over materials from a fresco commission, instead,

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[128] According to Vasari, Clement VII gave the painting to Pietro Aretino. Later it entered into the collections of Valerio Vicentino, and Alessandro Vittoria, *Lives*, I, 934-935. Cecil Gould notes that it also was in the possession of Elio Belli and Andrea Palladio, *Parmigianino*, (New York, London, and Paris: Abbeville Press, 1995), 192 cat. no. A48.

[129] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 849. Antonio Natali and Federica Chezzi, *100 autoritratti dale collezioni degli Uffizi (100 Self-portraits from the Uffizi Collection)*, (Florence: Giunti, 2008), 22.

"Andrea, [sensing] that he was near his end, took a mirror and made a portrait of himself on that tile, of such perfection, that it seems alive and as real as nature."[130] If Andrea's self-image was a gift of affection and memory, it would be analogous to another facet of court portraiture dating from the fifteenth century in which portraits were given as gifts with the intention of serving as a surrogate for family members and loved ones.[131]

Just as Andrea's self-image in fresco was unusual for either an independent portrait or self-portrait, so, too, was the choice made by Beccafumi, who executed his self-image in oil on paper [Fig. 31].[132] Beccafumi's decision to use paper suggests that it may have served as a gift, as its material, paper, is associated with gifts of poetry as well as presentation drawings. It is unclear, however, for whom the image was intended. Based on its approximate date, it may have been associated with Beccafumi's commission in 1529 to make ephemeral sculptures for the decorations for Charles V's triumphal entry into Siena.[133] These sculpted decorations were the artist's first, and, therefore, the self-portrait may reflect his ambitions in both painting and sculpture. This interpretation of the image is further suggested by his headdress, which was long

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[130] Ibid., II, 849.

[131] For examples of portraits serving as surrogates for absent family members, see Fletcher, "Renaissance Portrait: Functions, Uses and Display," 48-49.

[132] Little has been written regarding Beccafumi's *Self-Portrait*. Pascale Dubus' believes this to be a result of it being located in the Print and Drawing Department in the Uffizi, *Domenico Beccafumi*, (Paris: Société Nouvelle Adam Biro, 1999), 23-25. The author, however, does not adequately explain the context in which the image was created. I hope to return, at a later date, to some of the ideas I present here.

[133] Although the commission dates to 1529, Charles V did not enter the city until March 1535. For a discussion of the decorations, see Marcia B. Hall, "Politics and the Relief-like Style," in *The Translation of Raphael's Roman Style*, edited by Henk Th. van Veen, (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), 12-14.

associated with artists, specifically sculptors.[134]   Like Parmigianino's self-portrait, Beccafumi's may have been a gift in order to assist in receiving prestigious commissions from either the city of Siena or from the Emperor himself, once he entered the city.

The last self-image produced during this period is by Primaticcio [Fig. 32]. If a dating to c. 1525-1530 is correct, it would have been executed during the time he was working with Giulio Romano on the decorations in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, beginning in 1526 and before his departure for France in 1532 to work for Francis I.[135] Given the early stage of Primaticcio's career, the artists with whom he was working, and his prestigious patrons during this period, it is conceivable that his self-portrait had served as a gift in much the same fashion as the self-portraits by Parmigianino and Beccafumi.

Despite the growing interest in artists' representations of themselves by the middle of the 1520s, there does not appear to have been any autonomous self-portraits produced in central Italy in the 1530s. The lack of production for this type of image may have been a result of the Sack of Rome in 1527, which led to the scattering of numerous artists and patrons throughout Italy and Europe.[136]   Despite the apparent lack of production of self-portraits, learned men, such as Paolo Giovio, became increasingly

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[134] This turban-like headdress is discussed at length in Chapter 3 below, in connection to Giuliano Bugiardini's portrait of Michelangelo.

[135] For a brief discussion and bibliography of Primaticcio's early career in Italy prior to his departure to France, see Giancarlo Fiorenza, "Penelope's Web: Francesco Primaticcio's Epic Revision at Fontainebleau," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006), 796-797.

[136] Marcia B. Hall addresses the devastating impact on artistic production in central Italy after the Sack of Rome, *After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 95-172.

interested in the appearance of the artist and began to collect portraits of them. Although Giovio's collection at Lake Como had initially focused mostly on more illustrious sitters–men of letters, princes, kings, popes, and a few military members–he turned to collecting images of artists in the 1520s and 1530s.[137] Most of these consisted of posthumous portraits taken from other visual sources, such as coins or earlier portraits in narratives. Even so, his interest in artists' appearances, living or dead, is indicative in the rise of the status of artists, which was certainly aided by their self-portraits.

The practice of self-portraiture in Italy reemerged again sometime in the 1540s. These later self-images differ greatly from their predecessors in scale, form, and intent. In the 1540s and 1550s, artists such as Baccio Bandinelli and Titian executed their self-images in both large paintings and engravings in order to advance not only their artistic identity, but also their social status. In the case of both artists, their self-images reflect their positions at court and can be seen as devices of self-promotion in that context.[138] Between 1540 and 1545, Bandinelli, who was a member of the Medicean court in

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[137] Giovio had begun collecting portraits shortly after his arrival in Rome in 1512. He amassed a collection of nearly 400 portraits, which were housed in his villa in Borgo Vico. Although Giovio's collection is no longer intact, the collection was copied for Duke Cosimo I de' Medici in 1552. It also served as the inspiration for several other collections of portraits in the latter half of the sixteenth century. For a discussion of Giovio's portrait collection, see Charles Davis, "Paolo Giovio: *Michaelis Angeli vita* [um 1527]," *Fontes* 12 (2008), 23-24; Linda Susan Klinger, "The Portrait Collection of Paolo Giovio," PhD diss. Princeton University, 1990; and, Linda Klinger Aleci, "Italian Portrait Collections of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits of the Renaissance*, edited by Nicolas Mann and Luke Syson, (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 67-80.

[138] Although Titian never permanently left Venice, he was considered to be a member of the Hapsburg court. For a discussion of Titian's relationship with this court, see Thomas Puttfarken, *Titan and Tragic Painting: Aristotle's 'Poetics' and the Rise of the Modern Artist*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 39-40.

Florence, supplied a self-portrait drawing to Nicolò della Casa, which was then engraved [Fig. 33]. The print depicts Bandinelli in his studio holding a model of Hercules, a reference to his monumental sculpture of *Hercules and Cacus* installed in front of the Palazzo Vecchio in 1534.[139] He is also depicted wearing the period's highest fashion with a golden pilgrim's scallop inscribed with a red cross around his neck. The necklace is an emblem of his induction into the chivalric Order of Santiago by Emperor Charles V in 1530, a honor that, according to Vasari, Bandinelli had received as a result of his gift of a bronze relief to the emperor.[140] Bandinelli continued the same motifs–high fashion, reference to his *Hercules and Cacus*, and emblem of the Order of Santiago–in his painted full-length self-portrait, c. 1545-1550 [Fig. 34], currently in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.[141] Both the print and the painting, which contain references to his own works and symbols of his knighthood, assert his identity and social status as a court artist.

Dating to only shortly after Bandinelli's self-images, Titian did two self-portraits in the early 1550s, a painting and a woodcut [Figs. 35 and 36].[142] And analogous to those images produced by Bandinelli, Titian's self-portraits promote his rank among the courtiers of the Hapsburgs. The print, which is believed to represent a lost self-portrait,

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[139] For more on Bandinelli's intent for the sculpture to compete with Michelangelo's *David*, see Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals: Michelangelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Titian*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 362-366.

[140] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 279.

[141] Alan Chong offers a brief discussion and bibliography, *Eye of the Beholder: Masterpieces from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2003), 85.

[142] For more on Titian's self-portraits, see Luba Freedman, *Titian's Independent Self-Portraits*, (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1990), 147-151.

was executed by Giovanni Britto and was accompanied by a poem by Aretino.[143] Although the poem champions Titian as portraitist to Charles V, Philip II, and Pope Paul III, the iconography of the painting and print makes no attempt directly to promote Titian as an artist.[144] Instead, Titian is depicted wearing a golden chain around his neck, a reference to his induction into the Knights of the Golden Spur by Charles V in 1533. Like Bandinelli, Titian received his investiture into the Knights by offering the emperor a work by his hand as a gift.[145]

The self-portraits of Bandinelli and Titian seek to advance their newly acquired social status, the result of their offering of artistic gifts to Emperor Charles V. These examples also highlight that by the 1540s autonomous self-portraits were being executed by only a few Italian artists, and of those, only the most accomplished. It is surprising, therefore, that Michelangelo, arguably the most celebrated artist of the sixteenth century, elected not to execute a traditional self-image. This fact, however, has not prevented modern scholars from attempting to identify possible self-portraits of the artist in his work.[146] None of which, however, are independent autonomous self-portraits. Given the

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[143] Ibid., 147-151 where the portrait's relationship to Aretino's accompanying poem is addressed.

[144] The print may depict Titian in the act of sketching; however, it is as likely that he is writing.

[145] For a bibliography of Titian's now-lost portrait of Charles V that resulted in his induction, see Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals*, 462 note 186.

[146] The majority of the proposed self-images of Michelangelo are often cited as metaphoric rather than descriptive. In attempts to justify their claims, scholars often cite Leonardo's concept of "every painter paints himself." Michelangelo could have been introduced to the conceit through Angelo Poliziano, who is thought to have been the author of a collection of droll stories written in 1477, in which he writes, "Cosimo said that one would rather forget a hundred compliments than one insult and that the offender

never forgives and that every painter paints himself." Moreover, this concept was also a topic of a sermon delivered by Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498) in 1497. For a further discussion of the history of the conceit, see Frank Zöllner, "'Ogni pittore dipinge sè': Leonardo da Vinci and 'automimesis,'" in *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk. Internationales Symposium der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rom 1989*, edited by Matthias Winner, (Weinheim: VCH, 1992), 137-160. Vasari suggests that Michelangelo was familiar with Leonardo's concept by reciting the following story: "A certain painter […] had executed a work wherein was an ox, which looked better than any other part; and Michelangelo, being asked why the painter had made the ox more lifelike than the rest, said: 'Any painter can make a good portrait of himself,'" *Lives*, II, 743. Scholars have also identified a similar concept in Michelangelo's poem, "Se dal cor lieto dievien bello il volto," c. 1544 (Archivio Buonarroti, XIII, 46). For a discussion of the poem and its relation to Michelangelo's self-portraits, see Robert Clements, *Michelangelo's Theory of Art*, (Zurich: Buepler Buchdruck, 1961), 137-139; for a Platonic interpretation of the poem, see Barkan, *Michelangelo: Life on Paper*, 93-96. For a discussion of Michelangelo's construction of his poetic self-image, see Barolsky, *Michelangelo's Nose*. As an example of the variety of the identifications made by scholars of possible poetic self-portraits by Michelangelo, I offer this brief list of works with a select bibliography. Hellmut Wohl suggests the figure of Saint Proculus for the *Arca di San Dominic,* c. 1494, as a possible self-portrait in a footnote in his edition of Ascanio Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo*, 127 note 28. It has been suggested that the head of Holofernes in the spandrel of the Sistine Ceiling is a self-portrait, for a discussion see de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: The Sistine Chapel*, 95-96; the identity is maintained by John T. Paoletti, "Michelangelo's Masks," *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992), 428. For a discussion and bibliography of Michelangelo's possible self-image in the *Victory*, see Edith Balas, *Michelangelo's Double Self-Portraits*, (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon University, 2004), 1-50. Paoletti identifies the mask on the figure of Night, Medici Chapel, as a possible self-portrait, "Michelangelo's Masks," 428. The *Last Judgment* has been the focus of several possible self-images of Michelangelo. The most common is the image of Michelangelo as the flayed skin of St. Bartholomew, first proposed in 1925 by Francesco La Cava, *Il volto di Michelangelo scoperto nel Giudizio Finale*, Bologna, 1925. The identification was accepted by Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: The Final Period*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 118-119. Michael Hirst maintained the identification in *Michelangelo and His Drawings*, 11-12. Frederick Hartt identified more possible self-portraits in the *Last Judgment*, "Michelangelo in Heaven," *Artibus et Historiae* 13 (1992), 191-209; also see Bernadine Barnes, "Skin, Bones, and Dust: On the Self-Portraits in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 35 (2004), 976. For the identification of Michelangelo among the narratives in the Pauline Chapel, see Leo Steinberg, *Michelangelo's Last Paintings: The Conversion of St. Paul and The Crucifixion of St. Peter in the Cappella Paolina, Vatican Palace*, (London: Phaidon, 1975), 39; Balas, *Michelangelo's Double Self-Portraits*, 51-70. All of the proposed identifications of Michelangelo's self-images have been called into question by Paul Barolsky, "Art History as Fiction," *Artibus et Historiae* 17 (1996), 9-17.

vast number of self-images proposed by modern scholars, I will focus my study on the most likely: the figure of Nicodemus in the *Florentine Pietà*, c. 1547-1550 [Fig. 37].[147]

According to his biographers, Condivi and Vasari, Michelangelo undertook the Florentine *Pietà* with the intention of it adorning his own tomb in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.[148] It has been argued that this sculpture represents both Michelangelo's deep-

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[147] The literature on the *Florentine Pietà* is substantial. I offer only a brief bibliography: de Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Final Period*, 86-92, 149-152; Wallace, "Michelangelo, Calcagni, and Florentine *Pietà*," 81-99; Philipp Fehl, "Michelangelo's Tomb in Rome: Observations of the *Pietà* in Florence and the *Rondanini Pietà*," *Artibus et Historiae* 23 (2002), 9-27; and Jack Wasserman, ed., *Michelangelo's 'Florentine Pietà'*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003. Although the sculpture's subject matter was identified as a *pietà* by Condivi and Vasari, modern scholars have variously argued that it may represent a deposition, lamentation, or entombment. For a discussion of the literature concerning the identification of the subject matter, see Wasserman, *Michelangelo's 'Florentine Pietà'*, 33-35. For a discussion of religious interpretation of the sculpture as funerary monument, see Timothy Verdon, "Michelangelo and the Body of Christ: Religious Meaning in the Florence *Pietà*," in Wasserman's *Michelangelo's 'Florence Pietà'*, 127-148. The date of the sculpture has been based on Vasari's mention of it in the 1550 edition of the *Vite*, where he writes that Michelangelo had begun to block out the forms of the figures, "Life of Michelangelo, (1550)," in *Poems and Letters: Selections, With the 1550 Vasari 'Life'*, edited and translated by Anthony Robert Mortimer, (London: Penguin, 2007), 181. It is generally believed that Vasari wrote the first edition between 1546 and 1547. For a discussion of the history of the first edition, see T.S.R. Boase, *Giorgio Vasari: The Man and the Book*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 43-72, esp. 45-46. Based on this chronology, Michelangelo may have started the sculpture between 1546 and 1547. In 1553, Condivi implies that Michelangelo is still working on it, *Life*, 87. However, in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, Vasari suggests that the artist had abandoned the sculpture because his assistant, Urbino, repeatedly badgered the artist about its completion, *Lives*, II, 716. Since Urbino died on January 3, 1556, then Michelangelo would have abandoned the work sometime in 1555. For a discussion of the dating of the sculpture and Vasari's passages see Wasserman, *Michelangelo's 'Florentine Pietà'*, 29-30, 59-73.

[148] According to Condivi, Michelangelo planned to donate the *Florentine Pietà* to a Roman church, and his tomb would be at the foot of the altar on which the sculpture was placed, *Life*, 90. Vasari, *Lives*, II, 697. In a letter written in 1564 to Michelangelo's nephew Lionardo, Vasari echoes Condivi's statement. For a discussion of the letter and Michelangelo's wishes for his tomb, see Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "The *Pietà* in Rome," in Wasserman, *Michelangelo's 'Florentine Pietà'*, 99-108. Philipp Fehl attempts to locate where Michelangelo intended to place the sculpture, "Michelangelo's Tomb in

seated religious beliefs and his desire to cement his artistic legacy through carving the first four-figured group from a single block of stone.[149] With such lofty ambitions for the sculpture to serve both as his funerary monument and an artistic statement, it is not surprising that Michelangelo included a recognizable self-portrait at the apex of the composition. The first identification of the figure as a self-portrait of Michelangelo was made by Vasari in a letter sent to Michelangelo's nephew, Lionardo Buonarroti, shortly after the artist's death:

Rome," 9-27. Michelangelo apparently had changed his mind later in life; both Condivi and Vasari state he wished to be buried with his father in the Florentine church of Santa Croce. For a discussion of sculptors' tombs in the sixteenth century, see Irving Lavin, "The Sculptor's Last Will and Testament," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 35 (1977-1978), 4-39.

[149] Michelangelo began the sculpture shortly after having suffered two severe illnesses and the death of Vittoria Colonna in 1547. For a discussion of how Michelangelo responded to these events, see Chapter 4 below. For more on the religious interpretation of the sculpture as a funerary monument, see Verdon, "Michelangelo and the Body of Christ" 127-148. For a discussion of Michelangelo's self-identification with Nicodemus as an expression of the artist's spiritual renewal in his later years, see Barolsky, *Michelangelo's Nose*, 67. For more on Michelangelo's piety expressed in letters and poems prior to the death of Colonna, see Nagal, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna," 647-668. Jean-Pierre Barricelli addresses Michelangelo's religious views as expressed in his late poetry, "Michelangelo's Finito," 597-616, especially 600-605. The block of marble that was used for the group is particularly noteworthy: it was the largest that Michelangelo had attempted to carve since the *David* (1501-1503), which speaks to Michelangelo's ambitions for the project, Wallace, "Michelangelo, Calcagni, and Florentine *Pietà*," 86. According to Vasari, had Michelangelo finished the sculpture according to his original conceit of a four-figure composition carved from single block of stone (*ex uno lapide*), it would have been the greatest artistic achievement in marble since antiquity, *Lives*, I, 697. For a discussion of Vasari's passage, see, again, Wallace, "Michelangelo, Calcagni, and Florentine *Pietà*," 81. The notion of *ex uno lapide* as a mark of artistic achievement is based on the Hellenistic sculpture of the *Laocoön and his Sons*, 1st century CE, believed by Pliny the Elder to be carved from a single block of stone. For the Renaissance understanding of the concept of *ex uno lapide*, and its influence in the development of sixteenth-century sculpture, see Irving Lavin, "*Ex uno lapide*: The Renaisance Sculptor's *Tour de force*," in *Il Cortile delle Statue*, edited by Matthias Winner, Bernard Andreae, and Richard Krautheimer, (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998), 191-210.

It has occurred to me that Michelangelo made…the Pietà with five figures, the one which he broke up, for his tomb; Daniello [da Volterra] and Messer Tomaso de' Cavalieri and many other friends of his know this too. […] If you seek it out to use it for his tomb, quite apart from its being designed for that, there is an old man in which is a self-portrait, if it was not removed by Tiberio.[150]

Although Vasari states the sculpture had five figures opposed to four, he was aware that Michelangelo recorded his facial features in one of them, which Vasari apparently believed was an important aspect of its function on his tomb. Although the letter implies that Michelangelo's contemporaries were aware of this self-portrait, the information was surprisingly excluded from Vasari's account of the sculpture in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*. Vasari may have believed that the connection was so immediate that he did not need to mention it. Indeed, the identification has yet to be questioned by modern scholars.

Despite the figure being generally accepted as a self-portrait of Michelangelo, the identity of the figure within the context of the religious scene has been debated among modern scholars.[151] Both Condivi and Vasari identify the figure as the sculptor,

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[150] For the original Italian, see Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance & Baroque Sculpture*, 447.

[151] De Tolnay identifies the man as Joseph, but acknowledges that Nicodemus has been included in this type of grouping, *Michelangelo: Final Period*, 86. Wolfgang Stechow offers arguments for both identifications based on traditions for both, but does not wholly back a single identification, "Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?" in *Studien zur toskanischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich*, edited by Wolfgang Lotz and Lise Lotte Möller, (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1964), 289-302. Valerie Shrimplin-Evangelidis argues that the statue indicates Michelangelo's secret membership in the cult of Nicodemus, "Michelangelo and Nicodemism: The Florentine *Pietà*," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989), 58-66. Wasserman suggests that either Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea is a suitable identification, *Michelangelo's 'Florentine Pietà'*, 57.

Nicodemus, who lowers Christ's body from the cross onto the Virgin's lap.[152] Despite

the consistency of the identification in the biographies, modern scholars have argued

instead that the figure may be Joseph of Arimathea, who offered his own tomb for

Christ's burial.[153] Of those that support the identification of the figure as Nicodemus, it

is assumed that Michelangelo deliberately chose Nicodemus as not only an expression of

Michelangelo's personal faith, but also his artistic achievement as a sculptor.[154]

Although Nicodemus has a limited role in the biblical narrative, as he is only mentioned

in the Gospel of John, he there joined Joseph of Arimathea in the removal of Christ's

body from the cross, the preparations of the body, and his burial.[155] Michelangelo

departs from the biblical narrative and instead invents a scene in which, prior to Christ's

burial, Nicodemus places the body on the lap of the Virgin. In the guise of Nicodemus,

Michelangelo offers Christ's body–which he, as the artist, created out of marble–not only

to the Virgin, but also to the viewer, who collectively share in the same grief.

Michelangelo's identity as the Christian sculptor presenting the body of Christ is

further suggested by the medieval understanding of Nicodemus, who was believed to

have carved the *Volto Santo*: a wooden image of the corpus.[156] The tradition linking

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[152] Condivi, *Life*, 87; Vasari, *Lives*, II, 697.

[153] For a review of the literature identifying the figure as Joseph of Arimathea, see Shrimplin-Evangelidis, "Michelangelo and Nicodemism," 59 note 12.

[154] Fehl, "Michelangelo's Tomb in Rome," 10. For a review of the literature identifying the figure as Nicodemus, see Shrimplin-Evangelidis, "Michelangelo and Nicodemism," 60 note 13.

[155] Nicodemus is mentioned in John 3:1, 4, 9; 7:4; 19:5.

[156] For references and a discussion of the popularity of Nicodemus's crucifix, see Stechow, "Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?," 300 note 44. A recent analysis of the

Nicodemus with the *Volto Santo* emerged in the ninth century and grew in popularity in Italy when the sculpture was taken to Lucca.[157] In fact, Michelangelo was not the first sculptor to be portrayed in the guise of Nicodemus. According to Vasari, Fra Angelico had represented Nicodemus in his *Deposition*, c. 1430-1440, for the church of S. Trinità with the facial features of Michelozzo [Fig. 38], which can be seen as an attempt to elevate the artist to the rank of Christian sculptor.[158] Although Michelangelo's self-image in the *Florentine Pietà* could be seen as analogous to Fra Angelico's inclusion of Michelozzo, it is more likely that Michelangelo utilized the conceit to express his desire to share in Christ's resurrection. This idea is especially evident when considering that it is believed that Michelangelo envisioned the sculpture to be placed next to an altar in Santa Maria sopra Minerva with his tomb below.[159] William Wallace believes that

Volto Santo can be found in *Il volto di Cristo*, exh. cat. ed. Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (Milan: Electa, 2000), 265-75. It appears that Nicodemus represents the sculptural, and also the Western, equivalent of the Byzantine tradition of St. Luke painting the image of the Virgin and Child. For the understanding of Nicodemus as a sculptor in Germany during the medieval period, which may assist in our understanding of Michelangelo's use of the figure, see Corine Schleif, "Nicodemus and Sculptors: Self-Reflexivity in Works by Adam Kraft and Tilman Riemenschneider," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), 604-610.

[157] However, it has been suggested that the sculpture may have been in Lucca as early as 742, Stechow, "Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?," 300.

[158] The identity of the figure in black garments as Michelozzo has been maintained since Vasari first proposed it. For a discussion of the identification, see Stechow, "Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus?," 300 note 45. Stechow also gives two examples that date after Michelangelo's Florentine *Pietà* in which the artist is believed to have represented himself in the guise of Nicodemus: Titian's *Entombment* (Prado), and Caravaggio's *Entombment*. See also, Schleif "Nicodemus and Sculptors," 610-614.

[159] William E. Wallace, "Michelangelo's Vatican *Pietà*: Altarpiece or Grave Memorial?," in *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, edited by Steven Bule, Alan P. Darr, and Fiorella S. Gioffredi, (Florence: Casa Editorice Le Lettere, 1992), 255. Wasserman believes Michelangelo intended it to be placed in a niche, Wasserman,

Michelangelo's conception was based on the original use of the *Roman Pietà*, 1498-1499, which was commissioned by Cardinal Jean de Bilhères Lagraulas for his tomb in Sta. Petronilla next to Old St. Peter's Basilica.[160] The author argues that the *Roman Pietà* rested on either the floor or a shallow plinth, above the cardinal's tomb. If this placement is correct, the sculpture can be intepreted as the Virgin meditating on the significance of Christ's death prior to lowering his body into the tomb of the cardinal below. By offering Christ their tombs, both the cardinal and Michelangelo express their desires for Christian salvation through sharing in Christ's resurrection.

Michelangelo's self-image in the *Florentine Pietà* runs counter to the commonly held belief that he was not interested in representing his recognizable likeness, which in turn has been seen as an extension of his displeasure for the genre of portraiture discussed in Chapter 1. His interest in his self-image just did not manifest itself in an autonomous self-portrait like those produced in the 1520s and 1540s. Instead, he took on the role of patron and commissioned portraits from artists within his immediate circle in order to advance his artistic and social identities. Indeed, Michelangelo's reliance upon the viewer's ability to recognize his self-image was not the result of his self-portraits, but, as will be discussed in the next chapter, a result of his unique campaign to advance his image through commissioned portraits by his closest friends.

Michelangelo's 'Florentine Pietà'," 26-27. Michelangelo's conception for the placement of the sculpture for his tomb is believed to have been the source for Baccio Bandinelli's own funerary monument in Santissima Annunziata, Florence. For more on the influence of Michelangelo's *Florentine Pietà* on the development of artists' tombs in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Lavin, "Sculptor's Last Will and Testament," 4-39.

[160] Wallace, "Michelangelo's Vatican *Pietà*," 243-255.

CHAPTER 3

NOT EVERY PAINTER PAINTS HIMSELF: THE EARLY PORTRAITS OF

MICHELANGELO BY RAPHAEL, ALBRECHT DÜRER, FRA BARTOLOMMEO,

AND GIULIANO BUGIARDINI

In the traditions of Renaissance portraiture, an image of one artist made by another was exceptionally rare prior to Michelangelo.[161] The earliest examples of this type of image are now believed to date to the fifteenth century and aimed both to honor and establish artistic lineage as a mode of self-promotion. One of the earliest known examples of an independent portrait of one artist by another is the group portrait now attributed to the workshop of Fra Angelico (c. 1395-1455) and dated to c. 1425 [Fig.

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[161] This issue has been confused by Vasari's *Vite*, in which he often identified portraits of other artists in paintings from the fourteenth century, such as the so-called portrait of Cimabue in Andrea da Firenze's (identified by Vasari as by Simone Sanese) *Way of Salvation*, 1365-1368, in the Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, *Lives*, I, 57. Although some artists did include their self-portraits within the context of a narrative dating to the fourteenth century, it is believed that artists did not include images of their colleagues until the fifteen century. In an early example of a group portrait of artists, it is worth mentioning Filarete's *Self-portrait with Workshop*, 1445, installed on the back of the bronze doors of St. Peter's, Rome. The panel includes a self-portrait, but is meant to acknowledge key assistants who participated in the execution of the prestigious commission. For a discussion of how this bronze plaquette fits within the tradition of self-portraiture, see Woods-Marsden, *Renaissance Self-portraiture*, 54-57. A few examples listed by Vasari are no longer extant; however, he mentions Paolo Uccello's portrait of Donatello, *Lives*, I, 376-377. The author is presumably referrering to the panel that is now in the Louvre, which is addressed below. As discussed in the previous chapter, Vasari mentions the portrait of Michelozzo in Fra Angelico's *Deposition*, see above note 158.

39].[162] Based on the inscriptions, the sitters have been traditionally identified as three

prominent artists of the Florentine Gaddi family: Gaddo (c.1239-1312); his son, Taddeo

(c.1290-1366); and his grandson, Agnolo (c. 1350-1396). Prior to the attribution of the

panel to Fra Angelico, it was believed that it served as personal commemoration to honor

Agnolo's ancestors. Now, the panel is viewed as an honorific group portrait dedicated to

one of the greatest artistic families from Florence's glorious past, and, thus, similar to a

later group portrait of artists now attributed to a follower of Paolo Uccello and dated to

the late fifteenth century [Fig. 40].[163] This later panel depicts five Florentine artists:

Giotto (c.1266-1337), Paolo Uccello (1397-1475), Donatello (c.1386-1446), Antonio

Manetti (1423-1497), and Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446). Although the authorship of

the panel has been recently called into question, the image of Uccello may have been

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[162] The panel was traditionally attributed to Agnolo Gaddi. Wolfram Prinz attributes the panel to Agnolo, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien, Band I: Geschichte der Sammlung*, (Berlin: Mann, 1971), 24. The attribution to Agnolo, however, has been called into question as no other autonomous portraits of artists exist in the fourteenth century, and the panel has been stylistically connected to the fifteenth-century artist, Domenico di Michelino, Galleria degli Uffizi, *Gli Uffizi: catalogo generale*, (Firenze: Centro Di, 1980), 861 no. A309 and 877 no. A375. The attribution to Agnolo has also been questioned by Boschloo, "Perceptions of the Status of Painting," 53. Most recently, the panel has been associated, based on stylistic and contextual evidence, with either the early career of Fra Angelo or a close follower, Carl Brandon Strehlke, "The Princeton *Penitent Saint Jerome*, the Gaddi Family, and Early Fra Angelico," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 62 (2003), 9-12.

[163] The panel has a very complicated history. Vasari attributes the panel to Masaccio in the 1550 edition of the *Vite*. However, in the 1568 edition, the author gives the panel to Paolo Uccello, which has been the basis for the modern attribution, *Lives*, I, 288. For the early literature on the Louvre portrait, see Jenö Lanyi, "The Louvre Portrait of Five Florentines," *The Burlington Magazine* 84 (1944) 87 note 2. For a history of its attribution see Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "Uccello's 'Uccello': A Visual Signature," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 84 (1974), 237 note 4. However, Hugh Hudson rejects this attribution based on stylistic inconsistencies and instead suggests the possibility of an anonymous follower; he also includes an extensive bibliography, *Paolo Uccello: Artist of the Florentine Renaissance Republic*, (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008), 332-334.

based on a self-portrait. If this is the case, then it is likely that the genesis of the Louvre panel was fueled by Uccello's desire to be seen as heir to the traditions established by Giotto and passed through the other three artists.

The power of the panel to express ideas of artistic lineage is further suggested by Vasari's account. According to Vasari, it was owned by Giuliano da Sangallo (1443-1516).[164] The fact that Giuliano, primarily an architect, owned the image suggests he may have viewed himself as the heir to the artistic heritage represented by those depicted within the panel. This idea of artistic heritage may have been the motivation for Giuliano to commission a double-portrait of himself and his deceased father, Francesco Giamberti da Sangallo (1404-1480), from Piero di Cosimo around 1485 [Fig. 41].[165] The portraits may represent the first time that an artist commissioned a portrait of himself. Even as striking, the portraits advance the social status of both sitters, which was a result of their artistic talents.[166] It is just as likely that the portraits were also commissioned to honor the memory of Giuliano's father, who died five years earlier.

These early independent images of artists aimed not only to praise the sitter's artistic achievements, but also to connect them to an artistic legacy. Yet, by the turn of

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[164] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 288. Vasari's account is likely accurate as he had used the panel for the prototypes of the woodcut portraits that were included in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*. For a discussion, see Prinz, "Vasaris sammlung von Künstlerbildnissen," 17-18.

[165] For a discussion and select bibliography, see Duncan Bull, "Piero di Cosimo, *Portraits of Giuliano and Francesco Giamberti da Sangallo*," in *Renaissance Faces*, edited by Campbell, Falomire, Fletcher, and Syson, 196-197.

[166] Francesco Giamberti da Sangallo was a woodworker and musician, who enjoyed the patronage of the Medici family. Likewise, Giuliano achieved a certain status, primarily as an architect for the Medici. For a discussion of their relationship to the Medici court, see David Hemsoll, "Giuliano da Sangallo and the New Renaissance of Lorenzo de'Medici," in *Early Medici and their Artists*, Edited by Francis Ames-Lewis, (London: Birkbeck College, 1995), 187–205.

the sixteenth century, such images were still uncommon, making the emergence of the portraits of Michelangelo during the second decade of the sixteenth century even more surprising. The earliest images of Michelangelo were produced by arists outside his immediate circle, who sought to use his likeness as an emblem of melancholic genius, as expressed through his artistic achievement. The first example of this type was executed during the late summer of 1511 by Michelangelo's rival Raphael, who included Michelangelo's image among the ancient philosophers and scientists in the *School of Athens* in the guise Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 535-c.475 BCE) [Figs. 42 and 43].[167]

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[167] Neither the portrait of Michelangelo nor the image of Heraclitus is mentioned by Vasari in his description of the fresco. Scholars have viewed Raphael's portrait of Michelangelo as an immediate response to the prophets and sibyls on the *Sistine Ceiling* and have traditionally compared it to Michelangelo's figure of Jeremiah. For a recent discussion, see Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals*, 121. Vasari suggests that the Sistine Ceiling had such an immediate impact on Raphael that he not only changed his figural style, but also amended the figure of Isaiah for the St. Anne Altar in Sant'Ambrogio, Rome in response, *Lives*, I, 723. Traditionally, scholars have relied upon this passage in an attempt to explain the portrait of Michelangelo, which is known to have been a late addition based on both the exclusion of the figure in Raphael's cartoon in the Pinocateca Ambrosiana, Milan, and through recent technical examination of the fresco. It has also been noted that the cartoon does not include Raphael's self-image and his companion. For more on the differences in the cartoon and the technical examination, see Marcia B. Hall, *Raphael's 'School of Athens'*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 38-40. The identification of the figure as Heraclitus was first proposed by Johann David Passavant, *Raphael of Urbino and His Father Giovanni Santi*, first published 1839, (New York: Garland, 1978), 91-92. Although modern scholars have generally accepted this identification, some have interpreted the figure as either Pythagoras or Socrates. For a review of the literature addressing the various identifications of the figure, see Summers, *Michelangelo and Language of Art*, 488-489, note 40. Deoclecio Redig de Campos was the first to identify Heraclitus as a portrait of Michelangelo and dated it to August of 1511, "Il pensieroso della Segnatura," in *Michelangelo Buonarroti nel IV Centenario del 'Giudizio Universale': Studi e Saggi*, (Florence: Instituto Nazionale di Studi sul Renascimento, 1942), 205-219. For many years, scholars have widely accepted Redig de Campos's identification. Rona Goffen goes even further and views the identification of the figure as Heraclitus as coincidental and believes the contemporary viewer would have only identified it as a portrait of Michelangelo, *Renaissance Rivals*, 121-122. Only recently has the identification of the figure as a portrait of Michelangelo been questioned. Maria Loh sees the image as a product of modern scholarship, and believes Redig de

Despite the lack of contemporary accounts supporting the identification as an image of Michelangelo, it should be seen as an idealized likeness of the artist, sharing the characteristics described by his biographer, Condivi.[168]

The inclusion of Michelangelo's image within the scene should not be understood as an isolated artistic event; Raphael also included his self-image with an unknown companion in addition to a portrait of Bramante in the guise of Euclid.[169] Raphael's

Campos's attribution of the figure as a portrait of Michelangelo was politically motivated, "Renaissance Faciality," *Oxford Art Journal* 32 (2009), 350-353. She also provides a recent review of the literature concerning the identification of Heraclitus as a portrait of Michelangelo. Of those scholars not cited by Loh, Paul Barolsky suggests the portrait of Michelangelo could be placed within the context of Michelangelo's contemporaries wanting to see him in relation to the ancient philosophers. However, Barolsky is reluctant to accept it and proposes the modern viewer's desire to see it as a portrait is a product of Michelangelo's self-myth perpetuated by Condivi and Vasari, *Michelangelo's Nose*, 14-15. Again, Barolsky questioned the identification as a possible fabrication of modern scholarship, "Art History as Fiction," 12. Arnold Nesselrath also does not believe it to be a portrait of Michelangelo based on a perceived lack of similarity; however, he does acknowledge it is an unidentified contemporary portrait, "Raphael and Pope Julius II," in *Raphael: From Urbino to Rome*, edited by Hugo Chapman, Tom Henry, and Carol Plazzotta, (London: National Gallery, 2004), 285, 293 note 46. For a recent and general discussion of Raphael's frescoes, see Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura: Meaning and Invention*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002; Ingrid D. Rowland, The Vatican Stanze," in *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, edited by Marcia Hall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 95-119; and, Daniel M. Unger, "The Pope, the Painter, and the Dynamics of Social Standing in the Stanza della Segnature," *Renaissance Studies* 26 (2012), 278.

[168] For Condivi's description of Michelangelo's physical appearance, see above page 4.

[169] Vasari mentions the portrait of the architect in both the *Vite* of Bramante and Raphael, *Lives*, I, 665, 717-718. Vasari's identification has generally been accepted by scholars, who have identified Bramante in the guise of Euclid. For a discussion of the identification, see Glenn W. Most, "Reading Raphael: *The School of Athens* and Its Pre-Text," *Critical Inquiry* 23 (1996), 172. For more of the physical appearance of Bramante known through his portrait medal, see Freiberg, "Vasari's Bramante," 136-137. The figure standing to the left of Raphael's self-portrait has been variously identified as Sodoma or Perugino. For a review of the literature concerning the identification of this figure, see Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, 216-217 note 115.

inclusion of his contemporaries, and specifically architects, in a historical narrative is analogous to Perugino's inclusion of both the designer and builder of the Sistine Chapel seen holding a square and compass at the far right of his *Christ Giving the Keys to Peter*, 1481-1482 [Fig. 44].[170]   However, Raphael's inclusion of Michelangelo is surprising given that the two were bitter rivals.[171]   Despite their competition with each other, Raphael sought to commemorate Michelangelo's achievement on the Sistine Ceiling not only by including Michelangelo's portrait among the ancient intellectuals, but also by depicting him in a michelangelesque style.

Scholars have also based the identification of the figure as a portrait of Michelangelo on the fact that he is curiously the only figure in contemporary garments besides the self-image of Raphael and his companion on the far right of the composition.[172]   In his attribution of the image, Redig de Campos noted that Raphael depicted Michelangelo in the same jerkin and boots that he was known to have worn around Rome.[173]   Scholars have connected Michelangelo's boots in the fresco to

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[170] In addition to his self-portrait, Perugino included portraits of the designer of the Sistine Chapel, Baccio Pontelli (c. 1450-1492) and the builder Giovannino de' Dolci (c. 1435-c. 1485). For a recent discussion of the portraits within the context of the narrative, see Vittoria Garibaldi, *Perugino*, (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2004), 77, 82. For more on their contributions to the design and construction, see Pier Nicola Pagliara, "The Sistine Chapel: Its Medieval Precedents and Reconstruction," in *The Fifteenth Century Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel: Recent Restorations of the Vatican Museums, Volume IV*, edited by Francesco Buranelli and Allen Duston, (Vatican City: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 2003), 80-81.

[171] For more on Raphael's rivalry and artistic debt to Michelangelo, see Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals*, 171-264, esp. 222, 225.

[172] For the possible identity of Raphael's companion, see above note 169.

[173] Redig de Campos, "Il pensieroso della Segnatura," 205-219.

Condivi's account–despite being written forty years later–of Michelangelo's working habits, "While he was more robust, he often slept in his clothes and in the boots which he always wore partly for other reasons; and he has sometimes gone so long without taking them off that then the skin came away like a snake's with the boots."[174] Condivi attempted to portray Michelangelo as humble and devoted to his work; however, it has recently been noted that such boots and the jerkin were items of luxury.[175] Therefore, these garments should be viewed as evidence of Michelangelo's emerging social status at the time, based on his artistic merits. Thus, Raphael transformed the image of Michelangelo into the exemplum for every artist to follow–artistic virtue leading to fame and fortune.

Although he celebrates Michelangelo artistic achievements, by having the figure lean on a block of stone Raphael is apparently alluding only to his identity as a sculptor. Despite not referring to Michelangelo as a painter, the portrait can also be seen as acknowledging Michelangelo's intellect, suggested by his pose of inward contemplation.[176] Following Redig de Campos, scholars have viewed the pose as an

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[174] Condivi, *Life of Michelangelo*, 106. Although Vasari does not mention Michelangelo's boots, he follows Condivi in his description of Michelangelo often sleeping in his clothes, Vasari, *Lives*, II, 740. Frederika Jacobs has connected Condivi's description of Michelangelo's boots to the artist's poetry in which he describes the separation of the soul as analogous to a snake shedding it skin, "(Dis)assembling: Marsyas, Michelangelo, and the Accademia del Disegno," *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002), 434, 446 note 41.

[175] Although both Condivi and Vasari downplay Michelangelo's fondness for fine fabrics and garments, Wallace counters this assertion through various documents, "Miscellanea Curiositae Michelangelae," 339, 342-345.

[176] This pose was been traditionally associated with the act of contemplation and self-absorption; however, in other contexts it could suggest torment and suffering. For more on the associations with this type of pose, see Koerner, *Moment of the Self-Portraiture*,

expression of melancholic genius representing a shared personality trait between Heraclitus and Michelangelo.[177]   The pose quickly became associated with ideas of melancholy as the source of creative genius, as seen in Albrecht Dürer's *Melancholia I,*

17-21. The melancholic and introspective pose of the figure is analogous to the pose in an engraved image possibly from 1522, which has been identified as a possible idealized portrait of Michelangelo in the guise of one of the ancestors from the *Sistine Ceiling*. The print has been attributed to Léon Davent (act. 1540-1556); however, it has variously been dated to 1498, 1522, and c. 1540-1560. The date 1522 is handwritten in ink on the print, but the inscription ("Micha Ange bonarotanus Florentinus/Sculptor optimus anno aetatis sue 23") misleadingly suggests it was executed in 1498. For a discussion of the print and issue of date, see David Acton and Karen Jacobsen, eds., *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, 1994), cat. no. 53 (with illustration); and, Patricia Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist: From Dante to Michelangelo*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 182-183 and 194-195. The composition has been connected to a print after Marcantonio Raimondi that depicts St. Helen with an angel. Despite the inscriptions stating it is a portrait of Michelangelo, Andrea Donati views the print as not significant to the understanding of the portraits of Michelangelo, *Ritratto e figura*, 271-272.

[177] Although writing over forty years later, both Condivi and Vasari continued the advancement of Michelangelo as a melancholic genius. This understanding is especially evident at the beginning of Condivi's biography in which he gives an account of the artist's natal horoscope, *Life*, 6. For more on Condivi's account and Michelangelo's self-professed claim of melancholic genius, see Don Riggs, "Was Michelangelo Born Under Saturn?," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26 (1995), 99-121. For a discussion of Vasari's representation of Michelangelo as melancholic genius, see Piers Britton, "'Mio malichonico, o vero…mio pazzo:' Michelangelo, Vasari, and the Problem of Artists' Melancholy in Sixteenth-Century Italy," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 (2003), 653-675. Noel L. Brann has connected aspects of Aristotelian and Platonic theories to the concept of "genius" in the Renaissance, *The Debate Over the Origin of Genius During the Renaissance: The Theories of Supernatural Frenzy and Natural Melancholy in Accord and in Conflict on the Threshold of the Scientific Revolution*, Leiden: Brill, 2002. For a recent discussion of the possible connections between Michelangelo and Heraclitus, see Maria Ruvoldt, "Michelangelo's Dream," *Art Bulletin* 85 (2003), 89. For more on the iconographic significance of Heraclitus in the *School of Athens*, which is based on his writings and personality, see Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, 99-100. For more on Michelangelo and the notion of genius during the Renaissance, see Martin Kemp, "The 'Super-Artist' as Genius: The Sixteenth-Century View," in *Genius: The History of an Idea*, edited by Penelope Murray, (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 32-53.

1514 [Fig. 45].[178] The print has been traditionally viewed as a spiritual self-portrait that transforms the medieval concept of melancholy into distinguishable characteristics of artistic genius.[179] Dürer executed another print that has been dated between 1514 and 1515 that continues to explore the idea of artistic genius as a product of melancholy [Fig. 46].[180] Instead of Dürer connecting the idea to himself, this image contains a recognizable profile portrait of Michelangelo.[181]

In the second decade of the sixteenth century, Raphael was the only artist who had recorded Michelangelo's likeness, and, therefore, we can assume his appearance was not well known. The question then emerges how Dürer would have known Michelangelo's features to the point of producing a recognizable portrait. Recent scholarship has suggested that Dürer may have traveled to Bologna sometime between

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[178] The engraving has been the subject of numerous studies. For recent discussions, see Wojciech Bałus, "Dürer's *Melencolia I*: Melancholy and the Undecidable," *Artibus et Historiae* 15 (1994), 9-21; and, Matthias Mende, "Albrecht Dürer, *Melancholia I*," in *Albrecht Dürer: Das druckgraphische Werk*, edited by Rainer Schoch, Matthias Mende, and Anna Scherbaum, (Munich, London and New York: Prestel, 2001), I, 179-185.

[179] For a recent review of the literature concerning the print as a spiritual self-portrait, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 26-27. Medieval philosophy viewed Melancholy as the least desirable of the four humors, and the one most prone to insanity. Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl have shaped the modern understanding of Dürer's transformation of Melancholy into a desirable trait of artistic process, *Dürer's 'Melancholia I.' eine quellen- und tyengeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1923. The subject was revisited by Raymond Kilbansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art*, New York: Basic Books, 1964. For recent discussions of the print, see Norbert Wolf, *Dürer*, (Munich, London, and New York: Prestel, 2011), 174-185, esp.182-184.

[180] Schoch addresses the print as an expression of melancholy, "Albrect Dürer, *fünf Figuren*," in Schoch, Mende, and Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürer*, I, 198-200.

[181] Charles de Tolnay was the first to identify the image as a portrait of Michelangelo, *L'omaggio a Michelangelo di Dürer*. For both a recent discussion and bibliography, see Sophie Renouard de Bussierre, ed., *Albrecht Dürer: Oeuvre gravé*, (Paris: Paris musées, 1996), 274 no. 209.

late 1506 and early 1507, coinciding with Michelangelo's arrival in the city in November of 1506.[182] Although it cannot be proven that the two artists met during this period, this seems to have been the most likely opportunity for Dürer to have known Michelangelo's appearance first hand.

The representation of Michelangelo is particularly interesting as he is dressed in clothing associated with German craftsmen. In preparation for the print, Dürer had his brother, Endres (1486-1555), pose for a preparatory drawing, which is currently in the Albertina [Fig. 47].[183] Although the faces are different, the clothing is the same. There is not much known about Endres, other than he was a master gold and silversmith trained by his father.[184] Both Endres and Michelangelo wear a hairnet under their felt hats.

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[182] It has been suggested based on an inscription found on a copy of Dürer's *Christ Among the Doctors* that the artist may have produced the painting during a brief stay in Rome. For more on the possibility of Dürer traveling to Rome, see Mattias Mende, "Norimberga, Dürer, Roma," in *Dürer e l'Italia*, edited by Kristina Herrmann Fiore, (Milan: Electa, 2007), 23-32. For a recent discussion and extensive bibliography for Dürer's painting, see María del Mar Borobia Guerrero, *Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza: Old Masters*, (Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, 2009), 256-257. After he left Venice in the fall of 1506, Dürer may have stayed briefly in Bologna sometime between November 1506 and January 1507, a period that would have overlapped Michelangelo's stay in the city while he was working on the bronze Julius II portrait. For more on Dürer's possible sojourn to Bologna, see Mende, "Norimberga, Dürer, Roma," 25-27. For more on Michelangelo's stay in Bologna between 1506 and 1508, see Wallace, *Michelangelo: Artist, Man, and His Times*, 80-88. For a discussion of Michelangelo's knowledge of Dürer, see Martha Levine Dunkelman, "Two-Way Traffic: Michelangelo and Northern European Art," *Source* 18 (1999), 19-26.

[183] For more on the relationship between the drawing in the Albertina and the print, see Renouard de Bussierre, *Albrecht Dürer*, 274 no. 209.

[184] The only substaintial record of Endres is a document referring to him as a master silversmith working in Nuremberg in 1514. For more on what is known of his career, see Eva Michel, "Albrecht Dürer: Brustbild des Endres Dürer," Sammlungen Online, accessed 12.6.12, http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/default.aspx?lng=english#9bd4b1 8c-233d-4702-bdcc-8f7c6389d819.

During the Renaissance, hairnets were a common attribute of knights and soldiers, who had worn them under their helmets. A hairnet was also used by Dürer to manage his long hair while working, which is suggested by his *Nude Self-Portrait*, c. 1500-1505 [Fig. 48].[185] The hairnet appears again in a second image of Endres, produced in 1514 in celebration of his thirtieth birthday [Fig. 49].[186] The hairnet in all of these images suggests that Dürer associated it with artistic production. Since the print is devoid of any inscription and the likeness of Michelangelo is not widely known during this period, the viewer could have only been able to identify the figure as a craftsman. Thus, Dürer transformed the image of Michelangelo into an emblem of the ideal artist whose melancholy serves as the source of his artistic genius.

The print's composition and iconography, however, suggests the ability of the craftsman to transform himself into an intellectual through melancholic contemplation. The composition can be compared to Fra Filippino Lippi's *Vision of St. Bernard*, 1486 [Fig. 50], where the patron occupies a different space than that of his divine vision of the saint and Virgin.[187] Instead of a heavenly vision, however, the four figures in Dürer's

[185] For more on the drawing, see Koerner, *Moment of Self-Portraiture*, 246; for a recent discussion and bibliography, see Wolf, *Dürer*, 128, 133 note 111.

[186] The inscription indicates that the drawing was made to commemorate Endres's thirtieth birthday. For more on the drawing, see Erwin Panofsky, "An Unpublished Drawing by Albrecht Dürer," *Master Drawings* 1 (1963), 37; Michel, "Albrecht Dürer: Brustbild des Endres Dürer."

[187] The painting was commissioned by Piero di Francesco del Pugliese for his family's chapel in the Badia, Florence. For a discussion of the painting's iconography and its literary sources, see David L. Clark, "Filippino Lippi's *The Virgin inspiring St. Bernard* and Florentine Humanism," *Studies in Iconography* (1982), 175-187. For a recent discussion and bibliography, see Alessandro Cecchi, *Filippino Lippi e Sandro Botticelli nella Firenze del '400*, (Milan: 24 Ore Cultura, 2011), 140.

print represent a melancholic vision serving as the impetus of artistic genius.[188]

Raphael's fresco and Dürer's print both transformed Michelangelo's image into an emblem of artistic virtue by celebrating his intellect. Any other artist would have welcomed such an honor; Michelangelo, however, was in constant competition with contemporary artists, and likely viewed these images as serving to elevate their creators and not him. Although writing nearly forty years later, both Condivi and Vasari present Michelangelo as a singular artist, whose every artistic accomplishment was achieved without the assistance of others or a traditional workshop.[189] Perhaps the images by Raphael and Dürer prompted Michelangelo to set out to control and cultivate his public image through portraiture, which may explain two red and black chalk portrait drawings of the artist [Figs. 51 and 52] by the Florentine painter, Fra Bartolommeo (1472-1517).[190]

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[188] For a recent discussion on the figures as an expression of melancholic genius, see Renouard de Bussierre, *Albrecht Dürer*, 274 no. 209.

[189] William E. Wallace, who has published widely on the issue of Michelangelo's assistants over the course of the artist's career, opposes the statements made by both Condivi and Vasari, "Michelangelo's Assistants in the Sistine Chapel," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 110 (1987), 203-216; "Instruction and Originality," 113-133; *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo*, 120-134.

[190] The identification of Michelangelo as the sitter of the two drawings was made by Johan Quirijn van Regteren Altena, "Zu Michelangelos Zeichnungen, besonders aus den Jahren," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes: Band II, Michelangelo (Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964)*, (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1967), 171-172. For a brief discussion, see Chris Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo: Master Draftsman of the High Renaissance*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1990), 294-296. For a bibliography, see Arnold Nesselrath, "Fra Bartolommeo, *Michelangelo*," in *Hoch Renaissance im Vatikan: Kunst und Kultur im Rom der Päpste, 1503-1534*, edited by Petra Kruse, (Ostfildern-Ruit: Gerd Hatje, 1998), 524 no. 253. For more on the portrait drawings within the context of Florentine draftsmanship during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, see Philippe Costamagna, "The Formation of Florentine Draftsmanship: Life Studies from Leonardo and Michelangelo to Pontormo and Salviati," *Master Drawings* 43 (2005), 274-291, esp. 278.

The Frate's drawings perhaps represent Michelangelo's first attempt to control his

image. By employing artists within his immediate circle he assured that he could oversee

the production of his portrait much like Pope Julius II had done. The two artists likely

had known each other from their youth, since Fra Bartolommeo had connections to the

workshop of Domenico Ghirlandiao in the 1490s.[191] Like the artists that Michelangelo

hired in the execution of the Sistine Ceiling, Fra Bartolommeo represents yet another

example of Michelangelo's propensity to favor Florentine artists who had associations to

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[191] Fra Bartolommeo apprenticed under Cosimo Roselli between 1485-1486. Everett Fahy suggests that, based on stylistic similarities, shortly thereafter he was connected to Domenico Ghirlandiao's workshop, "The Beginnings of Fra Bartolommeo," *Burlington Magazine* 108 (1966), 456-463. In a later article, Fahy argues Fra Bartolommeo may have even contributed to the portraits on Ghirlandaio's Malatesta Altarpiece, the completion of which was overseen by Domenico's brother, Davide, "The Earliest Works of Fra Bartolommeo," *Art Bulletin* 51 (1969),142-154, esp. 150-154. For more on the altarpiece, see above note 33. Chris Fischer suggests Michelangelo and Fra Bartolommeo may have known each other sometime in the 1490s, "The Early Fra Bartolommeo and the Temptation of St. Anthony," in *European Drawings from Six Centuries: Festschrift to Erik Fischer*, edited by Erik Fischer, (Copenhagen: Royal Museums of Fine Arts, 1990), 301-342, esp. 324-326. Fra Barolommeo also likely knew Michelangelo's brother, Lionardo, when the painter entered the convent at San Marco in 1491, which may have been another plausible pathway for the two artists to meet, Nesselrath, "Fra Bartolommeo, *Michelangelo*," in *Hoch Renaissance im Vatikan*, edited by Kruse, 524. Moreover, Fra Bartolommeo and Michelangelo were both followers of Girolamo Savonarola. The topic of Michelangelo as a follower of Savonarola has been addressed at length in the literature. For a general treatment of the subject, see Summers, *Michelangelo and Language of Art*, 9-11. For a discussion of Michelangelo and his attitudes towards the Dominican friar, see Konrad Eisenbichler, "The Religious Poetry of Michelangelo: The Mystical Sublimation," *Renaissance and Reformation* 23 (1987), 121-134, esp. 122-125. For a recent study, see Ferenc Veress, "Michelangelo e Savonarola: la Pietà di San Pietro," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 73 (2010), 539-554. For Fra Bartolommeo's spiritual relationship with Savonarola, see Ronald M. Steinberg, "Fra Bartolommeo, Savonarola and a Divine Image," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 18 (1974), 319-328.

Ghirlandaio's workshop.[192] Despite their established connections, the dating of the

drawings has not been fully resolved. Based on Michelangelo's age, either his late

thirties or early forties, Fra Bartolommeo could not have executed the drawings before

Michelangelo left Rome for the third time in 1508.[193] Most scholars believe that they

were executed during one of two periods in which both artists resided in the same city:

either between 1513-1514 in Rome or 1517 in Florence.[194] The later date is unlikely,

however, as Michelangelo was in Cararra and Pietrasanta between January and August of

1517 overseeing the quarrying of marble for the San Lorenzo facade.[195] On October 6,

only shortly after Michelangelo returned to Florence, Fra Bartolommeo became ill and

died. The limited time that the two artists could have been together in 1517 makes it

more likely that the drawings were done while both were in Rome between 1513-14.

These dates also are supported by the Frate's use of black and red chalk, which is

consistent with his working methods during this period. In preparation for his *Madonna

della Misericordia*, 1515 [Fig. 53], Fra Bartolommeo executed the two studies of female

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[192] For more on Michelangelo's preference to work with Florentine artists, see Wallace, "Michelangelo's Assistants in Sistine Chapel," 203-216.

[193] Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 294-296.

[194] Fra Bartolommeo likely arrived in Rome as early as the summer of 1513 and stayed for about a year. This time frame also coincides with the elevation of the Florentine pope, Leo X, in 1513, for whom Fra Bartolommeo had hoped to work. For more on his trip to Rome, see Ludovico Borgo, "Fra Bartolommeo e Raffaello: l'incontro romano del 1513," in *Studi su Raffaello: Atti del congresso internazionale di Studi*, edited by Micaela Sambucco Hamoud and Maria Letizia Strocchi, (Urbino; QuattroVenti, 1987), 499-507.

[195] For more on Michelangelo's time away from Florence during this period, see Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo*, 9-74, esp. 25-28.

heads [Figs. 54 and 55] with the same drawing technique.[196] In particular, the painter

juxtaposed the warmth and soft tones of the red chalk with varying light shades of black,

such as found in the eyes of the women and the second image of Michelangelo. The

drawings of the female heads, however, were executed in preparation for a larger

narrative painting. It is unlikely that the portrait drawings of Michelangelo were intended

for the same purpose as there is no known narrative by Fra Bartolommeo in which they

were utilized.

Although no documentation confirms Fra Bartolommeo's interaction with

Michelangelo during his trip to Rome, they could easily have been in regular contact

based on their earlier connections in Ghirlandaio's workshop.[197] When Fra Bartolommeo

arrived in the city in 1513, he witnessed one of the greatest artistic periods of

Michelangelo's career. Less than a year before, Michelangelo completed the decorations

on the Sistine Chapel ceiling to great acclaim. According to Vasari, "When the work was

thrown open the whole world could be heard running up to see it, and, indeed, it was such

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[196] For a brief discussion of the two female studies and bibliography, see Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 317 nos. 88 and 89. For more on the altarpiece in relationship to Fra Bartolommeo's other work following his trip to Rome in 1513, see Janet Cox-Rearick, "Fra Bartolommeo's St. Mark Evangelist and St. Sebastian with an Angel," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 18 (1974), 329-354.

[197] In his treatment of Fra Bartolommeo, Vasari suggests that the painter travelled to Rome specifically to study the works of both Michelangelo and Raphael, *Lives*, I, 676. Scholars have traditionally noted that the Roman works of both artists had a profound impact on Fra Bartolommeo's style after he returned to Florence in 1514. For more on the influence of Michelangelo and Raphael on Fra Bartolommeo's style and a review of the early literature, see Cox-Rearick, "Fra Bartolommeo's St. Mark Evangelist," 329-354, esp. 329 note 1; and for a recent discussion of the influence on his Roman trip, see Sally J. Cornelison, "Relocating Fra Bartolomeo at San Marco," *Renaissance Studies* 23 (2009), 318 note 19.

as to make everyone astonished and dumb."[198] By the time of Fra Bartolommeo's arrival

in the city, Michelangelo had turned his energies to carving the figures for the Julius II

tomb, which had it been completed to his original design would have elevated his artistic

status even more.[199] The fame that these projects brought Michelangelo surely inspired

Raphael's portrait in the *School of Athens* [Fig. 43]. Yet, Raphael's creation of this

image of the artist as a bulky, isolated thinker was not approved by Michelangelo.

Moreover, Raphael's image of Michelangelo can be seen as complement to the disguised

portrait of Bramante in the fresco as an elegant practicing mathematician [Fig. 56].

Given Michelangelo's enmity for Bramante, it can be assumed that the artist did not

appreciate such a comparison.[200] Although Raphael's "Michelangelo" was intended to

celebrate the genius of the artist, it was used in a fashion that elevated all artists,

including Raphael. That Michelangelo's unparalleled artistic success led, inexorably, to a

lack of control over his image may have been the impetus for the artist to ask Fra

Bartolommeo, a trusted friend, to execute his portrait.

Both of Fra Bartolommeo's drawings depict Michelangelo in bust-length, three-

quarter pose, and with what Condivi considered to be his most recognizable facial

features: his broken nose and forked beard. Unlike Raphael's image of Michelangelo in

the *School of Athens* in which he wears clothes associated with his acquired social status,

Fra Bartolommeo depicted Michelangelo in the shirt and hat in which he is believed to

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[198] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 675.

[199] For the literature addressing the Julius II tomb, see above note 37.

[200] For the hostile relationship between Michelangelo and Bramante, see Charles Robertson, "Bramante, Michelangelo, and the Sistine Ceiling," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), 91-105.

have worked.[201]   The similarity of the clothing in both drawings have led scholars to

believe that they were executed in the same sitting. The style of the sitter's pose and the

level of the viewer's participation between the two drawings, however, are notably

distinct. In the first drawing [Fig. 51], Michelangelo's upright posture, stoic facial

expression and the drawing's overall composition are keeping with Fra Bartolommeo's

portrait style as seen in his *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1497 [Fig. 57].[202]   The Frate's

combination of black and red chalk is uncommon, but the portrait's composition and

sitter's pose are dependent on motifs associated with late fifteenth-century portraits in

Florence.[203]

At the time Fra Bartolommeo executed the drawings, his choice of portrait type

can be considered to be somewhat antiquated. This outdated style is made apparent when

the painted portrait is compared to Raphael's portrait of Baldassare Castiglione, c. 1519

[Fig. 58].[204]   Typical of Raphael's Roman portrait style, the portrait includes an

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[201] Michelangelo's apparel in both drawings can be connected to ideas of his artistic production, Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 295-296. For more on this issue, see the discussion below concerning Giuliano Bugiardini's portrait of Michelangelo.

[202] An extensive bibliography of the portrait is available through the Metropolitan Museum's online collections database, "Fra Bartolomeo, *Portrait of Man*," accessed 12.15.12, http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110000048. For a discussion of the influence of Hans Memling on Fra Bartolommeo's portrait style, see Fahy, "Earliest Works of Fra Bartolommeo," 147; and, Keith Christiansen, *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1984), 37-38.

[203] For more on Fra Bartolommeo's technique and its continued use into the seventeenth century, see Costamagna, "Formation of Florentine Draftsmanship," 278.

[204] Henry and Joannides provide a recent discussion and extensive bibliography, *Late Raphael*, 292-296.

abstracted background and emphasizes the potential for interaction with the viewer.[205]

Fra Bartolommeo's portrait drawing of Michelangelo [Fig. 51] reflects nothing of this new approach. Although both Michelangelo and Castiglione are depicted in a three-quarter pose, Castiglione's eyes and face are frontal, capturing the viewer's attention. Unlike Michelangelo in Fra Bartolommeo's portrait, Castiglione is not passively being observed, but is psychologically engaged with the viewer. Raphael's ability to direct the viewer's attention to the sitter's face and presence of mind represented a shift in the style and function of portraits during the second decade of the sixteenth century in Rome. The differences between Fra Bartolommeo's first portrait drawing and Raphael's innovative portrait style may have served as the basis for Michelangelo to request Fra Bartolommeo execute a second portrait [Fig. 52], which is noticeably different in concept from the first.

In the second drawing, more focus is given to Michelangelo's face, which dominates the sheet. Moreover, Michelangelo is arguably more psychologically present in the second drawing. His slightly lowered head, hunched-over pose, and far-off gaze are suggestive of the motions of his mind. The difference between the two portrait drawings may have resulted from Michelangelo's intervention. If Michelangelo's oversight is accepted, Fra Bartolommeo's second drawing is one of the earliest records, if not the first, of Michelangelo deliberately controlling his public persona through portraiture.

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[205] Although some of these motifs were developed in Florence, Raphael's portrait style fully matured in Rome. For more on Raphael's Roman portraits, see Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, 261-303; and, Leatrice Mendelsohn, "Bronzino in Pesaro and After: The Impact of Raphael and Raphaelism on Bronzino's Florentine Manner," in *Translation of Raphael's Roman Style*, edited by van Veen, 81-104.

The question then arises, what was the purpose of these drawings and who was the intended audience? The existence of more than one study for a portrait is exceptionally rare during the this period, and when multiple studies were used they were usually reserved for portraits of rulers, such as the much earlier drawings by Pisanello of Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg, 1433 [Fig. 59 and 60].[206] These two drawings were used to establish the iconography of the Emperor's public image. In a similar vein, perhaps both of Fra Bartolommeo's drawings aimed to advance the recognizable features of Michelangelo's image: the forked beard, broken nose, and his studio garments. Based on the example provided by Pisanello's drawings, Fra Bartolommeo may have intended both drawings to serve as preliminary studies for a single finished painting, which is either not known or was never executed. The lack of a finished work opens the possibility that the drawings were to have served another purpose. Perhaps the Frate wanted an image of Michelangelo for himself. If this was the case, the drawings serving as souvenirs can be seen as analogous to the portrait drawing of Leonardo da Vinci, c. 1515, [Fig. 61] made by his disciple, Francesco Melzi (1491/1493-c. 1570).[207]

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[206] Keith Christiansen offers a recent discussion and bibliography, "Pisanello, *Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg*," in *Renaissance Portrait*, edited by Christiansen and Weppelmann, 194-195.

[207] If Fra Bartolommeo did execute the two portraits of Michelangelo between 1513 and 1514, then they would predate Melzi's portrait of Leonardo by two years and perhaps served as the prototype. For a recent discussion, see Martin Clayton, *Leonardo da Vinci: The Divine and the Grotesque*, (London: The Royal Collection, 2002), 110-113. Melzi is believed to have entered Leonardo's workshop around 1507/1508 and travelled extensively with him to Milan, Rome, and eventually, France. For more on Melzi's associations with Leonardo, see Pietro C. Marani, "A New Date for Franceco Melzi's 'Young Man with a Parrot'," *The Burlington Magazine* 131 (1989), 479-481. For a bibliography concerning Melzi's life, see Barbara Hochstetler Meyer, "Leonardo's Hypothetical Painting of 'Leda and the Swan'," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 34 (1990), 293 note 36.

Melzi probably produced the drawing while Leonardo was in Rome, where he resided for most of the period between 1513 and 1516.[208] The portrait drawing, which never left Melzi's possession, appears to have served no other purpose than to record Leonardo's features.[209] In attempt to explain the drawing, scholars have relied upon Vasari's account, who states that Melzi hung it in his Milanese house as an emotionally charged emblem of his artistic heritage.[210] If Melzi and Leonardo knew of Fra Bartolommeo's drawings of Michelangelo, it is possible that their portrait served a similar purpose.[211] Assuming the drawings were on display in Fra Bartolommeo's studio in Florence allows us to imagine a particular purpose for it. In both cases, by hanging the

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[208] In September of 1513, Melzi travelled from Milan to Rome with Leonardo, who was working for Giuliano de' Medici, the Duke of Nemours. Until he left Rome for the last time in 1516, Leonardo resided in the Belvedere, which would have allowed a certain amount of access to Michelangelo. For a recent discussion on Leonardo's Roman stay, his brief sojourns from Rome, and his artistic activities during this period, see Josephine Jungić, "Leonardo da Vinci in Rome: Meditations on the Sermons of Savonarola," *Raccolta Vinciana* 31 (2005), 181-214.

[209] The drawing remained in Melzi's possession until his death; after which, it was purchased by Pompeo Leoni. The drawing's provenance is provided through the Windsor Castle Royal Collection's online database, "Franceso Melzi, *Portrait of Leonardo*," accessed 12.16.12, http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/912726/a-portrait-of-leonardo.

[210] Vasari's account of the portrait drawing is found in Leonardo's *Vita*, *Lives*, I, 634. Based on discoloration, the cutting of the corners, and technical analysis of the reverse, the sheet was mounted to a support at an early date. For more on this issue, see Clayton, *Leonardo da Vinci*, 112.

[211] If Fra Bartolommeo executed the drawings with the intent to display them in his Florentine house, they would have been keeping with Giuliano da Sangallo's collection of portraits of Florentine artists as discussed previously. For more on the portraits of artists owned by Giuliano, see page 68 above.

drawings in their houses, these two artists publically connect themselves to their beloved teachers.

Since Raphael established the image of Michelangelo in Rome through his representation in the *School of Athens*, perhaps Michelangelo sought to advance his own version of his likeness in Florence through the agency of Fra Bartolommeo. It is this understanding that could explain why Michelangelo asked another Florentine to execute his portrait. If, indeed, the drawings were done in 1513-1514, this was the period when Michelangelo and Sebastiano del Piombo first began to work together in Rome.[212] Sebastiano already established himself as a painter of portraits in Venice prior to his connection to Michelangelo.[213] The fact that he did not request the Venetian to produce a "corrective" portrait as a response to Raphael's image is especially revealing, of course, since Sebastiano had left Raphael's studio to work with Michelangelo between 1512 and 1513. Michelangelo's desire for his image to be circulated in his native city is attested by his choice of Fra Bartolommeo, who was not widely known for his portraiture, to capture his likeness in preparation for either a painted portrait to be executed in Florence or for

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[212] Sebastiano was likely introduced to Michelangelo by the Sienese banker, Agostino Chigi (1466-1520), who had brought Sebastiano from his hometown of Venice to Rome in August 1511. Chigi worked for Pope Julius II as a treasurer and had even accompanied the pope on military campaigns. Based on their connection to Julius II, Chigi may have facilitated a meeting between the two artists. Although it is undocumented, scholars traditionally believed that the two artists began working together either in the fall of 1512 or in early 1513, the period shortly after Michelangelo had finished the decoration of the Sistine ceiling. For a discussion of when the two artists met, see Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 32, 41-44; Wallace, *Michelangelo: Artist, Man, and His Times*, 172-176.

[213] For more on Sebastiano's early portraits, see Simon P. Oakes, "The Attribution and Sitter of the Munich Portrait of a Young Man in a Fur Coat," *Renaissance Studies* 22 (2008), 143-153.

display in his Florentine studio.[214] But if this was the plan, we have no other evidence

beyond the drawings. Michelangelo would attempt to establish his image in Florence

under similar circumstances almost ten years later when he asked his friend Giuliano

Bugiardini (1475-1554) to paint his portrait around 1520 [Fig. 62], which is currently in

the Bossi Collection, Genoa. [215]

Bugiardini's portrait of Michelangelo and its circumstances share many

similarities to the two drawings produced by Fra Bartolommeo. Like those images,

Bugiardini represented Michelangelo with his characteristic beard and broken nose. His

artistic costume, however, is given more prominence and almost dominates the entire

composition. Like Fra Bartolommeo, Bugiardini was a Florentine, but he had an even a

closer connection to Michelangelo.[216] Bugiardini may have also served as the conduit for

Fra Bartolommeo's access to Michelangelo, as he had worked for both the Frate and his

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[214] Fra Bartolommeo's portraits are limited, as there are only three examples: a portrait of an unknown sitter of c. 1497 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and two posthumous portraits of Savonarola. The first of the portraits of Savonarola was painted immediately after the friar's death in 1498, and the second done sometime between 1508-1510. For a recent discussion of the portraits of Savonarola, see Ludovica Sebregondi, *Iconografia di Girolamo Savonarola 1498-1998*, (Florence: Tavamuzze, 2004), 5-8, 13-14.

[215] For an early discussion, see Regid de Campos, "Das Porträt Michelangelos mit Turban," 49-51. For a recent discussion of the variants of the portrait and a bibliography, see Laura Pagnotta, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, (Torino: Umberto Allemandi & Co., 1987), 210 no. 43; 229 no. 92; 235 no. 118; and Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 259-264.

[216] For more on the friendship and working relationship between Michelangelo and Bugiardini, see Norman E. Land, "Michelangelo's Shadow: Giuliano Bugiardini," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 31 (2005), 1-18. For an analytic study of Bugiardini's career, see Pagnotta *Giuliano Bugiardini*, passim.

partner, Mariotto Albertinelli.[217] Given his connections with both Michelangelo and Fra

Bartolommeo, it is likely that Bugiardini knew both portrait drawings by the Frate. And

similar to those drawings, there exists a charcoal portrait in the Louvre [Fig. 63] that has

been connected to Bugiardini's portrait.[218] The Louvre drawing, however, was likely

produced in preparation of a painted copy [Fig. 64], also in the Louvre and dated to 1522,

after the original.[219]

The original portrait is intended to connect Michelangelo to the artistic traditions

of Florence, which began with his choice for Bugiardini to paint it. Although Bugiardini

received an unflattering treatment in Vasari's *Vite*, he was a Florentine who was

exceptionally close to Michelangelo and he did enjoy a certain amount of success as a

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[217] For more on Bugiardini's work with both artists, see Pagnotta, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, 25-32.

[218] The attribution of the drawing has been a source of scholarly debate. Michael Hirst believes it to be a self-portrait by Michelangelo; however, Hirst admits that it is difficult to assess, due to its condition. Nonetheless, he believes it was produced in anticipation for the painting in the Louvre, which he does not attribute to any one artist, *Michelangelo Drawings*, 12. Pagnotta believes that the drawing was done after the Genoa portrait, but does not offer an attribution, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, 56-57.

[219] The problems associated with the drawing pales in comparison to the issues of the painted versions. In addition the Louvre and Genoa versions, there is another located in the Casa Buonarroti. A fourth version is located in the Ambrosiana, Milan, but it has been dated to the seventeenth century. In particular, the Louvre version has been the source of various attributions to Sebastiano del Piombo, Daniele da Volterra, Baccio Bandinelli, Jacopino del Conte, Bugiardini, and Michelangelo. Based on stylistic analysis, however, Pagnotta believes that the original version by Bugiardini is located in Genoa, and the versions in the Louvre and Casa Buonarroti are later copies, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, 56-57. Donati believes both versions in the Bossi collection and Louvre are both by Bugiardini, *Ritratto e figura*, 261-263. I am not convinced the Louvre version should be attributed to Bugiardini based on both style and the presence of the inscription, which is not a motif found in any of Bugiardini's other portraits.

portraitist.[220] The two artists had studied together in Domenico Ghirlandaio's workshop

between 1490 and 1491 and in the Medici household under the sculptor Bertoldo di

Giovanni.[221] Michelangelo asked for Bugiardini's assistance in the early stages of the

frescoing of the Sistine Chapel ceiling in 1508.[222] At the time that he executed the

portrait of Michelangelo, Bugiardini was associated with a group of patrons in Florence

who were connected to Pope Leo X and the Medici family. This association was either

the result of his own connections with the family from his youth or through

Michelangelo's support. Yet during the late 1510s and early 1520s, Bugiardini was both

producing copies after the works of Raphael and working in his style.[223] Although this

activity is shocking given his friendship with Michelangelo, it is likely the result of the

pope's preference for the paintings of Raphael, not a deliberate slight against

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[220] Andrew Ladis suggests that Vasari purposefully placed the biography of Bugiardini, whose name translates to "little liar," after that of Baccio Bandinelli, who Vasari characterized as the biggest liar, *Victims and Villians in Vasari's 'Lives'*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 123, 149 note 2. For Vasari's *Vita* of Bugiardini, see *Lives*, II, 309-315. Pagnotta identifies ten portraits by Bugiardini, however, she does not treat them as a group, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, cat. nos. 16, 25, 38, 49, 50, 51, 58, 59, 65, 69.

[221] Land, "Michelangelo's Shadow: Giuliano Bugiardini," 2.

[222] Despite Vasari's and Condivi's claim that Michelangelo did not employ assistants for the execution of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, William E. Wallace has countered that claim based on payment documents and letters, "Michelangelo's Assistants in the Sistine Chapel," 203-204.

[223] For a discussion of Bugiardini's Florentine period between 1520 and 1530, see Pagnotta, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, 53-58. Sometime after 1518, Bugiardini was commissioned to paint a copy of Raphael's portrait of Leo X with Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, but replacing Cardinal Luigi de' Rossi with the patron, Innocenzo Cibo. In a letter from Alfonsian Orsini, we know that Raphael's painting was in Florence by September 8, 1518. For more on Bugiardini's copy and Cibo's relationship to the Medici and Leo X, see Pagnotta, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, 55. For a recent discussion of Raphael's portrait of Leo X and its influence, see Henry and Joannides, *Late Raphael*, 63-64.

Michelangelo. The date of the portrait, however, generally coincides with the death of Raphael in April 1520, which may be viewed in two different ways. Either Michelangelo was attempting to reclaim Bugiardini from Raphael, as he had done with Sebastiano del Piombo just a few years earlier in Rome, or, more likely, Bugiardini's portrait was an attempt by Michelangelo to reaffirm his artistic supremacy at the moment of the death of his most-hated artistic rival.[224] Like the portrait drawings by Fra Bartolommeo, Bugiardini's portrait of Michelangelo was intended for a Florentine audience and can be viewed as a response to Raphael's image of the artist in the *School of Athens*.

Michelangelo's competition with Raphael, living or deceased, may also explain why he did not keep the portrait in his possession. According to Vasari in his *Vita* of Bugiardini, the portrait was commissioned by Ottaviano de' Medici (1482-1547), who occupied a prominent position within the Florentine artistic community.[225] This account, however, cannot be completely trusted as no other evidence suggests that Ottaviano

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[224] For a discussion of Sebastiano's early involvement with Raphael and his subsequent associations with Michelangelo, see Constanza Barbieri, "The Competition Between Raphael and Michelangelo and Sebastiano's Role in It," in *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, edited by Marcia Hall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 141-164.

[225] Ottaviano was a member of the cadet branch of the Medici family and served as an agent on behalf of the Medici family for every major artistic commission within the city of Florence from as early as the 1520s until his death in 1547. Ottaviano's power was so great within the artistic community of Florence and the surrounding areas that Benvenuto Cellini denounced Ottaviano's influence in his autobiography, *Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini*, translated by John Addington Symonds, (London: Macmillan, 1969), 171-172, 187, 189. For a discussion of Ottaviano's role in the artistic community, see Anna Maria Bracciante, *Ottoviano de' Medici e gli Artisti*, (Florence: S.P.E.S, 1984), passim.

played any role in the production of the portrait.[226]   Vasari's account is further

undermined by his statement that Bugiardini gave Ottaviano a portrait of Pope Clement

VII at the same time; however, this portrait postdates Michelangelo's by eleven years.[227]

Instead, it is more likely based on the portrait drawings by Fra Barolommeo that

Michelangelo instigated the painting of his portrait, asking one of his closest friends,

Bugiardini, to execute it as a gift for Ottaviano.[228]   Given Ottaviano's position as the

artistic liaison for the Medici family, Michelangelo may have specifically selected him as

the recipient of the portrait with the hopes of it being prominently displayed. It did not

take long for Michelangelo's hopes to be realized, as the drawing and portrait in the

Louvre [Figs. 62 and 63] suggest that the original was almost immediately copied.

The composition and abstracted background of the version in Genoa [Fig. 62] are

common features among portraits by Bugiardini during the early 1520s, and in particular

his *Portrait of a Woman*, c. 1525 [Fig. 65].[229]   These features were ultimately derived

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[226] Although unlikely, if Ottaviano did commission the portrait, it predated Bishop Paolo Giovio's collection of portraits at Lake Como, which may have been the earliest example of a third-party patron to commission portraits of artists. For a discussion of the history of Giovio's portrait collection and Vasari's later dependency upon it for the 1568 edition, see Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 44-51. For more on Giovio's collection, see above note 137.

[227] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 313. For a discussion of Bugiardini's portrait of Clement VII, modeled after Sebastiano del Piombo's portrait in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles, see Pagnotta, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, 219-220 no. 65.

[228] For the idea of portraits as gifts, see above note 119.

[229] For a discussion regarding the portrait, see Pagnotta, *Giuliano Bugiardini*, 214-215 no. 50. For a recent bibliography, see The National Gallery's online collections database, "Giuliano Bugiardini, *Portrait of Young Woman*," accessed 12.20.12, http://www.nga.gov/fcgi-bin/tinfo_f?object=172&detail=lit.

from Raphael, as seen in his portrait of Baldassare Castlione [Fig. 58] discussed above.

Given Michelangelo's ambitions for the image, it is not surprising that he would want to

be represented in the most fashionable portrait style of the moment. The most striking

feature of the portrait, however, is the white headdress, which is often misidentified in the

modern literature as a turban, or *tolipante* in Italian. The *tolipante* was associated only

with the Turks during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and, therefore, its use to

describe Michelangelo's headdress is historically and ethnically inaccurate.[230] The head

garment can be more usefully compared to one worn in a portrait of an unknown sitter by

Jan van Eyck [Fig. 66]; however, van Eyck's headdress is a chaperon, which had a

wooden ring to provide structure to the fabric.[231] Since Michelangelo's headdress does

not contain a supporting ring, it is likely a *cappuccio*, the term used by Vasari to describe

similar garments associated with artistic production.[232] This *cappuccio* is especially

noteworthy since it is the only sanctioned portrait of Michelangelo to include it. When

the history of the *cappuccio* is taken into consideration, the mere inclusion of this humble

garment speaks not only to Michelangelo's aspirations for his most recent commission,

the Medici Chapel, but also to his desire to be seen as the heir to the rich artistic

traditions of Florence of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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[230] Redig de Campos, "Porträt Michelangelos mit dem Turban," 49-51.

[231] The portrait is believed by some scholars to be a self-portrait. For a recent discussion of Jan van Eyck's portrait, see Campbell, *Renaissance Faces*, 178. For a discussion of chaperons in the fifteenth century, see Paul van Calster, "Of Beardless Painters and Red Chaperons: A Fifteenth-Century Whodunit," *Zietschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 66 (2003), 465-492.

[232] Vasari/Milanesi, *Vite*, I, 606.

Like Fra Bartolommeo's portrait drawings, the date of Bugiardini's portrait, c. 1520, coincides with another period of intense artistic activity for Michelangelo, who had just received the commission to erect and decorate the New Sacristy (commonly known as the Medici Chapel) at the Medicean parish church of San Lorenzo, Florence.[233] The chapel was his largest marble project and, based on the amount of time he spent in Carrara quarrying marble for the project, he certainly viewed it as an opportunity to cement further his position among the greatest of Florentine artists. Even more ambitious than his use of marble, Michelangelo's vision for the Medici Chapel and its decoration was to be a unified fusion of the three major arts of sculpture, painting, and architecture. Michelangelo must have intended it to be an unprecedented artistic achievement, outstripping not only any work by any single artist of the immediately previous generation, but even any monumental project in Florence's grand and illustrious history. In particular, the chapel deliberately competed with those projects from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that were carried out by a collaborative assembly of the city's preeminent artists.[234] Indeed, even while the Medici Chapel was still incomplete, Vasari

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[233] The foundation of the modern literature is Charles de Tolnay's monograph, *The Medici Chapel*. However, there have been great strides in our overall understanding of Michelangelo's work at San Lorenzo, see Wallace, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo*, passim.

[234] The most notable of these projects would be the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in San Miniato al Monte, Florence. The chapel, executed between 1460 and 1473, like the New Sacristy, combined all three major arts. Typical of fifteenth-century traditions, however, the construction and its elaborate decoration were carried out by a team of artists. The design of the chapel was entrusted to the architect, Antonio Manetti, and his successor, Antonio Rossellino, who also executed the sculpture with his brother, Bernardo. Luca della Robbia executed the polychrome enameled terracotta. And the painting in the chapel was done by Alesso Baldovinetti with Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo. All seven members of the team who worked collaboratively on the project were masters in their own right. This arrangement is in direct contrast to what Michelangelo has set up for himself in the Medici Chapel, where he, alone, was master

states, "With these [seven statues], and with the architectural inventions of the tombs, it must be confessed that [Michelangelo] surpassed every man in these three professions; to which testimony is borne by the statues of marble, blocked out and finished by him, which are to be seen in that place."[235]

The most immediate comparison for Michelangelo's Medici Chapel was the other Medicean funerary chapel at San Lorenzo, the Old Sacristy. Located off the left transept, the architecture for the Old Sacristy was commissioned sometime before 1422 by Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (1360-1429) from Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1447) and completed by 1428.[236] The decoration of the space was taken over by the leading Florentine sculptor Donatello (1386-1466), who executed the stucco reliefs in the roundels and the two sets of bronze doors.[237] The chapel was initially intended to serve

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over all aspects of the project: sculpture, painting and architecture. For a discussion of the chapel, see Frederick Hartt, *The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, 1434-1459*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), passim.; and Eric Apfelstadt, "Bishop and Pawn: New Documents for the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal at S. Miniato al Monte, Florence," in *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, edited by Kate J.P. Lowe, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 183-224.

[235] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 681.

[236] For the history of the architecture, see Pietro Ruschi, "La Sagrestia Vecchia di San Lorenzo Storia e architettura," in *Brunelleschi e Donatello nella Sagrestia Vecchia di S. Lorenzo*, edited by Umberto Baldini, (Firenze: Il Fiorino-Alinari, 1989), 13-54.

[237] For Donatello's stuccoes, see Christina Danti, "Gli stucchi di Donatello," in *Brunelleschi e Donatello nella Sagrestia Vecchia di S. Lorenzo*, edited by Umberto Baldini, (Florence: Il Fiorino-Alinari, 1989), 55-112. For a discussion of Donatello's bronze doors for the chapel's altarwall, see John T. Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors for the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo," *Artibus et historiae* 11 (1990), 39-69.

as a sacristy, but it soon doubled as a mausoleum for the Medici.[238] The Old Sacristy, with its architecture by Brunelleschi and its subsequent sculptural decoration by Donatello, was considered to be the crown jewel of artistic achievement of the fifteenth century, and it was emulated in no less than twenty other buildings throughout Italy.[239] The competition between Michelangelo and the artists of the Old Sacristy was even more immediate considering that the foundation for the New Sacristy was partially erected under Brunelleschi.[240] It remained unfinished until Michelangelo took over the commission for the architecture in November of 1520, making Michelangelo quite literally the heir to the fifteenth-century traditions established by Brunelleschi.

Despite the architectural commission linking Michelangelo to Brunelleschi, the most direct comparison for Bugiardini's portrait is surprisingly to the portrait of Donatello in the Louvre portrait panel of five Florentines [Fig. 40]. On the far right of the panel is the portrait of Brunelleschi and in the center is Donatello, who is depicted with a black *cappuccio*. As Vasari mentions that he saw the panel in the Florentine house of Giuliano da Sangallo, it might be possible that Michelangelo was also familiar with the

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[238] Paoletti, "Donatello's Bronze Doors," 39. For a discussion of the sacristy, its function and decoration, see Dale Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 186-197.

[239] For more on the influence of the Old Sacristy, see Arnaldo Bruschi, "Religious Architecture in Renaissance Italy from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo," in *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture*, edited by Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 123-127; and, Marvin Trachtenberg, "On Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy as Model for Early Renaissance Church Architecture," in *L'Eglise dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, edited by Jean Guillaume, (Paris: Picard, 1995), 9-39.

[240] Frank Zöllner, *Michelangelo: Complete Works*, (Köln and Los Angeles: Taschen, 2007), 426.

portrait.[241] For Vasari, the grouping of artists represented distinguished craftsmen, whom

he called the "Fathers of Perspective."[242] Vasari used the panel as a source for the

frontispieces in the 1568 *Lives* for not only the portrait of Brunelleschi [Fig. 67], but also

for the portrait of Donatello [Fig. 68].[243]

Both in the Louvre panel and in Vasari's later portrait, Donatello's *cappuccio* is

analogous to that worn by Michelangelo's in the Bugiardini portrait. Moreover, when

these two portraits are compared, there are striking parallels between the two. Where

Donatello wears a white shirt and a black *cappuccio*, Michelangelo wears a black shirt

with a white *cappuccio*. In every aspect, these two portraits serve as complements, even

their poses are mirror images of each other. It has long been known that early in

Michelangelo's career he constructed his artistic identity based on competition with

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[241] Vasari implies that Giuliano da Sangallo and Michelangelo shared a close relationship, as Giuliano assisted the artist in securing the commissions for the tomb of Pope Julius II, the Sistine Chapel ceiling, as well as the bronze seated portrait of the pope on the façade of San Petronio, Bologna, *Lives*, II, 666, 704-706. Also, according to Vasari, Giuliano and his brother Antonio built the wooden framework to transport the *David* from the Piazza del Duomo to the Piazza Signoria, *Lives*, II, 654. When commissioned to execute the façade of San Lorenzo, Michelangelo apparently had access to Giuliano's early designs from the competition of 1515, which would suggest a close friendship, James S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 55-56.

[242] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 288.

[243] For more on the visual sources for the woodcut portraits included in Vasari's 1568 edition of the *Vite*, see above note 108. In 1572, Vasari returned to the Louvre prototype for the portrait of Donatello, which was included among similar images of the greatest Florentine artists frescoed on the walls of the Sala Grande in his house in Florence. For a discussion of the decoration of Vasari's house in Florence, see Fredericka Herman Jacobs, "Vasari's Vision of the History of Painting: Frescoes in the Casa Vasari, Florence," *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984), 399-416.

specific works by Donatello.[244] For Michelangelo, Donatello represented the culmination

of a long, rich tradition of Florentine sculptors, and in that capacity he might be said to

represent the ideal sculptor. Michelangelo's quest to assume the position as heir to that

tradition can be attested by the fact that Michelangelo went to great lengths during the

early part of his career to be addressed as a sculptor.[245] This self-identification as a

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[244] It has been suggested that Vasari's *Vita* of Michelangelo informs the *Vita* of Donatello as there are analogies that link the two biographies together, Barbara J. Watts, "Giorgio Vasari's *Vita di Michelangelo* and the Shade of Donatello," in *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Fedele to Louis XIV*, edited by Thomas F. Mages and D.R. Woolf, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 69-70; also see Kemp, "The 'Super-Artist' as Genius," 46. Much of Michelangelo's early sculpture can be seen as competing with the work of Donatello, such as the *Madonna of the Stairs* and the *David*. The connection between Michelangelo and Donatello was so immediate that Vasari had used the *Vita* of Donatello, to a certain extent, as a foil for the *Vita* of Michelangelo, which is made explicit on the last page of Donatello's biography, "I will not forbear to say that the most learned and very reverend Don Vincenzo Borghini, of whom mention has been made above with regard to some other matter, has collected into a large book innumerable drawings by excellent painters and sculptors, both ancient and modern; and on the ornamental borders of two leaves opposite to each other, which contain drawings by the hand of Donato and of Michelangelo Buonarroti, he has written, with much judgment, two Greek epigrams; on Donato, and on Michelangelo, which mean in Latin, 'Aut Donatus Bonarrotum exprimit et revert; auto Bonarrotus Donatum,' and in our own tongue, 'Either the spirit of Donato works in Buonarroti, or that of Buonarroti began by working in Donato,'" *Lives*, I, 377-378. While in the house of Lorenzo de' Medici, Michelangelo was a student of Bertoldo di Giovanni, the last surviving student of Donatello, who introduced the young Michelangelo to the genius of Donatello, Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, "'The Nurse of Settignano': Michelangelo's Beginnings as a Sculptor," in *The Genius of the Sculptor in Michelangelo's Work*, edited by Pietro Marani, (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 25. Also, by the same author, "I primordi di Michelangelo scultore," in *Giovinezza di Michelangelo*, edited by Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, Cristina Acidini Luchinat, James David Draper, and Nicolas Penny, (Florence and Milan: Artificio Skira, 1999), 69-104.

[245] Michelangelo's quest to be viewed as a sculptor is most notable in the correspondence during this period, where he signed his letters as "Michelangelo scultore." For a discussion of Michelangelo's conception of himself as a sculptor, see Weil-Garris Brandt, "The Nurse of Settignano," 22. Although Michelangelo stopped referring to himself as a sculptor about the time of Bugiardini's portrait, he apparently revisited the association late in his life. In Condivi's discussion of the *Battle of the Centaurs* relief, he states, a

marble carver eventually led to Sigismundo Fanti using Michelangelo's likeness as the emblematic sculptor in 1526 [Fig. 69].[246] Bugiardini's portrait, however, sought to move beyond simply representing Michelangelo as the "new Donatello" and instead appears to compete with the idea of artistic genius that is represented by images of the sculptor. If Michelangelo simply wanted only to recall Donatello himself and his work in the Old Sacristy, then he could have had Bugiardini represent him in the exact same pose and combination of white shirt and black *cappuccio*. Instead, the colors of the garments and pose are reversed, thus implying that Michelangelo has transformed the idea of the sculptor as represented by Donatello into a more universal image.

In this context, Bugiardini's portrait, then, is much more than Michelangelo as heir to Donatello, and perhaps its meaning relates to the tradition of the *cappuccio* itself. Traditionally, the *cappuccio* was worn by artists in the fifteen century, and particularly by sculptors, who used it to keep sweat and marble dust out their hair. This understanding of the *cappuccio*'s utility is supported by a passage in Leonardo da Vinci's writings on the

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"Michelangelo set out to do it in marble in mezzo-rilievo, and he succeeded so well that I recall hearing him say that, whenever he sees it again, he realizes what a great wrong he committed against nature by not promptly pursuing the art of sculpture," *Life*, 15. Further evidence of Michelangelo's desire during this period to be seen as a sculptor is found in an annotation in Condivi's *Life of Michelangelo* by Tiberio Calcagni, who–along side the discussion of Michelangelo's *Battle of Centaurs* relief–states that "On the contrary, he says that sculpture is his art…" For more on the annotations by Calcagni in Condivi's text, see Elam, "Tiberio Calcagni's Marginal Annotations," 483.

[246] For more on Sigismundo Fanti's image of Michelangelo and its use within the *Triompho di Fortuna*, see Geraldine Johnson, "Michelangelo, Fortunetelling and the Formation of Artistic Canons in Fanti's *Triompho di Fortuna*," in *Coming About…:A Festschrift for John Shearman*, edited by Lars Jones and John Shearman, (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 2001), 199-205; and, Ragionieri, *Michelangelo tra Firenze e Roma*, 20 no. 2.

paragone, in which he describes marble carving as a profession that involved a great deal

of physical labor:

> The only difference I find between painting and sculpture is that the sculptor conducts his work with greater bodily fatigue and the painter conducts his work with greater mental fatigue. You can prove that this is true because when the sculpture makes his work he consumes the marble and other stone covering in excess of the figure enclosed within by effort of his arm and by percussion, which is a highly mechanical exercise, often accompanied by great amounts of sweat composed of dust and converted into mud. With his face caked and all floured with marble dust, he looks like a baker, and covered with minute flakes that look as though it has snowed on his back, and his house is filthy and full of chips and stone dust.[247]

Based on this passage, the *cappuccio* would have been an essential part of the sculptor's

wardrobe, and seems to be ubiquitous in the depictions of sculptors in the fifteenth

century, and in particular those images that depict the sculptor at work. Examples

include the relief from the niche of the *Four Crowned Saints* at Orsanmichele in

Florence, executed by Nanni di Banco in 1416 [Fig. 70].[248] The relief depicts the interior

of a sculptor's workshop, and on the right half of the composition, we see two sculptors

in the act of carving: the sculptor on the left is carving an architectural capital and the

other is sculpting a figure. Both of these artists are wearing *cappucci* analogous to that

worn by Michelangelo in the Bugiardini portrait. Likewise, the *cappuccio* is prominently

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[247] The translation of the passage is Claire J. Farago's, *Leonardo da Vinci's* Paragone: *A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the* Codex Urbinas, (Leiden, New York, Kobenhaven, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1992), 256-257.

[248] The tabernacle is dedicated to the *Quattro Santi Coronati*, the patron saints of the stonemasons and carpenters. The socle relief also contains images of *muratori* and *lastraiuoli* (masons and carvers) at work. For more on the scene, see Mary Bergstein, *The Sculpture of Nanni di Banco*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 20-21, 120-121.

featured in a small panel from the back of the bronze doors for St. Peter's in Rome by the

Florentine sculptor Filarete, between 1433 and 1445 [Fig. 71].[249] The panel depicts the

artist and his assistants. The central figure wears both what has been identified as a

sculptor's apron and a *cappuccio*, again anticipating the one worn by Michelangelo.[250] In

both Nanni di Banco's socle panel and Filarete's bronze relief the *cappuccio* is worn only

by members of the workshop. In the case of the bronze doors for St. Peter's, Filarete

depicts himself at the right of the composition wearing a type of felt hat. Thus, the

cappuccio in these examples is associated with the idea of manual labor and not the

intellectual work that rests with the master.[251]

It is with the Florentine sculptor, Lorenzo Ghiberti, however, that the *cappuccio*

appears as an emblem that signifies the artist as both maker and intellectual genius.[252]

Ghiberti included his self-portrait with a *cappuccio* [Fig. 21] on the first set of bronze

doors executed for the Florentine Baptistery between 1403 and 1424.[253] The prestigious

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[249] For a discussion of the panel, see Catherine King, "Filarete's Portrait Signature on the Bronze Doors of St. Peter's and the Dance of Bathyles and His Assistants," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990), 296-299.

[250] In addition to the garments, Woods-Marsden suggests that each member holds a tool associated with their responsibility within the *bottega*: claw hammer, compass, sextant, sickle, trowel, file, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture*, 55.

[251] For a discussion, see Kristina Herrmann-Fiore, "Il tema "Labor" nella creazione artistica del Rinascimento," in *Der Künstler sich in seinem Werk*, edited by Matthias Winner and Oskar Bätschmann, (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1992), 245-292.

[252] This is analogous to an event that takes place at the end of the fifteenth century when the German sculptor Adam Kraft represents himself and his assistants in traditional sculptor's garb including the *cappuccio* at the base of the tabernacle at S. Lorenz, Nuremburg. For Adam Kraft, see Schleif, "Nicodemus and Sculptors," 599-626.

[253] For more on Ghiberti's self-portrait, see above note 114.

award for the commission of the bronze doors was a result of the famed 1401 competition, in which seven Italian sculptors competed, among whom were Brunelleschi and Jacopo della Quercia.[254] Despite the fact that he was unproven as a bronze caster at the time of the competition, which was not unlike Michelangelo's own level of experience with architecture at the time of the New Sacristy commission, Ghiberti nonetheless won the competition. The *cappuccio* in the self-portrait, therefore, highlights not only Ghiberti's talent as a craftsman in the execution of the doors, but it also suggests the superiority of his intellect, an aspect reinforced by Ghiberti signing the doors in Latin.

Ghiberti's bronze doors, like the later Old Sacristy, were a prestigious commission that was seen as a triumph of artistic genius.[255] Although Michelangelo sought to connect himself with this tradition through the *cappuccio*, the doors did not offer an appropriate analogy for his project at the Medici Chapel where he sought to combine the three major arts: painting, sculpture, and architecture.[256] Instead, the origin

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[254] For a discussion of the competition and Ghiberti's competition panel, see Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), I, 31-49.

[255] Ghiberti certainly perpetuated this idea in his *Second Commentary*, which was later maintained by Vasari, "This work was brought to that completion and perfection without sparing any labor or time that could be devoted to a work in bronze, seeing that the limbs of the nudes are most beautiful in every part; and in the draperies although they hold a little to the old manner of Giotto's time, there is a general feeling that inclines to the manner of the moderns, and produces, in figures of that size, a certain very lovely grace. And in truth the composition of each scene is so well ordered and so finely arranged, that he rightly deserved to obtain that praise which Filippo had given him at that beginning– nay, even more. And in like manner he gained most honorable recognition among his fellow citizens, and was consummately extolled by them and by the native and foreign craftsmen," *Lives*, I. 296. For more on the manifestations of genius during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Kemp, "The 'Super-Artist' as Genius," 32-53.

[256] Michelangelo was known to have admired the work of Ghiberti, especially the second set of bronze doors for the Florentine baptistery. According to Vasari, Michelangelo, when viewing Ghiberti's second set of bronze doors, said, "They are so beautiful that

of Michelangelo's *cappuccio* must surely go back even further to Orcagna's self-portrait in the *Death and Assumption of the Virgin* relief on the Tabernacle at Orsanmichele (1352-1360) [Figs. 20 and 72].[257]

The monument was of the utmost importance to the fabric of the city. In addition to the monument being housed within one of the most prominent buildings in Florence, the marble narrative is located on the side that faces the Via dei Calzaiuoli. The tabernacle at Orsanmichele was considered to be one of the most prominent commissions in the history of Florence.[258] Michelangelo would have known the tabernacle not only because of its artistic importance, but also because it housed the efficacious icon of the Virgin by Bernardo Daddi.[259] Moreover, it combined the three major arts of painting,

they would do well for the gates of Paradise." This quote is the root of their common name, The Doors of Paradise, *Lives*, I, 304.

[257] For more on Orcagna's self-portrait see pages 44-45 above.

[258] The tabernacle was given exceptional praise by Ghiberti in his second *Commentari* written in the late 1440s, calling it "a very excellent and unique thing made with very great diligence," Christine Knapp Fengler, "Lorenzo Ghiberti's 'Second Commentary': The Translation and Interpretation of a Fundamental Renaissance Treatise on Art.," PhD diss. (University of Wisconsin, 1974), 32-33. Vasari also praised the monument in his *Vita* of Orcagna, by stating, "…although it is in a German manner, for that style has so great grace and proportion that it holds the first place among the works of those times, above all because its composition of figures great and small, and of angels and prophets in half-relief round the Madonna, is very well executed. Marvelous, also, is the casting of the bands of bronze, diligently polished […] But how much he labored in order to show the subtlety of his intellect in that gross age is seen in a large scene in half-relief on the back…of the shrine," *Lives*, I, 185-186. The praise of Orcagna's monument has continued by modern scholars. According to Millard Meiss, the tabernacle was the "greatest sculptural enterprise of the time," *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 13. For the artistic significance of the tabernacle in Florence, see Kreytenberg, *Orcagna's Tabernacle*, 54-55.

[259] Kreytenberg, *Orcagna's Tabernacle*, 25-27.

sculpture and architecture. The idea that Michelangelo would want to recall a *trecento* artist may come as a surprise, especially considering the modern understanding of Michelangelo as more focused on his artistic relationship with the fifteenth century. Indeed, when addressing the topic of Michelangelo and the fourteenth century, the majority of scholars do not venture beyond Michelangelo's affinity for the poetry of Dante Alighieri and the works by Giotto.[260] We do know that Michelangelo as a young student studied works of art from the fourteenth century, which is evident in a drawing after a fresco by Giotto in the Peruzzi Chapel at Santa Croce in Florence.[261]

Yet, when Orcagna's tabernacle is considered in the context of Bugiardini's portrait of Michelangelo, it offers a much richer understanding of how Michelangelo sought to construct an artistic identity for himself. Indeed, at the time of Bugiardini's portrait, he was at the threshold of the single most important commission of his career. It should then come as no surprise that Michelangelo would fold one of the most important artists and his most famous work of art into his artistic identity. Despite the fact there is little notice of Orcagna in Michelangelo's development as an artist, he was celebrated both in his own lifetime and by Vasari as a practitioner of all three major arts: painting, sculpture, and architecture.[262] The fact that Orcagna received such a designation from

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[260] For a discussion of Michelangelo's view of Giotto, see Summers, *Michelangelo: Language of Art*, 469-470 note 8. For more on Michelangelo's use of Giotto and Dante in the construction of his artistic identity, see Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 1-32, 47-58.

[261] For a discussion of the Michelangelo's drawing after Giotto, see Hirst, *Michelangelo Drawings*, 59-60.

[262] For the diverse stances in the modern scholarship on the importance of Orcagna, not in his own lifetime, but to the development of the Italian Renaissance, see Boskovits, "Orcagna in 1357," 237.

Vasari speaks to his importance, especially considering that Vasari gave only two other artists all three titles: Andrea del Verrocchio and Michelangelo.

The identification of Orcagna's self-portrait was well-known throughout Florence to the point that Vasari, in his description of the narrative, explains that it served as his prototype for the woodcut portrait of Orcagna in the 1568 edition of the *Vite* [Fig. 73], "In one of these Apostles he portrayed himself in marble, old, as he was, with the beard shaven, with the cap round the head, and with the face flat and round, as it is seen above in his portrait, drawn from that one."[263] As already discussed in Chapter 3, Orcagna promoted himself–via his self-portrait and signature–as a painter, sculptor, and architect.[264] This type of device, where Orcanga signs his name to a work of art and in turn promotes his mastery in a different medium, was commonly employed by the trecento artist.[265]

Orcagna's inscription focuses the viewer's praise on himself as the artist, but did not acknowledge the assistance of the workshop in its execution. Despite Orcagna's implicit claim, Vasari notes that Orcagna hired the greatest talents from all the districts of Florence.[266] Yet, his type of self-fashioning was so potent that when Ghiberti praises the tabernacle in his second *Commentary*, he states, "[Orcagna] was a great

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[263] Vasari, *Lives*, I, 186. For a discussion of Vasari's woodcut portrait of Orcagna, see Prinz, "Vasaris sammlung von Künstlerbildnissen," 60-61.

[264] For Orcagna's self-promotion, see above page 45.

[265] In the case of Orcagna, Vasari states, "He used to write in his pictures: 'Fece Andrea di Cione, scultore'; and in his sculptures: 'Fece Andrea di Cione, pittore'; wishing that his painting should be known by his sculpture, and his sculpture by his painting," *Lives*, I, 186.

[266] Ibid., I, 185.

designer/architect and carried out all the [work of the tabernacle] with his own hands."[267]

This understanding of the tabernacle as a work designed and executed by Orcagna alone is reinforced by the depiction of the artist not with his workshop, but among Christ's Apostles. The *cappuccio* identifies him as both maker and artistic genius and at the same time proclaims his mastery in painting, sculpture, and architecture. It is this precise artistic heritage, emblemized by Orcagna's *cappuccio*, that Michelangelo used to construct his identity in Bugiardini's portrait, for in the New Sacristy he, too, was the sole maker and artistic genius of painting, sculpture, and architecture. The association between Michelangelo and Orcagna suggested by Bugiardini's portrait would have been immediate to anyone who heard the name of Orcagna, which is an Italian colloquialism for Archangel, thus implicitly evoking the one who was given the Archangel Michael's name, Michelangelo.[268]

By connecting himself to both the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century artists Orcagna and Donatello, Michelangelo presents himself as the manifestation of the third generation of Italian artists. Perhaps not coincidently, thirty years after the portrait, Vasari would implement a parallel organizing structure for his *Vite*, culminating with Michelangelo as the pinnacle of all three epochs. Instead of Donatello representing the leading artist of the fifteenth century, however, Vasari chose Andrea del Verrocchio who, with both Orcagna and Michelangelo, received the honor of being called a painter, a sculptor, and an architect. Vasari's choice may have been based on his belief that

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[267] Fengler, "Lorenzo Ghiberti's 'Second Commentary'," 32.

[268] For his nickname, see Miklòs Boskovits, "Orcagna in 1357 – and in Other Times," *The Burlington Magazine* 113 (1971), 239 note 1.

Verrocchio was a distant relative of Orcagna, as they shared the same surname of

Cione.[269] The precedent for establishing a connection with the artistic traditions of

Florence through a bloodline was provided by Cennino Cennini in his introduction to the

Libro dell'Arte, where he traced his artistic heritage all the way back to Giotto through

Agnolo and Taddeo Gaddi.[270] Like Cennino, Michelangelo did not come from a family

of artists. Among Michelangelo's ancestors, who can be traced back to the twelfth

century, there are no artisans, writers or professional intellectuals.[271] Bugiardini's

portrait attempts to promote Michelangelo as a legitimate heir to the artistic traditions of

Florence, which had been previously passed down through bloodlines, such as the Gaddi,

the Cione, and even Michelangelo's teacher, Ghirlandaio. This aspect of his artistic

identity runs counter to what he later advances through his biography, where Condivi

deliberately obscures Michelangelo's artistic training and goes so far as to suggest that

his ability to work in marble was passed onto him through his wetnurse, a stoneworker's

wife from Settinagno.[272]

Like the drawings by Fra Bartolommeo, Bugiardini's portrait suggests how

Michelangelo aimed to control his image during the 1510s and early 1520s. In both

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[269] In his discussion of the burial of Verrocchio, Vasari states "…Lorenzo di Credi…brought his remains from Venice and laid them in the Church of S. Ambrogio, in the tomb of Ser Michele di Cione," *Lives*, I, 555. Although it has not been proven, it would appear that the surname is derived from the same family as Orcagna. For a discussion of Verrocchio's early biography, see Andrew Butterfield, *The Sculpture of Andrea Verrocchio*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 2-4.

[270] Cennini, *Craftsman's Handbook*, 2.

[271] De Tolnay, *Michelangelo: Youth*, 3; Wallace, "Michael Angelus Buonarotus," 60-61.

[272] Condivi, *Life of Michelangelo*, 6-7. Also, see Weil-Garris Brandt, "The Nurse of Settignano," 23.

examples, Michelangelo employed the agency of his friends from Florence to establish his artistic identity through the idiosyncratic visual vocabulary of Florence. The Tuscan-centric nature of the portraits was clearly a response to the likeness of Michelangelo produced by Raphael and Dürer, who had used Michelangelo's image as a broader emblem of artistic achievement, which in some fashion was linked to his melancholic genius. Despite both artists honoring Michelangelo's intellect and skill as the universal artist, his commissioned portraits suggest that his achievements were meant for his, and for only his, fame and glory. Michelangelo's ambition to be viewed as the artistic heir to the illustrious artistic traditions of Florence did not last. As the artist aged, Michelangelo became more preoccupied with a much different type of legacy: his nobility.

CHAPTER 4

NO LONGER AN ARTIST: MICHELANGELO'S USE OF PORTRAITS IN THE

ADVANCEMENT OF HIS SOCIAL IDENTITY, 1544-1553

Bugiardini's portrait emphasizes Michelangelo's artistic identity and his connection to the Florentine artistic traditions through the use of the *cappuccio*; however, the idea of Michelangelo as an "artist" was later superseded by a series of images and texts that projected a noble heritage. This later campaign serves as the foundation for the modern understanding of Michelangelo's personality and public persona. Indeed, in the opening paragraphs of his essay on Michelangelo's youth, Kenneth Clark describes a much different artist than the one that was advanced by Bugiardini's portrait:

> [M]ichelangelo has made his own terms with posterity, just as he did with his employers. He is the most concentrated and undeviating of great artists. We come to him for one particular revelation, communicated by one particular means. And the revelation is so important to us, and the mastery of means so absolute, that having once experienced it we, like his contemporaries, can never get it out of our systems. It makes everything else seem small and tame and worldly.
>   When we speak of an artist's greatness, as opposed to his talent or even his genius, we are usually referring to an aspect of his personality, and this is particularly true of Michelangelo. We know about him from many contemporary records… [that] gives us the impression of an awe-inspiring character. Leaving aside the great religious teachers, I cannot think of any other man in history who has commanded such respect.[273]

Clark's understanding of Michelangelo as an otherworldly man of profound wisdom is not only a reflection of his artistic achievements and extraordinary intellect, but also is a

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[273] Kenneth Clark, "The Young Michelangelo," in *Renaissance Profiles*, edited by J.H. Plumb, (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 37-38.

result of Michelangelo's campaign to advance his self-created public image between 1544 and 1553. In no other period did Michelangelo so tenaciously commission, and participat in, projects that cultivated his image. The variety of these projects, which included paintings, prints, biographies and other publications, can only be compared to programs associated with rulers and popes. Each of these artistic and literary projects not only advanced his likeness, but also contributed greatly to the reputation of his intellect and personality.

The sheer number of these portraits and rapid pace in which they were produced indicates that Michelangelo felt a sense of urgency, which was certainly due to his advanced age and the two severe illnesses he suffered. The first of these ailments occurred at the end of June, 1544, when the artist was sixty-nine years old. It left him bedridden for almost a month.[274] His illness was so severe that Michelangelo and his closest friends believed his death was near. As the news of his illness spread throughout the city, friends, and noblemen, even Pope Paul III, visited the artist at his bedside.[275] The fear of his death led to several rumors that spread throughout Rome and Florence

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[274] For a recent discussion on Michelangelo's illness, see Maria Ruvoldt, "Michelangelo's *Slaves* and the Gift of Liberty," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (2012), 1029-1059, esp. 1033-1035. At the time Michelangelo fell ill, Michelangelo's friend and business advisor, Luigi del Riccio (d. 1546), requested that the artist take up residence in the Palazzo Strozzi in Rome. Del Riccio, who was working for Roberto Strozzi, had been living in the Palazzo Strozzi on Via de' Banchi in Rome. It is worth noting that as a gift of gratitude, in 1546 Michelangelo gave Roberto Strozzi the two Louvre *Captives* from the Pope Julius II tomb project, Pope-Hennessey, *High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 433.

[275] The number of Michelangelo's visitors was so great, del Riccio wrote in a letter, dated July 23, 1544, to Roberto Strozzi in Lyon, that "tutto Roma" came to see him. For the letter, see *Carteggio*, IV, 182 note 3. Given the severity of Michelangelo's illness, it is surprising that his nephew Lionardo did not travel from Florence to visit, for which Michelangelo had later reprimanded him in a letter dated July 11, 1544, *Carteggio,* IV, 183.

that he had indeed died.[276] After Michelangelo's fever broke at the end of July, he had

recovered enough to move back to his house on the piazza Macel de' Corvi.[277] As his

health improved, fears of his death faded. Concerns were, however, renewed when

Michelangelo fell ill with a second severe fever at the end of the 1545.[278]

The letters and poetry written by Michelangelo during and immediately following

this period indicate that both afflictions had a profound impact on his view of his own

mortality.[279] These concerns led to the execution of the *Florentine Pietà* sometime in

1547 [Fig. 37], which was intended for his tomb in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.[280]

The sculpture, which includes the only self-image created by the artist, indicates the

extent to which Michelangelo was preoccupied with his salvation shortly after his two

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[276] Ramsden, *Letters,* II, 270-271.

[277] Although Michelangelo had resided in the house on the piazza Macel de' Corvi since 1513, he did not officially own the property until sometime around 1532 when it was given to him by Pope Julius II's nephew Cardinal Leonardo Grosso della Rovere as part of the renegotiated contract for the Julius II tomb. For a discussion of the documents and letters associated with the property and Michelangelo's use of it, see Rab Hatfield, *The Wealth of Michelangelo*, (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2002), 98-103.

[278] For a discussion of the letters between Michelangelo and his nephew Lionardo concerning his second illness, see Ramsden, *Letters,* II, 269-271.

[279] Michelangelo's concerns with death were arguably exacerbated by the death of two of his closest friends, Vittoria Colonna and del Riccio, the following year. For more on Michelangelo's preoccupation with his death and his increased piety expressed in letters and poems prior to the death of Colonna, see Alexander Nagal, "Gifts for Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna," *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997), 647-668; and James A. Connor, *The Last Judgment: Michelangelo and The Death of the Renaissance*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 206-208. Michelangelo's religious views expressed by his late poetry is discussed by Jean-Pierre Barricelli, "Michelangelo's Finito: In the Self, the Later Sonnets, and the Last Pietà," *New Literary History* 24 (1993), 597-616, especially 600-605.

[280] For a discussion on the sculpture and its intended purpose, see above pages 59-64.

severe fevers. In addition to his private religious concerns during this period, Michelangelo's attention also turned to perpetuating his social standing as a nobleman.

Immediately after Michelangelo's first illness in the summer of 1544, he commissioned a painted portrait [Fig. 74] from either Jacopino del Conte (1515–1598) or Daniele da Volterra (c. 1509-1566).[281] It was never completed, with only the head and the hands fully executed. The unfinished panel is currently located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Recent scholarly debate has resulted in a change of attribution from the Florentine painter Jacopino del Conte to the Tuscan Daniele da Volterra.[282] Although it

[281] The bibliography of the portrait is extensive and is catalogued on the Metropolitan Museum's online database, "Daniele da Volterra, *Portrait of Michelangelo*," accessed 1.1.2012, www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110001215. For the early bibliography, see Steinmann, *Portraitdarstellungen*, 26. The major contributions to the literature post-Steinmann are as follows: Iris H. Cheney, "Notes on Jacopino del Conte," *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970), 38 no. 51; Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion, and Collecting in England and France*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976), 32; Jean S. Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia: The Oratory of S Giovanni Decollato in Rome*, (Ann Arbor, MI, 1984), 69, 164 no. 2; Paoletti, "Michelangelo's Masks," 431, fig. 8; Wallace, "Michael Angelus Buonarotus," 65-66; Carl Brandon Strehlke, *Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and the Renaissance in Florence*, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2005), 182, no. 56; John Garton, *Grace and Grandeur: The Portraiture of Paolo Veronese*, (London: Harvey Miller, 2008), 129.

[282] The provenance of the Metropolitan panel can be traced to a collection in the Chaix d'Est-Ange, Paris. This is the version believed by Steinmann to be the original, *Portraitdarstellungen*, 21-34. The reattribution is made by Andrea Donati, "Il ritratto di Michelangelo Buonarroti da Giuliano Bugiardini a Daniele Ricciarelli," in *La Forma del Rinascimento: Donatello, Andrea Bregno, Michelangelo e la scultura a Roma nel Quattrocento,* edited by Claudio Crescentini, (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2010), 201-204. Those scholars who believe Jacopino executed the panel have ascribed a variety of dates to it. Federico Zeri dates the panel to c. 1535 and believes that the portrait was left unfinished due to Jacopino's departure from Florence in 1547, "Rivedendo Jacopino del Conte," *Antologia di belle arti* 6 (1978), 118-119. Costamagna maintains that painting would have needed to be started prior to Jacopino's departure from Rome, and the panel is stylistically more consistent with Jacopino's portraits of the 1540s, "Portraits of Florentine Exiles," 337-338. Therefore, Costamagna dates the portrait to c. 1547 and proposes the portrait was left unfinished due to the estrangement between the two artists in May 1547. Based on the attribution of the panel to Daniele da Volterra by Andrea

is not my intent to challenge the recent reattribution, the question of who was responsible for executing the portrait, however, is more complicated than has been suggested. It is worth tracing the arguments for the attribution to each artist as it will assist in establishing the context in which the panel was executed.

Steinmann, who also identified three full-length copies, attributed the portrait in the Metropolitan Museum of Art to Jacopino.[283] Of these four versions, the Metropolitan

Donati, the Metropolitan Museum dates the portrait to c. 1544, "Il ritratto di Michelangelo," 203.

[283] The other three panels are currently located in Casa Buonarroti, Florence (commonly referred to as the Strozzi portrait); in the Drury-Lowe collection at Locko Park; and in the Casaglio collection at San Casciano Val di Pesa. To my current knowledge, all of these versions are still listed as being executed after Jacopino del Conte with the exception of the portrait in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence, which Pina Ragionieri identifies as the original and dates to c. 1535, *Michelangelo tra Firenze*, 22 no. 3. Since Steinmann, the list of full-length copies has grown, and we can now add the following, which may or may not be dated to the sixteenth century: 1.) Private collection. Dimensions unknown. Published by Charles de Tolnay, "Ein unbekanntes Porträt des Michelangelo," in *Festschrift Luitpold Düssle 28 Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Josef Adolf Schmoll and Luitpold Dussler, (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972), 205-208; 2.) Private collection, formerly in Costamagna collection. 93.38 x 60.96 cm. Sold by Deburaux et Associes on May 18, 2005 (lot no. 90); 3.) Private collection. Dimensions unknown. Sold at Sotheby's, Monaco, on June 19, 1994, (lot no. 440); 4.) Private collection, formerly in the Count Rossi collection, Florence. 84 x 64 cm. Sold by Sotheby's, London, on July 8, 2004 (lot no. 192). In addition to the full-length copies, Steinmann also lists twelve bust-length copies, *Portraitdarstellungen*, 21-40. This list has also expanded, and now includes: 1.) Private collection. 66.5 x 51.5 cm. Sold Sotheby's, London on December 4, 2004 (lot no. 404); 2.) Private collection. 50.5 x 41.5 cm, Sold at Sotheby's, Schloss Marienburg, Nordstemmen, Germany on October 5, 2005 (lot no. 95); 3.) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Dimensions unknown. Published by Ludwig Baldass, "Ein unbeachtetes Bildnis des Michelangelo," *Pantheon* 28 (1941), 281-282; and Bozena Steinborn, "The Portrait of Michelangelo in the Silesian Museum," *Bulletin du Musée national de Varsovie* 5 (1964), 65-72; 4.) Muzeum Ślaskie, Wroclaw. 45.5 x 33.2 cm. Published by A.W.J. Wachler, *Thomas Rehdiger und siene Büchersammlung in Breslau*, Breslau, 1828; A. Biber, "Thomas Rehdiger," *Schlesische Lebensbilder* 4 (1931), 113-124; and, Steinborn, "Michelangelo in Silesian Museum," 65-72; 5.) A portrait that has been attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo, which is in a private collection, should be included as a derivation of the Metropolitan type based on the similarities between the pose of Michelangelo's head and garments. For more on the

panel has since been widely accepted as the original. Steinmann's attribution of the panel

to Jacopino is based on Vasari's account in the 1568 edition of the *Vita*, which lists

Jacopino as the painter of a portrait that served as the model for numerous copies.[284]

Given that there are more copies of this particular portrait of Michelangelo than any other

type, it was assumed this is indeed the portrait mentioned by Vasari. Additionally, the

composition of the Metropolitan panel is consistent with the style of the portraits that

Jacopino developed while he was working in Rome during the period between the 1540s

and early 1550s, as seen in the portrait of Bindo Altoviti, c. early 1550s [Fig. 75], in the

Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.[285] When compared to the Metropolitan panel, both

sitters are seen in three-quarter length, and share similar poses and compositions, a

feature which may explain the painter's intention for the blocked-out areas behind

Michelangelo.[286] Given that Altoviti was a prominent member of both Florentine and

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portrait, see Costanza Barbieri, "Chompare e amicho karissimo': A Portrait of Michelangelo by his friend Sebastiano," *Artibus et historiae* 28 (2007), 107-120; also, by the same author, "Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Michelangelo*," in *Galerie Hans: Painting and Sculptures*, edited by Anne Auber, (Hamburg: Galerie Hans, 2008), no. 10.

[284] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 727.

[285] The portrait was previously attributed to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio until Federico Zeri proposed it was executed by Jacopino, "Rivedendo Jacopino del Conte," 120. Since Zeri's proposal, the attribution has been widely accepted, and even further supported after the portrait's recent cleaning. For a bibliography and a further discussion of the issues of attribution and dating, see Costamagna, "Jacopino del Conte, *Portrait of Bindo Altoviti*," in *Raphael, Cellini, and a Renaissance Banker*, 400-401 no. 18.

[286] Although outside the scope of this project, the view from the terrace in the Altoviti portrait appears to have a wider significance to his personal history. In the portrait, Altoviti gestures towards the seascape that includes a sculpture of a woman holding a column. Although the subject of the sculpture has been identified as Constancy—an emblem associated with the Altoviti family—to my knowledge the meaning of the seascape has not been explained. Through photographic reproductions, it appears that a tempest has ravished the port of an unidentified city, leaving a scattering of shipwrecked

Roman aristocratic circles, these similarities confirm that Michelangelo had shifted from projecting his identity as an artist, as in the portrait by Bugiardini, to an image of himself as a noble.[287] This is further bolstered by the representation of Michelangelo's hand — the tool of a laborer — as idle. Given the visual connection between the two paintings, Michelangelo's portrait is either by the same artist as the portrait of Altoviti, or by someone who was familiar with the motifs and style of Jacopino.

The attribution of the portrait of Michelangelo to Jacopino has also been traditionally justified on the basis of the style of the underpainting. Although it is only partially visible to the naked eye, through the use of x-ray photography the underpainting clearly depicts a scene of the Holy Family [Fig. 76].[288] The monumentality of the figures can be seen as analogous to the figures in Jacopino's painting of the same subject in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge [Fig. 77]; however, it has been recently argued that the

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boats. For more on the emblem of Constancy in the context of the portrait and Benvenuto Cellini's portrait medal, see Donatella Pegazzano, "Il Gran Bindo Huomo Raro et Singhulare: The Life of Bindo Altoviti," in *Raphael, Cellini, and a Renaissance Banker*, edited by Chong, Pegazzano, and Zikos, 10.

[287] For more on Altoviti's life and social standing among the papal court, see Pegazzano, "Gran Bindo Huomo Raro," 3-19. The problem of nobility in Renaissance Rome is complex, unlike in the cities of Florence, Naples, and Venice. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the structure of Rome's society allowed for a certain amount of social mobility that was not the result of one's birthright. This idea is especially evident in the election of cardinals, whose offices imposed on them a noble life. Once elected, a cardinal was obligated to entertain, surround himself with learned men, and offer alms to the poor. Although Michelangelo never held a position in the Church, these qualities are given emphasis throughout both Condivi's and Vasari's *Vite*. For more on social mobility as the result of elected offices, see Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1976), 133-159; and by the same author, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 158-161, 169-173.

[288] The x-ray was first published by Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia*, fig. 64.

composition and style are more closely related to paintings of the same subject by Daniele da Volterra, as seen in the *Madonna d'Elci*, c. 1548-1550 [Fig. 78].[289] This stylistic evidence now serves as one of the justifications for the basis of the attribution of the portrait to Daniele.[290] If this attribution is true, then why was Vasari mistaken in his description of the portraits of Michelangelo? Jacopino was the leading portraitist in Rome during the 1540s, which is confirmed by Vasari, who states that Jacopino painted the portraits of popes, clergymen, intellectuals, men of arms, and members of the Roman nobility.[291] Unlike Daniele, who is not documented to have been associated with Michelangelo until 1547, Jacopino was among Michelangelo's circle while both artists were in Rome in the late 1530s and early 1540s.[292] In addition to the relationship between the two artists serving as a possible impetus for the portrait, it might also explain why the Metropolitan portrait was left unfinished. Steinmann argues that the portrait was

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[289] Donati uses the painting in the d'Elci collection as the basis of his argument for the Metropolitan panel's attribution to Daniele, "Il ritratto di Michelangelo," 203-204. For a discussion of the *Madonna d'Elci*, see Paul Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra: A Catalogue Raisonné*, (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), 78-79. The connection between the underpainting and the Madonna d'Elci, however, was first suggested to Jean Weisz by Keith Christiansen of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Pittura e Misericordia*, 164, note 2. In a conversation with Keith Christiansen in November 2008, he informed me that Sydney Freedberg believed that the *Holy Family* composition revealed through the x-ray could be attributed to Daniele da Volterra.

[290] Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 267-268.

[291] Although Jacopino did not receive an individual treatment in the *Vite*, Vasari includes a brief discussion of his life among the Diverse Flemings, *Lives*, II, 860. After the death of Michelangelo's friend, Sebastiano del Piombo in 1547, Jacopino was considered to be the leading portraitist of the Roman social elite, Costamagna, "Portraits of Florentine Exiles," 338.

[292] For a discussion of Jacopino's association with Michelangelo, see Costamagna, "Portraits of Florentine Exiles," 338-341.

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left unfinished due to the estrangement between the two artists in 1547, which was the result of Jacopino's slanderous remarks about Michelangelo.[293]

Despite Jacopino being a suitable choice as the painter of the portrait, recorded and visual evidence indicates Daniele may have executed the panel. Although Daniele was associated with Florentine artistic circles in Rome as early as 1536, the portrait predates his first recorded association with Michelangelo in 1547, when the artist recommended to Pope Paul III that Daniele finish the decorations in the Sala Regia.[294] In order for Michelangelo to endorse the artist for such an important commission, there must have been some prior relationship between the two.[295] As has been suggested by Letizia Treves, he possibly had contact with Michelangelo while he was working for Perino del

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[293] Steinmann, *Portraitdarstellungen*, 23-25. While in Florence, Jacopino and Nanni di Baccio Bigio proclaimed they were as much in the pope's favor as Michelangelo. Gionan Francesco Ughi immediately wrote to Michelangelo to notify him of their claims in a letter dated May 14, 1547. Michelangelo artist replied, calling them "two extremely vile, scurrilous peasants." For more on the falling-out between Michelangelo and Jacopino, see Costamagna, "Portraits of Florentine Exiles," 337. For the transcription of Ughi's letter, see *Carteggio*, IV, 267-268.

[294] Paul Barolsky cites Vasari's account for Daniele's arrival in Rome, where Daniele first found employment in Perino del Vaga's workshop. Perino returned to Rome sometime in either 1536 or 1537; therefore Barolsky believes the earliest date of Daniele's arrival is 1536, *Daniele da Volterra*, 3. After the death of Perino in 1547, Michelangelo recommended Daniele to take over the decorations in the Sala Regia, Treves, "Daniele da Volterra and Michelangelo," 38. For a discussion of Daniele's stuccoes in the Sala Regia, see Barolsky *Daniele da Volterra*, 70-72. Michelangelo again aided Daniele in securing the papal commission of the Stanza della Cleopatra in 1550.

[295] For the artistic relationship between Daniele and Michelangelo, see Letizia Treves, "Daniele da Volterra and Michelangelo: A Collaborative Relationship," *Apollo* 154 (2001), 36-45; and Vittoria Romani, *Daniele da Volterra: Amico di Michelangelo*, (Florence: Mandragora, 2003), 30.

Vaga in the Sala Regia in the early 1540s. [296] Michelangelo, after all, was working next door in the Pauline Chapel.

More concrete than the style of the underpainting and the possibility that Daniele may have known Michelangelo prior to the painting of the portrait, the change of the portrait's attribution is based on Daniele's "death inventory" in 1566 and the panel's reconstructed provenance.[297] According to the inventory, Daniele possessed "un ritratto di michelagnolo in un quadro di legname." This inventory's description of the portrait on wood suggests that it could be either one of two versions, that in the Metropolitan or the Casa Buonarroti. Of the two, Donati believes the portrait listed in the death inventory is the one in the Metropolitan based on its provenance.[298]

The recent research on the portrait has made a convincing argument for the panel's attribution to Daniele; it does, however, raise new questions. First, if Daniele was indeed responsible for the portrait's execution and it remained in his possession for over twenty years, why was it left unfinished? This question is especially puzzling considering Daniele's relationship with Michelangelo; later, they became quite close, and, therefore, one might expect that Michelangelo would have encouraged the portrait's

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[296] Treves, "Daniele da Volterra and Michelangelo," 37-38.

[297] The death inventory is dated to April 5 and 6, 1566 and is reproduced by Donati, "Ritratto di Michelangelo: Nuovi contribute," 41. Daniele's death inventory also included several portrait busts of Michelangelo in various states of completion.

[298] The Metropolitan panel can be traced to the collection of Fulvio Orsini in Rome, where it remained until 1600, Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 203. Barolsky states that other portraits by Daniele were also in the same collection, Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra*, 14. The version in the Casa Buonarroti can only be traced to 1763 when it was in the collection of the Strozzi in Florence. For a discussion of the provenance of the Casa Buonarroti panel, see Pina Ragionieri, "Jacopino del Conte, *Rittrato of Michelangelo*," in *Il volto di Michelangelo*, 103.

completion. The choice of Daniele as the painter of the portrait is also worth questioning. Although Daniele is typically not thought of as a portrait painter by modern scholars, the painter did receive portrait commissions from promiment members of Roman society.[299] Even so, on the face of it, Jacopino would have been the more likely choice as he was the most popular portraitist of the Roman social elite, a group which Michelangelo had ambitions of joining. Lastly is the issue of Vasari's statement regarding the portraits of Michelangelo. As discussed above in my Introduction, Vasari is less than creditable in his accounting for all of the portraits of the artist.[300] Instead, it appears that Vasari only chose to include those portraits that were executed under Michelangelo's supervision. It might be assumed that Vasari, based on his affiliation with Michelangelo and his circle, would have known the identity of the portrait's painter. However, his confusion may be due to the artistic connection between Daniele and Jacopino, who were probably introduced to each other in their early careers through their connections with Perino del Vaga (1501-1547).[301]

The two artists likely knew each other as early as 1538 when Daniele was working on the Massimi Chapel at Santa Trinità dei Monti, as a member of Perino's

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[299] Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra*, 14-15.

[300] See above pages 5-7.

[301] Perino was from Florence and worked for Raphael in Rome during the few years prior to Raphael's death. Despite his associations with Raphael, Michelangelo would later have connections to some of Perino's assistants, which included Daniele, Jacopino, and Marcello Venusti. For an overview of Perino's career, see Sydney Freedberg, *Painting in Italy, 1500-1600*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 211-216. For a discussion of the relationship between Daniele and Perino, see Hall, *After Raphael*, 146-153. For a broader understanding of Perino's assistants, see Michael Hirst, "Perino del Vaga and His Circle," *Burlington Magazine* 108 (1966), 398-405.

workshop. In the same year, Perino had supplied drawings to Jacopino for the fresco of *St. John the Baptist Preaching* in the Oratory of San Giovanni Decollato.[302] Both Daniele and Jacopino had been leading artists in Perino's shop at the time of the master's death on October 20, 1547, after which both worked on completing Perino's most important commissions.[303] In 1551, when Daniele was awarded the commission for the altarpiece of the Oratory of San Giovanni Decollato, he passed the commission on to Jacopino, who, once again, may have relied upon Daniele's preparatory drawings for its execution.[304] Based on these later interactions, it is conceivable that in their haste to capture Michelangelo's likeness at the time of his illness in 1544, Daniele may have offered an already prepared panel to Jacopino who then was left to execute the portrait.

In the end, the issue of which painter was ultimately responsible is not as important as the function of the portrait in the construction of Michelangelo's identity. At the time that Michelangelo had commissioned the portrait he had achieved an unprecedented success as an artist, which had brought him both fame and wealth.[305] Unlike the portrait by Bugiardini—which sought to advance Michelangelo's artistic identity—the Metropolitan panel aimed to affirm his status among the patrician class. The portrait, however, is unfinished with only his head and left hand completed. It is,

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[302] Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia*, 17-18.

[303] As discussed above, Daniele was placed in charge of the completion of the Sala Regia with the support of Michelangelo, see note 294. Jacopino was given the commission to complete the chapel of S. Remigio, S. Luigi dei Francesi. For more on Jacopino's work in the chapel, see Cheney, "Notes on Jacopino," 38.

[304] Weisz, *Pittura e Misericordia*, 19-20.

[305] Rab Hatfield has shed light on Michelangelo's immense wealth through documents and Michelangelo's bank accounts, *Wealth of Michelangelo*, passim.

therefore, necessary to rely upon the full-length copies, like the one in the Casa Buonarroti [Fig. 79], to understand how Michelangelo's social status was suggested. In all of the copies, each painter "completes" the Metropolitan portrait in the same fashion by depicting Michelangelo as wearing a heavy, black brocade doublet.[306] The garment is in the Spanish style and was a popular feature of the social elite in Italy during the middle of the sixteenth century.[307] As a feature of status and wealth, the black doublet is commonly seen in portraits of those individuals who were members of prominent courts during the middle of the sixteenth century.[308] The use of clothing in advancing an artist's social status can be seen in autonomous self-portraits, as in Albrecht Dürer's *Italianate Self-Portrait*, 1498 [Fig. 80], where the artist appropriates the clothing of a noble.[309] More than clothing, it is in the act of commissioning a portrait that Michelangelo

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[306] In addition to all copies, full- and bust-length, after the Metropolitan painting, Vasari also depicts Michelangelo in the same garment for his woodcut portrait in the 1568 *Vite*. Vasari's portrait is the subject of my Conclusion.

[307] The fashion of the black doublet over a white collared shirt was popularized in Spain and was imported into Italy during the middle of the sixteenth century. In an unusual case of chronicled fashion, Renaissance men's clothing was well-documented by Matthäus Schwarz, who between c. 1520 and his death in 1564 had routinely executed a miniature self-portrait in the latest fashion. For a discussion of his curious journal of fashion, see Christian von Heusinger, "A Unique Fashion Book of the Sixteenth Century," *Apollo* 123 (1986), 165; and, also, Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 33-78. For a discussion of fashion in Renaissance Europe, see Gabriele Mentges, "Fashion, Time and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Mattäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496-1564," *Gender and History* 14 (2002), 382-402.

[308] Michelangelo's garments and pose are evocative of what John Pope-Hennessey identifies as a "court portrait," *Portrait in the Renaissance*, 155-204.

[309] For a discussion of Dürer and his self-portraiture, see Koerner, *Moment of the Self-Portraiture*, 37-39.

affirmed his rank among the social elite.[310]   This role is unprecedented for images of artists. Michelangelo's desire to be seen as member of the Roman aristocracy is further supported by the style of the portrait, which is dependent upon Jacopino's formula developed for his images of the Roman patrician class: the sitter in three-quarter length, dressed in noble garments and against an architectural background.[311]   In addition, the portrait does not identify Michelangelo as an artist, which is highlighted by his idle hands. The presentation of Michelangelo as a prince, as seen in the Metropolitan panel, was a manifestation of his preoccupation with his and his family's social status that began in the 1530s and continued until his death in 1564.

Born to an impoverished noble Florentine family (his father, Loduvico, was the *podestà* of Settignano), Michelangelo was eager to return his family to the ranks of the social elite. In highlighting Michelangelo's ambitions, scholars have pointed to his letters to his nephew Lionardo, who the artist encouraged to marry into a family of ancient nobility very similar to the Buonarroti family.[312]   A noticeable shift in Michelangelo's

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[310] Barolsky argues that Vasari had traced the emergence of the princely artist throughout the *Vite*: beginning with Giotto, through Leonardo and Raphael, and reaching full maturity with Michelangelo, "Michelangelo and Image of Artist as Prince," 30-35.

[311] Despite the Metropolitan panel being attributed to Daniele, the composition is definitely derived from Jacopino's style of portraiture. Jacopino's portrait style was commonly used by other artists in their depictions of the social elite, such as seen in Bronzino's representations of Florentine patricians in the late 1530s and early 1540s. Bronzino's portrait of Bartolomeo Panciatichi, c. 1540, in particular employs motifs derived from Jacopino, such as the sitter in courtly attire engaged in a learned activity. It is worth noting that Bronzino had executed a drawn portrait of Pontormo, c. 1532-35, that shares these same compositional motifs derived from Jacopino. The drawing is currently located in the Uffizi (no. 6698 F). For the bibliography of the drawing, see Strehlke, *Pontormo, Bronzino, and Medici*, 106.

[312] During the late 1540s and early 1550s, Michelangelo had consistently written to Lionardo regarding his marriage. As an indication of the artist's status among Roman

desire for social status can also be affirmed in his attempt to distance himself from the associations that come with being identified as a craftsman. These sentiments are expressed in a letter written on May 2, 1548, from Rome, to his nephew Lionardo:

> Tell the priest not to write to me anymore as 'Michelangelo the sculptor,' because I am known here only as Michelangelo Buonarroti, and if a Florentine citizen wants to have an altarpiece painted, it's necessary that he find a painter: because I was never a painter or a sculptor like those who have a shop. I have always kept myself from doing that for the sake of the honor of my father and my brothers, even if I have had to serve three popes, which was forced labor.[313]

To bolster his claim to a noble bloodline, Michelangelo traced his lineage to the Counts of Canossa; this fantasy was legitimized, albeit wrongly, in 1520 by the then current

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nobility, both Bindo Altoviti and Bartolomeo Bettini proposed to Michelangelo that Lionardo marry their nieces. Lionardo, however, eventually married Cassandro Ridolfi, the daughter of Donato, in 1553. For Michelangelo's desires for his nephew to marry, see Wallace, "Zio Michelangelo," 263-270; and, Pegazzano, "Gran Bindo Huomo Raro," 73.

[313] The translation is offered by Ramsden, *Letters*, II, 91-92 no. 306. The following is the entire letter in the original Italian: "Lionardo, io ebbi il [c]arateelo dell pere, che furono octant sei; manda'ne trenta tre al Papa: parvo'gli belle e ebele molto care. Dell Caratello del cacao, la Dogana dice che quell vecturale è un tristo e che in Dogana non lo portò; in modo che, com'io posso sopere che e' sia aroma, io gli faro quello che merita, non per conto del cacao, ma per insegniargli far poca stima degl'uomini. / Io sono stato a questi dì molto male per non potere orinare, perchè ne son forte difectoso; pure, adesso sto meglio: io te lo scrivo, perchè qualche cicolone non to scriva nille bugie per parti saltare. Al Prete de'che no me scria più 'a Michelangelo scultore', perchè io nonci son conosciuto se non per Michelangelo Buonarroti, e che se un cictadino fiorentino vuol fare dipigniere una tavola da altare, ch ebisognia che e' truovi un dipintore: chè io non fu' mai picture nè scultore come che ne fa boctega. Sempre me ne son guardato per l'onore de mie padre e de' mia grategli ben io abbi servitor tre papi, ch è stato forza. Altro non achade; per l'ultima del passato arai inteso l'openion mio circa la donna. / Di questi versi ch'I' ò scricti del Prete, non gniene dir niente, ch'I' vo' mostrar di non avere avuto la sua lectera," *Carteggio*, IV, 299. For a discussion of the letter and Michelangelo's request to be called by his name and not occupation, see Wallace, "Michael Angelus Buonarotus," 63.

Count, Alessandro.[314] Michelangelo's assertion was made public in Condivi's biography of the artist. In the first line of the text, Condivi writes, "Michelangelo Buonarroti, the unique painter and sculptor, was descended from the counts of Canossa, a family from the region of Reggio which was noble and illustrious as much for its own merits and antiquity as for its connections with imperial blood."[315]

Although no historical link has been established by modern scholars between the Buonarroti family and the noble house of Canossa, with the aid of Michelangelo's biographers, this connection was certainly believed in the sixteenth century. Paul Barolsky and William E. Wallace have both suggested that Michelangelo's claim to noble descent was justified, albeit not through the Canossa.[316] Instead, Wallace has proven that Michelangelo was a descendant of a cadet branch of the Medici, which would explain why he received preferential treatment while in the house of Lorenzo de' Medici between 1490 and 1492.[317] By the 1540s, surrounded as he was by members of Florentine exiles in Rome after the demise of the Florentine Republic, Michelangelo may

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[314] Based on a search of the family papers, Alessandro had confirmed in a letter that the Buonarroti family was indeed connected to the Canossa. The belief in the connection was strong enough for the Count to make an official visit "as a relative" to Michelangelo in Rome. For a discussion of the letter and Michelangelo's belief that he was a descendent of the Canossa, see Wallace, "Michael Angelus Buonarotus," 62-63, 70 note 19. The iconography of Michelangelo's drawing of an idealized head in the British Museum has been connected to the Counts of Canossa, which may be an expression of Michelangelo's claim to be a descendent of the noble bloodline, Barolsky, "Michelangelo and Image as Prince," 32.

[315] Condivi, *Life*, 5.

[316] Other than Michelangelo, only Alberti, Donatello, and Brunelleschi could claim to be of noble blood. For more on the noble artists in the Renaissance, see above note 7.

[317] Wallace, "Michael Angelus Buonarotus," 60-74.

have chosen to downplay this connection to the Medici.[318] Given his association with

this group of ex-patriots, who were known for their anti-Mediciean sentiments,

Michelangelo likely turned his attention to the nobler and less politically fraught

genealogy of the Canossa.

The success of Michelangelo's advancement of his noble identity through

portraiture, and specifically the Metropolitan type, is confirmed through the numerous

copies that were made in the sixteenth century.[319] The majority of these copies depicted

only the bust of Michelangelo, such as the portrait [Fig. 81] by Marcello Venusti

(1512/1515-1579).[320] This bust-length variation of the portrait probably became famous

due to the commission by Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) of a copy for his collection of

famous men housed in his villa in Borgo Vico on Lake Como.[321] Many of the portraits

believed to have been a part of Giovio's collection include attributes that suggested the

basis for the sitter's fame: popes were depicted in papal garments, humanists with laurel

crowns, and *condottiere* with armor. Remarkably, Giovio follows the example of the

Metropolitan panel and commissioned a portrait of Michelangelo not as an artist as in

Bugiardini's panel, but as a nobleman dressed in aristocratic attire. The portrait in

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[318] This rise of the anti-Medicean sentiment is discussed along with the bibliography in the context of Michelangelo's idealized portrait of *Brutus*, see above pages 34-38.

[319] For more on all the known copies, see above note 283.

[320] The portrait is in the collection of the Casa Buonarroti, Florence (Inv. 188). For an early discussion of the portrait, see Steinmann, *Portraitdarstellungen*, no. 19, pp 31-32. For an updated discussion and bibliography, see Ragionieri, "The Face of Michelangelo," in *Michelangelo: Man and Myth*, 48-49, no. 2.

[321] It is worth noting that Giovio had written a brief *Vita* of Michelangelo in 1527. For a transcription and brief discussion, see Davis, "Giovio: *Michaelis Angeli vita*," 1-30. For more on Giovio's collection, see above note 139.

Giovio's collection and the other numerous copies after the Metropolitan panel represent a shift in the attitude towards what Michelangelo, and therefore his portrait, represented to the viewer in the sixteenth century. The portrait affirms a level of social status unlike that achieved by an artist, and its numerous copies and derivations can only be compared to men of rank, such as noblemen, popes, and kings. If the portrait by Bugiardini represents Michelangelo as heir to the artistic tradition of Florence and therefore elevates him to the position of the ideal artist, then the Metropolitan portrait suggests the greater status that can only be earned by birthright.

Although the intent of the Metropolitan portrait was to perpetuate Michelangelo's social status, subsequent self-portraits by others quickly transformed the meaning of the portrait into the idealized image of the "artist." Their use of the type established by Michelangelo demonstrates how both his image and status was manipulated by others for their own gain. The portrait had an almost immediate impact on subsequent artist portraits as seen in the self-portraits of Baccio Bandinelli, c. 1545-1550 [Fig. 34], and Titian, c. 1562 [Fig. 35].[322] In both examples, the artists present themselves in extravagant courtly garments. Yet, in both they also include elements that reveal their artistic achievements and thus their social status is connected to their craft as opposed to their bloodline. The portrait type established by the Metropolitan Museum example was even known in Northern Europe as it served as the basis for Maarten van Heemskerck's

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[322] For more on both self-portraits, see above pages 55-57.

self-portrait in front of the Colosseum [Fig. 82].[323] Here, with two images of the artist,

the artistic achievement is separated from the Michelangelesque self-image.

The Metropolitan portrait serves as another example of how Michelangelo

employed the agency of members of his inner circle to advance his public image. During

this period, Michelangelo also contributed to several literary projects that not only sought

to pay tribute to his artistic endeavors and social status, but also to commemorate his

ability as an intellectual and poet. The first in these efforts came from the humanist and

author, Donato Giannotti, a prominent member of Michelangelo's *brigata*.[324] The author

recorded Michelangelo's insights on the poetry of Dante Alghieri, and then published

them as a dialogue in 1545.[325] Giannotti's text marks the beginning of an unprecedented

eight-year period in which at least six publications were dedicated to Michelangelo's life

and work: Francesco de' Hollanda's *Diálogos em Roma*, 1548; Benedetto Varchi's *Due*

Lezzoni, 1549; Anton Francesco Doni's *I marmi*, 1549; Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*, 1550; and

Ascanio Condivi's *Vita*, 1553.[326] When they are seen as a group, these literary works

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[323] For a discussion of Heemskerck's appropriation of the Metropolitan portrait type, see Michael P. Kemling, "Portrait of the Artist as Michelangelo: Maarten van Heemskerck's Self-Portrait with the Colosseum," *Athanor* 24 (2005), 15-22.

[324] For a recent discussion of Michelangelo's *brigata*, see Wallace, *Michelangelo: Artist, Man, and Times*, 203-206.

[325] For a discussion of Giannotti's *Dialogues*, see Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 3.

[326] It is believed that Francesco wrote the dialogue during his stay in Rome in 1538, but it was not published until 1548. For a discussion of the history of the text, see Folliero-Metz, *Diálogos em Roma*, 5-8. Benedetto Varchi's *Due Lezzoni* is the published form of the two lectures delivered to the Accademia Fiorentina at Santa Maria Novella in Florence on March 6th and 13th, 1547. The lectures were based on letters that were sent to Michelangelo. For a discussion of the publication, see Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's 'Due Lezzoni' and Cinquecento Art Theory*, (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982), 89-90. Anton Francesco Doni's *I marmi* is composed as a

serve to advance not only Michelangelo's artistic accomplishments and biography, but also his intellect and artistic theory.

All of these texts, with the exception of Doni's *I marmi*, were written by members of Michelangelo's *brigata*. Given the close relationships between Michelangelo and the authors of these texts, it can be assumed that the artist not only had contributed to the ideas recorded in them, but also may have exercised considerable control over the content. This idea is especially evident in the case of the *Vite* by Vasari and Condivi; it is generally understood that both authors relied heavily upon Michelangelo's advice.[327] All of the publications from this period, therefore, can be considered an extension of Michelangelo's control over the construction of his public persona through the agency of his friends in much the same fashion as the portraits by Bugiardini and at the Metropolitan. Yet, the collaborative effort to advance Michelangelo's public persona through a literary work is best seen in an unrealized volume of the artist's poetry.

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dialogue set in the Medici Chapel between a Florentine and a pilgrim in which they discuss Michelangelo's ability to turn stone into flesh. For a brief discussion, see Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 153-155. In the *Vite*, Vasari states that the impetus for the collection of the biographies grew out of conversations with "Molza, Annibale Caro, M. Gandolfo, M. Claudio Tolomei, M. Romolo Amaseo, Monsignor Giovio, and many other men of learning and distinction," while he was at the court of Alessandro Farnese in Rome, *Lives*, II, 1042-1043. Vasari's stay with the cardinal has been dated between 1545-1546. In her discussion of the origins of the *Vite*, Patricia Lee Rubin casts doubt on the account, as most of these men listed by Vasari where either not in Rome in 1545 or dead, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 144-147.

[327] For more on how both biographies played a role in projecting Michelangelo's identity, see Pon, "Michelangelo's *Lives*," 1015-1037.

As early as 1542, Michelangelo's trusted friends, Liugi del Riccio and Donato Giannotti, encouraged the artist to gather his poems for a publication.[328] In 1546, the project advanced to the point of a final draft; unfortunately, the progress of the publication was halted due to the death of del Riccio, who served as the editor.[329] Had Michelangelo's poetry been published, it would have been a significant event in the Early Modern period as it would had been one of the first examples of such a project undertaken by an artist. In addition to the poetry, the publication would have included an engraved portrait of Michelangelo as the frontispiece [Fig. 83].[330] Based on a letter from Michelangelo to Luigi del Riccio, generally dated between February and March of 1546,

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[328] Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 3, 33. If the volume had been published, it would have remarkably been the second publication addressing Michelangelo's poetry. In 1518, several of his poems were set to music and published as a set of compositions, Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 233. The number of poems produced by Michelangelo is unparalleled for an artist in the Renaissance. As Michelangelo is known to have written poetry on sheets that also included sketches, perhaps some of his poetry was lost when he destroyed several of his drawings. Despite this possibility, there are more sheets containing his writing than any other artist in the Renaissance besides Leonardo da Vinci, James Saslow, *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Annotated Translation*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 5.

[329] Saslow, *Poetry of Michelangelo*, 20. It has been suggested that a codex in the Vatican (Vat. Lat 3211) containing about eighty of Michelangelo's poems is a copy of the manuscript. For a recent discussion of the project and Michelangelo as a poet, see Barkan, *Michelangelo: Life on Paper*, 235-286.

[330] If an engraved portrait was intended for the frontispiece for the volume, it would belong to a relatively recent tradition of author-portraits, as there are only thirty-four examples of author-portraits known before 1550, see Peter Burke, "Reflections on the Frontispiece Portrait in the Renaissance," in *Bildnis und Image: das Portrait zwischen Intention und Rezeption*, edited by Andreas Köstler and Ernst Seidl, (Köln: Böhlau, 1998), 151. Although the print has been traditionally attributed to Bonasone, it has been suggested that the original print may have been executed by Enea Vico. For a discussion of the attribution, see Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, I, 73-74 nos. 85-87; and Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 192 note 41.

it is thought that the portrait in question was an engraved portrait by Giulio Bonasone

(c.1510-c.1576):[331]

> Messer Luigi, You seem to think that I shall reply to you as you wish me to, when it may well be the contrary. You give me what I refused, and you refuse me what I asked of you. Nor do you err unknowingly, since you sent it to me by Ercole, being ashamed to give it to me yourself. It is still within the power of one who delivered me from death to insult me; but now I do not know which is the heavier to bear – this insult or death. I therefore beg and entreat you by the true friendship which exists between us to have that plate which I do not like destroyed, and to have the impressions that have been printed burnt; and [if you are trying to profit off of me], do not allow others to do so, too. But if you shatter me utterly, I shall do exactly the same, not with you, but with your things.

> Michelangelo Buonarroti, Not a painter, or a sculptor, or an architect, but what you will; but not a drunkard, as I told you when I was with you.[332]

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[331] Giulio Bonasone was one of the most prominent engravers of the sixteenth century, comparable to the earlier generation's Marcantonio Raimondi. He appears to have arrived in Rome between 1543 and 1544, and stayed until 1547 when he returned to Bologna. During this period of Rome, he received a commission from Cardinal Alexander Farnese to execute prints after Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. For Bonasone's biography and a discussion of his prints, see Madeline Cirillo Archer, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century*, Vol. 28, (New York: Abaris Books, 1995), 217-223. It should be noted that the commentary portion of the *Illustrated Bartsch* for the Bonasone portraits of Michelangelo has yet to be published. See also, Stefania Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1983), I, 16.

[332] The translation of the letter is provided by Ramsden, who dates the letter to January 1545, *Letters,* II, 41, no. 244. The letter has been variously dated to either January 1545 or February/March 1546. The latter date, and the one accepted here, is provided by *Carteggio*, IV, 232, no. MLVI. The letter in the original Italian, reads as follows: "Messer Luigi, e' vi pare che io vi risponda quello che voi desiderate, quande bene e' sio il contrario. Voi mi date quello che io v'ò chiesto; e già non pechate per ignioranza mandandomelo per Ercole, vergogniandovi a darmelo voi. Chi m'à tolto alla morte può ben anche vituperarme; ma io non so già qula si pesi più, o 'l viturpero o la morte. Però io vi prego e scong[i]uro, per la vera amicitia che è trannoi, che non mi pare, che voi facciate guestare quella stampa e abruciare quelle che sono stampate; e che se voi fate boctega di me, non la vogliate far fare anche a altri; e se fate di me mille pezzi, io no farò altrectanta, non di voi, ma delle vostre cose. Michelangelo Buonarroti, non picture nè scultore nè architectore ma quell che voie volete, ma none briaco, come vi dissi in casa." For a brief discussion of the letter, see Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 3.

Although the impetus for Michelangelo's letter is not known, it has been suggested that the latter part of the letter makes reference to the portrait print by Bonasone, which is inscribed with the date 1545.[333] If Michelangelo was alluding to Bonasone's engraved portrait, the letter clearly indicates that he was dissatisfied with it, so much so that he asked del Riccio to have the plate and any known prints destroyed. Based on Michelangelo's request, it is assumed that Bonasone's first state of the print is no longer extant and the one illustrated here is a later state or version. However, the date, 1545, inscribed within the print suggests that it predates the letter, and thus confuses this chronology. In order to rectify the issue of the two dates, it has been suggested that this second print is a copy by an anonymous engraver after Bonasone's original, and therefore it may represent the initial state of the design rejected by Michelangelo.[334]

No evidence in the letter indicates why Michelangelo disliked the print. It may have made him nervous for the print to be circulating without the accompanying published poetry, which would have given the print and its inscription an appropriate context. The print, like the poetry, advances Michelangelo's intellect to the rank of the ancient thinkers through the use of *all'antica* motifs. The overall form of the portrait can be connected to two ancient prototypes: the profile portrait, derived from numismatic and gem examples and the shallow niche type recalling ancient Roman funerary portraits.[335]

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[333] Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 191.

[334] For a discussion concerning the print's attribution, see Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, I, 73-74, nos. 85 and 86. Emison attributes the print to an unknown engraver after Bonasone, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 192.

[335] Portraits found on ancient Roman funerary monuments are typically depicted frontally. I am unaware of any extant examples of where the portrait within the niche is depicted in profile. For a discussion of the understanding and influence of ancient

In the portrait, Michelangelo is seen in bust-length and in profile and is depicted with his most recognizable attributes of a broken nose and a forked beard. The bust is placed within a shallow rectilinear niche. Below the portrait is an *all'antica* cartouche reminiscent of a *tabula ansata* containing the Latin inscription, "QUI SIM NOMEN HABES SATQUE EST NAM CAETERA CUI NON SUNT NOTA AUT MENTEMNON HABET AUT OCULOS" ("Who I should be, you have the name and it is enough. For the rest to whom these things are not known, they have neither mind nor eyes").[336] As a frontispiece to a book of poetry, the use of the *all'antica* portrait type in addition to the Latin inscription served to connect Michelangelo's written work with that of the ancient poets. As an independent portrait print, however, this intended meaning is lost and may explain why Michelangelo did not want it circulated. The possibility of misinterpretation is especially true for the inscription, which addresses the blindness of those individuals who do not recognize the genius of Michelangelo. However, the portrait contains a curious anomaly, the exclusion of Michelangelo's pupils. Emison suggests that the best explanation is simply a misunderstanding on the part of the engraver of the Latin passage, which was interpreted as a physical blindness and thus

Roman funerary portraits in the second half of the fifteenth century, see Claudia La Malfa, "Immagini clipeate nella scultura funeraria della seconda metà del Quattrocento a Roma," in *Andrea Bregno: Il senso della forma nella cultura artistica del Rinascimento*. edited by Claudio Crescentini and Claudio Strinati, (Florence: Maschietto Editore, 2008), 471-489. See, also, Patricia Fortini Brown, "The Antiquarianism of Jacopo Bellini," *Artibus et historiae* 13 (1992), 65-84.

[336] The translation is offered by Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 192.

resulting in Michelangelo's blank eyes.[337]   In this context, the passage, albeit wrongly, was rendered as an indication of the mind's eye of the artist. It was perhaps the confusing nature of the passage that led to Michelangelo's disapproval of the portrait. Yet, despite his initial rejection, it appears that Bonasone was asked by either del Riccio or Michelangelo to execute a second design [Fig. 84].[338]

Just as we do not know why Michelangelo rejected the first print, we do not know why or even how the second version was created. It has been accepted as the revised frontispiece for the unrealized collection of Michelangelo's poetry, based on the inscribed date of 1546.[339]   When compared to Bonasone's earlier version of the portrait, this engraving shares the same overall concept: Michelangelo is depicted in profile with the key physical attributes of his flattened nose and forked beard above a Latin inscription. Yet, instead of a rectilinear architectural niche, the second print has the portrait of Michelangelo placed within a roundel, which in turn is situated within an architectural

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[337] Ibid., 192. For Emison, the confusion between the image and text may suggest that the print was a copy. The concept of the mind's eye and its understanding in the Renaissance are discussed in my Conclusion.

[338] Steinmann, *Portraitdarstellungen*, 42-43, Tafel 39. For a recent discussion of the variants and bibliography, which includes a sixteenth-century copy in the Art Institute of Chicago, see Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, I, 73-74, no. 85; and Steinberg, *Michelangelo's Last Paintings*, 42.

[339] In addition to the print's possible connection to the volume of poetry, Emison argues that it also may be connected to Michelangelo's second bout of severe illness in early 1546. The basis of her suggestion is the use of the past tense of "fuit" in the inscription, which may indicate that Bonasone assumed that Michelangelo's death was eminent. The print then could have been meant as a souvenir or commemoration of Michelangelo's fame, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 191 and 192 note 40.

frame.[340]   Below the portrait is the following inscription: "MICHAEL ANGELVS

BONAROTVS PATRITIVS / FLORENTINVS AN. GENS LXXII / QUANTVM IN

NATVRA ARS NATVRAQVE PASSIT IN ARTE / HIC QUI NATVRAE PAR FVIT

ARTE DOCET / MDXLVI," ("Michelangelo Buonarroti, Patrician / Florentine at age 72

/ How much art can do in nature and nature in art / this one who was equal in art to nature

teaches / 1546").[341]

Based on the inscribed date, the print was likely executed shortly before del

Riccio's death in the same year, which also marks the end of the projected publication of

Michelangelo's poems. Although the date of the print strengthens its connection to that

volume, there has been very little treatment by modern scholars of the print within this

context.[342] Instead, scholars have focused on the use of the print as a frontispiece for

Condivi's biography of the artist. Sadly, the print was never used as a frontispiece in the

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[340] Konrad Oberhuber considers a version in the British Museum, which does not include the inscription, to be the first state of the print, *Renaissance in Italien 16 Jahrundert, Werke aus dem Besitz der Albertina*, (Vienna: Ausstellung, 1966), 185 note 312. Oberhuber's conclusion is maintained by Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, I, 74. It is worth noting that the uppermost part of the architectural frame, with its curved elements terminating in volutes, is reminiscent of Michelangelo's sarcophagi lids for the Medici tombs in the New Sacristy at San Lorenzo, Florence. The frame, therefore, serves to connect Michelangelo's image directly to his work.

[341] The English translation of the inscription used here is Emison's, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 191-192.

[342] Wallace argues the inscription, which identifies Michelangelo as a patrician, is another example of the artist's claim to noble descent, "Michael Angelus Buonarotus," 65. Emison also sees the inscription as perpetuating Michelangelo's social status, but also emphasizes Michelangelo's artistic accomplishments at the time of the print's production, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 191.

sixteenth-century biography.[343] By placing the portrait within its intended context as a

frontispiece for the intended publication of his poetry, a new aspect of Michelangelo's

constructed identity emerges.

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[343] Although scholars have been unclear over the past several decades regarding this issue, Steinmann identified the 1545 portrait print by Bonasone as that first used as the frontispiece to the second edition of Condivi's *Vita* published by Gori in 1746, *Portraitdarstellungen*, 42-43, no. 39. A copy of the 1746 edition is available online (http://books.google.com/books?id=zIkHAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source= gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false; accessed 2.27.2012). According to the preface of the 1746 edition, the portrait was executed by Giulio Romano. However, this attribution has since been rejected by Steinmann, who identifies Bonasone as the maker. In the recent literature on the use of Bonasone's print, there is no consensus as to which edition of Condivi's biography the print served as the frontispiece. Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, I, 74, argues that the print was used for Condivi's 1553 edition of Michelangelo's *Vita*; also, see Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 191. The issue of which edition the print served as the frontispiece is further confused by Wallace who suggests Bonasone's portrait print may be considered as the official sanctioned portrait of Michelangelo when it was used as the frontispiece of Condivi's 1553 publication of Michelangelo's *Vita,* "Michael Angelus Buonarotus," 65. I have not been able to locate a 1553 edition of the *Vita* that includes the print. The lack of examples may, in part, reflect the limited extant examples. For a list of the known copies in Italian collections, see the Central Institute for the Union Catalogue of Italian Libraries (edit16.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu_ext.dll?fn=10&i=13068; accessed 2.27.2012). I have been able to access examples via facsimile and digitally scanned versions: Sloane Art Library (photocopy, Ann Arbor, MI, University Microfilms International, 1976); Universiteitbibliotheek Ghent (http://search.ugent.be/meercat/x/bkt01?q=900000134381; accessed 2.27.2012); Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Florence (http://opac.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/opac/controller.jsp?action=notizia_view&notizia_idn=rmr e000448&query_action=search_basefilter&query_filterterm=categoria%3Adi&query_po sition=3&query_maxposition=5&query_orderby=&query_filterterm=categoria%3Adi&q uery_querystring_1=condivi&query_fieldname_1=keywords; accessed 2.27.2012); Biblioteca Angelica, Rome (partial digital copy); Library of Congress, (Electronic version of photocopied version at the University of Virginia, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x000641705; accessed 2.27.2012). Of those editions that I have been able to consult, only the Ghent version contains an engraved portrait frontispiece; however it is not the same portrait by Bonasone included in Condivi's 1746 edition. Instead, the portrait appears to be after a portrait by Giorgio Ghisi, which is derived from his prints after Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*. For a discussion of the relationship of this portrait included in the Last Judgment, see Paolo Bellini, *L'opera incise di Giorgio Ghisi*, (Bassano del Grappa: Tassotti Editore, 1998), 218-219, esp. 219 no. b. The portrait included in the Ghent version of Condivi depicts Michelangelo in bust-length and in three-quarter pose. Along the oval frame is an

In the context of Michelangelo's poetry, the print's inscription alludes to poetry's primacy in its ability to imitate nature, which is rooted in the concepts put forth by Aristotle in his *Poetics*.[344] Besides implying the surpremacy of poetry, the inscription also alludes to Michelangelo as teacher. Here, too, ancient texts provide a precedent. In the *Republic*, Plato suggests that the laws of a society are best taught in verse. Likewise, Maximus argues for the supremacy of poets as they are more effective teachers than

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inscription, "MICHAL ANGELVS BONAROTVS PATRITIVS FLORENTINVS AN, AGENS LXXXI." The inscription states that Michelangelo is represented at age 81, thus suggesting that the print was made in 1556. Given that this date is three years after the publication of Condivi's biography of the artist, this portrait must have been tipped in at a later date. The assumption that the print was added later is further supported by the decorative cover that most likely dates to a later period, which implies that the book was rebound. However, I have not yet had the opportunity to examine these copies in person to verify the nature of the binding and folios.

[344] Aristotle's *Poetics* was influential in the development of both poetic and artistic theories in the middle of the sixteenth century, which was due to the following three publications: Alessandro de' Pazzi's Latin translation published in 1536 (composed in 1524), Francesco Robortello's published commentary in 1548, and Segni's Italian translation in 1549. However, Aristotle's text was known as early as 1498 when it was translated from Greek to Latin by Giorgio Valla. Although Aristotle does not explicitly state that the art of poetry is best when it imitates nature, the concept is at the heart of the text. Although Valla's text was not published until after Poliziano's death in 1494, it is likely that the humanist may have introduced Michelangelo to Aristotle's concepts of poetry's imitation of nature expressed in the *Poetics* while both were in the house of Lorenzo de' Medici. Poliziano was familiar with the Greek text as he had delivered several lectures and appropriates ideas of *mimesis* in his commentary on Terrence's *Andria*. For a bibliography and a discussion of Poliziano's knowledge and dissemination of the *Poetics* in the fifteenth century, see Daniel Javitch, "The Assimilation of Aristotle's *Poetics* in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, edited by Glyn P. Norton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54, especially note 4. For a discussion of Michelangelo's familiarity with the concepts proposed by Aristotle's *Poetics*, see Summers, *Language of Art*, 279-282. These ideas were later expounded upon in the writings of Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, II: xix and Cicero, *De oratore*, II: lxxxvii. For a discussion of the nature and art in the writings of both authors and the reception in the Renaissance, see Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 38-40.

philosophers.[345] It is likely Michelangelo would have enjoyed being included among the ranks of these ancient writers; however, in the atmosphere of post-Sack Rome, such a direct correlation might have caused a certain amount of trepidation.[346] At odds with an inscription that seemingly alludes to pagan philosophers, Michelangelo's poetry often expresses his deep-seated Christian faith. Justification for the use of the inscription may have come from yet another source, one of the most prominent Christian scholastic philosophers, St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-March 7, 1274).

The inscription on Bonasone's portrait of Michelangelo recalls Aquinas's exegesis on Aristotle's philosophy, which served as the basis of some of his key Christian theological arguments.[347] Indeed, Aquinas incorporated ideas derived from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in his *Summa theologica*, where he encourages the imitation of

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[345] Maximus's arguments advocate for the poet, who was not especially prized, to be included among the ranks of philosophers. For a discussion of the rise of the poet in antiquity and its influence on the development in the Renaissance, see Robert Clements, "Poetry and Philosophy in the Renaissance," *Comparative Literature Studies* 8 (1971), 1-20, esp. 3-4.

[346] One of the major attacks against the papacy by the Protestant reformers was the blurred lines between Rome's pagan past and the Church. With the advent of the Counter-Reformation movement in the 1540s, the Roman church attempted to distant itself from such associations. This separation is best seen in the actions of the popes of the second half of the sixteenth century, who actively sought to reestablish the Christian faith independent of pagan associations. For a discussion, see Ingrid D. Rowland, "Cultural Introduction to Renaissance Rome," in *Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance: Rome*, edited by Marcia B. Hall, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 13.

[347] For an overview of Aquinas's understanding of Aristotle, see Joseph Owens, "Aristotle and Aquinas," in *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas*, edited by Norman Kretzmann and Eleonore Stump, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 38-59.

nature for its moral virtue.[348] However, the inscription on the print appears to evoke a

specific passage not related to the *Ethics*, but to Aquinas's introduction to Aristotle's

Politics, where the medieval author provides a connection between Aristotle's conceit of

art's imitation of nature and his own fundamental idea that the laws of nature are

interwoven with the eternal law:[349]

> As [Aristotle] teaches in the second book of the *Physics*, art imitates
> nature. The reason for this is that as principles are related to each other, so
> in a proportional way are their works and effects. But the principle of the
> things that come about by art is the human intellect, which is derived
> according to a certain likeness from the divine intellect, which is the
> principle of natural things. And so it is necessary that the operations of art
> imitate those of nature, and that the effects of art imitate the things in
> nature. For if an instructor of some art makes a work of that art, the
> disciple who receives the art from him must attend to that work, so that he
> may work toward a likeness of it. And so the human intellect, to which
> intelligible light derives from the divine intellect, must be informed in the
> things that it does from the inspection of things done naturally, so as to
> work likewise."[350]

In this passage, Aquinas equates the idea of nature serving as the model for art with that

of the teacher who serves as the example for the student. Given the striking similarity

between this passage and the inscription found in Bonasone's print, there can be little

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[348] For a discussion of Aquinas's appropriation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and a
bibliography, see John Inglis, "Aquinas's Replication of the Acquired Moral Virtues:
Rethinking the Standard Philosophical Interpretation of Moral Virtue in Aquinas," *The
Journal of Religious Ethics* 27 (1999), 3-27, esp. 3-5.

[349] Aquinas's interpretation of Aristotle's *Politics*, and ideas of the replication of natural
law are addressed by Paul E. Sigmund, "Law and Politics," in *Cambridge Companion to
Thomas Aquinas*, edited by Kretzmann and Stump, 217-231.

[350] The translation is offered by Brock, Stephen L. "The Primacy of the Common Good
and the Foundations of Natural Law in St. Thomas," in *Resourcement Thomism: Sacred
Doctrine, the Sacraments, and the Moral Life*, edited by Reinhard Hütter and Matthew
Levering, (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2010), 242 note
28.

doubt that the two are linked. Following Aquinas's example, the inscription from the print advocates for Michelangelo as the ideal teacher.

The print's ability to define Michelangelo as a Christian poet and teacher was dependent upon the sixteenth-century audience's familiarity not only with classical philosophers, but also, and primarily, with Aquinas. This immediate association would not have been difficult: the saint's literary works were a major factor in the theological teachings of the Dominican order since the thirteenth century. Specifically in Rome, considered to be the center of Thomistic theology, the saint was held in high esteem especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[351] His popularity reached a climax at the end of the fifteenth century when his life and works became the focus of public orations and a monumental fresco cycle in the Carafa Chapel, Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[352] Aquinas was especially prized at the papal court where his feast day was celebrated as a holiday.[353] Throughout this period, the saint's importance reflected his ability to Christianize the writings of the ancient authors, in particular those of

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[351] Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, 70.

[352] Cardinal Oliviero Carafa commissioned the Florentine painter, Filippino Lippi, to decorate the chapel between 1488 and 1493. Carafa claimed to be a blood decedent of the saint, as discussed by Diana Norman, "In Imitation of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Art, Patronage and Liturgy within a Renaissance Chapel," *Renaissance Studies* 7 (1993), 7. For a detailed discussion of the chapel and an interpretation of the frescoes, see Gail L. Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's 'Carafa Chapel': Renaissance Art in Rome*, (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1986), passim.

[353] Joost-Gaugier discusses the prominence of the teachings and writing of St. Thomas Aquinas among the papal courts, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, 7, 70; also, for a bibliography of Thomas's importance during the Renaissance, see page 202 note 28.

Aristotle.[354]   Aquinas's interpretations of Aristotle serve as an early example of the

fundamental mission of Humanistic circles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who

sought a Christian justification for their scholarly interests into the classical past.[355]

Indeed, the reconceptualization of the ancient writers as the prefiguration of Christian

theology and intellectual pursuits was given visual manifestation in Raphael's *School of

Athens*, which, in addition to Heraclitus, includes images of Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, and

Pythagoras.[356]

Given Aquinas's importance to humanists and theologians, it is not difficult to see

why he was considered to be the most celebrated Dominican saint other than the founder

of the order himself, St. Dominic (1170-1221).   Michelangelo's introduction to the

writings of St. Thomas of Aquinas may have occurred as early as his association with the

Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498).[357]   Equally, the artist could have

become familiar with the writings of St. Thomas of Aquinas through Fra Bartolommeo,

who was also a Dominican friar.[358]   Although precisely when Michelangelo became

familiar with the writings of Aquinas is unknown, it may have occurred sometime

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[354] Aquinas's commentaries on the writings of Aristotle were the reason that the pagan philosopher has achieved honorary Christian status by members of the Western church during the Renaissance, Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, 61.

[355] During the fifteenth century, there were several ancient texts that were moralized, Christianized, and allegorized. For a discussion of the Christianizing of ancient texts, see Clements, "Poetry and Philosophy," 2.

[356] For a discussion of the fresco and its relationship to late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century humanism, see Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, 81-114.

[357] For Savonarola's influence on Michelangelo, see above note 193.

[358] For the relationship between Michelangelo and Fra Bartolommeo, see above pages 78-80.

between 1505 and 1512, when he was working for Pope Julius II. In 1505, Tommaso 'Fedra' Inghirami (1470-1516), a scholar of international acclaim for his work and orations on St. Thomas Aquinas, was elected as the *Preposito* of the Vatican library by Julius II.[359] The extent of the relationship between Michelangelo and Inghirami is uncertain during this period; however, the scholar may have known the artist by the time he was named Canon of St. Peter's in 1508, which is the same year that Michelangelo began the decorations of the Sistine Chapel ceiling. That both men had family connections to Florence might have been enough to form a working relationship. Though the bond may have been stronger since both were educated in the house of Lorenzo de' Medici.[360]

Through these conduits, Inghirami may have shared with Michelangelo his scholarly work on the saint. Specifically, Inghirami delivered two panegyrics on the saint's life in 1495 and 1500 as part of at least fourteen panegyrics given between the saint's death in 1274 and 1525.[361] These events were given on his feast day, March 7, and no fewer than six were held at the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Inghirami's first panegyric for the saint, is considered by modern scholars to be the most

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[359] For a discussion of Inghirami's writings on Saint Thomas Aquinas, see John W. O'Malley, "Some Renaissance Panegyrics of Aquinas," *Renaissance Quarterly* 27 (1974), 180-185. For a discussion of Inghirami's life, see Giovanni Batistini, "Raphael's Portrait of Fedra Inghirami," *Burlington Magazine,* 138 (1996), 541.

[360] Although the date when Ighirami entered the house of Lorenzo is unknown, it was prior to his departure to Rome in 1483, which predates Michelangelo's time in the Medici House, Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, 23.

[361] O'Malley, "Renaissance Panegyrics of Aquinas," 175.

influential interpretation of the life and writings of Aquinas from the period.[362] Inghirami's insights into the saint's writings were so valued that he was asked to deliver the second. In addition to Inghirami's oration, Michelangelo could have been familiar with at least two others given at the church, as those who had delivered them had close connections to the artist. The first of these was delivered by Antonio Pucci (1485-1544) sometime before 1511, coinciding with the time Michelangelo was in Rome working on the Sistine Chapel ceiling.[363] Pucci was a Floretine and a blood-relative of the Medici. They may have also known each other through Pucci's uncle, Lorenzo Pucci, who served under Pope Julius II.[364] The last, and perhaps the most likely known to the artist, was the panegyric given before 1525 by the Roman layman Francesco Novello, who was asked by the friends and family of Vittoria Colonna to dedicate it to her.[365] Although the oration predates Michelangelo's association with Colonna, it was published in Rome between 1537 and 1539, which was shortly after the beginning of their friendship.[366]

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[362] Ibid., 181; Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, 26. It is worth noting that Michelangelo was later associated with Santa Maria sopra Minerva, as he was asked as soon as 1514 to execute the sculpture of the Risen Christ for the church. The statue currently in the church is the second version. For a discussion of the sculpture and the discovery of the first version, see William E. Wallace, "Michelangelo's *Risen Christ*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997), 1251-1280.

[363] O'Malley, "Renaissance Panegyrics of Aquinas," 177-178.

[364] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 676.

[365] For a discussion of its contents, see O'Malley, "Renaissance Panegyrics of Aquinas," 178.

[366] The panegyric was published by A. Bladus in Rome as *Panegyricus ad illstrum et excellentem Victoriam Columnam Avalam Piscarieae marchionissam, Vbi de dino Thoma ex comitibus Apuliae oriundo, Aquini nato deque illustribus Columnenisbus, Avalis, et aliis clarissimis viris pulchra quam plurima videri possunt.*

Of the numerous opportunities over the course of Michelangelo's career to be introduced to the writings of Aquinas, the published panegyric by Novello is most likely the source of his knowledge. It is conceivable that with the publication's connection to Vittoria Colonna, the text would have served as the impetus for conversations between the two poets regarding Aquinas's Christian interpretations of Aristotle's ideas about the nature of poetry. Michelangelo likely found a parallel to his own poetry, which both relied upon the traditions of the past and sought to express his deep-rooted faith. These conversations with Vittoria Colonna, then, may have led Michelangelo to include the inscription on the print by Bonasone. Through the agency of Aquinas, the inscription both establishes Michelangelo as a Christian poet who can be ranked an equal of the ancient poets and intellectuals. This topos of equality with the ancients is well known in terms of Michelangelo's artistic relationship to classical sculpture. The inscription on the engraving extends that parallel to his writings and, therefore, his intellectual engagement with humanism and Christianity.

Michelangelo's interest in Aquinas and Aristotle, and their shared appreciation for the power and authority of poetry as guide, participates in a tradition that dates back to the earliest Tuscan poets: Dante Alighieri (c. 1265-1321), Petrarch (1304-1374), and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), who themselves relied heavily on antique examples.[367]

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[367] Dante's use of ancient prototypes, such as Virgil, has long been recognized. For a discussion of Dante's use of the classical tradition in the *Divine Comedy*, see Michelangelo Picone, "Dante and the Classics," in *Dante: The Critical Complex*, edited by Richard Lansing, (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), II, 321-344. Petrarch also relied heavily upon antique examples, and became the first poet since antiquity to be given the laurel crown on the Capitoline Hill (April 8, 1341). The coronation is a defining moment in the elevation of the poet in the early modern period as it was believed to have been the first time that a poet had been crowned on the Capital since Emperor Domitian had crowned Statius, Summers, *Language of Art*, 33. For a discussion of

Barolsky notes that during the Renaissance, the emergence of great poets was dependent upon their ability to contend with the authority of the ancient poets.[368] This is exemplified by Dante's description of his journey through Limbo, where he encounters the great poets of antiquity. By including them in his epic poem, Dante aimed to be included among their ranks. Barolsky sees the application of a similiar literary device in Michelangelo's poetry and biography, where Michelangelo regularly alludes to the writings of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio.[369] The inscription may have served a similar function by deliberately recalling the writings of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas.

The passage from Aquinas's *Politics* is suggestive of poetic influence. And, thus, it can be seen as a motif used to elevate Michelangelo not only to the ranks of the ancients, but also to that of the great medieval Tuscan poets. In this context, the print's inscription suggests that Michelangelo is both a disciple and the steward of the two traditions. Moreover, by his use of both traditions in his poetry, he demonstrates his command of them, and thus his ability to surpass previous authors. Sadly, this understanding of Michelangelo's identity as a poet and teacher articulated in Bonasone's print and its inscription was lost once the entire project was abandoned with the death of Michelangelo's friend and editor del Riccio, in 1546.

Petrarchian themes in the construction of Michelangelo's self image, see Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 14-17. For a discussion of Boccaccio's use of the antique, see James H. McGregor, *The Image of Antiquity in Boccaccio's* Filocolo*,* Filostrato*, and* Teseida*,* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), passim.

[368] Barolsky, *Faun in the Garden*, 14.

[369] Barolsky notes that the division between the literary genres of poetry and biography is largely a product of the modern period, Ibid.,13.

Besides the intended volume of poetry, the only other publication associated with a portrait of Michelangelo from before 1564 was Francesco de' Hollanda's *Diálogos em Roma*. It was probably while Francesco was visiting Michelangelo in 1538 that he took the opportunity to record the artist's appearance in a miniature watercolor [Fig. 85].[370] Francesco's portrait was likely taken from life. Based on what has been gleaned about the process of making the previous portraits of the artist, it might be assumed that here, too, Michelangelo advised Francesco on its execution. Although the portrait's purpose is unknown, it may have been intended to serve as the prototype for a frontispiece to the text, which was published in 1548. This idea is supported by the inscription around the frame: "MICHAEL ANGELVS PICTOR." The inscription is certainly a reference to the primary subject of the text, which serves as a treatise that addresses Michelangelo's views on the subject of painting.[371] If the portrait was intended to serve as a frontispiece

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[370] The sheet was a part of the "Album dos desenhos da antiqualhas in the Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial," which is currently in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. For an early discussion, see Steinmann, *Portraitdarstellungen*, 41, tafel 36. For recent treatments, see Emison *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 190 note 36; also, Ragioneri, *Il Volto di Michelangelo*, 96-97, no. 42; and Ragionieri, "The Face of Michelangelo," in Ragionieri, *Michelangelo: Man and Myth*, 37. The inscription at the bottom of the sheet was added anonymously at a later date and reads, "Nacque Micheal Angelus negli Anni MCCCCLVVIIII. E sene passo di cuista viat a XVII di febraio L'anno MMCLZIII. Etati sue LXXXVIII."

[371] For a discussion of Francesco's text, see Wolfgang Drost, "Preface: On the Importance of *Diálogos em Roma*," in *Diálogos em Roma (1538): Conversations on Art with Michelangelo Buonarroti*, edited by Grazia Dolores Folliero-Metz. Heidelberg: Universitäsverlag C. Winter, 1998. The inscription is also perhaps a reference to Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* fresco, which was in process when Francesco visited Rome. Although Francesco could not have known that it would become Michelangelo's crowning achievement in painting, he may have had access to Michelangelo's drawings for the project. The fame of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* was due in part to the number of copies and prints made after the fresco. For the acclaim of the fresco during the sixteenth century, see Bernadine Barnes, *Michelangelo's Last Judgment: The Renaissance Response*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. For a discussion

for the publication, it would offer legitimacy and authority to the text by underscoring

that the ideas imparted are those of Michelangelo. [372] Although Michelangelo was not the

author, the text is written in the form of a dialogue, thus suggesting that Michelangelo

dictated some of the conversation to Francesco. Yet, within the roundel, Michelangelo is

depicted not as a painter, but as a nobleman, which is attested to by his felt hat and heavy,

black doublet.[373] He is seen at almost three-quarter length and in profile with a wreath of

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of the reproductions after the fresco, see also by the same author, *Michelangelo in Print: Reproductions as Response in the Sixteenth Century*, (Farnham, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 99-120.

[372] For the issues regarding the history of the book's publication, see Folliero-Metz, *Diálogos em Roma*, 5-8. Although Michelangelo was not the author, his portrait on the frontispiece would have been similar to the traditions of the author portrait. For more on the tradition of such images, see above note 330.

[373] Drost, "Preface," page VII. Michelangelo's hat in the de' Hollanda portrait can be connected to several later portraits. In particular, it is similar to one found in a portrait mentioned by Milanesi as a part of the Lotteringo della Stufa collection, Vasari-Milanesi, *Vite*, VII, page XIII. The della Stufa portrait and its later copies are discussed by Steinmann, *Portraitdarstellungen*, 38-39, Tafel 31-35. However, Steinmann believes the hat was added at a later date. Instead of being a new type, Steinmann believes that the della Stufa portrait is a copy after the Metropolitan portrait. The rounded, felt cap and heavy, black doublet are key features of Michelangelo's attire during this period. They are included in portraits of Michelangelo that are atop engravings after the *Last Judgment*. For a discussion of these prints, see Bellini, *L'opera di Giorgio Ghisi*, 213-225; also Emison, *Creating the 'Divine' Artist*, 189. Although it falls out of the scope of this project, Federico Zuccari's *Michelangelo Watching Taddeo Zuccari decorate the façade of the Palazzo Mattei*, c. 1570-1580, in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome, depicts Michelangelo in the exact same attire. Combined with the fact that Michelangelo is atop a horse, the attire is clearly making a reference to his social status. For a discussion and a bibliography of the panel, see Christina Acidini Luchinat, "Michelangelo and the Medici," in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence*, edited by Christina Acidini Luchinat, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 225-227. The hat is also included in an early seventeenth-century printed portrait by Giovanni Battista Montano dated to around 1610. Ragionieri provides a recent treatment and bibliography, *Michelangelo tra Firenze*, 58-59, no. 22.

roses on the left and a wreath of laurel on the right. The portrait, in addition to the text, aims to elevate the nobility of painting embodied by the ennobled Michelangelo.

These portraits and publications produced between 1544 and 1553–Daniele's painted portrait, Venusti's portrait, Bonasone's two engravings, Giannotti's *Dialogues*, Michelangelo's unrealized volume of poetry, the biographies by Vasari and Condivi, and de' Hollanda's *Diálogos*–attest to Michelangelo's desire to be seen as more than a mere artist. Indeed, as someone with such rare intellectual gifts, Michelangelo viewed himself as equal with anyone in Rome. It must be assumed that Michelangelo's bouts of severe illness in the summer of 1544 and at the end of 1545 had a profound impact on the artist's attitudes towards his own mortality and subsequent spiritual salvation. These events were the impetus for his campaign of self-commemoration through portraits and literary works that were mostly produced by friends who likely shared Michelangelo's concerns at his seemingly impending death. In an effort to celebrate the artist's life, some of the literary works place particular emphasis on Michelangelo's birth as a means to justify both his divine gifts as an artist and his virtuous life. The importance placed on his birth may have also given rise to a previously unaddressed issue of how the day of his birth may have been acknowledged by either Michelangelo or his friends. Modern scholars have no doubt overlooked the possibility of the commemoration of Michelangelo's birth due to a lack of surviving accounts specifically describing such an event. Despite this, circumstantial evidence suggests it may have not been out of the realm of possibility. If a

celebration of Michelangelo's birth did occur, it likely followed the traditions found in both ancient Rome and fifteenth-century Florence.[374]

In antiquity, the public and private celebrations of an individual's birth were known to have occurred and were recorded by ancient authors.[375] It is possible that Michelangelo and his humanist friends were at the very least aware of the ancient precedents for the commemoration of one's birthday, although prior to the fifteenth century, the annual observance of an individual's birth was not centered on the individual.[376] Typically, an individual instead would have commermorated the feast of his or her name saint. Michelangelo, who was born on March 6, would have observed the feast day of his name saint, St. Michael the Archangel, celebrated on September 29.[377] These observances were religious in nature and emphasized the protection of the saint

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[374] In an exceptionally rare example at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Dürer commemorated the birthday of his brother, Endres, by executing a portrait drawing. The accompanying inscription states the portrait marks Endres's thirtieth birthday. His age is significant, as it was the same year that Endres took over their father's goldsmith shop. The drawing, therefore, marks a major milestone in his professional life, which coincides with his birthday. For the literature addressing the drawing, see above note 188.

[375] For a detailed discussion of the ancient sources that address various aspects of birthday celebrations in Roman culture, see Kathryn Argetsinger, "Birthday Rituals: Friends and Patrons in Roman Poetry and Cult," *Classical Antiquity* 11 (1992), 175-193.

[376] This discussion should be held distinct from the traditional ceremonies and practice of gift-giving associated with the birth of a child in Italy during the Early Modern period. For more on those activities associated with childbirth, see Louis Haas, *The Renaissance Man and His Children: Childbirth and Early Childhood in Florence, 1300-1600*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 58-61; and for the rites of baptism and naming of the child, see 63-88.

[377] For the practice of naming a child during the Renaissance, see Ibid., 82-88.

and not the birth of the individual.[378]   However, beginning in the fifteenth century rare instances indicate that the focus was shifting towards the celebration of one's life through the recognition of one's birth.   On February 11, 1430, the humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) sent a letter to his friend Nicolaus de Niccolis acknowledging that he had celebrated his fiftieth birthday, which apparently was not on the traditional feast day of his name saint.[379]   In humanistic fashion, he justified the expression of his birth both through the ideas of the Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) and the ancient Romans "whose custom this was."[380]   In spite of his justification, Poggio's example appears to have been an isolated event, and no evidence suggests that he continued the celebration annually.

Although it is not known which ancient authors Poggio may have been referring to in his letter, there are numerous accounts of the observation and ceremonies of birthdays in antiquity.[381]   Special birthday celebrations were held in the honor of Plato

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[378] As Haas has suggested, there are a variety of reasons for the choice of the name of a child; however, it was common to name a child after the saint whose feast day was celebrated on the day of the child's birth, *Renaissance Man and Children*, 83. In these instances, the celebration of the name-saint's feast day would also indicate the child's birthday. Nonetheless, the emphasis of the observance was placed on the saint, and not the individual. For a more detailed discussion of the religious ceremonies connected to the celebrations of an individual's name saint, see Richard C. Trexler, "Lorenzo de' Medici and Savonarola, Martyrs for Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 31 (1978), 300.

[379] Trexler, "Lorenzo de' Medici and Savonarola," 300 note 21. In a letter dated February 11, 1430, Poggio states that he had celebrated his birthday despite never having done so before. The letter is translated by Phillis Walter Goodhart Gordon, *The Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis*, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974), 161-163.

[380] Walter Goodhart Gordon, *Renaissance Book Hunters*, 161-162.

[381] The celebration of one's personal birthday has precedents in ancient Rome. Along with celebrating birthdays (*natales*) of temples and cities in the late Republican period, Roman citizens marked the birthdays of men and women by holding private celebrations with family and friends, Argetsinger, "Birthday Rituals," 175-193. Among the list of

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and Socrates after their deaths, as is attested to by Plutarch (c. 46-120 CE).[382] Plutarch,

who was widely read among humanistic circles, served as the inspiration for fifteenth-

century intellectuals to initiate similar celebrations that were organized by Marsilio

Ficino (1433-1499).   The events are documented by Ficino in a letter to Jacopo

Bracciolini, the son of Poggio:

> Every year the early disciples of Plato used to hold a city festival in honor
> of Plato's birthday.   In our own times the Bracciolini, his modern
> disciples, have celebrated the occasion both in the city and the surrounding
> countryside. Our book on love records the country festivities at the home
> of the splendid Lorenzo de' Medici at Carreggi, whilst in the city of
> Florence the festival was celebrated at princely expense by the richly
> gifted and noble-minded Francesco Bandini.[383]

The ancient celebrations mentioned by Ficino are particularly noteworthy as they offer an

ancient precedent for the Renaissance recognition of the philosopher's birth. As the letter

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those ancient texts are the comedies of Plautus and Terrace. Both authors enjoyed a
renewed fame in the Renaissance. The works of Plautus were known as early as 1428
and published in 1472. For a discussion of the significance and the influence of both
ancient authors in the Renaissance, see Richard R. Hardin, "Encountering Plautus in the
Renaissance: A Humanistic Debate on Comedy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007), 789-
818. Among the more notable citations are works by Cicero, Martial, and Pliny the
Younger. The Renaissance humanist may have also known the celebration of birthdays
in antiquity through the ancient Roman genre of birthday poems written by the likes of
Tibullus, Horace, Ovid, and Martial. For a discussion of this unique form of poetry, see
Argetsinger, "Birthday Rituals," 180-186.

[382] Paul W. Gooch, "The Celebration of Plato's Birthday," *Classical World* 75 (1982),
239.

[383] Marsilio Ficino, *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, (London: Shepheard-Walwyn, 1975),
I, 160-161 no 107. For a discussion of the letter, see Gooch, "Celebration of Plato's
Birthday," 239-240. The "book of love" mentioned in the letter refers to Ficino's preface
for Plato's *De Amore*, which records the event. James Hankins expresses doubt that the
event actually occurred and argues that it was a fabrication, "The Myth of the Platonic
Academy in Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991), 446-449. The subject of the
symposia is also addressed by Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto, *Medici Gardens: From
Making to Design*, (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 51-52.

suggests, Ficino organized two modern celebrations in honor of Plato's birth, which took the form of symposia.[384] Ficino's interest in Plato's birth may have been the impetus for his patron Lorenzo de' Medici's desire to recognize his own birthday, who, himself, was a humanist and a poet and would have appreciated its ancient signficance. In 1482, Lorenzo established an endowment at the Medicean church of San Lorenzo to fund an annual celebration of the day of his birth, not on the feast day of his name saint.[385] Indeed, the documents regarding the endowment describe the annual event as *festum pro nativitate dicti Laurentii*, or a birthday celebration.[386] Although these public acknowledgments sponsored by Lorenzo ultimately belong to the traditions of the veneration of relics associated with his patron saints, the description of the celebration marks a shift towards the public commemoration of a non-sainted individual's birth.[387] The celebrations of the births of Plato and Lorenzo under the patronage of the Medici

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[384] Based on ancient texts, Ficino believed that Plato was born on November 7. The humanist scholar also believed the date marked Plato's death, which he believed had occurred at the banquet honoring Plato's birthday. With this understanding, Ficino cited that the early Platonists, such as Plotinus and Poryphyry, held celebrations in honor of Plato's birth and death. For a discussion of the ancient author's beliefs regarding Plato's birth and Ficino's interpretation, see Gooch, "Celebration of Plato's Birthday," 230. Although it is certain that this was the day chosen based on Ficino's letters, it is unclear in which years the celebrations were held. It has been suggested that the first was held in Lorenzo de' Medici's house in Careggio as early as 1468 and as late as 1474. The second was held in Florence and possibly dates to 1475. For a discussion of the dating of the festivities, see Gooch, "Celebration of Plato's Birthday," 240.

[385] The endowment was given in two installments on May 6th and November 7th. In addition to the celebrations in honor of Lorenzo's birthday at San Lorenzo, the endowment was meant to be used for the installment of offices and feasts in honor of his family at three Florentine churches, including San Lorenzo, Trexler, "Lorenzo de' Medici and Savonarola," 299-301 esp. 300.

[386] For a discussion of the documents, see Ibid., 300-301.

[387] Ibid., 301.

were significant enough events that, despite the lack of documentary evidence, they were conceivably a topic of continued conversations among the intellectuals and humanists at Lorenzo's court. Therefore, it is conceivable that the young Michelangelo may have been first introduced to the concept of commemorating an individual's birthday while in residence at the Palazzo Medici.

Perhaps this type of public commemoration was recalled by Michelangelo shortly after his first bout of severe illness in the summer of 1544. At the time the artist was sixty-nine years old and, as suggested by his poetry and letters during this period, he did not believe that he would live much longer.[388] Michelangelo's meditations on his death during his two bouts of severe illness may have led to the contemplation of his birth, which is supported by his request in 1548 to his nephew, Lionardo, to make a second copy of his birth record.[389] The timing of the letter and the fact that this information was included in Condivi's biography perhaps affirms Michelangelo's role in the construction of Condivi's *Vita*, or at the very least his willingness to supply the appropriate materials and information. In any case, Michelangelo evidently believed the details of his birth significant for his biography. The importance of his birth narrative is supported in the letter where Michelangelo alludes to a previous request for a copy of the account of his

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[388] For the literature addressing Michelangelo's concerns with his death, see above note 280.

[389] The letter, written by Michelangelo in Rome on April 14th, 1548, and sent to his nephew Lionardo, who was in Florence, states, "Vorrei che mi mandassi la mia natività, come me mandasti un altra volta, a punto come sta in su' libro di nostro padre, perchè lo perduta," *Carteggio*, IV, 296-297. For an English translation of the letter, see Ramsden, *Letters,* II, 89-91. Although Lionardo's response has not survived, Kristen Lippincott discusses Condivi's reliance and adherence to the description of the artist's birth found in Michelangelo's father Lodovico's *Ricordanze*, "When was Michelangelo Born?," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989), 231.

birth from his father's *Ricordanze* as he asks his nephew to send it again, "come me mandasti un altra volta." The passage from his father's *Ricordanze* of which Michelangelo requested a copy reads as follows: "I record that today, this 6th day of March 1474 [1475 modern] a son was born to me. I named him Michelangelo. He was born on Monday morning 4 or 5 hours before daybreak while I was Podestà at Caprese. He was born at Caprese and these named below were his godfathers. He was baptized on the 8th day of the said month in the church of Santo Giovanni at Caprese."[390]

Michelangelo's initial request for the copy of his birth record may have been in response to Vasari's research for the 1550 edition of the *Vite* during the late 1540s, while the author was in Rome. In fact, Vasari does include an edited account of Michelangelo's birth record in the opening lines of the first edition of the *Vita*:

> In Florence then, in the year 1474, there was born to Lodovico Simon Buonarroti a son whom he christened Michelangelo as if to suggest that he might be more heavenly and divine than mortal. And he was of noble birth, for the Simoni have always been noble and honorable citizens.[391]

Perhaps unsettled by Vasari's description, Michelangelo may have asked Condivi to elaborate upon the events of his birth, "His father was called Lodovico di Leonardo Buonarroti Simoni, a good and religious man … had a son in the year of our salvation 1474, on the sixth of March, four hours before daybreak, on a Monday."[392] In the 1568

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[390] Translated by Ramsden, *Letters,* II, 272. Lodovico's original record is no longer extant, and is only through a seventeenth-century copy. It is this later copy that is transcribed in the *Carteggio*, IV, 296-297.

[391] The English translation is provided by Mortimer, *Poems and Letters*, 152.

[392] The year mentioned by Condivi is according to the Florentine calendar, which starts the year on March 25, the feast of the Annunciation, opposed to January 1st. Thus, March 6, 1474 on the Florentine calendar is March 6, 1475 according the modern calendar. Condivi, *Life*, 6.

edition, Vasari expands the description in an attempt to offer a divine justification for the artist's birth:

> There was born a son, then, in the Casentino, in the year 1474, under the fateful and happy star, from an excellent and noble mother, to Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni, a descendent, so it is said, of the most noble and most ancient family of the Counts of Canossa. To that Lodovico…who was in that year *Podestà* of the township of Chiusi and Caprese, near the Sasso della Vernia, where St. Francis received the Stigmata, in the Diocese of Arezzo, a son was born on the 6th of March, a Sunday, about the eighth hour of the night, to which son he gave the name Michelangelo, because, inspired by some influence from above, and giving it no more thought, he wished to suggest that he was something celestial and divine beyond the use of mortals, as was afterwards seen from the figures of his horoscope, he having had Mercury and Venus in the second house of Jupiter, with happy augury, which showed that from the art of his brain and of his hand there would be seen to issue forth works marvelous and stupendous.[393]

Surprisingly, there is a discrepancy between Vasari's and Condivi's accounts in terms of the time of day and the precise day of the week. It has been suggested by Kristen Lippencott that the day may be a result of two different modes of calculating the hours of the day during the Renaissance, which would have resulted in producing the same modern time of 2:00 a.m. on Monday, March 6, 1475.[394]

These biographical treatments indicate that Michelangelo was concerned with the details of his birth. The accounts of Michelangelo's birth were especially significant in the establishment of his noble heritage. Beginning with the biography by Condivi, the information of his birth is situated within the context of Michelangelo's noble ancestry, and therefore it can be posited that the artist attempted to give even more significance to

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[393] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 643. The significance of the astrological to the Renaissance audience is addressed by Riggs, "Was Michelangelo Born Under Saturn?," 99-121.

[394] Lippincott, "When was Michelangelo Born?," 229.

his birth.[395]   Moreover, in Vasari's description of Michelangelo's birth in the 1568

edition, he maintains the same emphasis on Michelangelo's noble bloodline. Given the

humanistic circles that Michelangelo was involved with during the 1540s, it perhaps is

not surprising that the artist and his friends sought to celebrate his life by focusing on his

birth. Although no documentary evidence suggests there was a private celebration for his

birthday, it certainly would not be out of the realm of possibility based on those

precedents offered by ancient authors and humanists associated with the court of Lorenzo

de' Medici. The most compelling evidence outside the biographies to suggest interest in

Michelangelo's birth came in the form of two public lectures in honor of Michelangelo

delivered at Santa Maria Novella in 1547 by the humanist and scholar Benedetto Varchi

(1503-1565).[396]   In addition to honoring Michelangelo's intellect and artistic

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[395] Condivi's establishment of Michelangelo as a descendent of the noble house of the Canossa is discussed above, see note 314.

[396] In 1547, the Accademia Fiorentina held weekly, public lectures on Sundays in the Sala del Papa in Santa Maria Novella, Inge Werner, "The Heritage of the Umidi: Perfomative Poetry in the Early Accademia Fiorentina," in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, edited by Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie Speakman Sutch, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), II, 257. The Sala del Papa was located on the upper story of the western side of the Great Cloister at Santa Maria Novella. It was first built in honor of Pope Martin V's visit to Florence, which occurred between 1419 and 1420. The room underwent alterations to accommodate both the Curia of Pope Eugenius IV and members of the Eastern Church during the Fifth Lateran Council in 1434. The room, again, underwent improvements when Pope Leo X resided there during his entry into Florence in 1515. For an early discussion of the history of the room, see J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella: A Historical, Architectural and Artistic Study*, (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze, 1902), 90-92. The dates of the lectures in question correspond to the second and third Sunday of Lent for the year of 1547. There has been some confusion in the literature as to the date of the first lecture. Some scholars state that the first lecture was given on March 7, and thus the second lecture would have been on March 14. These dates appear to be based on Varchi's letter to Luca Martini, which was published on page 55 in the *Due Lezzioni*. In the letter, Varchi requested that Martini solicit Michelangelo

achievements, it appears the lectures also recognized the date of his birth.   Varchi delivered the first on delivered March 6, with the second given a week later.[397]   The date of the first lecture is somewhat surprising given that it coincides with the date of Michelangelo's seventy-second birthday.   Although no evidence suggests that the lectures were given in honor of Michelangelo's birth, the date of the lecture is conspicuous and may suggest that they were indeed a part of a public commemoration of the artist's birth.

The lectures were subsequently published in 1550 as the *Due Lezzoni* by the ducal printer Lorenzo Torrentino. Despite the dedication of the publication to Michelangelo, the text does not mention that the lecture served to either mark or celebrate his birth.[398] Although neither the original manuscript for the lecture or the publication has survived, Mendelsohn points out that significant changes exist between the delivered lecture and the published text, changes that were likely a result of the intended audiences for each.[399] Members of the *Accademia fiorentina*, clergy, writers, humanists, artists and prominent citizens of Florence attended the lectures, but Mendelsohn argues that the publication was intended for a more homogeneous and intellectual audience. If the lectures were a part of a public commemoration of Michelangelo's birth, they would have participated within the same tradition as the symposia organized by Ficino marking the birth of Plato.

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for his theoretical stance on the *Paragone*.   For more on the letter, see Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 156-157.

[397] Mendelsohn, *Paragoni*, 93.

[398] For a discussion of the significance of the dedication, see Ibid., 90, 94-96.

[399] Ibid., 90, 248 note 1

Members of the *Accademia fiorentina,* who claimed to have descended from the ranks of Lorenzo's courts, would have seen it fitting for the inaugural celebration of Michelangelo's birthday anniversary to be commemorated with a public lecture centered on his artistic theory.[400]

In preparation for the lectures, Varchi had solicited from Michelangelo his attitudes toward current artistic theory and the *paragone*. The lectures and the subsequent publication represent a marked shift in the understanding of Michelangelo's constructed identity. Although Michelangelo had contributed to Varchi's lecture via his letter, the artist ultimately had no control over the content of the orations. This is especially true when Varchi offered an interpretation of Michelangelo's poetry free from the artist's input. Varchi's lectures weave together the artist's poetry, birth, nobility and art as a means to justify the elevation of Michelangelo and, therefore, all Florentine artists. For his contemporaries, it was not one or the other. Instead, Michelangelo, because of his noble birth confirmed in theory through the Counts of Canossa and in practice by the celebration of the day itself, was transformed into the image of the ideal artist to exemplify the new position of art. Michelangelo demonstrates that this new status for the visual arts was the equal to both the ancients and to the poets. Although Michelangelo attempted to control his public persona during the period dating between 1544 and 1553, once again, others were attempting to capitalize on his fame for their own gain. In fact, Michelangelo's image would soon take on a life of its own.

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[400] For a discussion of the connections between the members of the *Accademia fiorentina* and those humanists and scholars belonging to the fifteenth-century court of Lorenzo di Medici, see Werner, "Heritage of the Umidi," 257-284.

CHAPTER 5

MICHELANGELO AS EMBLEM: THE ROLE OF THE ARTIST'S IMAGE IN

HISTORICAL AND BIBLICAL NARRATIVES IN ROME AND FLORENCE, 1546-

1552

Michelangelo's campaign to advance his social and artistic identities through

portraiture and biography between 1544 and 1553 contributed not only to his fame as an

artist, but also to the widespread knowledge of his appearance. His image was so well

known throughout Italy that other artists quickly associated Michelangelo's facial

features with the emblematic image of the "Artist" and artistic achievement. This

understanding of Michelangelo's likeness led to the almost immediate inclusion of it

among a series of biblical and historical narratives produced in Rome and Tuscany.

Given the variety of patrons and artists involved in these projects, it is surprising that

Michelangelo's portrait was used to convey similar ideas. In these examples,

Michelangelo's image served to advance the agendas of both patron and artist of the

narrative. For the patrons, Michelangelo's presence in the narrative was an allegorical

representation of the visual arts, which in turn served to represent the patron as an

enlightened noble or ruler. For these artists, Michelangelo's likeness was used to

establish a link to their artistic heritage.

One of the earliest narratives of this type was commissioned from Giorgio Vasari

in 1546 by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) for the main audience hall (later

called the *Sala dei Cento Giorni*) in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome.[401] The subject

of the frescoes, which were overseen by the historian Paolo Giovio, glorifies the ideal

qualities of not just the cardinal's grandfather, Pope Paul III (r. 1534-1549, Alessandro

Farnese, 1468-1549), but that of all popes.[402] The palazzo was the official residence for

the Vice-Chancellor of the Church, a position to which Cardinal Farnese was elected in

1535 after the death of Ippolito de' Medici. Despite the house being the official property

of the church, it would be the main residence for the cardinal until his death in 1589.[403]

Since the Palazzo della Cancelleria was owned by the church, not by the Farnese, the

cardinal was careful to place Pope Paul III's achievements in a light that foremost

glorified the church.[404] Most notably, the frescoes use images of individuals both as

portraits and allegorical representations.[405] Vasari's use of portraits throughout the entire

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[401] The name of the main chamber, the Sala dei Cento Giorni, was given after the completion of the frescoes as homage to Vasari's accomplishment of completing the decoration in a hundred days beginning in March 1546 as stipulated by the contract. For more on the commission, see Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, 144 note 148; and, also, Fredericka Herman Jacobs, "A New Drawing by Vasari for the Sala dei Cento Giorni," *Master Drawings* 20 (1982), 371. For interpretations of the decorations, see Hall, *After Raphael*, 153-156; and, Clare Robertson, *'Il Gran Cardinale': Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 57-68.

[402] For Giovio's role in the decorations, see Jacobs, "Vasari for the Sala dei Cento Giorni," 371.

[403] Robertson, *Il Gran Cardinale*, 53.

[404] Hall, *After Raphael*, 153.

[405] The style of the frescoes of the *Sala dei Cento Giorni* closely follows the example provided by Raphael's *Sala di Constantino*, c. 1525, especially in the use of secondary characters, people in conversation, and most importantly, portraits of contemporary figures. The *Sala di Constantino* was completed by Giulio Romano and/or Gianfrancesco Penni, or both, after Raphael's death. For Vasari's dependence upon these frescoes for the *Sala dei Cento Giorni*, see Jan L. de Jong, "History Painting at the

fresco cycle is confirmed by both his own description of the decorations in his *Vita* and letters written by Paolo Giovio shortly after the completion of the project.[406] In his account of the narratives, Vasari describes the fresco of Pope Paul III's election of cardinals and the distribution of Benefices [Fig. 86]:

> On the main wall is [Pope Paul III] remunerating merit, distributing salaries, knighthoods, benefices, pensions, bishoprics, and Cardinals' hats, and among those who are receiving them are Sadoleto, Polo, Bembo, Contarini, Giovio, Buonarroti, and other men of excellence, all portrayed from life, and on that wall, within a great niche, is Grace with a horn of plenty full of dignities, which she is pouring out upon the earth, and the Victories that she has above her, after the likeness of the others, support the head of Trajan. There is also Envy who is devouring vipers and appears to be bursting with venom; and above, at the top of the scene, are the arms of the Cardinal Farnese, supported by Fame and Virtue.[407]

The inclusion of Michelangelo is curious as he did not receive any of the listed titles or benefices from the pope; nor was he present during the election of the Sacred College of Cardinals.[408] Each scene within the entire fresco, however, served as an allegory instead of merely recording historical events, which is supported by both representations of

Farnese Court: Giorgio Vasari, Francesco Salviati and Taddeo Zuccaro," in *The Translation of Raphael's Roman Style*, edited by Henk Th. van Veen, (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), 69-80, esp. 69-71.

[406] For Vasari's description of the entire project, see *Lives*, II, 1040-1042. Giovio sent a letter to Vasari on December 18, 1546, in which he states the Cardinal wished the portraits were of better quality. The letter is included in Paolo Giovio, *Lettere*, edited by Giuseppe Guido Ferrero, (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato 1956-58), 61 no. 243.

[407] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 1041. Robertson has also identified the portrait of Antonio da Sangallo, who was the current architect of St. Peter's at the time of the fresco, *Il Gran Cardinale*, 65.

[408] For an early discussion of the portrait, see Steinmann, *Porträtdarstellungen*, 35-36, Tafel 25. The portrait has been recently discussed by Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 270-271.

virtues and vices and the inclusion of inscriptions below each narrative.[409]   In his

description of the *Pope Distributing Benefices*, Vasari mentions the figure of Envy, seen

reclining atop the concave steps at the bottom of the painting, and the heraldic figures of

Fame and Virtue in the frame at the top. Although not included in his account, Vasari

also depicted fictive sculptures of Virtue and Labor on either side of the narrative.[410]   In

this context, the scene, which emphasizes strong moral character, provides an exemplum

for a pope in determining recipients of papal appointments.   The presence of

Michelangelo among this group indicates that these characteristics also serve as the basis

for the pope's patronage of art and architecture.   In his introduction to Michelangelo's

Vita, Vasari later made explicit that Michelangelo exemplified the model of both artistic

achievement and a virtuous life:

> [God sent to earth] a spirit with universal ability in every art and every
> profession, who might be able…to show what manner of thing is the
> perfection of the art of design in executing the lines, contours, shadows,
> and highlights, so as to give relief to works of painting, and what it is to
> work with correct judgment in sculpture, and how in architecture it is
> possible to render habitations secure and commodious, healthy and
> cheerful, well-proportioned, and rich with varied ornaments. He was
> pleased, in addition, to endow him with the true moral philosophy and
> with the ornament of sweet poesy, to the end that the world might choose
> him and admire him as its highest exemplar in the life, works, saintliness
> of character, and every action of human creatures, and he be acclaimed by
> us as a being rather divine than human. [411]

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[409] The inscriptions found below the narratives avoid specifically naming the pope, and,
thus, reinforces the universal aspects of the scene. In the case of the Pope's distribution
of benefices, the inscription reads, "When [one is settled] in the top of good fortune, there
is nothing more admirable then to extend the memory of well-conveyed benefaction to
posterity." De Jong argues that the notions of the universal found within these narratives
is in part dependent on Aristotle's distinction between poetry and history, "History
Painting at Farnese Court," 77.

[410] Robertson, *Il Gran Cardinale*, 65; de Jong, "History Painting at Farnese Court," 71.

[411] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 642.

In awarding virtuous people with titles and patronage—whether to a nobleman, cardinal, or artist—the pope then bestows glory onto both them and the church.[412]

Michelangelo's virtuous life also may have been the impetus for the inclusion of his likeness in Daniele da Volterra's *Assumption of the Virgin* [Fig. 87] where he is depicted in the guise of one of the Apostles [Fig. 88].[413] Carolyn Valore argues that the decoration of the chapel is an extension of the desire on the part of both the patron and the Order of the Minim to reinforce ideas of family and church reformation that, in particular, encouraged the following of the earthly lives of the saints as a model of leading a virtuous life.[414] This emphasis may have been the basis for Daniele's implementation of a new illusionistic device, which Vasari describes in the artist's *Vita*, "[Daniele] made it appear as if the altar of [the] chapel were the sepulcher, and place the Apostles around it, making their feet rest on the floor of the Chapel."[415] By suggesting that the Apostles share the same space of the chapel as the viewer, Daniele reinforces the

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[412] Robertson, *Il Gran Cardinale*, 60. The inscriptions for the narratives reinforce the ideal qualities for a pope, as defined by Pope Paul III: perfect lawgiver, peacemaker, patron of the arts, and rewarder of service to the church.

[413] Daniele was commissioned in 1548 by Lucruzia della Rovere (1485-1552) to decorate her family's chapel in Santa Trinità dei Monti, Rome. For the early bibliography, see Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra*, 82-86. For a recent discussion of the fresco and the portrait of Michelangelo, see Carolyn Valore, "The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia dell Rovere," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 31 (2000), 753-777.

[414] Valore, "Art of Hearing," 759-763. These desires were common topics of sermons during this period. Valore has highlighted that teaching by exemplum was not a new idea, but it was the focus of many of the sermons delivered by the Minims. The della Rovere family was associated with the Order of the Minims dating to 1506, when Pope Julius II had issued the bull *Interceteros*, which approved the final form of the Order.

[415] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 592.

tangibility of their example and grants the viewer access to the Virgin above the altar. The immediacy of the illusion is bolstered by the inclusion of an image of the aged Michelangelo, who directs the viewer's gaze towards the Virgin.[416]

The decision to include Michelangelo's portrait, however, may also be a result of his relationship to Lucrezia and her uncle, Pope Julius II.[417] The connection between Michelangelo and the delle Rovere family is made explicit in the vault of the chapel where Daniele's decorations are heavily indebted to Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling. Perhaps in an attempt to solidify the associations between Michelangelo and the delle Rovere family, Lucrezia may have asked Daniele to execute an authentic portrait of the artist. In preparation for the fresco, Daniele made a cartoon with the head of Michelangelo [Fig. 89] that, based on their relationship at the time of the commission, was likely drawn from life.[418] Michelangelo's presence in the fresco may be more a product of his possible connection specifically to Lucrezia, not necessarily through her uncle.

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[416] Given the individualized treatment of each of the Apostles in the fresco, it can be assumed that Daniele included more portraits of his contemporaries. However, Vasari does not mention the presence of portraits in his description of the decorations, and to my knowledge, the only portrait identified by scholars is that of Michelangelo.

[417] Valone, "Art of Hearing," 759. Lucrezia was the daughter of Pope Julius II's sister, Luchina and her second husband.

[418] The cartoon for Michelangelo's portrait is located in the Tyler Museum, Haarlem. For a recent discussion and bibliography, see Ippolita di Majo, "Volto di un apostolo con le fattezzee di Michelangelo," in *Daniele da Volterra,* edited by Romani, 110-112. Di Majo suggests that although the cartoon was pricked in preparation for transfer, it may not have been used. For a discussion of the portrait of Michelangelo within the tradition of workshop practices, see Carmen C. Bambach, *Drawing and Painting in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Theory and Practice, 1300-1600,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 106-112, 412-413 note 160. For the relationship between the two artists, see above note 295.

Lucrezia may have known Michelangelo while the artist was working for her uncle, as she held a prominent position among Roman society as the niece of the pope. She also may have had access to the artist during the execution and eventual erection of Pope Julius II's tomb in 1545. However, her marriage to Marcantonio Colonna I (1478-1522) may have provided the most likely access to Michelangelo.[419] Marcantonio was the second cousin of Vittoria Colonna (1490-1547), who was Michelangelo's confidante and played a large part in the development of the artist's spirituality.[420] Although the relations between Lucrezia and the Colonna were strained after her husband's death in 1522, she may have found a kinship with Vittoria, who was widowed when her husband, Francesco d'Avalos, Marchese di Pescara, was killed in 1525.[421] If the two women did enjoy a friendship, it is conceivable that such a relationship offered an opportunity for Lucrezia's introduction to Michelangelo and his religious beliefs. Indeed, it has long been established that Michelangelo and Vittoria had enjoyed a kinship based on their mutual love of poetry and their deep-seated religious devotion.[422] Even if Lucrezia was not aware of Michelangelo's piety through Vittoria Colonna, she could have easily been informed by Daniele himself, who was among Michelangelo's closest friends at this time. As Lucrezia was an advocate for religious reform, attested to by her close ties to the

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[419] Valone, "Art of Hearing," 767-768. The marriage was arranged by Pope Julius II in order to strengthen familial ties with the Colonna. The importance of the marriage is attested to by his announcing the union at the College of Cardinals on August 1, 1506.

[420] For a discussion of Michelangelo's relationship with Vittoria Colonna, see above notes 149 and 279.

[421] For more on the marriage between Vittoria and Francesco, see Connor, *Last Judgment: Michelangelo and Death of Renaissance*, 116-119.

[422] The exchange of poems between Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna is discussed by Nagel, "Gifts for Michelangelo," 647-668.

Order of the Minims, she could have viewed Michelangelo as the embodiement of devoted faith, which in turn led to the decision to include his portrait as one of the Apostles. Furthermore, the portrait also serves to establish a connection between Daniele and Michelangelo. And in analogous fashion to the portrait of the artist in the Sala dei Cento Giorni, Daniele affirms his position as the heir to the artistic heritage and moral standing, which is solidified by the decorations in the vault.

The inclusion of Michelangelo's portrait in such narratives was not limited to the Eternal City; they also appear in his native city of Florence. Using Michelangelo's image in a very similar fashion as that found in the *Sala dei Cento Giorni* and the Della Rovere Chapel, many of these Florentine examples are associated with the patronage of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici. One of the earliest Florentine examples is a tapestry depicting *Joseph explaining the Pharaoh's Dream* [Fig. 90], which was commissioned from Francesco Salviati in 1547 as part of the renovations of the Palazzo Vecchio under Duke Cosimo I de' Medici.[423] The portrait of Michelangelo is placed behind Joseph, among the witnesses in the background. Michelangelo's image offers the viewer an accessible route into the biblical scene through the use of contemporary portrait.[424] Michelangelo's image, however, may also relate to the Duke's desire to be seen as the heir of his

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[423] For the identification of Michelangelo, see Lucia Meoni, "The Legacy of Michelangelo in the Grand-ducal Tapestry Workshops of Florence, from Cosimo I to Cosimo II," in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Late Renaissance Florence*, edited by Christina Acidini Luchinat, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 101 note 27. The cartoon for the tapestry was painted by Salviati in 1547 and then woven by Nicola Karcher in 1548.

[424] Ibid., 97.

illustrious family's heritage, a theme which is evident in Vasari's later frescoes for the Palazzo Vecchio.

Vasari was commissioned to fresco the ducal apartments as a part of the renovations to the Palazzo Vecchio. Although Vasari and his workshop carried out the frescoes, the entire decorative program was conceived of by Vincenzo Borghini, Cosimo Bartoli, Giovanni Battista Adriani, and Vasari, in close consultation with the Duke.[425] The subjects of the narratives aim to connect the history of the Medici family to the rise and glory of Florence which began with Cosimo "il Vecchio" de' Medici and culminated with the current Duke. Among these frescoes, Vasari represents the election of Cardinals by Pope Leo X [Fig. 91], in which Michelangelo is found among the witnesses.[426] The subject matter of the fresco relates the events surrounding the establishment of the new College of Cardinals under Pope Leo X in 1517.[427] Prior to the event, many of the Cardinals opposed the favoritism exhibited by Pope Leo X, who had granted favors in exchange for his election. As a response to their opposition, Pope Leo X aimed to

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[425] Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, 200. The bibliography for the Vasari's decorations for the Palazzo Vecchio is vast. I offer a brief selection for its history and meaning: Ugo Muccini and Alessandro Cecchi, *The Apartments of Cosimo in Palazzo Vecchio*, (Florence: Le Lettere, 1991), passim; Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*, 199-200. For more of the iconography of the frescoes, see Paola Tinagli, "Claiming a Place in History: Giorgio Vasari's *Ragionamenti* and the Primacy of the Medici," in *The Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo de' Medici*, edited by Konrad Eisenbichler, (Aldershot, Burlington, Singapore, Sydney: Ashgate, 2001), 63-76.

[426] The narrative is described by Vasari in his *Ragionamenti*, where he references the events surrounding the Pope's election, see Jerry Lee Draper, "Vasari's Decoration in the Palazzo Vecchio: The 'Ragionamenti'," Ph.D. diss., (University of North Carolina, 1973), I, 305. For an early discussion, see Steinmann, *Porträtdarstellungen*, 36, Tafel 26. For a recent discussion, see Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 117.

[427] Muccini and Cecchi, *Apartments of Cosimo*, 117.

appease his detractors with the election of thirty-one Cardinals on June 26, 1517. All of the cardinals who were elected on this date are depicted within the fresco. Like Vasari's *Distribution of Benefices* from the Palazzo della Cancelleria, the fresco in the Palazzo Vechio reinterprets the historical event by taking liberties with some of the details. Most notable is the inclusion of portraits of individuals who were not present at the event, such as Michelangelo, who is in an analogous location in the *Distribution of Benefices* [Fig. 86]. Based on their shared formal qualities—the use of Solomonic columns, inclusion of portraits, and witnesses in conversation—it is likely that the image of Michelangelo is used in a similar fashion to recall both the glory of the illustrious Medici patronage and the ideal qualities of the pope as patron of both art and architecture.

Both Salviati's tapestry and Vasari's fresco for the Palazzo Vecchio speak to the Duke's desire to weave Michelangelo into the fabric of both the illustrious history of Florence and the Medici family.[428] Almost immediately after his election, Duke Cosimo I actively sought to reinstate the prominence of Florence as the preeminent artistic and intellectual center in the same manner as his ancestors, Cosimo 'il Vecchio' and Lorenzo 'il Magnifico.'[429] Perhaps as an attempt to further a connection to these earlier prominent

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[428] Cosimo utilized artistic commission to assert visually his power. For a discussion of the variety of objects and works of art commissioned under the Duke, see Kirsten Aschengreen Piacenti, "The Medici Grand-Ducal Florence and the Symbols of Power," in *Medici, Michelangelo, and the Art of Florence*, edited by Acidini Luchinat, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 25-33; and, also, in the same publication, Janet Cox-Rearick, "Art at the Court of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (1537-1574)," 35-45.

[429] For a discussion of how Cosimo I connected himself to the earlier generations of the Medici through intellectual and artistic pursuits, see Antonio Ricci, "Lorenzo Torrentino and the Cultural Programme of Cosimo I de' Medici," in *Cultural Politics of Cosimo I de' Medici*, edited by Konrad Eisenbichler, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 103-120, esp. 113-114.

members of the Medici family, the Duke frequently requested the services of Michelangelo, who in his youth lived in Lorenzo's house.[430]   Had Cosimo been successful in his efforts to procure the talents of the artist, Michelangelo would have taken a prominent role in the Duke's visual manifestation of his state through artistic patronage.   This role went unfulfilled, however, as Michelangelo declined the duke's repeated offers and stayed in Rome until his death in 1564.   Despite not returning to his native city, the artist nonetheless became the literal face of Florence's artistic identity and a key element in the Duke's constructed identity as an illustrious ruler who provides an environment for the arts to flourish, which is made explicit in narratives that include the portraits of both Duke Cosimo I and Michelangelo.[431]

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[430] By the time Michelangelo was permanently settled in Rome after 1534, Duke Cosimo routinely sent members of his court in attempt to lure Michelangelo back to Florence. Even as late as 1561, Duke Cosimo sent his son, Francesco, to speak with the artist.   A discussion of Cosimo I and Michelangelo is provided by Giorgio Costa, *Michelangelo alle corti di Niccolò Ridolfi e Cosimo I*, (Rome: Bulzoni, 2009), 111-162.   After Michelangelo's departure from Florence in 1534, Cosimo was concerned with the reputation of Florence as the preeminent artistic center in Europe.   This gave rise to his support of the establishment of first Florentine academies of literature and art, Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: The Discipline of 'disegno'*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 33-34.

[431] This connection is best exemplified through both editions of Vasari's *Vite*, which are both dedicated to Cosimo and champions Michelangelo as the standard bearer for all artists.   In Michelangelo's biography, Vasari places particular emphasis on Michelangelo's relationship with the Medici family.   For more on the history of the relationship between Michelangelo and the Medici family, and Michelangelo as the emblem of Florentine artistic genius, see Acidini Luchinat, "Michelangelo and Medici," in *The Medici, Michelangelo, and Art*, 9-23, especially 17-18.   Although I do not treat the images of Michelangelo produced outside Florence and Rome, his image became the literal face of Florence's artistic genius in 1549, when his portrait was included on the ephemeral triumphal arch for the entry of Prince Philip in Antwerp.   The arch aimed to honor the Medici through highlighting Florence's greatest cultural achievements, Acidini Luchinat, "Michelangelo and Medici," 17.

Cosimo's desire to be seen as a great patron of the arts as expressed through the agency of Michelangelo's image is also suggested in Pierino da Vinci's (c.1529-1553) marble relief, *The Restoration of Pisa*, 1552, [Fig. 92].[432] Analogous to Vasari's frescoes in the *Sala dei Cento Giorni* [Fig. 86], Pierino's relief does not represent a singular event, but is instead an allegory of Cosimo's efforts to revitalize the city.[433] The interpretation of the image as an allegory is indicated by Vasari's account of the relief in Pierino's *Vita*

> [Pierino] set his hand to a scene of marble, […] in which he represented the restoration of Pisa by the Duke [Cosimo I de' Medici], who is in the work present in person at the restoration of that city, which is being pressed forward by his presence. Round the Duke are figures of his virtues; in particular a Minerva representing his wisdom and also the arts revived by him in that city of Pisa, who is surrounded by many evils and natural defects of the site, which besiege her on every side, and afflict her in the manner of enemies; but from all these that city has since been delivered by the above-mentioned virtues of the Duke. All these virtues round the Duke, with all the evils round Pisa, were portrayed by Vinci in his scene with most beautiful gestures and attitudes[.][434]

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[432] For an early discussion, see Steinmann, *Porträtdarstellungen*, 49-50, Tafel 49. The relief is currently in the Musei Vaticani, Rome. Jonathan Nelson provides a recent discussion and updated bibliography in "Restoration of Pisa," in *Medici, Michelangelo, and Art*, 232-234, no. 95.

[433] The Duke reopened the university in Pisa in 1542 and in 1547 placed Luca Martini in charge of draining the city's marshes. For a brief discussion of Cosimo's improvement to the city, see Louis A. Waldman, "Restoration of Pisa," in *Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, and the Renaissance in Florence*, edited by David Franklin, (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2005), 292; and, Victoria Kirkham, "Cosimo and Eleonora in Shepherdland: A Lost Eclogue by Laura Battiferra degli Ammannati," In *Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo*, edited by Eisenbichler, 159-160. Although there are no extant documents regarding the commission, Jonathon Nelson suggests that the relief was executed either for or under the guidance of Luca Martini, "Restoration of Pisa," in *Medici, Michelangelo, and Art*, 232-234.

[434] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 262.

Among these virtues emphasized by Vasari is Minerva, whose presence reinforces the duke's wisdom and his patronage of the arts.[435] Cosimo leads a group into the scene from the left and based on Minerva's presence, these individuals can be identified as artists, intellectuals and administrators. Among this group are portraits of Michelangelo, Pierino, and Pierino's teacher, Tribolo.[436] The image of Michelangelo, likely derived from Bonasone's second engraved version [Fig. 84], indicates Cosimo's ambitions to be seen as the ideal and enlightened ruler much in the same fashion as Cardinal Farnese in the *Sala dei Centi Giorni*.[437]

In addition to Michelangelo's portrait serving in Cosimo's political vision to glorify the Tuscan state through its illustrious artistic and intellectual history, it also plays a role in the construction of Pierino's artistic identity. Pierino positions his self-portrait behind both Michelangelo and Tribolo: horizontally and vertically, respectively. This unsusal placement gives visual form to his conception of his artistic pedigree as having

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[435] Nelson points out that the identification of Minerva is difficult, as her traditional attributes—an urn, armillary sphere, and tablet—are held by others, "Restoration of Pisa," in *Medici, Michelangelo, and Art*, 232. The most probable candidate is the standing female immediately behind the duke; she holds a vessel on her head and is encircled by those attributes.

[436] The self-portrait of Pierino is seen on the far left of the composition as the individual who addresses the viewer. In front of Pierino is the portrait of Tribolo, who holds a *modello* for a reclining river god, which has been connected to his designs for the fountains of the Medici villa at Castello. For the identification of Tribolo and Pierino within the scene, see Louis A. Waldman, "Ingenious and Subtle Spirits: Florentine Painting in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *Leonardo, Michelangelo, and the Renaissance*, edited by Franklin, 292. Kirkham has also identified Luca Martini based on the portrait of the Martini painted by Bronzino, "Cosimo and Eleonora," in *Cultural Politics of Duke Cosimo*, edited by Eisenbichler, 159.

[437] For more on Bonasone's print, see above pages 127-142.

been trained by Tribolo, who worked for Michelangelo in the Medici Chapel.[438]   The

self-portrait not only suggests his artistic training, but also establishes him as the artistic

heir of Michelangelo through Tribolo.[439]   It also indicates an emerging trend among

Florentine artists who claim their artistic authority from Michelangelo, such as seen in

Baccio Bandinelli's self-portrait [Fig. 34] in which he deliberately recalls the

iconography of Michelangelo's appearance.

The meaning of Michelangelo's image in all of these narratives was dependent

upon the viewer's familiarity with the artist's features, which attests to knowledge of his

appearance and its currency during his lifetime.   In no other period in history had an

artist's portrait been so popular or more recognized.   Indeed, the awareness of his image

on the part of the sixteenth-century audience rivaled that of kings and popes.   Moreover,

it would be those spiritual and temporal authorities who relied upon his image to convey

ideas of their own grandeur.   Remarkably, without ever executing a traditional self-

portrait, Michelangelo had radically transformed the meaning of the artist's portrait. Yet,

as these narratives suggest, the fame of his likeness came at a price, as both artists and

patrons quickly seized his image and transformed his image into an emblem. When these

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[438] After Michelangelo's departure from Florence in 1534, the responsibility had fallen to
Tribolo to install Michelangelo's statues in the Medici Chapel. Vasari describes the work
that was allotted to Tribolo in his biography of the artist, *Lives*, II, 229. In a letter from
Michelangelo to Figiovanni, dated October 15, 1533, the artist states he is in the process
of making the two small models for Tribolo, Ramsden, *Letters*, I, 186. For a discussion
of Tribolo's involvement on the tombs in the Medici Chapel, see Edith Balas,
Michelangelo's Medici Chapel: A New Interpretation, (Philadelphia: American
Philosophical Society: 1995), 71-74.

[439] Pierino's use of the portraits of Tribolo and Michelangelo could be seen as in the
tradition of paintings associated with the display of artistic lineage, as represented by Fra
Angelico's *Gaddi Family* panel and Uccello's *Five Florentines*. For discussions of these
two paintings, see above pages 65-67.

historical and biblical narratives are placed within the context of Michelangelo's contemporaneous campaign to control his image, the struggles he faced in protecting his public persona are highlighted. As suggested by the earliest images of Michelangelo produced by Raphael and Dürer, Michelangelo likely resented his image being used by both patrons and artists to serve their individual agendas. This unauthorized use of his image perhaps explains Michelangelo's attempts in the last years of his life to, once again, control the visualization of his artistic and social identities.

CHAPTER 6

THE THREE ETERNAL FACES OF THE ARTIST: LEONE LEONI'S MEDAL,

DANIELE DA VOLTERRA'S BUST, AND GIORGIO VASARI'S TOMB OF

MICHELANGELO

After Michelangelo's campaign of the mid-1540s and early 1550s to solidify his

public image, he did not commission another portrait until 1561, when Leone Leoni

(1509-1590) made his portrait medal [Fig. 93 and 94].[440] The portrait, which was the last

that Michelangelo oversaw, indicates that, even late in life, he continued to control his

public persona. Unlike the previous portraits of the artist, extant correspondence between

the two artists makes the medal perhaps the best-documented example of Michelangelo's

command over his image. Instead of projecting his artistic identity, the portrait

perpetuates both Michelangelo's desire to be included among the rank of nobles and his

concerns for religious salvation.

Leone appears to have executed the medal in exchange for Michelangelo's

assistance in securing the prestigious papal commission for the tomb of Giangiacomo "Il

Medeghino" de' Medici, the marquis of Marignano for the Milanese Duomo.[441]

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[440] For more on the medal and its bibliography, see Philip Attwood, *Italian Medals, c. 1530-1600 in British Public Collections*, 2 vols. (London: The British Museum Press, 2002), I, 111-112; Ragionieri, *Michelangelo: Man and Myth*, 52-54; and Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance*, (Surrey, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 1-45. Attwood also provides an overview of Leoni's career, *Italian Medals,* I, 85-92.

[441] Leone alludes to Michelangelo's role in his securing of the commission in a letter dated March 14, 1561. By November 1, 1537, Leone was in Rome, where he was first

Although the medal was a gift, Michelangelo appears to have contributed to its design. Before Leone left for Milan, he executed a wax study of Michelangelo [Fig. 95] in preparation for the medal.[442] The wax model was likely done from life because a paper inscription on the back states, "Ritratto di Michelangelo Buonarroti, fatto dal Natruale da Leone Aretino suo Amico."[443] Based on the examples of the two portrait drawings by Fra Bartolommeo [Figs. 51 and 52], Bugiardini's portrait [Fig. 62], and the panel in the Metropolitan [Fig. 74], Michelangelo likely dictated to Leoni his desires for the medal during the sitting.[444] The medal, however, was not executed until Leoni arrived in Milan.

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paid for working in the papal mint. Unfortunately, no documented evidence suggest that they met during this period. It is possible that the two artists at least knew of each other when both were employed by Pope Paul III. For more on the relationship between the two artists, see Philip Attwood, "Leone Leoni," in *Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, edited by Stephen K. Scher, New York: The Frick Collection, 1994), 151. For a recent discussion of Leone's activities in Rome during this period, see Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni*, 25-27.

[442] The wax prototype now located in the British Museum was identified by Steinmann as the prototype for the medal's obverse, *Porträtstellungen*, 51. Following Steinmann, Chapman identifies the wax portrait as the model for the subsequent medals, *Closer to the Master*, 264. Differences are visible between the wax prototype and the medal, including that the effigy on the medal is larger, and the folds of the tunic differ between the two. It has been suggested that the differences between the prototype and the finished medal are a reflection of the portrait-making process. Benvenuto Cellini describes this process in his autobiography when he discusses the execution of the portrait medal for Pietro Bembo, *Autobiography*, 172-173. Helmstutler di Dio uses Cellini's passage to explain Leone's method, as both Leone and Cellini were trained as goldsmiths and likely shared a similar approach to executing portrait medals, *Leone Leoni*, 72. For a discussion of Leone's training, see by the same author, "Leone Aretino: New Documentary Evidence of Leone Leoni's Birthplace and Training," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 43 (1999), 645-652, esp. 647.

[443] For a discussion of the inscription, see Warren, *Renaissance Master Bronzes*, 95.

[444] Pope-Hennessy suggests that Michelangelo planned at least the reverse of the medal and connects the inscription to Michelangelo's preoccupation with his faith and salvation, *Portrait in the Renaissance*, 209. Paul Barolsky believes that the entire medal was based

Since the medal was cast in Milan and Michelangelo remained in Rome, Leone sent Michelangelo two letters updating the artist of his progress.[445]

The first letter, dated March 14, 1561, was accompanied by four examples of the medal (two in silver and two in bronze), and in it Leone apologized for his tardiness. Leone's letter may reflect a prior correspondence that is no longer extant. Or, the letter lends further support to the notion the wax study was done while both were in Rome and they had a mutual understanding on when the medal was to be produced. Michelangelo apparently did not reply to the first letter, as Leone again wrote to Michelangelo on April 12, 1561, asking if he had received the medals. The second letter indicates that Leone was seeking some sort of approval from Michelangelo, which suggests that the medal was at the very least a collaborative effort if not completely Michelangelo's design. Although it is unknown if Michelangelo responded to Leoni's second letter, we know from Vasari that Michelangelo was so pleased with the medal that he sent Leoni a wax model of Hercules and Antaeus.[446] Michelangelo's satisfaction with the medal was likely because the medal advanced both his social identity and religious beliefs.

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on Michelangelo's design and that Leone executed it for him, but he offers no evidence for his conclusion, *Michelangelo's Nose*, 44.

[445] The first letter was sent from Leone in Milan to Michelangelo in Rome on March 14, 1561. For the recent bibliography that addresses this first letter, see above note 441. The second letter was sent from Mantua to Michelangelo on April 12, 1561. Both letters are included with bibliographies in *Carteggio*, V, 244-245, and 251. Helmstutler Di Dio confuses the two letters and states that the medals were sent with the letter dated April 12, 1561, *Leone Leoni*, 28. The letter from Milan (March 14, 1561) is the letter that accompanied four examples of the medal. The second letter (April 12, 1561) only asks if Michelangelo had yet received the medals.

[446] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 727. There is something to be said for Michelangelo offering a wax model to an artist proficient in bronze casting. Michelangelo may have intended that the wax be cast into bronze much like the model he executed for his *Samson Killing Two*

Unlike the self-portrait medal by Filarete [Fig. 19] that was used in his self-promotion and social elevation, Michelangelo's medal makes no reference to himself as an artist.[447] The obverse of the medal follows in the traditions of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century portrait medals that are ultimately derived from classical prototypes where the sitter is seen in profile with an inscription around the outer edge.[448] The inscription along the outer edge reads, "MICHAELANGELVS BONARROTVS FLOR[entinus] AET[atis] S[uae] ANN[o] 88." It has been pointed out repeatedly that Michelangelo was eighty-six in 1560 when the medal was produced, not eighty-eight.[449] It is unclear why Leoni made this mistake.

Michelangelo is seen in bust-length, in profile, and maintains the same recognizable features of his forked beard and flattened nose as found in his earlier portraits. In addition, he is wearing a hooded cape and the same stiff-collared doublet as seen in the Metropolitan portrait [Fig. 74].[450] Both of Michelangelo's garments are strikingly similar to those worn in portrait medals of Emperor Charles V, c. 1548, [Fig.

Philistines, which was cast in bronze and had a wide impact. For more on the wax sculpture, see Paul Joannides, "Two Drawings Related to Michelangelo's 'Hercules and Antaeus'," *Master Drawings* 41 (2003), 108; and, also, Douglas Lewis, "Genius Disseminated: The Influence of Michelangelo's Works on Contemporary Sculpture," in *The Genius of the Sculptor in Michelangelo's Work*, edited by Pietro C. Marani, (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 180-182.

[447] For more on the medals by Filarete, see above pages 42-43.

[448] Attwood states that only when the creator of the medal used a two-dimensional visual source, opposed to a portrait from life, was the sitter ever represented in three-quarter pose, *Italian Medals,* I, 11.

[449] For a recent discussion of the inscription, see John Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals*, (Washington DC: National Gallery, 2007), I, 501.

[450] For a discussion of Michelangelo's doublet, see above page 119.

96] and the scholar Girolamo Cardano, c. 1550-1551 [Fig. 97].[451] Both medals, which were produced in Italy, depict the sitters in attire that does not distinguish rank or profession, but instead is associated with the sitter's social status. When compared to these two examples, Michelangelo's garments, like the Metropolitan portrait, maintain his desire to be seen as a member of the social elite.

Although Leoni's wax model, which was likely executed from life, served as the basis for Michelangelo's portrait, the representation of Michelangelo on the medal is treated much differently. On the medal, the termination of the bust slopes down from his back towards his front. This format is analogous to the three-dimensional portrait busts produced during the middle of the sixteenth century, such as Michelangelo's *Brutus* and those executed by Cellini and Bandinelli.[452] What is particularly interesting in the portrait medal is that Leone signs the medal "LEO" on the underside of the depicted bust's termination. This unusual motif suggests that Michelangelo's image on the medal is a sculpted bust of the artist and not a living representation. In this context, the medal might be understood to be a depiction of the permanent image of Michelangelo, one that was carefully and deliberately crafted over the duration of his career.

Although the obverse is relatively explicit in evoking Michelangelo's social status, the reverse is far more complicated and has been a source of much scholarly

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[451] For a discussion of the clothes worn by Charles V in his medal, see Luba Freedman, *Titian's Portraits Through Aretino's Lens*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 142-144. For more on Charles V's medal, see Attwood, *Italian Medals*, I, 99. For a brief discussion and bibliography for the medal of Cardona, see Pollard, *Italian Medals*, I, 498.

[452] The development of the portrait bust during the sixteenth century is discussed by Pope-Hennessey, *High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 297-316; and also, Martin, "Michelangelo's "Brutus" and Classicizing Portrait Bust," 67-83.

confusion. Consequently, few have attempted to go beyond Vasari's visual description:

"At this time the Chevalier Leone made a very lively portrait of Michelangelo in a medal, and to please him he fashioned on the reverse a blind man led by a dog, with these letters around: DOCEBO INIQUOS VIAS TUAS, ET IMPII AD TE CONVERTENTUR." ("I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners shall be converted to you.") This inscription, correctly recorded by Vasari, quotes Psalm 51:13 (Vulgate 50:15).[453] The meaning of the medal's reverse is complicated by another late sixteenth-century description offered by Gian Paolo Lomazzo in his *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura, scultura et architettura* (1584):

> [A] medal by a good sculptor, who, on the reverse of the medal where he had portrayed Michel Angelo, had made a poor man led by a dog tied by a cord around his neck, which appeared completely taut and straight like a cane, without any sagging. This allowed even a young boy to manage it and to say that if that dog had pulled that cord so strongly either he would strangle himself or he would not be able to turn in any other direction, to the great humor of a few painters who were with me and who were ready to burst out laughing.[454]

Pina Ragionieri suggests that Lomazzo's description of Michelangelo's blindness was an error due to the author's blindness, which occurred in 1571.[455] Lomazzo's description does infer that the poor man is blind or infirm and, thus, being dragged by the dog. It is more possible, however, that Lomazzo wrote the account not because he was unable to see the medal, but as a statement of his own physical condition.

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[453] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 727. For a recent review of literature, see Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni*, 28.

[454] The passage is transcribed by Ragionieri, *Michelangelo: Man and Myth*, 58.

[455] Ibid., 58.

Based on both the medal's inscription and Vasari's description, most modern scholars have argued the obverse is an allegory of earthly pilgrimage.[456] The man depicted has generally been accepted as a portrait of Michelangelo or a symbolic image of the artist. In either case, the man is holding attributes of a pilgrim: a staff, rosary beads and a pilgrim's flask. Paul Barolsky, one of the few scholars to offer an interpretation beyond Vasari's description, argues that the medal's reverse is crucial to our understanding of Michelangelo's self-image during the last few years of the artist's life.[457] The scholar connects the pilgrim on the medal with Michelangelo's attitudes towards death and salvation as expressed in his letters and poems during this period. [458] In them he often compares his earthly life to a pilgrimage. Barolsky suggests that the medal was intended to offer an even more complicated expression of the artist's fashioned identity, linking it to Michelangelo's identification with St. Paul. The author bolsters his argument with biblical passages that highlight the act of walking as crucial to one's spiritual journey, which may explain Michelangelo's forceful gait within the image.[459] This link to St. Paul might also explain Vasari's description of the man as blind, recalling 2 Corinthians 5:7, "we walk by faith, not by sight." The passage may

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[456] Attwood, *Italian Medals*, I, 111-112; Ragionieri, *Michelangelo: Man and Myth*, 58; and Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni*, 28. Eliana Carrara has connected the medal to drawings by Michelangelo and prints by Maarten van Heemskerck, "Michelangelo, Leone Leoni ed una stampa di Maarten van Heemskerck," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Classe di lettere e filosofia*, 1-2 (1996), 219-225.

[457] Barolsky, *Michelangelo's Nose*, 44.

[458] Late in his life, Michelangelo even expressed that he wanted to make the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. For more on Michelangelo's attitudes towards death as expressed in his letters and poems, see above note 279.

[459] Barolsky, *Michelangelo's Nose*, 45.

also offer an explanation for the presence of the dog, which was commonly interpreted as a symbol of faith.[460]

Dogs, however, have divergent meanings in the Renaissance. In the Old Testament, canines are associated with evil and unclean things, a sentiment that was maintained in the New Testament where they are associated with Christ's persecutors.[461] During the medieval period, however, a recumbent dog was used as an emblem of the contemplative life and was often depicted within images of humanists, scholars, poets, and fathers of the church.[462] In the case of Titian's *Venus of Urbino,* the dog at the foot of the bed has been interpreted as a symbol of marital faithfulness.[463] The dog on the medal is a large breed, though possibly a mastiff, which was typically used for hunting. In the north, Jean duc de Berry bred a large mastiff called the *mâtin* that was used for boarhunting.[464] In the *Livre de Chasse,* a late fourteenth-century treatise on hunting,

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[460] Ibid., 46. It is worth noting that a dog and a walking stick are depicted in a copy after Michelangelo's drawing of the *Abduction of Ganymede* in the Fogg Museum, Harvard.

[461] Edgar Peters Bowron, "An Artist's Best Friend: Dogs in the Renaissance and Baroque Painting and Sculpture," in *Best in Show: The Dog in Art from the Renaissance to Today*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 5-6.

[462] The meaning of the dog within the tradition of these types of images has been addressed by Patrik Reuterswärd, "The Dog in the Humanist's Study," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* (1981), 53-69.

[463] For a discussion of the dog as a symbol of marital faithfulness, see Józef Grabski, "'Victoria Amoris': Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, a Commemorative Allegory of Marital Love," *Artibus et Historiae* 20 (1999), 15, 33 note 14.

[464] In the Limbourg Brothers' *Les Très Riches Heures*, commissioned from the Jean duc de Berry before 1416, these same hounds are depicted in the boar-hunting scene that accompanies the month of December. For more on this issue, see Peters Bowron, "An Artist's Best Friend," 1-2.

Gaston Phébus describes mastiffs as "the noblest and most reasonable beast."[465]   In

humanist circles, Petrarch's fifth letter in the third book of his *Epistolae metricae*

addresses the privileged position of his large, white dog.[466] Like many of the letters from

the *Epistolae metricae*, the letter about his dog was dedicated to Cardinal Giovanni

Colonna, who had given Petrarch the dog when the poet left his services. Over the course

of the letter, the dog, which was of noble blood, represents a companion who falls

somewhere between the lofty communion with the muses and the mundane. Towards the

end of the letter, it becomes apparent that the dog is an emblem for the favor and

protection of his patron, Cardinal Colonna. If the image of Michelangelo with a dog was

intended to recall Petrarch's letter, then the species of dog goes beyond ideas of faith and

nobility and can be viewed as an extension of his desire for protection and favor from

God, the Heavenly King, along his earthly pilgrimage. The seemingly esoteric meaning

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[465] For more on Gaston Phébus's treatise and the association of hunting dogs with medieval nobility, see Sophia Menache, "Hunting and Attachment to Dogs in the Pre-Modern Period," in *Companion Animals and Us: Exploring the Relationships Between People and Pets*, edited by Anthony L. Podberscek, Elizabeth S. Paul, and James A. Serpell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 45-56.

[466] For a detailed analysis of the letter, see Juliana Schiesari, *Beasts and Beauties: Animal, Gender, and Domestication in the Italian Renaissance*, (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 32-43. Petrarch wrote the *Epistolae metricae* sometime between 1331 and 1361. It contains sixty-six poems grouped into three books. The entire volume was published several times in the sixteenth century, making them readily available to the sixteenth-century audience. Copies that Michelangelo may have known, include the 1501 and 1503 editions published in Venice. They were also included in a 1541 edition of Petrach's *Eclogues* and *The Africa* (Basle), which was also reissued in 1558. For a discussion of the differences between the various editions published in the sixteenth century, see Ernest Wilkins, *The 'Epistolae metricae' of Petrarch: A Manual*, (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e letteratura, 1956), 11.

of the medal is surprising, given Vasari's claim that it was widely distributed.[467] The medal, the last portrait produced under Michelangelo's direct control, assisted in cementing and maintaining his public image, which is attested to by Lomazzo's record. After his death in 1564, his closest friends and family would attempt to perpetuate an image of Michelangelo comparable to that cultivated by the artist; however, others would capitalize on the fame of his image to advance their own agendas.

In order to better understand those images produced immediately following Michelangelo's death, it is necessary to establish the context surrounding the events of his final days. After suffering a stroke four days earlier, Michelangelo died on February 18, 1564, around five o'clock in the evening at his home on Via Macel de' Corvi in Rome.[468] At the moment of Michelangelo's death, he was surrounded by those closest to him: his servant, Antonio; his pupils Daniele da Volterra and Diomede Leoni; his friend, Tommaso dei Calvieri; and his two doctors, Dederigo Dontai and Gherardo Fidelissimi. These men were the first to notify Michelangelo's family and friends that he had died.

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[467] According to Vasari, Leone produced a large number of copies of the medal, which the author states that he saw several throughout Italy and abroad, *Lives*, II, 727. Although not mentioned by Vasari, the medal was also produced in a variety of metals including bronze, silver, and gold. As noted above, Leoni sent Michelangelo two silver and two bronze examples of the medal, 173.

[468] Daniele da Volterra gives an eyewitness account to the last five days of Michelangelo's life in a letter addressed to Vasari dated March 17, 1564. The letter is transcribed by Charles Heath Wilson, *Life and Works of Michelangelo*, (London: John Murray, 1876), 556-557. For a recent discussion of Michelangelo's death, see Marco Ruffini, *Art Without Author: Vasari's 'Lives' and Michelangelo's Death*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 13-18.

From there, the news of the artist's death spread quickly throughout Rome and the Italian peninsula.[469]

On the evening of Michelangelo's death, his body was transported from his residence to the church of SS Apostoli, a short walk to the north, by the Confratelli di San Giovanni Decollato.[470] The members of the Confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato, where Michelangelo had been a member since 1514, held a small observance on that evening and, again, the next day. This humble ceremony appears not to have been in preparation for his burial, as Michelangelo maintained throughout his life that he wished to be buried next to his father in Florence.[471] Further funerary and burial arrangements were not made until his nephew Lionardo arrived on February 21, remarkably only 3 days after his uncle's death. And despite Vasari's suggestion that the removal of Michelangelo's body from Rome was clandestine, apparently Lionardo openly made the

[469] Tiberio Calcagni, Daniele da Volterra, and Diomede Leoni immediately wrote to Michelangelo's nephew Lionardo in Florence to notify him of his uncle's passing. The letters are transcribed in *Carteggio*, 169-170 no. 356; 171 no. 357; 172-173 no. 358. For a discussion of the correspondence discussing Michelangelo's death, see Rudolf Wittkower and Margot Wittkower, *The Divine Michelangelo: The Florentine Academy's Homage on his Death in 1564*, (New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1964), 10-15.

[470] Vasari records the event and states, "With most honorable obsequies, and with a concourse of all the craftsman, all his friends, and all the Florentine colony, Michelangelo was given burial in a sepulcher at S. Apostolo, in the sight of all Rome; his Holiness having intended to make him some particular memorial and tomb in S. Pietro at Rome," *Lives*, II, 747. For a recent discussion of the documents relating to the service held in Rome, see Ruffini, *Art Without Author*, 13-14.

[471] Daniele da Volterra wrote in a letter to Lionardo that Michelangelo again expressed this sentiment during his final days. For a discussion of the letter, see de Tolnay, *Final Period*, 15-16; Wittkower and Wittkower, *The Divine Michelangelo*, 10; and, Ruffini, *Art Without Author*, 15.

arrangement to have Michelangelo's body couriered to Florence.[472] Once the body was

shipped, Lionardo remained in Rome taking care of issues related to Michelangelo's

estate until the beginning of May, which allowed time for the preparations of the artist's

funeral and tomb.

As a part of the preparations for the tomb, Lionardo and Vasari discussed erecting

a funerary monument that would include a portrait bust of Michelangelo.[473] Early in the

process, Lionardo apparently commissioned Daniele to design and execute

Michelangelo's tomb with the assistance of other Roman artists.   In Rome, funerary

monuments with busts of the deceased became increasingly popular after the middle of

the sixteenth century.[474] Examples of this type of tomb in Florence, however, were few:

the tomb of Alessandro Antinori, c. 1549-1555, SS. Michele e Gaetano [Fig. 98];

Daniele's tomb for Orazio Piatesi, 1557, SS. Michele e Gaetano [Fig. 99]; and

Montorsoli's bust of Tommaso Cavalcanti, 1560, S. Spirito [Fig. 100].   Although

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[472] Wittkower and Wittkower, *The Divine Michelangelo*, 70; Vasari, *Lives*, II, 752. Despite the accounts of Vasari and the *Esequie* stating Michelangelo's body was secretly removed from Rome, no evidence suggests that there was any resistance in Rome to its removal. Wittkower suggests this event could not have taken place without the consent of the Church and city officials, Wittkower and Wittkower, *The Divine Michelangelo*, 13. For a recent discussion of the removal of Michelangelo's body, see Ruffini, *Art Without Author*, 15-19.

[473] Based on a letter dated March 4, 1564, from Vasari to Lionardo, a bust was intended to be the centerpiece of the tomb from almost the beginning. Karl Frey, ed., *Giorgio Vasari: Der literarische Nachlass*, (Munich, 1930), II, 28-48 no. CDXXXII. For a brief discussion of the letter, see Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 475.

[474] Thomas Martin, "The Tomb of Alessandro Antinori: A Prolegomenon to the Study of the Florentine Sixteenth-Century Portrait Bust," *The Burlington Magazine* 143 (2001), 742 note 11.

Daniele's tomb for Michelangelo was never realized, the idea of the bust-tomb was incorporated into Vasari's later plan.

Sometime after Daniele's design was rejected, a plan was conceived to place a bust of Michelangelo in Santa Maria del Fiore along with monuments for Giotto and Brunelleschi.[475] This idea, too, was abandoned in favor of a tomb erected in Santa Croce [Fig. 101], and at the center was a marble bust by Battista Lornenzi [Fig. 102], finished in 1574.[476] This bust, however, was not the first to be commissioned for the tomb, as Lionardo had already asked Daniele da Volterra to execute a bronze portrait as a part of his intial plan [Figs. 102-108].[477] The popularity of the bust is attested to by the numerous casts made by Daniele, of which ten examples survive.[478] The sheer number of bronze heads is astonishing; in fact, there is no other Renaissance portrait bust duplicated

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[475] In the 1568 edition of the *Vite*, Vasari indicates that Duke Cosimo was still planning to erect another monument that would have included a bust in Santa Maria del Fiore, *Lives*, II, 769.

[476] For a recent discussion on Lornenzi's bust of Michelangelo and the tomb in Santa Croce, see Alessandro Cecchi, "L'estremo omaggio al "Padre e maestro di tutte le arti': Il monument funebre di Michelangelo," in *Il Pantheon di Santa Croce a Firenze*, edited by Luciano Berti, (Florence: Giunti, 1993), 57-82.

[477] Cecchi believes that Leonardo first asked Daniele to design the tomb and to execute the bust, "Il monument funebre di Michelangelo," 58. For the earlier bibliography, see Alessandro Cecchi, "Bust of Michelangelo," in *Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, edited by Millon and Lampugnani, 657, no. 385. For a recent disucssion of Daniele bronze busts, see Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 299-326.

[478] Examples are located in the following collections: Casa Buonarroti, Florence; Accademia, Florence; Bargello, Florence; Capitoline, Rome; St. Peter's Basilica, Rome; Castello Sforzesco, Milan; Museo Civico, Rimini; Louvre, Paris; Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; and Vatican. Steinmann believes all of these were done by Daniele, *Porträtstellungen* 54-67. Barolsky excludes the Rimini example, but believes the rest to be originally cast from the gesso mold, *Daniele da Volterra*, 112.

in so many examples.[479]   Although each head varies in its degree of finish and surface

quality, each one is generally the same portrait and depicts Michelangelo with his most

recognizable facial features as described by Condivi and Vasari: a short forked-beard and

a broken nose.[480]   The major difference between each example is the size and type of the

mantle and base in which the bronze head was placed; these were added at a later date by

different artists.   At the time of Daniele's death in 1566, he had six bronze heads (of

which four had busts) in his possession, but there was no record for whom or for what

they were meant.[481]   These portraits ended up in a variety of collections after Daniele's

death.[482]

Daniele's portrait was underway by June 11, 1564, when he wrote to Lionardo,

stating he had only executed the portrait in wax.[483]   Daniele wrote again on February 11,

1565, to inform Lionardo that he had yet to cast the heads in bronze.[484]   Despite the

delays in the casting, the two heads were sent to Florence shortly thereafter.   Of the two

bronze heads that were sent to Florence, only one is extant and is currently located in the

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[479] Nicolas Penny, *Catalogue of European Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum: 1540 to Present Day*, (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1992), I, no. 109.

[480] Condivi, *Life*, 108; Vasari, *Lives*, II, 746.

[481] The inventory is dated April 5, 1566, and has been recently published in Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 330–331.   For the documents regarding the busts after Daniele's death, see Cecchi, "Bust of Michelangelo," in *Renassiance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, edited by Millon and Lampugnani, 657.

[482] Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 307-315.

[483] For more on the letter, see Simon Levie, *Der Maler Daniele da Volterra, 1509-1566*, (Koln: Photostelle der Univeritat, 1962), 207-208.

[484] Ibid., 214; Barolsky also discusses this second letter, *Daniele da Volttera*, 112.

Casa Buonarroti [Fig. 103].[485] When the portrait arrived in Florence, it was without a

mantle and a base; these were not added until 1570 by Giambologna.[486] The *all'antica*

style of Giambologna's drapery was ultimately based on Michelangelo's *Brutus* [Fig. 15],

which served as the prototype for later added mantles to the other heads by Daniele,

including those in the Capitoline Museum [Fig. 104], the Accademia [Fig. 105], the

Bargello [Fig. 106], and the Vatican [Fig. 107]. These additions greatly altered the

perception of the portrait and serve to illustrate just how quickly after Michelangelo's

death was his image greatly altered by others.

Given that the bronze portrait was commissioned by Michelangelo's nephew and

executed by one of his closest friends, it is likely that both Lionardo and Daniele intended

to preserve the public image Michelangelo developed over the previous twenty years. In

those examples with a mantle, all of them share evidence of Michelangelo's ruffed shirt

and doublet, seen at the base of the neck. These features are consistent in style and

appearance among these five examples; however, they are more clearly seen in examples

that were left unaltered, such as those in the Musée Jacquemart-André [Fig. 108], the

Louvre [Fig. 109], and Museo Civico, Rimini [Fig. 110].[487] Of these unaltered examples,

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[485] The second bust disappeared from the written record almost immediately after it arrived in the city, Pina Ragionieri, "Daniele da Volterra, 'Bust of Michelangelo,'" in *Michelangelo: Drawings and Other Treasures from the Casa Buonarroti, Florence*, edited by Pina Ragionieri, (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2001), 40 no. 2; Steinmann, *Porträtstellungen*, 56.

[486] Ragionieri, "Bust of Michelangelo,'" in *Michelangelo: Drawings and Treasures*, 40 no. 2. Charles Avery discusses the portrait within the context of Giambologna's portraits, *Giambologna: The Complete Sculptures*, (London: Phaidon, 1987; 1993; 2000), 174 and 259 no. 50.

[487] For a recent discussion with bibliographies, see Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 311-314. For a recent discussion of the portrait in the Musée Jacquemart-André, see Varga,

the bust in the Musée Jacquemart-André has been identified as exhibiting the best level of finish [Fig. 108]. Unlike the examples with the mantles, the doublet is not only more prominent, but is also in keeping with Michelangelo's desire for status as expressed in both the Metropolitan portrait [Fig. 74] and the medal by Leoni [Fig. 93].[488] In these unaltered examples, his garb not only proclaims his status, but also suggests the idea of his living presence by representing him in contemporary garments.

The idea of the bust depicting a living image of Michelangelo is especially interesting considering it is generally accepted that Daniele had cast the busts directly from Michelangelo's deathmask, which no longer exists.[489] Jeremy Warren has questioned this claim. The author views the bust as a younger representation of Michelangelo, and argues that it was done prior to the artist's death.[490] The portrait has features, however, that are associated with a man of advanced age: a wart (or some sort of small growth) on his right temple; heavy, deep-set wrinkles; leathery skin; and sunken cheeks. The veristic approach to the portrait is a result of casting from the deathmask and can be linked to ancient Roman Republican portraits, such as the bust of a Roman

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"Daniele da Volterra, *Ritratto di Michelangelo*," in *Donatello e una "casa" del Rinascimento: Capolavori dal Jacquemart-André*, edited by Cristina Giannini and Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot, (Florence: Mandragora, 2007), 112 no. 4.5.

[488] For the discussion of the doublet in the context of the Metropolitan portrait, see above page 119.

[489] Barolsky, *Daniele da Volttera*, 112. For the literature addressing the use of deathmasks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see above note 63.

[490] Jeremy Warren, who cites the appearance of Michelangelo is not in keeping with his extreme old age. He, therefore, suggests the bust must have been done from life at a much earlier date, *Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: The Fortnum Collection*, (Oxford: Daniel Katz Ltd and The Ashmolean Museum, 1999), 98.

Patrician, c. 70 BCE [Fig. 111]. By the time of Michelangelo's death, the practice of using the deceased's deathmask as the model for an effigy was a well-established tradition in Italy and particularly in Michelangelo's native city of Florence.

Since the fifteenth century, deathmasks were reserved for people of exceptional status and were used as the basis of public commemoration.[491] Of those monuments produced during the fifteenth century, the most relevant to Daniele's bust is Buggiano's (Andrea di Lazzaro Cavalcanti) marble portrait of Brunelleschi in Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence [Fig. 112] that served to celebrate Brunelleschi's achievement as the architect of the cathedral's dome.[492] When Brunelleschi died on April 15, 1446, his death mask was taken by Buggiano and, unlike most from this period, is still extant and preserved in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence [Fig. 113].[493] The mask was used as the model for Brunelleschi's portrait adorning the wall monument in the Duomo, which was

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[491] During the fifteenth century, humanists justified the practice by relying upon the ancient writings of Pliny and Polybius, who state that deathmasks (*imagines*) were used not only to commemorate an individual, but also in funeral processions as living images of the deceased. The relevant passages are Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.7; Polybius, *History of Rome*, 6.53. For a discussion of the use of deathmasks in ancient Rome, see Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), passim.

[492] For the documents and the origins of Brunelleschi's monument, see Margaret Haines, "Brunelleschi and Bureaucracy: The Tradition of Public Patronage at the Florentine Cathedral," *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance* 3 (1989), 123-125.

[493] For a discussion of Brunelleschi's deathmask and the documents related to the execution of his tomb, see Giovanni Poggi, "Opere d'arte ignote o poco note: la "Maschera" di Filippo Brunelleschi nel Museo dell'Opera del Duomo," *Rivista d'arte* 12 (1930), 533-540. For a recent consideration of the subject, see Kohl, "Büste und Maske im Florentiner Quattrocento," 81-82.

commissioned by the guild consuls.[494] In the portrait, Buggiano did not simply transcribe

the death mask into a marble sculpture, he chose to idealize the image to a certain degree.

Unfortunately, Michelangelo's deathmask no longer exists and such a comparison cannot

be made. We can assume based on Michelangelo's appearance that Daniele's bust is for

the most part faithful to the artist's deathmask. If the sculptor maintained the same

features from the deathmask, then it can be suggested that Daniele was attempting to

capture an authentic likeness of the living Michelangelo, a permanent reminder of the

genius and artistic greatness he embodied.

In order to understand to what degree Daniele might have represented

Michelangelo's appearance at his death, it is worth examining his other existing portraits.

Unfortunately, there are few examples of sculpted portraits by Daniele. He was

commissioned to execute the bronze equestrian portrait of Henry II of France, but it was

left incomplete at the time of the artist's death.[495] The only other sculpted portrait by

Daniele besides that of Michelangelo is the marble bust for the tomb of Orazio Piatesi,

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[494] A public monument in Santa Maria dell Fiore was reserved for the most important heroes of Florence, such as Luigi Marsili (1342-94), Sir John Hawkwood (c.1320-1394), and Niccolò Tolentino (c. 1350-1435). Although they were never realized, there were monuments planned for Dante and Petrarch as well.

[495] The commission for the equestrian monument dates to November 14, 1559, when Catherine de' Medici, Henry II's wife, wrote to Michelangelo asking him to execute the portrait. Citing his advanced age, Michelangelo recommended to her that Daniele carry out the execution of the project, but stated that he would assist. By the time of Daniele's death in 1566, however, only the horse of the monument had been cast.   For the entire history of the monument, see Antonia Boström, "Daniele da Volterra and the Equestrian Monument to Henry II of France," *The Burlington Magazine* 137 (December 1995), 809-820.

completed in 1557 and erected in SS. Michele e Gaetano [Fig. 99].[496] Since the bust

adorned Piatesi's tomb, it may offer insight to how Daniele would have finished

Michelangelo's bust. The rounded termination and partial arms of Daniele's bust can be

compared to marble busts of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici by Baccio Bandinelli, c. 1544

[Fig. 114], and Benvenuto Cellini, c. 1546 [Fig. 115], which also shares the same lively

turn of the sitter's head.[497] Based on Daniele's bust of Michelangelo displaying an

analogous turning of the head, it is conceivable that Daniele intended to terminate the

bust in a similar fashion. Daniele's probable intentions for the bust is further supported

by the *bronzetti*, or scaled-down versions, that have been connected to Daniele's

workshop and were likely executed after his death [Fig. 116].[498] These reduced-scale

portraits depict more of the chest and have a rounded termination similar to Daniele's

portrait of Piatesi.

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, Daniele had also made painted images of

Michelangelo that may offer insight to what degree Daniele had idealized the features of

Michelangelo. The most relevant in terms of this study is the frescoed portrait of

Michelangelo among the apostles in the *Assumption of the Virgin*, located on the back

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[496] According to Vasari, Daniele carved a marble bust of Orazio Piatesi for his tomb.
This bust, however, was executed after Orazio's death, *Lives*, II, 594. For a discussion of
the portrait, see Barolsky, *Daniele da Volterra*, 108; and Cecchi, "Busto di Orazio
Piatesi," in *Daniele da Volterra: Amico di Michelangelo*, edited by Romani, 156.

[497] Lavin sees this type of truncation of the torso as an innovation of the sixteenth
century, which he attributes to Michelangelo's *Brutus*, "Illusion and Allusion," 353-362.
For a recent discussion of the development of portrait busts after Michelangelo's *Brutus*,
see Martin, "Michelangelo's *Brutus* and Classicizing Portrait," 67-83.

[498] The small bronze located in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, is one of three believed to be
associated with Daniele's workshop. For a recent discussion of the three smaller bronze
portraits, see Donati, *Ritratto e figura*, 315.

wall of the della Rovere Chapel, Santa Trinità dei Monte, Rome.[499]   Although

Michelangelo is represented as advanced in age (he was about 70 years old at the time),

with a gray beard and hair, we can assume that he was idealized to a certain degree as his

face is full and his skin is taut. The difference in his age is made more evident when the

fresco is compared to the cartoon in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem [Fig. 89].[500] It is

generally assumed that the cartoon was taken from life, largely based on the fact that

Daniele and Michelangelo were close friends during this period.[501] If Daniele was

willing to idealize a portrait of Michelangelo while the artist was still living, it would

stand to reason that he would take the same approach to the bronze bust. Yet, when the

bust is compared to the portrait of Michelangelo in the *Assumption of the Virgin* [Fig.

88], it is evident that Daniele did little, if any, touching up of the face with the exception

of the eyes. The lack of idealization can be explained if it is assumed that Daniele used

Michelangelo's deathmask for the bust; since they would have been shut during the

execution of the deathmask, the eyes would have needed to be fabricated. Although the

bust is in keeping with Michelangelo's sanctioned images, the veristic style and

contemporary dress presents Michelangelo as perpetually present, and in that sense the

portrait was intended for Michelangelo's friends and family as they grieved his loss.

Although Daniele sent two busts to Florence, Lionardo was not happy with either

of them and decided against using them on Michelangelo's tomb. His disapproval of the

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[499] For more on Daniele's portrait of Michelangelo in the fresco, see above pages 160-161.

[500] For a bibliography of the Haarlem cartoon, see above note 418.

[501] The relationship between Daniele and Michelangelo is treated above, pages 115-116.

busts could have been a result of their lack of finish.[502]   Perhaps at the suggestion of

Vasari, these circumstances led Lionardo reluctantly to commission Battista Lorenzi to

execute a marble bust for the tomb [Fig. 102]. It was certainly modeled on Daniele's

bronze. Despite Lionardo's efforts to control the design of his uncle's tomb, Lorenzi's

marble bust is only the first example where Vasari quickly took charge of the project.

Almost immediately after Michelangelo's death, Vasari and Vicenzo Borghini, under the

authority of Duke Cosimo de' Medici I, sought to take control of both Michelangelo's

funeral and tomb.[503]   In their plans, Vasari and Borghini gave little consideration to what

Michelangelo had envisioned.   Although the sculpture was abandoned prior to its

completion, Michelangelo began the *Florentine Pietà* [Fig. 37] with the intention of using

it as the centerpiece of his tomb. The ambitious undertaking of carving a multi-figural

group from a single block of stone served as the basis for Baccio Bandinelli's tomb in

Santissima Annunziata, Florence [Fig. 117].[504]   Vasari and Borghini, instead, sought–

through the design of Michelangelo's tomb and the public commemoration of the artist–

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[502] In separate letters, Jacopo del Duca and Michele Alberti both wrote to Lionardo on
April 18, 1566, stating that there were additional bronze heads in need of chasing. Based
on these accounts, Cecchi suggests those heads sent to Florence were of a similar state,
"Daniele and Giambologna: Bust of Michelangelo," 657.

[503] In a letter on March 26, 1564, Vasari informed Lionardo that he could proceed with
the burial arrangements and that the duke would contribute funding for the tomb.
However, Vasari would later interfere and transfer the commission to the academy,
Ruffini, *Art Without Author*, 19. After Michelangelo's body was shipped to Florence,
Lionardo became suspicious of Vasari and went to great lengths to ensure both the body
and image of his uncle were protected. Zanobi Gini warned Lionardo to be wary of
Vasari's intentions. To that end, Lionardo ordered Michelangelo's temporary tomb in
Santa Croce to be sealed and the room locked, Ruffini, *Art Without Author*, 16-18.

[504] For the literature addressing Michelangelo's plan for the *Florentine Pietà* and his
tomb, see above notes 147, 148, and 149.

to advance their desires to legitimize the newly formed *Accademia del Disegno* and to glorify their patron, Duke Cosimo I de'Medici.[505]

Early in the planning stages for the tomb, Vasari sent a letter to Lionardo, dated March 4, 1564, in which he expressed Duke Cosimo I's desire to erect a commemorative monument for Michelangelo inside the Duomo.[506] Although this plan was almost immediately abandoned, Vasari's suggestion of location indicates a desire to use Michelangelo's funerary monument as a device to connect the duke to Lorenzo de' Medici, who had erected a monument for Giotto in the same church.[507] Later, not only did the location for the monument change from the Duomo to Santa Croce, but so did the scale of the project from a humble bust memorial to a monumental wall tomb.

Over the course of 1564, Vasari's design for the tomb began to take shape and by the beginning of November, Vincenzo Borghini sent a letter to the Duke indicating that they were ready to select the artists from the *Accademia del Disegno* who would carry out the work.[508] In its final form, Michelangelo's tomb was not only the largest and most

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[505] The funeral, which is beyond the scope of this project, is discussed at length by Wittkower and Wittkower, *Divine Michelangelo*. For a recent discussion of the funeral, see Ruffini, *Art Without Author*, 11-38. These later wishes were followed by Lionardo, who requested that Vasari use the abandoned sculptures from the artist's Florentine studio. For more on the early stages of the tomb and a discussion of the documents, see Cecchi, "Il monument funebre di Michelangelo," 58.

[506] The letter is briefly discussed by Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 475; also by Cecchi, "Il monument funebre di Michelangelo," 58.

[507] For a discussion of Lorenzo's program to commemorate the great artists and intellectuals of Florence, see Doris Carl, "Il ritratto commemorativo di Giotto di Benedetto da Maiano nel Duomo di Firenze," in *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and its Sculpture*, edited by Margaret Haines, (Fiesole: Edizioni Cadmo, 2001), 129-147.

[508] The letter is dated November 4, 1564, and is discussed by Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, 475-476.

elaborate tomb ever erected for an artist, but it rivaled any funerary monument in Florence, which speaks to Vasari's and Borghini's ambitions to elevate Michelangelo among the ranks of the greatest men in Florence's history.[509] At the time it was erected, Michelangelo's tomb was the largest tomb in Santa Croce and on the same scale as the Medici tombs in the New Sacristy [Figs. 7 and 8], which were also elaborately decorated with sculptures and contained within an architectural framework.

The tomb ultimately is a testament to Michelangelo's artistic achievements and his fame, a legacy that Vasari viewed as elevating the status of Duke Cosimo's Florentine state in an analogous fashion as the *Leonardo Bruni Monument* [Fig. 10].[510] Yet, Vasari also intended both Michelangelo and his tomb to serve as models for every member of the *Accademia del disegno*. This aspect of the tomb is made explicit in Vasari's description of the tomb in Michelangelo's *Vita*:

> [T]he device of Michelangelo, which was the three crowns, or rather, three circlets, intertwined together in such a manner, that the circumference of one passed through the center of the two others, and so with each; which sign Michelangelo used either to suggest that the three professions of sculpture, painting, and architecture are interwoven one with another and so bound together, that each of them receives benefit and adornment from

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[509] For more on the development of artists' tombs in the fifteenth century, see Sarah Blake McHam, Sarah Blake. "Tomba come Testamento: il monumento funerario di Andrea Bregno," in *Andrea Bregno: Il senso della forma nella cultura artistica del Rinascimento*, edited by Claudio Crescentini and Claudio Strinati, (Florence: Maschietto Editore, 2008), 415-429. For a recent discussion of Renaissance artists' tombs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Tamara Marie Smithers, "Memorializing the Masters: Renaissance Tombs for Artists, and the Cults of Raphael and Michelangelo," PhD diss., (Temple University, 2012), 106-204.

[510] Leonardo Bruni's *History of Florence* was a major achievement that was seen to elevate all Florentines, which led to the commemoration of his achievement through his funerary monument by Bernardo Rossellino. For a recent discussion of the tomb, see Natali, "Sepolcri di Leonardo Bruni e Carlo Marsuppini," 17-55.

the others, and they neither can nor should be separated; or, indeed, being a man of lofty genius, he may have had a more subtle meaning. But the Academicians, considering him to have been perfect in all these three professions, and that each of these had assisted and embellished the other, changed his three circlets into three crowns intertwined together, with the motto: Tergeminis Tollit Honoribus [He is raised to triple honors]. Which was intended to signify that in those three professions the crown of human perfection was justly due to him.[511]

Vasari's appropriation and alteration of Michelangelo's personal emblem for his own agenda of advancing the Academy suggests that the image of Michelangelo, itself, also serves this same end. The two reliefs of the intersecting crowns are located on either side of Lorenzi's bust of Michelangelo. With this placement, Michelangelo's image becomes the embodiment of the ideal artist, whose artistic achievements are unparalleled in the three disciplines of painting, sculpture, and architecture. This interpretation is further underscored by the fact that the emblems of the three crowns in the middle register are in concert with the three allegorical figures of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture below. Just as Vasrari and Borghini had transformed Michelangelo's emblem from the three circlets to three crowns, they too transformed Michelangelo's bust into the emblematic image of Florentine artistic excellence.

Vasari's tomb for Michelangelo demonstrates just how quickly others transformed the meaning of his image. Although Michelangelo, late in his life, attempted to solidify his public persona through the medal by Leoni, it simply could not compete with the scale and presence of the tomb. The responsibility of preserving Michelangelo's image was taken over by those closest to him, Lionardo and Daniele. Unfortunately, even they could not contend with the ambitions of both Vasari and Borghini, who sought

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[511] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 767.

to glorify both Florence and the Medici family through Michelangelo's life and image. It is this understanding of Michelangelo crafted by Vasari that dominates our modern perception of the artist. In the end, when Michelangelo was laid to rest, so too, was his image of himself.

CONCLUSION

THE VISUAL MANIFESTATION OF VASARI'S "MICHELANGELO"

Giorgio Vasari's tomb for Michelangelo reveals just how quickly the artist lost control of his image. In its execution and design, the tomb is just as much a monument to Vasari's desires to justify and promote the *Accademia del Disegno* as it is to Michelangelo. Despite the prominent placement of a copy of Battista Lornenzi's bust, Michelangelo's image is no longer simply or principally a record of his features and, therefore, of his person and life. From this moment on, the meaning of Michelangelo's portrait was forever changed into the exemplum of artist excellence, which it ultimately served as the model for artists.

Vasari's reinterpretation of the meaning of Michelangelo's image did not stop with the tomb. In 1568, just four years after Michelangelo's death, Vasari published the second edition of the *Vite* in which he included woodcut portraits of almost every artist.[512] In all of these images, the portrait of the artist is encased within an elaborate architectural frame that contains both allegorical figures and epigraphs that identify the

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[512] There are one hundred and forty-four portraits included in the 1568 edition. For a discussion of the portraits, see Prinz, "Vasaris Sammlung von Künstlerbildnissen," 1-158. For a recent discussion of the meaning of the portraits, see Gregory, "'Outer Man to Inner," 51-85. The portraits were also edited and published separately in 1568 by Giunti as *Ritratti de' più eccellenti pitorri, scultori et architetti*. As this book is rare, I have not yet been able to view it. For more on the differences between the first and second editions of the *Vite*, see Barocchi, *Le Vite: nella redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, passim.

artist and the discipline in which he or she was most accomplished.[513] The portrait of

Michelangelo [Fig. 118] is especially notable as he has three allegories and is identified

as "MICHELANGELO BVONAR. PIT. SCVLTORE ET ARCHITET."[514] Although

precisely when these portraits were created is unclear, it was likely during the years that

Vasari was designing Michelangelo's tomb.[515] When the woodcut is compared to

Vasari's tomb for Michelangelo, striking similarities emerge among the architectural

motifs, especially in the use of the seated allegories of Painting, Sculpture, and

Architecture. Given the strong visual correlations to the tomb, there can be little doubt

that the woodcut was used, once again, to legitimize Vasari's Academy.

For the woodcut, Vasari relied upon Daniele da Volterra's painted portrait in the

Metropolitan Museum of Art [Fig. 74]. Vasari's use of the Metropolitan portrait was

certainly not a coincidence. Of all the portraits of Michelangelo, Vasari chose the one

visual source that had been copied numerous times and widely disseminated throughout

Italy and Europe.[516] By appropriating the most common image of Michelangelo, Vasari

changed the meaning of the original and subsequent copies. But the woodcut is not an

exact copy. The changes he made to his source are as meaningful as the choice he made

to use it. As noted in Chapter 4, Michelangelo's clothing in the Metropolitan portrait is

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[513] For a recent discussion of the frames, see Gregory, "Outer Man Guide to Inner," 52-53.

[514] For more on Michelangelo's conception of himself as the practitioner of all three major disciplines, see above Chapter 3.

[515] The blocks for the woodcut portraits were cut in Venice, but it is uncertain who actually did the work. For more on the identification of the engraver, see Gregory, "Outer Man Guide to Inner," 53-54.

[516] For more on the Metropolitan portrait, see above Chapter 4.

left unfinished, with only the collar of a black doublet and ruffed shirt depicted.[517]   In

Vasari's woodcut, however, the artist wears a brocaded doublet with a fur collar in the

woodcut. Sharon Gregory has connected the garment to fashion at the Italian courts.[518]

Based on the accounts found in Condivi and Vasari, Gregory suggests that Michelangelo

would not have worn such garments. Yet, as noted above in Chapter 3, despite both

authors' emphasis on the poverty of his dress, Michelangelo apparently wore only

clothing made from the finest of materials most of his career.[519]   Despite this possible

misunderstanding of Michelangelo's personal approach to clothing, the rest of Gregory's

thesis is valid since she focuses on the significance of Vasari's addition of expensive

brocade to the painted portrait type where, in fact, most often Michelangelo is seen in

simple black. She argues that the brocade was a reflection of Vasari's desire to view

Michelangelo's personality and behavior as akin to that of a noble.[520]   In this context,

Vasari's image of Michelangelo reinforces the idea that any artist could elevate his status

through both artistic achievement and courtly behavior. By clothing Michelangelo in

garments that befit his princely actions–the very aspect of the Metropolitan painting left

unfinished–Vasari reconstructs one of the most important sanctioned images of the artist

into *his* Michelangelo.

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[517] For more on the doublet, see above page 119.

[518] Gregory, "Outer Man Guide to Inner," 59.

[519] For the literature that addresses Michelangelo's clothes, see above note 175.

[520] Gregory also notes that Michele Sanmichele is the only other artist that wears brocade in Vasari's woodcuts. Although Sanmichele was not born into a noble family like Michelangelo, Gregory connects Sanmichele's garment to Vasari's description of the architect's behavior in a noble manner, "Outer Man Guide to Inner," 59-60.

Vasari was relentless in his pursuit to claim Michelangelo for his own and for the arts of Florence. He did not stop with the woodcut. In the *Vita* of Bugiardini, Vasari aspired, again, to transform the meaning of Bugiardini's portrait of Michelangelo [Fig. 62] in order to advance the concept of *disegno* as the fundamental principal of the *Accademia del Disegno*. Of the four portraits listed by Vasari in his *Vita* of Michelangelo, the painting by Bugiardini is surprisingly the only one described in any detail.[521] Although his choice to discuss the portrait could be explained by its location within the city of Florence, it is most likely that Vasari chose to focus on Bugiardini's painting of Michelangelo due to its uniquely Florentine motifs. Scholars have, unfortunately, either taken the passage literally or else given it little notice. The exceptional amount of time Vasari dedicates to the portrait may suggest it represents something more for him than a mere record of Michelangelo's facial features.[522]

> [A]fter [Bugiardini] had kept Michelangelo, […] Guiliano said to him: 'Michelangelo, if you wish to see yourself, get up and look, for I have fixed the expression of the face.' Michelangelo, having risen and looked at the portrait, said to Giuliano, laughing: 'What the devil have you been doing? You have painted me with one of my eyes in the temple. Give a little thought to what you are doing.' Hearing this, Giuliano, after standing pensive for a while and looking many times from the portrait to the living model, answered in serious earnest: 'To me it does not seem so, but you sit down again, and I shall see a little better from the life whether it be true.' Buonarroti, who knew whence the defect arose and how small was the judgment of Bugiardini, straightway resumed his seat, grinning. And Giuliano looked many times now at Michelangelo and now at the picture, and then finally, rising to his feet declared: 'To me it seems that the thing is just as I have drawn it, and that the life is in no way different.' 'Well, then,'

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[521] The passage is not included in the *Vita* of Michelangelo, but in the *Vita* of Bugiardini. For a discussion of the painting, see Chapter 3 above.

[522] For an example of how scholars have treated the passage, see Pina Ragionieri, "Giuliano Bugiardini, *Ritratto di Michelangelo*," in Ragionieri, *Michelangelo tra Firenze e Roma*, 18.

answered Buonarroti, 'it is a natural deformity. Go on, and spare neither brush nor art.[523]

Although Vasari's passage is amusing, it is presumably a fabrication.[524] Contrary to Vasari's suggestion, Michelangelo certainly thought highly enough of Bugiardini's abilities as a painter to ask him to assist with the preparations for the Sistine ceiling.[525] In the context of the overall construct of the *Vite*, the passage, as with Michelangelo, likely serves a greater purpose for Vasari.

At the core of Vasari's passage are ideas associated with the eye as both a sensory organ as well as an emblem of the intellectual capacity to understand, or "to see." In the account, Bugiardini committed an error by depicting Michelangelo's "eye in his temple," which Vasari suggests was due to the painter's inability to replicate nature faithfully. At least in the final version [Fig. 62], no such error exists and thus opens the passage up for interpretation. If it is read metaphorically, Bugiardini places Michelangelo's eye in the area of the head associated with cogitative thought. With this understanding, this part of

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[523] Vasari, *Lives*, II, 312-313.

[524] Both Andrew Ladis and Paul Barolsky have shed light on the use of metaphorical writing and myth-making in Vasari's *Vite*. As this body of literature is vast, I offer just a brief bibliography. Andrew Ladis: "The Legend of Giotto's Wit," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), 581-596; *Victims and Villains in Vasari's Lives*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2008. Paul Barolsky: *Michelangelo's Nose*; "Vasari and the Historical Imagination," *Word and Image* 15 (1999), 286-291; "What Are We Reading When We Read Vasari?," *Source* 22 (2002), 33-35; *Faun in the Garden*; "Vasari's *Lives* and the Art of Storytelling," in *Le Vite del Vasari: genesi, topoi, ricezione*, edited by Katja Burzer, Charles Davis, and Sabine Feser, (Venice: Marilio, 2010), 49-52.

[525] For literature addressing Michelangelo's relationship with Bugiardini, see above note 220.

the passage suggests the concept of the mind's eye.[526] Later in the account, Vasari

juxtaposes Bugiardini's inability to identify his error with Michelangelo's refined sense

of judgment. This represents another critical characteristic of the eye as the chief sensory

organ in terms of assessment and discernment in the process of artistic production.

Vasari's understanding of both aspects of the eye are to a certain extent derived

from Michelangelo's own theory that "one must have the measurements of the eyes and

not of the hand."[527] For Vasari, this idea is the foundation for the concept of *disegno*,

which he explains in his introduction to the entire *Vite*:

> [W]hat design needs, when it has derived from the judgment the mental
> image of anything, is that the hand, through the study and practice of
> many years, may be free and apt to draw and to express correctly, […]
> whatever nature has created. For when the intellect puts forth refined and
> judicious conceptions, the hand which has practiced design for many
> years, exhibits the perfection and excellence of the arts as well as the
> knowledge of the artist.[528]

According to this passage, Vasari interprets the eye as the fundamental tool that guides

both an artist's intellect (*concetto*) and skill, or the ability to execute (*fatto*). Vasari's

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[526] Vasari's description of Michelangelo's "eye in the temple" could be seen as alluding to the enigmatic winged-eye emblem of the fifteenth architect and theorist, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472). On the surface, it would appear that there was a topological connection between Vasari's passage and Alberti's famed emblem.

[527] Karl Frey, *Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasari*, (Munich, 1930), II, 520. It should be noted that Michelangelo's artistic properties of the eye are distinct from the religious ideas of blindness discussed in previous chapter in the context of the reverse of Leone's portrait medal of Michelangelo.

[528] Giorgio Vasari, *Vasari on Technique: Being the Introduction to the Three Arts of Design, Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, Prefixed to the Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, translated by Louisa S. Maclehose, (New York: Dover Publication, 1907, 1960), 206.

description of Bugiardini's portrait of Michelangelo then becomes a vehicle for the elevation of *disegno* as the mother of all art.

When Vasari's account of Michelangelo's response to the portrait is considered within the context of Vasari's introduction to the *Vite*, it becomes clear that he manipulated the meaning of both Michelangelo's image and life. In doing so, he transforms the intent of Bugiardini's image from representing Michelangelo as the heir of the Florentine artistic traditions to the embodiment of the ideal practitioner of *disegno*. This transformation is most evident by Vasari's omission in his discussion of the portrait's most distinguishing feature, the *cappuccio*.[529] For Michelangelo, the *cappuccio* expressed his desire to be viewed as the heir to Orcagna, whose exceptional achievements in painting, sculpture, and architecture served as the foundation for the traditions of Florentine artistic excellence. Vasari describes *disegno* as the father of the three sister arts. Perhaps, his decision to imply the superiority of Michelangelo's eye, and therefore *disegno*, in the discussion of this portrait reveals, in fact, his appreciation of the meaning of the *capuccio* for Michelangelo.

Vasari's assimilation of Michelangelo's image into an emblem of artistic excellence as based on his practice of *disegno* directly opposed Michelangelo's ambitions for the portraits by both Bugiardini and Daniele. For Michelangelo, both of these paintings were meant to serve solely his artistic and social ambitions and not in the elevation of his contemporaries. Since his death, however, these portraits have only been seen through Vasari's lens of Michelangelo. It is, perhaps, the greatest of ironies that Michelangelo first commissioned portraits of himself as a response to both Raphael's and

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[529] For a discussion of the *cappuccio*, see above pages 90-104.

Dürer's use of his portrait for their own gain, only to have Vasari do the same after the artist's death.

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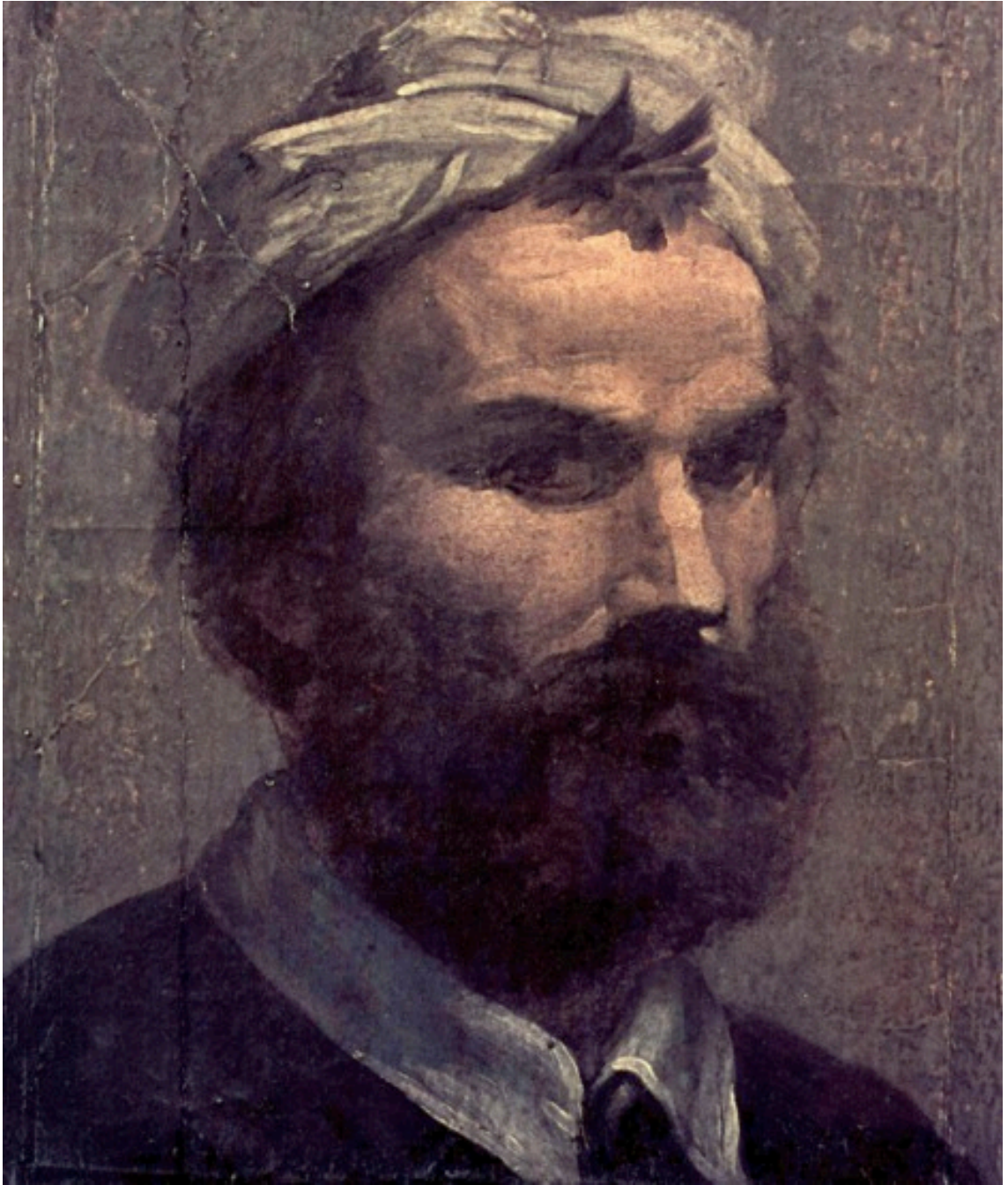
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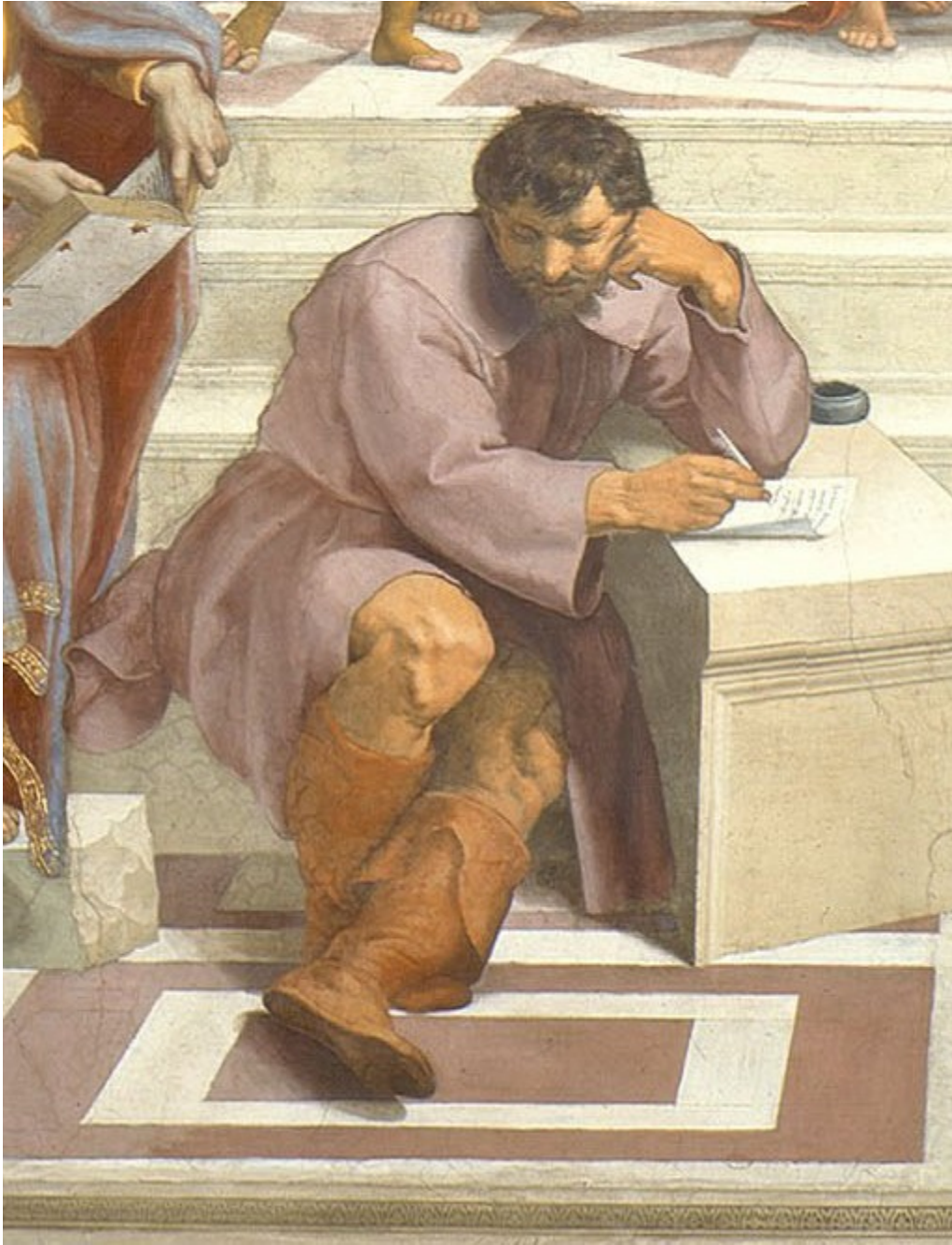
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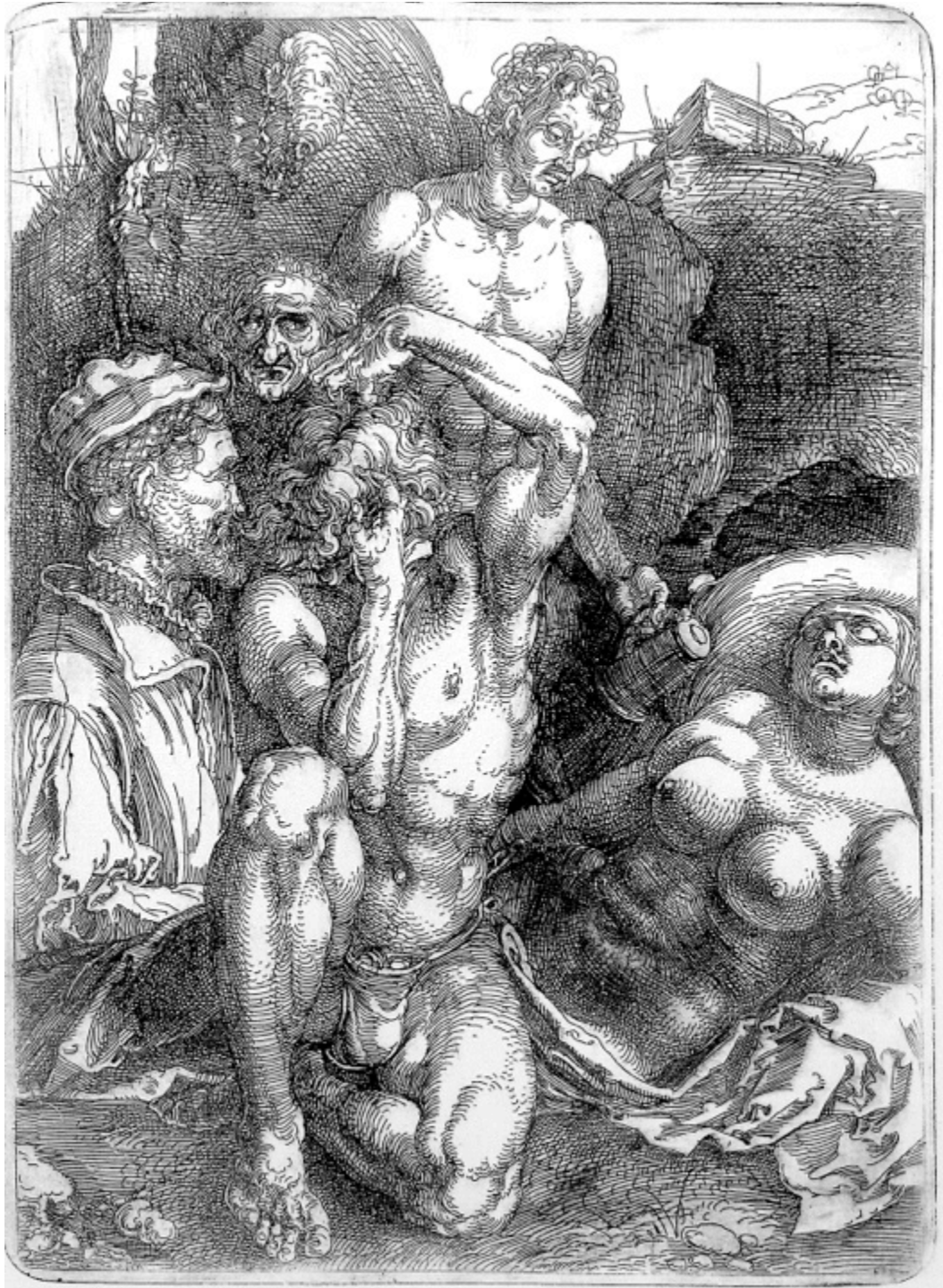
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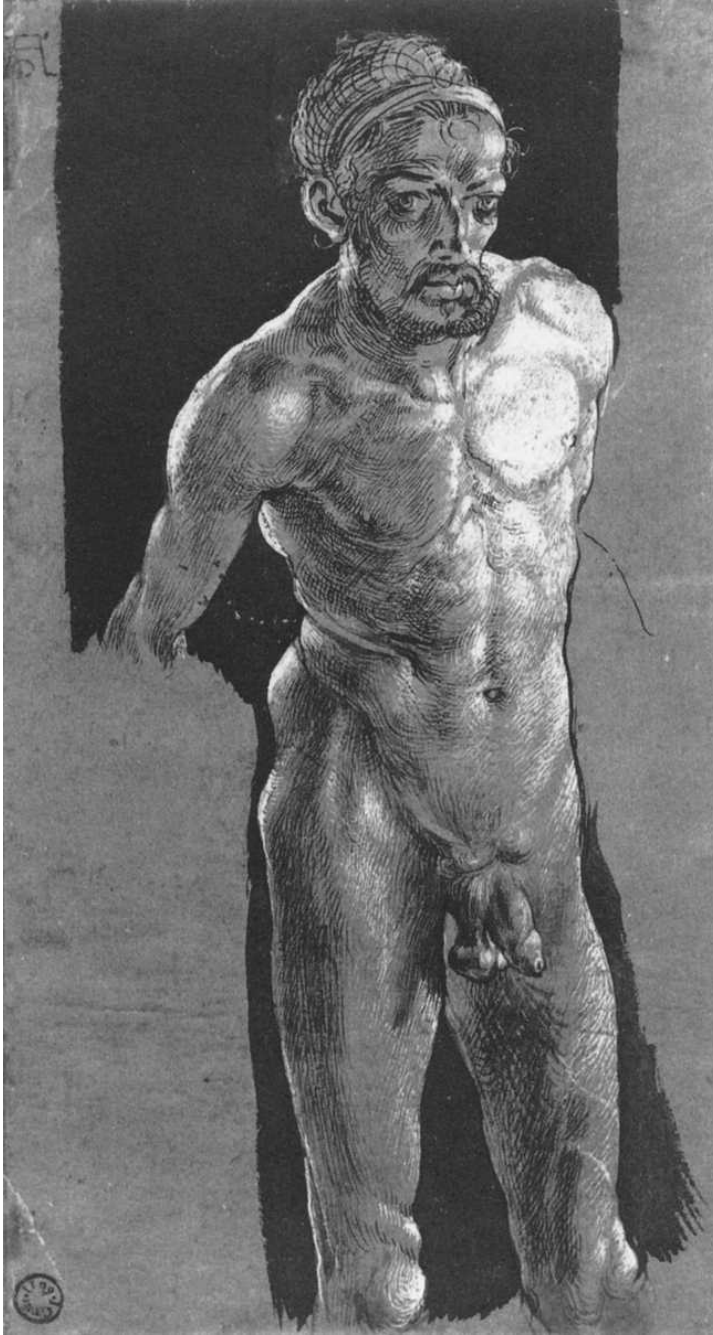(http://images.zeno.org/Kunstwerke/I/big/2530020a.jpg; accessed 12.6.12)

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Figure 81. Marcello Venusti, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, early 1550s, oil, Casa Buonarroti, Florence (http://patriciasilva.wordpress.com/2008/12/21/michelangelo/; accessed 1.25.12)

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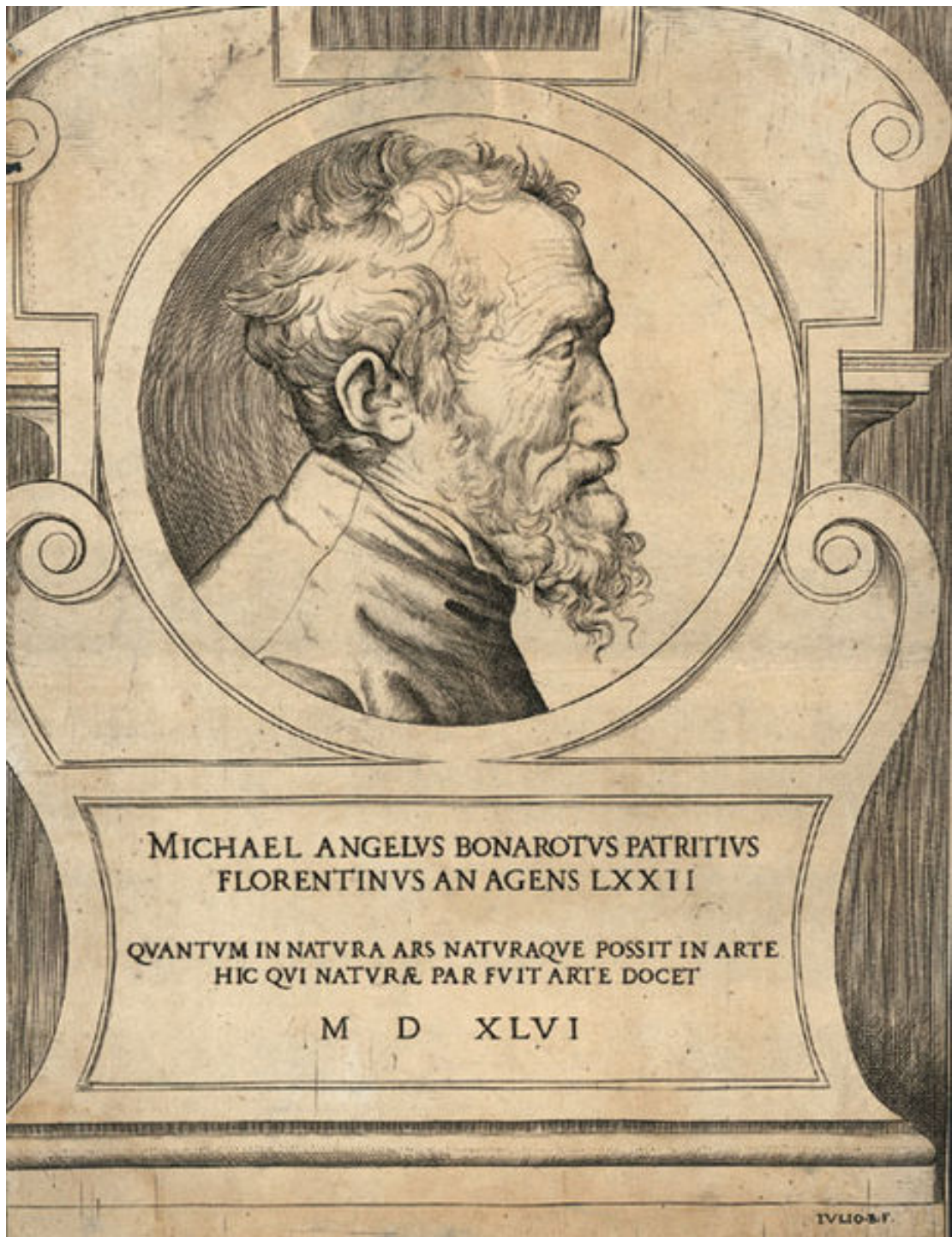Figure 83. Giulio Bonasone, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, c. 1545, engraving (Massari, *Giulio Bonasone*, I, fig. 85c)

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Figure 84. Giulio Bonasone, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, c. 1545, engraving (Wallace, *Michelangelo: Complete*, 12)

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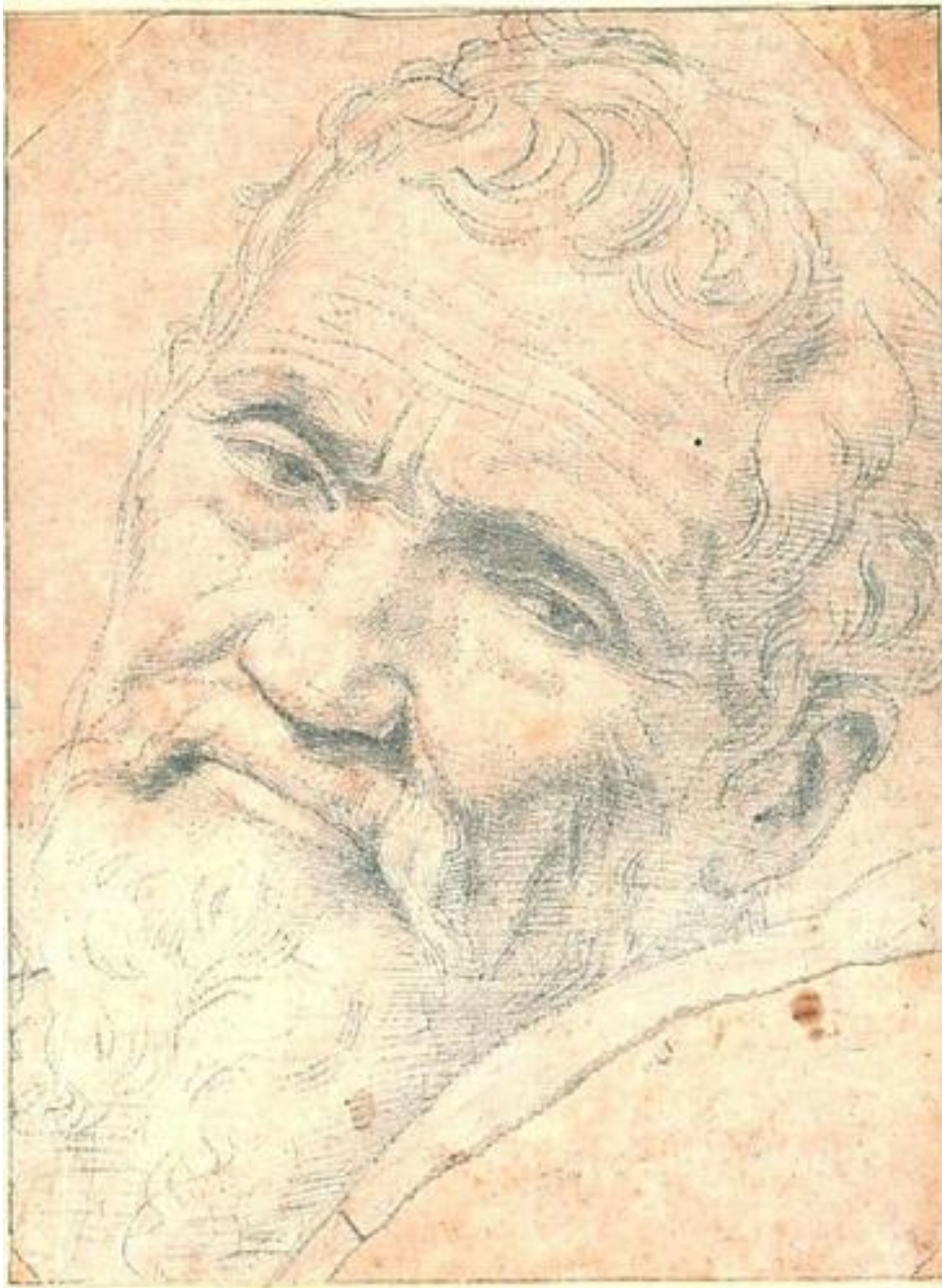
Figure 89. Daniele da Volterra, Cartoon for Michelangelo's portrait in *Assumption of Virgin*, c. 1545, black chalk on paper, Teyler Museum, Haarlem (http://ookaboo.com/ o/pictures/picture/11637377/Daniele_da_Volterra_portrait_of_Michelan; accessed 6.12.12)

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Figure 93. Leone Leoni, Obverse of *Medal of Michelangelo*, c. 1561, lead, Casa Buonarroti, Florence (http://arthistory.about.com/od/from_exhibitions/ig/michelangelo_ man_myth/syr_1108_15.htm; accessed 6.12.12)

Figure 94. Leone Leoni, Reverse of *Medal of Michelangelo*, c. 1561, lead, Casa
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man_myth/syr_1108_16.htm; accessed 6.12.12)

Figure 95. Leone Leoni, *Study for Portrait Medal of Michelangelo*, c. 1560, wax, British Museum, London (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_ database/search_object_image.aspx?objectId=36416&partId=1&searchText=buonarroti& fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.asp x&numPages=10&currentPage=4&asset_id=466054; accessed 3.15.13)

Figure 96. Leone Leoni, *Portrait Medal of Charles V*, c. 1548, bronze, British Museum, London (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/ search_object_image.aspx; accessed 3.15.13)

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Figure 98. Unknown, *Tomb of Alessandro Antinori*, c. 1549-1555, SS. Michele e
Gaetano, Florence (http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Chiesa_di_san_gaetano,_
capella_antinori,_monumento_a_alessandro_antinori_02.JPG; accessed 5.15.12)

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Figure 104. Daniele da Volterra, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, c. 1564, bronze and marble, Capitoline Museum, Rome (http://buffaloah.com/a/virtual/italy/rome/cap/mus/jpegs /michael.jpg; accessed 3.18.13)

Figure 105. Daniele da Volterra, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, c. 1564, bronze, Accademia, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/art/d/daniele/michelb.jpg; accessed 3.15.13)
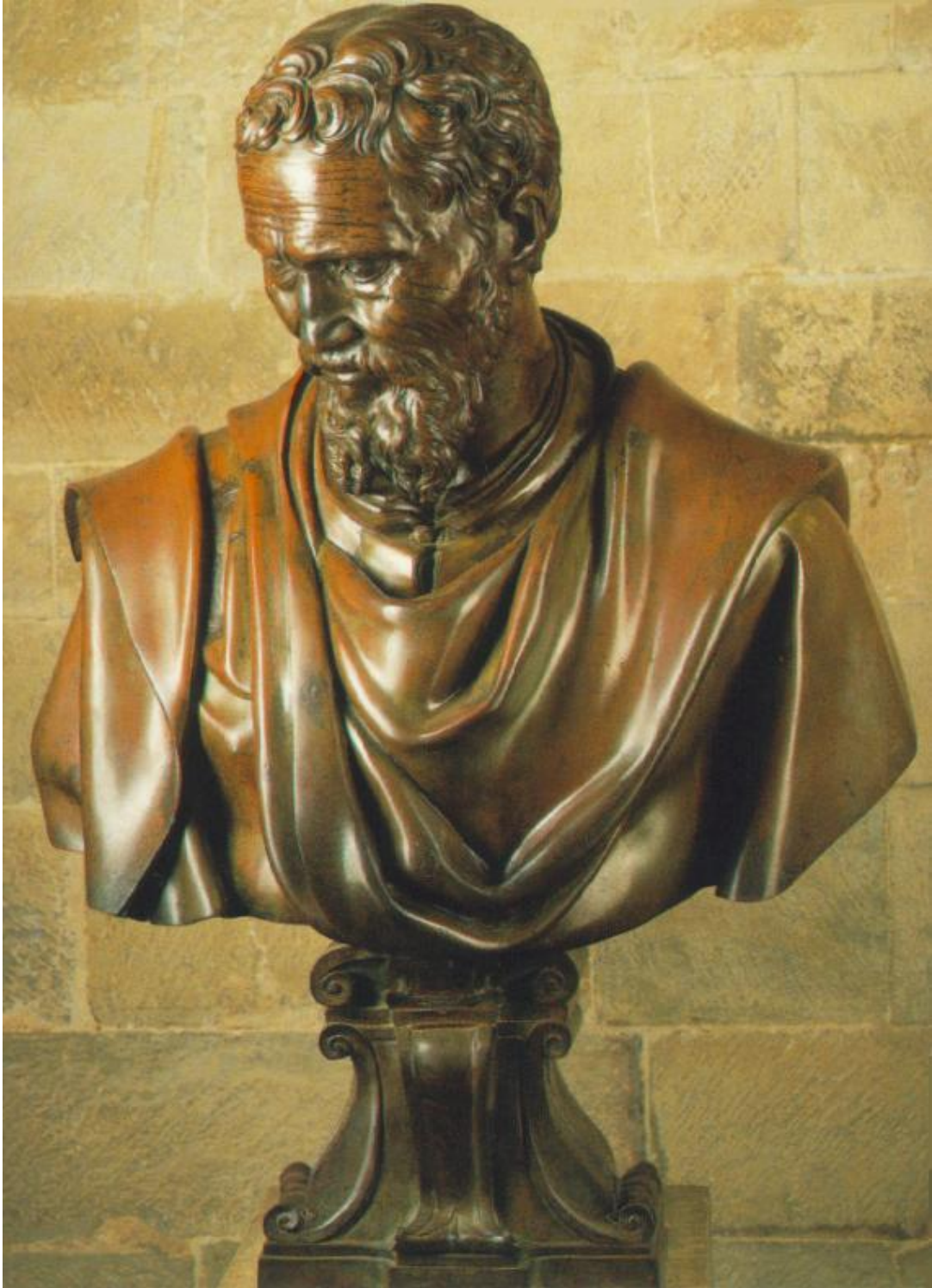
Figure 106. Daniele da Volterra and Giambologna, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, c. 1564, bronze, Bargello, Florence (http://www.wga.hu/art/d/daniele/michelan.jpg; accessed 3.15.13)

Figure 107. Daniele da Volterra, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, c. 1564, bronze, St. Peter's Basilica, Rome (http://www.du.ac.in/fileadmin/DU/Academics/course_material/ euroart/hyperlinks%202/Michelworks_files/image002.jpg; accessed 3.15.13)

Figure 108. Daniele da Volterra, *Portrait of Michelangelo*, c. 1564, bronze, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (Giannini and Sainte Fare Garnot, ed., *Donatello e una "casa" del Rinascimento*, 112)
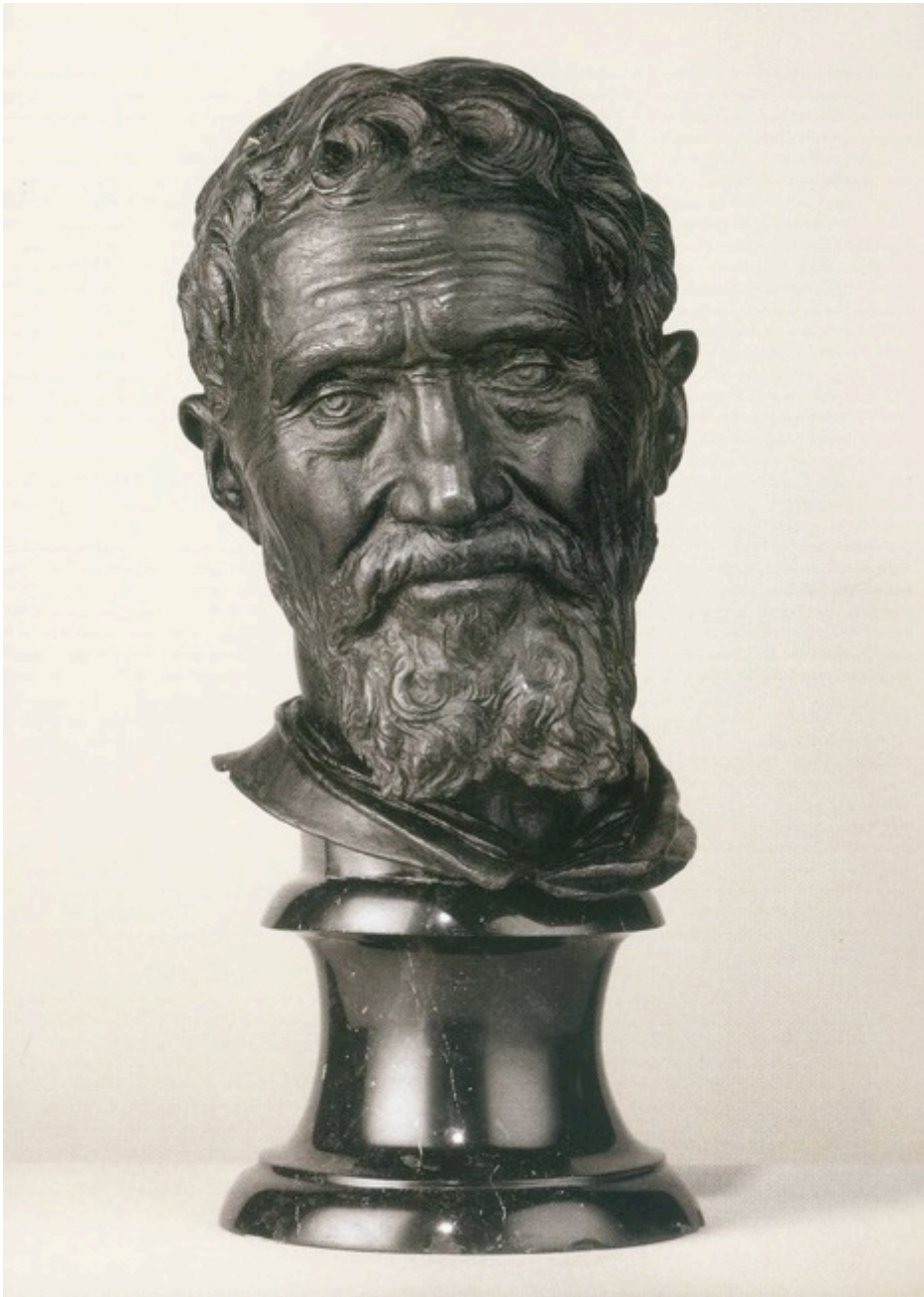
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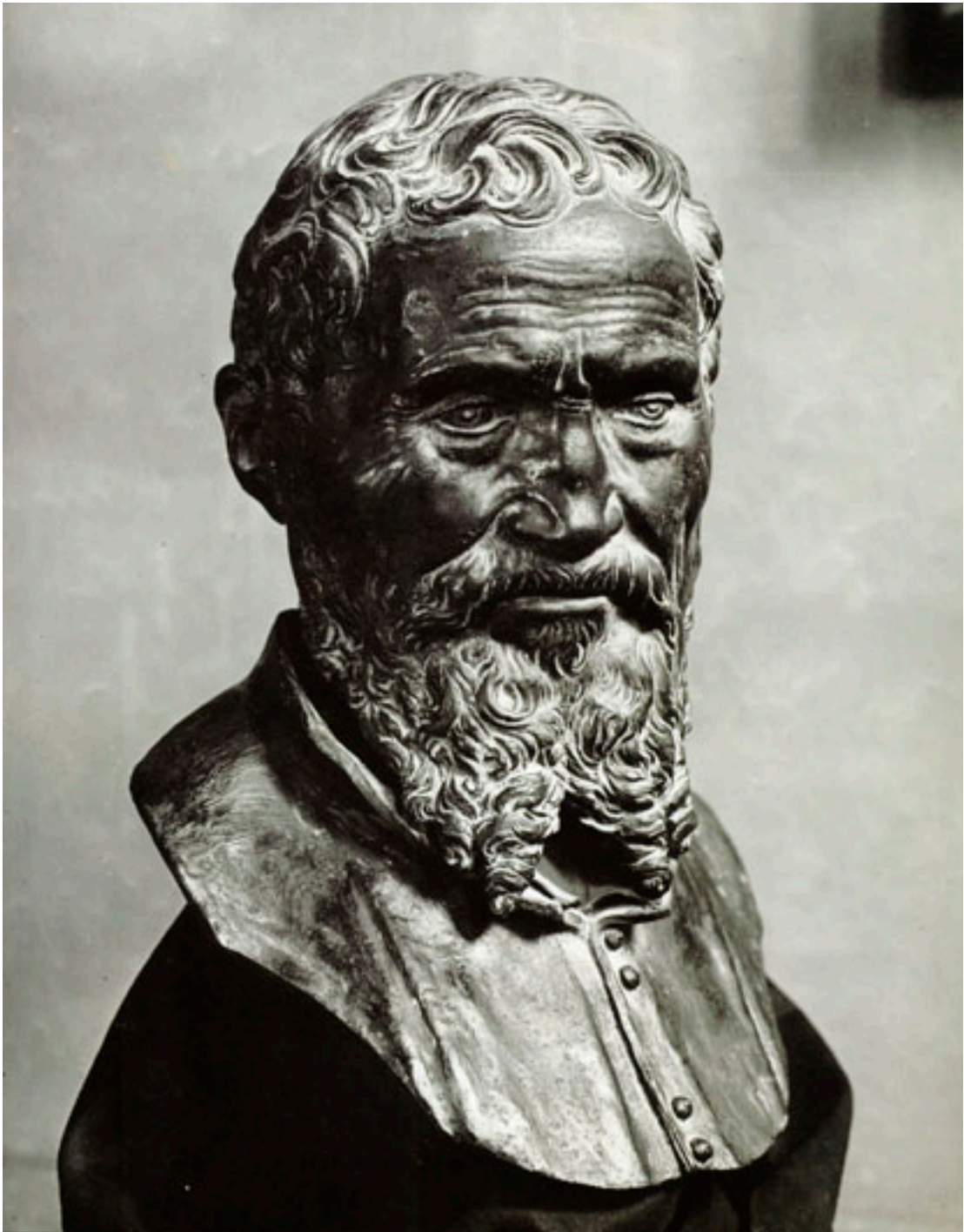
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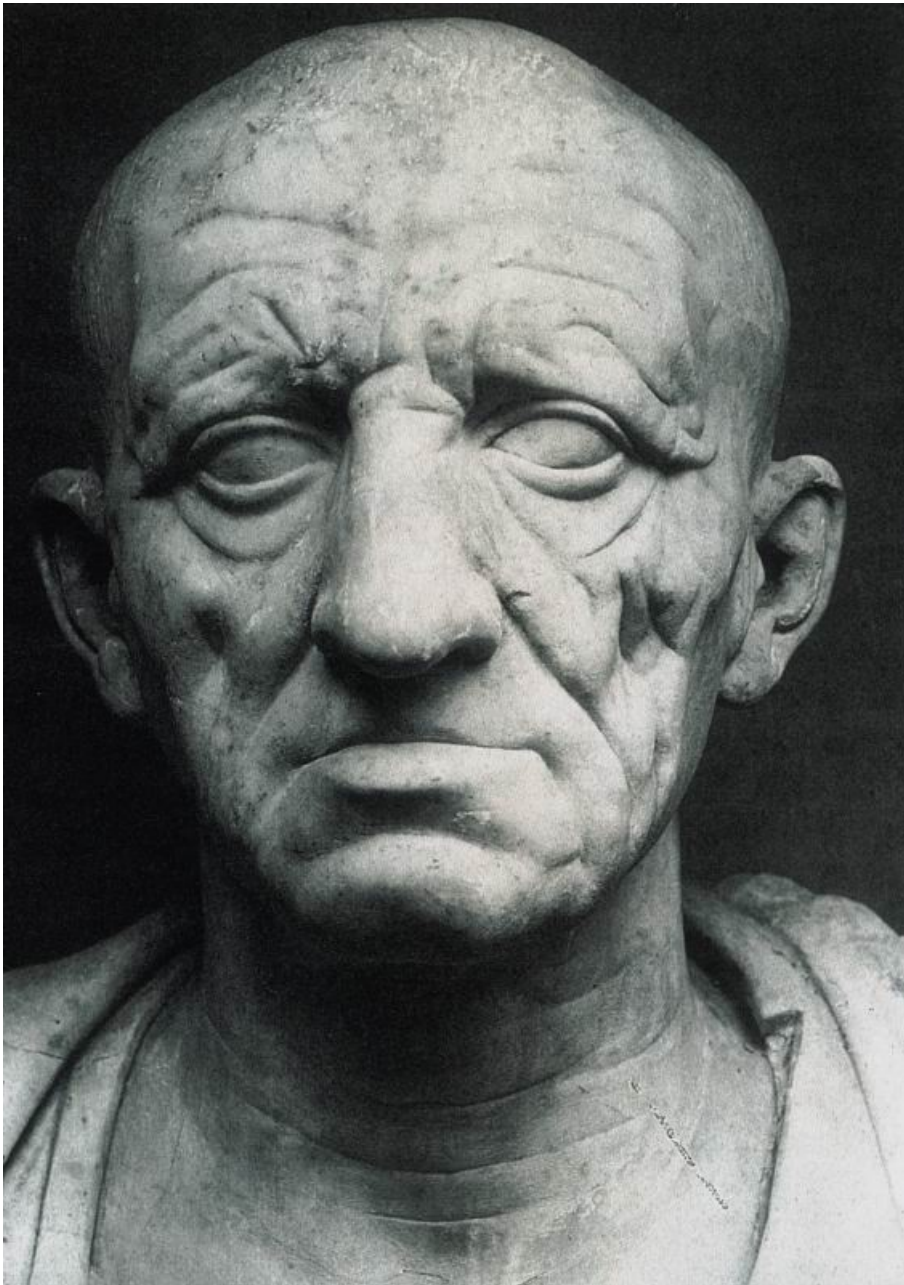
Figure 111. Unknown, *Head of a Patrician*, c. 70 BCE, marble, Museo Torlonia, Rome
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3.15.13)

Figure 112. Buggiano, *Monument to Filippo Brunelleschi*, marble, Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence (http://www.paradoxplace.com/Perspectives/Italian%20Images/ images/Artists/Brunelleschi/Brunelleschi-Tomb-BR600.jpg; accessed 6.12.12)

Figure 113. *Deathmask for Filippo Brunelleschi*, 1446, plaster, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence (http://farm2.static.flickr.com/1355/642124929_d92f97cdf1.jpg; accessed 6.12.12)

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Figure 117. Baccio Bandinelli, *Pietà*, late 1550s, marble, SS. Annunziata, Florence
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3.15.13)

Figure 118. After Giorgio Vasari, "Portrait of Michelangelo" from *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scvltori, et architettori*, before 1568, woodcut (http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00018/AN00018163_001_l.jpg; accessed 3.15.13)