MICHELANGELO

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BY

ADOLFO VENTURI

TRANSLATED BY JOAN REDFERN.

WITH

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ARTI GRAFICHE PANETTO & PETRELLI - SPOLETO

HIS LIFE

MICHELANGELO was born on March the 6th, of the year 1475, at the Castle of Chiusi in the Casentino, where his father, Ludovico Buonarroti, was Mayor. His mother was Francesca, daughter of Miniato del Sera. At thirteen years of age, on April the 1st, 1488, his father gave him into the charge of the painters Domenico and David Ghirlandaio, « with this pact and in this wise :... that the said Michelangelo shall stay with the above-mentioned Persons sufficient time in which to learn to paint, and to practise it, during which time the above-mentioned Persons shall be his Masters; and that the said Domenico and David shall give to him in those three years twenty-four florins (*fiorini di suggello :*) six florins in the first year; eight in the second year, and ten in the third year : in all the sum of ninety-six lire ».

Vasari mentions three attempts at painting by Michelangelo in the Ghirlandaios' workshop : a retouching of the lines of some female figures that a pupil of Domenico had copied from works of his master; (1) and a drawing of the apse of Santa Maria Novella while the work of decoration was being pushed forward with fervour, « with all the chattels of art, and some of those youths who were working ; » and finally, the copy of a print by Martin Schoen showing the *Temptations of St. Anthony*. But Michelangelo's genius was soon to outgrow the workshop of the Ghirlandaios ; and the boy passed on to the garden of the Medici at San Marco, the training school of art of all the Florentine sculptors of that time, under the direction of the

(1) « Michelangelo took that sheet, and with a broader pen he passed over one of those women with new lines drawn in the manner which they ought to have been, in order to produce a perfect form. A wonderful thing it was then to see the difference of the two... » VASARI.

artist Bertoldo. While in the Medici school he made the famous copy of an ancient and worn piece of sculpture which has been identified as the head of a *Faun-Cyclops*, now in the National Museum of Florence. Everyone knows Vasari's anecdote of how Lorenzo the Magnificent pointed out jokingly that the old faun had all his teeth intact, and how the boy made haste to correct his mistake. According to Vasari it was on Politian's (1) advice that the young Michelangelo sculptured his high-relief of the *Lapiths and Centaurs*. In 1492 he carved a *Hercules* seven feet eight inches in height; in 1494, at Bologna, an *Angel Holding Candelabrum* and two small statues of saints to crown the Ark of the church of San Domenico designed by Niccolò d'Apulia; and in 1495 a *Child St. John*, and a *Cupid* « lying in the attitude of a sleeping person », for Lorenzo da Pier Francesco de' Medici. This last-named piece of sculpture passed through a series of adventures : it was buried in the earth, dug up again, and sold by Baldassare del Milanese to Cardinal Riario as an antique statue supposed to have been discovered in a ditch ; later it passed from the hands of Caesar Borgia into the possession of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, and then into the hands of Isabella Gonzaga d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua. It remained in the Court of Mantua until 1629, when Daniel Nys acquired it for Charles the First of England, and took it to Rome.

On June the 25th, 1496, the twenty-year-old Michelangelo went to Rome for the first time. There he was commissioned by Messer Jacopo Galli, a Roman gentleman, to do the *Bacchus* of the National Museum of Florence ; and, on August the 27th, 1497, Cardinal Giovanni della Groslaye de Villiers entrusted him with the group of the *Pietà* of St. Peter's, the only work of Michelangelo that is signed. In a contract dated June the 5th, 1501, ratified on October the 11th of the same year, he engaged himself to sculpture fifteen statues for the decoration of the chapel of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini near the

(1) One of the chief scholars of his age, and tutor to Lorenzo de' Medici's sons, Piero and Giovanni (afterwards Leo X.).

Library of the Duomo of Siena. We know by the wording of the ratification that the four saints – *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, *St. Pius* and *St. Gregory* – were already finished, together with the statue of *St. Francis* that Pietro Torrigiani had commenced. Francesco Bandini Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, on November the 30th, 1561, a few years before he died, undertook to settle the question of a breach of faith in connection with the contract for these fifteen statues.

Speaking of the colossal statue of *David*, commissioned on August the 16th, 1501, by the administrators of Santa Maria del Fiore, and erected in front of the Palace of the Signoria on June the 8th, 1504, Vasari tells us :

« Soderini came to look at it while Michelangelo was retouching it at certain points, and told the artist that he thought the nose was too short. Michelangelo perceived that Soderini was in such a position beneath the figure that he could not see it properly; yet, to satisfy him, he mounted the scaffold with his chisel and a little powder gathered from the floor in his hand, and striking lightly with the chisel, but without altering the nose, he allowed a little of the powder to fall, and then said to the Gonfaloniere who stood below, ' Look at it now.' ' I like it better now,' replied Piero ; ' you have given it life.' Michelangelo then came down again, not without pity for those who try to appear good judges of matters whereof they know nothing » (1).

After the colossal *David* Michelangelo's fame was assured. Orders for work came more and more thickly, one crowding upon the other. On August the 12th, 1502, the Signoria of Florence commissioned him to do a *David* in bronze, which later passed on to Robertet, Secretary of the King of France. On April the 21st, 1503, he undertook the work of sculpturing twelve statues of the Apostles ; but these were only commenced with the rough draught of *St. Matthew*, now in the Academy of Florence. In August 1504, he engaged himself to decorate half

(1) In November 1543 Cecchino and Salviati mended the *David's* right arm, which had been broken in three pieces in the riot of 1527.

of the *Sala del Consiglio* in the Palazzo Vecchio, competing with Leonardo da Vinci who had already undertaken the other half. The cartoon of the *Battle of Cascina* (together with the cartoon by Leonardo) became the « School of the World ». It was finished in March 1505, and was first shown to the public on August the 21st of the same year. But the painters who thronged to see and study this masterpiece ended by cutting it to bits (1).

Michelangelo's work in the Palace of the Signoria was soon interrupted. He was invited to Rome in March 1505 to sculpture the tomb of Pope Julius II. In 1506 we find the Pope already planning the painting of the Sistine Chapel, and trying in vain to confide the undertaking to Michelangelo, who was engaged in working at the tomb, and wished to stay at his chosen work of sculpturing, which he preferred to that of painting. His persistence in refusing the Pope's request and his continual demands for helpers in doing the tomb, ended by exasperating the fiery Julius, who sent a groom to chase him from the Palace. The sculptor disdainfully took the road for Florence, having written to the Pope : « This morning I was chased from the palace in the name of Your Holiness ; so I wish you to know that from now henceforward, if you should desire to find me, you must look for me elsewhere than in Rome » (2). Vasari says that Michelangelo was chosen to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel on the advice of Donato Bramante, « who was friend and kinsman of Raffaello of Urbino, and for that reason but little disposed to befriend Michelangelo ». He hoped in this way « to detach him from sculpture, in which they saw he was perfect, and throw him into despair, they being convinced that by compelling him to paint in fresco they should also bring him to exhibit works of less perfection, (he having but little experience in that branch of art) and thus prove him-

(1) « The cartoon having thus become a study for artists it was removed to the Great Hall of the Medici Palace, but this caused it to be left with too little caution at the hands of the artists ; insomuch that at the time of Giuliano's sickness, when no one was thinking of such things, it was torn to bits as we have before related». VASARI.

(2) Letter of Michelangelo to a Monsignore, in 1532.

self inferior to Raffaello. Or even supposing him to succeed in the work it was almost certain that he would be so enraged against the Pope as to secure the success of their purpose, which was to rid themselves of his presence ».

Vasari had evidently heard this opinion from Michelangelo himself. In the sculptor's letter to the Monsignore, in 1542, which we have already quoted, we read : " All the disputes which arose between Pope Julius and me came from the envy of Bramante and Raffaello d'Urbino : and this was the reason that the tomb was not continued in the Pope's lifetime ; it was in order to ruin me; and Raffaello had good cause; for everything that he knew of art he learnt from me." Five couriers were sent after him by the Pope, one upon the other, with threats and orders, as far as Poggibonsi, but with no result.

Practically the whole of Michelangelo's work can be dated from the documents concerning him. They show that on August the 4th, 1506, he had sent the *Madonna and Child* of Bruges to Flanders through Francesco del Pugliese ; that on January the 22nd, when he was at Bologna, he had nearly completed the model of the statue of Julius II which the Pope had commissioned him to do, Michelangelo having asked his pardon ' with a rope round his neck ' ; (1) that on February the 21st the great figure in bronze was already standing over the main door of San Petronio, in Bologna. This statue was thrown down and broken to pieces on the night of December the 30th, 1511, by order of the Bentivogli. Of this work so barbarously destroyed, nothing remains at all, except one or two mentions of it by Vasari, who describes the statue as five *braccia* in height, and says that the right hand was raised so haughtily " that the Pope... inquired whether he were cursing the people or blessing them. Michelangelo replied that he was admonishing the Bolognese to behave themselves discreetly; and he asked His Holiness to decide whether it would not be well to put a book in the left hand. " Put a sword into it," said the Pope " for of letters I know but little."

(1) Letter to Fattucci in 1524 : " I was forced to go there with a rope round my neck and ask for his pardon."

On his return to Rome Michelangelo was forced to begin the decorations of the Sistine Chapel (1). According to his first drawing for it the Twelve Apostles were to be painted in the lunettes; the rest of the ceiling was to be "divided off in a certain manner, and replete with ormentations, as is the custom." (2) Not content with the first drawing, which he had done according to instructions given him, he asked permission of the Pope to make some changes in it. "Whereupon the Pope made me another lease regarding the lower compositions, saying I should do as I liked with the ceiling." (3)

To gain experience in the technique of fresco-painting he summoned a few painters from Florence, among them being Jacopo Indaco. "But seeing that their work was far from approaching his expectations, or fulfilling his purpose, one morning he determined to destroy the whole of it. He then shut himself up in the chapel, and not only would he never permit the building to be opened to them, but he likewise refused to see any of them at his house. Finally, therefore, and when the jest appeared to them to be carried too far, they returned, ashamed and mortified, to Florence." (4) On October the 31st, 1512, the Sistine Chapel was opened to the public, as Paris de Grassis tells us his *Journal*.

The tomb of Julius II, which was the dream of Michelangelo's life, was also his scourge – the cause of continual bitterness, of ever-increasing difficulties, of clashing interests. There was endless debate between the Medici Popes and the heirs of Pope Julius. The former demanded the whole time of the sculptor, while Pope della Rovere's heirs claimed that the tomb should be continued, and moreover accused him of having spent the money the Pope had advanced him for it. Between persecutions and bitterness he saw his mighty project growing ever less and less. On June the 6th, 1513, he signed a contract with the heirs of Pope Julius in which he undertook to work exclusively on

(1) Begun on May the 16th, 1508.
(2) Letter to Fattucci, quoted above.
(3) Draft of letter to Fattucci, quoted above.
(4) Vasari.

the tomb and to finish it in seven years, and to adorn it with twenty-eight statues and three bas-reliefs. In 1514, with Maestro Antonio of Pontassieve to help him in the work of framing and intaglio, he commenced the statues of the *Slaves*. On July the 8th, 1516, he signed a new agreement, cancelling the former one ; the number of the statues was reduced to twenty-two, and the bas-reliefs increased to five ; he was allowed nine years in which to complete the tomb, and had permission to work at it when not in Rome. He passed the year 1516, partly in Carrara providing himself with marble for the tomb, and partly in Florence, where he worked at sculpturing it. He cut and roughly draughted " the four great marble figures and fifteen others," slightly smaller, all of them intended for the tomb of Pope Julius.

And now comes the very long period of the sculptor's life at Florence : of his work for the façade of San Lorenzo, for the Medici tombs, for the Laurentian Library. The Popes Leo X and Clement VII objected to his working on the tomb of Julius II, to the neglect of the commissions they had given him : " Pope Leo, not wishing me to work on that tomb pretended that he wanted me to do the façade of San Lorenzo in Florence, and begged me from Aginensis ; (1) who was forced to let me go, but on the condition that at Florence I should work on the said tomb of Pope Julius... About that time Aginensis sent Messer Francesco Palavicini... to hasten me, and he saw the room and all the said figures of the tomb roughly draughted, which are still there to-day. Knowing this, (knowing, that is to say, that I was working at the said tomb) the Medici who was living in Florence and was afterwards Pope Clement, did not allow me to go on ; and so I was hindered until that Medici became (Pope) Clement." (2) On August the 29th, 1522, Adrian IV entered Rome, and soon was listening to the complaints of Pope Julius' heirs against Michelangelo. Laborious negotiations were opened with the heirs by Gerolamo of Urbino, Giovanni Fattucci and Seb-

(1) Cardinal della Rovere.

(2) Letter to a Monsignore, quoted above.

astiano del Piombo. Michelangelo, writing to Fattucci on November the Ist, 1526, says that he fears the " bad disposition that the heirs of Julius have towards him, and not without reason," and asks to be allowed to come to Rome to continue to work at the tomb, " because I wish to rid myself of this obligation more than to live." In the middle of August, 1531, being convinced that he would not be able to continue the tomb in the lifetime of Clement VII, he asked Sebastiano del Piombo to persuade the Pope's heirs that they should take the money and have it done by some other arstist : " I would give drawings and models and all they wished, and the marbles already worked upon. " Michelangelo had foreseen rightly : on November the 21st of that year he received a brief from Pope Clement ordering him to cease all work under pain of punishment, except on the Medici tombs. In a letter of March the 15th, 1522, Sebastiano del Piombo invited him to come to Rome, saying that the Ambassador of the Duke of Urbino had returned, and suggesting to him that he should feed the agents of the Duke " with words, in the same way that they have fed you with words for so many years." And even the agents thought that Michelangelo would no longer be able to work for them " because the Pope has explained to everyone that he does not wish you to work for others but only for His Holiness."

A new contract for the tomb was drawn up on April the 29th, 1532, when the sculptor was absent. It states that he had already received payment of 8,000 golden ducats, and that he undertook to deliver " the new model of the tomb, with six marble statues, commenced and not finished, that are in Rome, or in Florence." And furthermore, that he should pay as penalty the sum of two thousand ducats, including the house of Macel de' Corvi. And to enable him to finish the work Pope Clement would permit that he should live in Rome at least two months of the year. He arrived in Rome on September the 23rd, two days before the death of Clement VII, and stayed there for a short time. On November the 17th, 1536, came a brief from Pope Paul III in Michelangelo's favour regarding the tomb of Julius II ; and a month later Sandro di Giovanni Scherano was

paid " on account, for the *Madonna* of the tomb of Pope Julius." Meanwhile Paul III had commissioned him to paint the *Last Judgment*, and shortly afterwards gave an order for the frescoes of the Paulinè Chapel : once more the work on the tomb was delayed. On March the 6th, 1542, an agreement was made with the Duke of Urbino that Michelangelo should be allowed to entrust three of the " six statues " intended for Julius' tomb to some good and well-spoken-of master, but that the remaining three must be finished by his own hand. The grand monument that was to have stood alone, a building in itself, and rich with sculptures, was shrunk to a tomb on the wall inside the church, reduced to the utmost simplicity, and in great part to be finished by assistants. We follow with regret and with pain the phases, one after the other, by which this giant dream became a crippled reality. Even the statues of the *Slaves* (1) were denied a place at the tomb of the Warrior Pope: other statues were put in their place. In a petition to Pope Paul III, written by Luigi del Riccio on behalf of Michelangelo, he says that " Buonarroti is working on two statues – *Active Life* and *Contemplative Life* – to be placed on either side of the *horses* ; they are both so well advanced that they can easily be finished by other masters," and he asks that the sculptor he allowed to entrust these two unfinished statues to Raffaello da Montelupo, to whom he has already confided the statues of the *Madonna*, the *Prophet* and the *Sibyl*, arranged in a contract of 1542. He guarantees that the *horses* shall be finished by his own hand. On August the 3rd of the same year the Duke of Urbino states in a letter to Girolamo Tiranno, his Legate in Rome, that he agrees to Michelangelo being released from his engagement to finish the tomb of Julius II, in order to be free to continue the paintings of the Pauline Chapel, on the condition that he puts in deposit the money he has not yet earned ; this sum is to be given to whatever sculptor shall finish the tomb.

(1) In 1546 Michelangelo made a gift of these two statues, finished, to Roberto Strozzi, who in 1550 took them to France and presented them to King Francis I. Having passed through the hands of the Constable of Montmorency and of Richelieu, they were finally acquired by the Louvre, in 1793.

The sum to be put in deposit was to be established by the experts when they had adjudged the value of the work already done.

The last agreement for the tomb is dated August the 20th, 1542. It stipulated that Michelangelo should put 1,500 *scudi* at the disposal of the heirs, for the payment of Francesco da Urbino, who was engaged on the carving of the framing and ornamentation. Raffaello da Montelupo, who had finished the statue of the *Madonna*, was to finish a *Sibyl*, a *Prophet*, the *Active Life* and the *Contemplative Life*, " draughted and nearly finished by the hand of the said Messer Michelangelo."

The sculptor's bitterness breaks out in a letter of October the 3rd, addressed to Del Riccio. He was feeling uneasy because he had not yet received the ratification of the contract: " Painting and sculpture, toil and trust, have ruined me, and everything goes from worse to worse. Better if I had applied myself in early years to making matches; I should not have been in this affliction." Of the same year is a letter dictated by Michelangelo to Luigi Del Riccio, for a Monsignore, whose identity is not known, who had been engaged by the Pope as mediator between Michelangelo and the Duke of Urbino in the affair of the contract for the tomb of Julius II. This letter is an epitome of all the sorrows he had endured through that work: " Your Lordship sends to tell me that I must begin to paint and have no anxiety. I answer that one paints with the brain and not with the hands; and he who has not his brains at his command produces work that shames him. The ratification of the last contract does not arrive. On the strength of the other (1532) I am daily pelted with stones, as if I had crucified Christ... I say with a good conscience that I have received five thousand *scudi* from the heirs of Pope Julius... And according to these ambassadors it would seem that I have enriched myself and stolen the altar... I find that I have lost all my youth bound to this tomb; having defended myself as much as I was able to against Popes Leo and Clement: and my excess of good faith, that none has wished to recognize, has ruined me.

... I pray your Lordships to read this tale... Moreover,

if the Pope were to see it I would be glad, and if all the world were to see it; because I write the truth, and say much less than what is; and I am not a usurious thief, but am a Florentine citizen, noble, and the son of an honest man and do not come from Cagli. After I had written I received a message on behalf of the ambassador of Urbino, saying that if I wanted the ratification I must reconcile it with my conscience. I say that he has built himself a Michelangelo in his heart out of the dough that he has in it."

At last, at the end of 1542, the ratification arrived; and in 1544 the tomb of Julius in San Pietro in Vincoli was finished.

The above is a shortened account of the never-ending phases of the tomb of Julius II. We will now sum up the vicissitudes of the other works of Michelangelo.

On June the 15th, 1514, he had undertaken in Rome to finish in four years a statue of a *Triumphant Christ* for Metello Vari and for Bernardo Cenci, a Canon of St. Peter's. The figure was intended for the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. In 1519 we find Metello Vari expecting the statue, " for Messer Leonardo Sillary has given me the news that you consider it to be ready." In March, 1520, Frederico Frizzi was working at the *Tabernacle* for Michelangelo who was living in Florence. In 1521 the statue of the *Triumphant Christ* arrived in Rome and was received by Pietro Urbano. Sebastian del Piombo accused Urbano, first of having spoiled the statue, and next of having slandered Michelangelo: "Pietro shows a very ugly and malignant spirit after finding himself cut off from you. He does not seem to care for you or for any one alive, but thinks he is a great master. He will soon find out his mistake, for the poor young man will never be able to make statues. He has forgotten all he knew of art, and the knees of your Christ are worth more than all Rome together." Federigo Frizzi then determined to finish the statue himself " in the best way possible and with all the diligence that I know." On the following day he wrote a letter with further criticisms of the work of Pietro Urbano. On December the 27th, the *Triumphant Christ* was uncovered in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. But on January the 12th

of the next year, we find Leonardo Sellaio still repeating Sebastiano's judgment: " The figure, as I told you, is uncovered, and has turned out very well; nevertheless I have said, and caused to be said in any quarters I thought suitable, that it was not done by your hand. What is really true is that you have retouched it in some places where Pietro had crippled it. "

In 1516 Michelangelo was invited, together with Baccio d'Agnolo, to submit a drawing for the façade of San Lorenzo, in Florence. His first instructions came from Domenico Buoninsegni, Papal Treasurer: the Pope required him to do the principal statues himself; the others were to be done by masters of his choice. At the end of the same year a model was made by Baccio, on a drawing by Michelangelo and with his instructions. In the following spring he made a " little model " with his own hands, describing the model made by Baccio as " a mere child's plaything." (1) And in another letter of the same year, he says: " I feel it in me to make this façade of San Lorenzo such that it shall be the mirror of architecture and sculpture for all Italy; but the Pope and the Cardinals must decide at once whether they want to have it done or not. If they desire it, then they must come to some definite arrangement, either entrusting the whole to me on contract, and leaving me a free hand, or adopting some other plan that may occur to them. (2) In December 1517, he made another model, this time in clay, for the façade, and had it carried out by a Florentine artist, and decorated with some " little figures in wax." This model he sent to Rome for the inspection of Pope Leo X and the Cardinal Medici, and it was approved by them both; and in January, 1518, he undertook in Rome (in a new contract, in which his first idea was enlarged) the work of building and decorating the façade of San Lorenzo. For many months he toiled under great difficulties in the marble quarries of Serravezza; all his energies were used up in this work of searching for marbles, and his health suffered from the strain. On September the 7th, 1519, we

(1) To Buoninsegni, March the 20th.

(2) To Buoninsegni, 1517.

find him back again in Florence visiting Pietro Urbano who had fallen ill while transacting business in connection with the façade. But all the toil and grief of the sculptor over the façade of the Medici Church was wasted: on March the 12th, 1520, Leo X dissolved the contract. Michelangelo's bitterness breaks out in a letter to Sebastiano del Piombo: "In this matter the Cardinal has told me to show the money I have received and the expenses incurred, and wants to settle it with me ... And so I have shown him that I have had two thousand and three hundred ducats... and have spent one thousand and eight hundred... I have not put the model of wood in the account... nor the three years' time lost to me; and I have not put the said work of San Lorenzo in the account;... nor have I put the great infamy of bringing me here to do the said work and then taking it away from me... So by not putting the above-mentioned things in the account, there remain to me only five hundred ducats. Now we are agreed. (1)

The work of the façade of San Lorenzo having been stopped, at the end of March 1521 was started the building of a new Sacristy to house the tombs for Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, brother and nephew of Pope Leo X: "and it was said that Messer Julio (Archbishop of Florence and also Cardinal) had it done too for himself." Michelangelo had already, in November of the previous year, sent a sketch for these tombs to Cardinal Giuliano de' Medici. In March, 1523, the carving of the statues of the Medici tombs was commenced, under the direction of Maestro Andrea Ferrucci da Fiesole; and on January the 12th of the following year Michelangelo began the models for the tombs, and shortly afterwards set going the work of the lantern in the little dome of the new Sacristy. On March the 5th he was informed by Fattucci that his new designs for the Tabernacle and the door, and his sketch for the vault had pleased the Pope. (2) Meanwhile it occurred to the latter to build

(1) The decorations of the façade will be described when discussing the work of Michelangelo.

(2) Letter from Fattucci to Michelangelo, March the 24th, 1524.

two other tombs in San Lorenzo : one for Pope Leo X and one for himself. Michelangelo explained his own plans for apportioning these tombs, and Fattucci replied that the Pope approved of them, except that the place where he intended to put them – "those *lavamani* where the staircase is" – seemed too small a space for two Popes. In October, 1525, four of the statues were already begun, but not the other four depicting *Rivers*, which had been delayed through scarcity of marble. In March, 1526, were completed the models for the eight figures that were to be finished in September. (1) At the beginning of June we find Fattucci writing to Michelangelo that he had pointed out to the Pope that the two *lavamani* were too small for his tomb and that of Leo X, and had suggested that San Giovannino should be pulled down as far as the little alley, and a round temple built to hold the tombs. On June the 17th, (2) Michelangelo was preparing to do the masonry of the second tomb, facing the one already walled, and intended, in another fifteen days, to begin the statue of " the other Captain ; " after which the only work left to be done would have been the four *Rivers*. He intended to do with his own hand " the four figures on big coffers " (*Dawn*, *Twilight*, *Day* and *Night*), the four *Rivers*, (3) the statues of the Dukes Lorenzo and Giuliano, and the statue of the *Madonna*. Of these statues six were already begun.

From 1526 to 1530 there is a gap in the data concerning the tombs. Michelangelo had fled from Florence ; in 1530 he obtained a safe-conduct for his return, and resumed the work at San Lorenzo. In September 1531 the two " female figures " (*Dawn* and *Night*) were finished ; and " the two males " (*Day* and *Twilight*) were advanced. But Michelangelo's health was suffering from his ceaseless work. " He is very exhausted and wasted in flesh ; ... he works very much but eats little and badly, and sleeps less ; and for a month past has been sadly tormented by head-

(1) Letter from Leonardo Sellajo to Michelangelo, March the 24th, 1526.

(2) Letter from Michelangelo to Fattucci, June the 17th, 1536.

(3) One of these *Rivers* is in the Academy, Florence.

aches and giddiness." On November the 21st of that year Clement VII ordered him, under pain of excommunication, to work solely at the Medici tombs. That he asked for the help of Montorsoli in doing the statue of Giuliano we know from a letter of Sebastiano del Piombo : " It seems to me that a great fuss is being made because you have put the Friar to work on the figure of Duke Giuliano." On August the third, 1559, the bodies of Giuliano and of Lorenzo de' Medici were transferred from the Old to the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo.

A third piece of work was entrusted by the Medici to Michelangelo during his sojourn in Florence: the Library adjoining the church of San Lorenzo. He had already given his attention to this matter in 1523. (1) On January the 2nd, 1524, Fattucci begged him to make another design, with the measurements of " both the libraries; that is to say, both the Latin one and the Greek one." On August the 9th Michelangelo accepted the papal commission for this work. The notes and payments for the decoration of the Library are dated March, 1525. On April the 3rd of the following year Fattucci writes to him about the " floor and the benches," and on April the 18th receives from the sculptor a " drawing for the door of the Library and some words of an inscription, " that are approved by the Pope. From a letter of Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo, written during the August of 1533, we find the Pope suggesting that a superintendent should be appointed for the " stonework " in the Library, Mantorsoli having already started on the " double tomb in the Sacristy." On August the 20th of the same year Michelangelo entrusted the " doors " and the " straircase " of the Library, (to be done in stone of Fossato) to some Masters of stone-cutting. On August the 23rd, Sebastiano del Piombo writes to him : " His Holiness... desires that you delegate to others the work of the benches and floors and figures and staircase, and whatever you judge can be done without

(1) See the letter of December 1523, from Fattucci to Michelangelo, in which he mentions a design shown by him to Jacopo Salviati, that the latter might speak of it to the Pope. Moreover 150 *scudi* were paid to Michelangelo in that year for " maintenance for 23 months " for the building of the Library.

your presence during this winter; so long as the work is continued and not abandoned, and all is done that they are able to do without you».

But the work, interrupted by the sculptor's return to Rome, was never resumed, in spite of invitations and entreaties from Duke Cosimo I. On September the 28th, 1555, we find the Duke begging him to return to Florence to put the finishing touches to the Sacristy and the staircase of the Library. Michelangelo writes jestingly of the invitation in a letter to Vasari: "A certain staircase does certainly come back into my memory, like a dream." Again on June the 6th Cosimo attempts to bring him back to Florence; he writes to the Cardinal of Corfù that if Michelangelo would only return to his native town he would embrace him and would load him with business and benefits. But the sculptor had grown old, and tired, and was overburdened by toil and cares. He was unable to come to Florence; but he directed the work from a distance. On September the 28th he writes to Giorgio Vasari explaining to him how to conduct the building of the staircase; on January the 14th, 1559, he sent a box containing a "little clay model" of it to Bartolomeo Ammannati, who did not keep to it strictly, however, and built it in stone, and not in fine walnut as Michelangelo wished.

We will now mention the most important of the remaining works carried out by Michelangelo, or merely proposed to him. In 1518 he sent to Rome a drawing for a *Tabernacle*, to hold the relic of the head of St. John the Baptist in the church of San Silvestro in Capite; in July 1522 he was asked by Ascanio de Navi to give his opinions for the façade of San Petronio in Bologna; in 1523 he was invited by the Senate of Genoa to do a statue of Andrea Doria: on June the 16th of the same year he sent to the Marquis of Mantua through Baldassar Castiglione a drawing for a house with garden, which the Marquis intended to build on his lovely grounds at Marmirolo. On February the 8th Cardinal Santiquattro tried, through Fattucci, to get a drawing from the sculptor for his own palace; on October the 3rd of the same year he was asked for a design for the tomb of Bartolomeo Barbazza in San Petronio of Bologna, which was car-

ried out by Solosmeo and Tribolo. On August the 22nd, 1528, the Signoria of Florence decided to grant him a block of marble in the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, and Michelangelo planned to carve it into a group of Samson with one or more Philistines. But on the return of the Medici to Florence the block was given instead to Bandinelli, for his *Hercules and Cacus*. In 1529 aud 1530 he painted a *Leda*, in *tempera*, for Duke Alfonso I of Este. This picture and a copy of it on wood were taken to France by Antonio di Berdardo Mini, together with many drawings and models given him by his master. He writes to him from Lyons on March the 9th, 1532: " Know that I shall have to do three Ledas from this cartoon." In 1531 Michelangelo gave the work of colouring his cartoon *Noli Me Tangere* to Pontormio. It had been prepared for Alfonso Davalos, Marquis Del Vasto, at the request of the Archbishop of Capua, and was claimed by Antonio Mini on November the 26th of the same year; he said that Michelangelo had presented it to him as a gift. On May the 25th, 1532, Sebastiano del Piombo asked the sculptor to draw him a *Nativity*, and on July the 15th thanked him for the study for a *Christ*, similar to that in San Pietro in Montorio. In the following year Tommaso Cavaliere obtained from him the study of a group taken from the story of *Phaeton*. In thanking the sculptor he tells him that Cardinal Medici has entrusted M. Giovanni Bernardi with the carrying out of his *Tityus* in crystal. And there was also a drawing for a *Ganymede*, that was carried out in painting by Clovio, for Duke Cosimo.

In 1535 Vasari sent two works by Michelangelo to Pietro as a gift: a " head in wax," and also a "drawing of a St. Catherine," which perhaps is the study for the *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* in the National Gallery of Rome (1) which Bugiardini made use of in his picture on the same subject for the Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence. As regards so-called " minor arts " our only proof of an attempt at them by Michelangelo is a mention by Staccoli in a letter to the Duke of Urbino

(1) Palazzo Corsini.

of a "model in the round, of a salt-cellar" standing on animals' feet and wreathed with festoons with masks, the lid ornamented with a figure amongst foliage. About the end of 1539 Michelangelo made a present of a bust of *Brutus* to Giannotti, who was then in Rome in the suite of Cardinal Ridolfi. In January, 1544, he designed a " proper sepulchre of marble " (1) for Cecchino Bracci, who had died in Rome on January the 8th at the age of sixteen, and was buried in the Church of Aracœli. Michelangelo poured out his grief for this boy in madrigals and in a series of epigrams telling of his beauty and his sweetness of character. In 1545 he painted a *Crucifix* for Vittoria Colonna ; and in the following year took part in the competition arranged by Pope Paul III for a drawing for the cornice of the Farnese Palace, which had been almost finished by Antonio Sangallo. Michelangelo's drawing was chosen, and a full-sized model in wood of a corner was fitted to the building to try its effect. On the death of Sangallo on October the 3rd, Michelangelo succeeded him in the work of the Farnese Palace and the fortifications of the Borgo, and by a Papal brief of January the Ist, 1547, he was appointed *commissarius prefectus operarius* for St. Peter's ; in a letter to his nephew Leonardo he asks to be told the height of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore. The wooden model of the cupola of St. Peter's was finished in 1560.

This last period of Michelangelo's life was dedicated above all to architecture : at the end of 1547 he began the rampart of the Belvedere, finished in 1548; and in 1559 the Florentine colony in Rome chose one of his five drawings ordered by Duke Cosimo I for the Church of San Giovanni de' Fiorentini; in the years 1560-61 he did drawings for Santa Maria degli Angeli and for the bronze *Ciborium* of the same church ; a work that was carried out by Jacopo del Duca. In May 1561 the *Porta Pia* in Rome was being built on his design ; and in May, 1562, Jacopo del Duca sculptured its marble ornamentation.

In regard to the *Last Judgment* and the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel we have copious allusions and data – as we have

(1) The design was carried out by Urbino in 1545.

for nearly all the works of Michelangelo. The sculptor had barely returned from Rome to Florence when Clement VII thought of entrusting him with the painting of the wall of the altar in the Sistine Chapel. In 1534 the *Last Judgment* was begun ; and on Christmas Day, 1541, after eight years of work, it was uncovered to the public. It had been on view to the Papal Court since October the 31st.

Hardly were these frescoes finished than Paul III thought of giving him the work of the pictorial decoration of the " new chapel of the Palace ; " and on July the 12th, 1545, the Pope "*ivit ad videndum cappellam seu picturas factas per dominum Michaelem Angelum.*" In 1549-50 the frescoes of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and the *Conversion of St. Paul* on the walls of the Pauline Chapel were finished. Michelangelo's last work was the Rondanini *Pietà* at which he was still engaged when he died in 1564. (1)

We will add only a very few facts to this short life of the Master, referring those readers who would like a more complete narrative to our *Life of Michelangelo*, in *Volume IX* of our *History of Italian Art.*

In September 1521 Michelangelo was elected Prior of Florence. In 1527 he was made " Writer in Extraordinary to the Five of the Contada ; " but feeling that he was not able to attend to the work, he asked his brother Buonarroti to undertake it instead of him ; on July the 2nd, 1528, this brother died in his arms, of plague. In that same year the Gonfaloniere Niccolò Capponi invited him to come to San Miniato, where he would find « his companions » - evidently for a Council in connection with the fortifications. On January the 16th of the following year he was elected "Magistrate of the Nine of the Florentine Militia" and engaged Benedetto Bonsi as paymaster ; on April the 6th he was made "Governor-General of the Fortifications" by the Signoria of Florence. Having attended to the fortress of San Miniato, at the end of April or the beginning of May, he repaired that of Pisa, and the palisade of Leghorn, and took some pre-

(1) The *Pietà* of Florence belongs to the year 1550.

cautions in connection with the Arno. In June he returned to Pisa for the same purpose, and in July, and again in August, went to Ferrara to study the fortifications, artillery and ammunition of the Duke. Having given his energies freely to the works of defence, in 1529 he took panic at a warning of treason whispered by a stranger, and on September the 21st fled from Florence to Venice, with the intention of moving from there to France. On his arrival at Venice he wrote to Battista della Palla, a friend from Lucca:

"I left home without speaking to any of my friends, and in great confusion. You know that I wanted in any case to go to France, and often asked for leave and did not get it. Nevertheless I was quite resolved, and without any sort of fear, to see the end of the war out first. But on Tuesday morning, September the 21st, a certain person came out by the gate at San Niccolò, where I was attending to the bastions, and whispered in my ear that if I meant to save my life I must not stay in Florence. He accompanied me home, dined there, brought me horses and never left my side till he got me outside the city, declaring that this was my salvation. Whether that man was God or the devil I do not know."

In a letter of Jannuary 1549, Busini wrote to Varchi, telling how he had heard an account of his flight from Michelangelo's lips: "He spoke as follows: I was one of the Nine when the Florentine troops mustered within our lines under Malatesta Baglioni and Mario Orsini and other generals; whereupon the Ten distributed the men along the walls and bastions, assigning to each captain his own post, with victuals and provisions; and among the rest they gave eight pieces of artillery to Malatesta for the defence of part of the bastions of San Miniato. He did not, however, mount these guns within the bastions, but below them, and set no guard. And I, as architect and magistrate, having to inspect the lines at San Miniato, asked Mario Orsini how it was that Malatesta treated his artillery so carelessly. The latter answered: 'You must know that the men of his house are all traitors, and in time he too will betray this town.' These words inspired me with such terror

that I was obliged to flee, impelled by dread lest the city should come to misfortune, and I together with it'." Michelangelo was accompanied in his flight by Rinaldo Corsini, who together with himself was put on the list of rebels compiled on September the 30th. On October the 20th he was given a safe-conduct to re-enter Florence. He returned about November the 20th, having been furnished in Ferrara with a recommendation to the Florentine authorities by the orator Galleotto Giugni; and at the end of the month he repaired the damages to the Campanile of San Miniato which had been bombarded by the Imperial artillery. On the capitulation of the Florentine Republic Michelangelo hid himself in the house of a friend, until, "Pope Clement's fury having abated, he remembered the genius of Michelangelo and ordered that search should be made for him, and adding that when he was found, if he agreed to go on working at the Medici monuments, he should be left at liberty and treated with due courtesy... and he should resume the work of San Lorenzo, putting in as paymaster Messer Giovanbattista Figiovanni, an old dependent of the House of Medici, and Prior of San Lorenzo." (1)

In the summer of 1534 his father Ludovico died at Settignano; and in 1536 began his friendship with Vittoria Colonna: a friendship that continued in spite of her retreat in 1541 to the Convent of Santa Caterina at Viterbo, and later to the Convent of Sant'Anna in Rome, and only ended with her death on February the 15th, 1547. (2) At the end of 1547 Michelangelo fell so seriously ill that the news of his death reached Florence; but he was nursed back to life by his friend Del Riccio in the house of the Strozzi family. In 1548 he lost the elder of his surviving brothers, Giovan Simone. He writes to his nephew Leonardo: « His loss has brought me very great sorrow, for though I am old, I had yet hoped to see him before he died, and before I died. God has willed it so. Patience! I would be glad to hear, circumstantially, what kind of an end he made: whether he died confessed and communicated, with all the sacraments of the Church. If he did

(1) Vasari.

(2) "Death robbed me of a great friend." Letter from Michelangelo to Fattucci.

so, and I am informed of it, I shall suffer less." In 1550, in a little book of Benedetto Varchi which " gives to the light a sonnet by Michelangelo " and discusses the most noble among works of art, whether sculpture or painting, Michelangelo declares his preference for sculpture, which sways him even when he is painting. "I think that painting is best when it most inclines towards relief; and relief is least good when it inclines towards painting... I understand sculpture to be what one does by lifting: what one does by flattening is similar to painting... " On May the 16th, 1553, his nephew Leonardo married Cassandra Ridolfi, to whom Michelangelo, pleased with the marriage, gave a dowry of 1,500 *scudi* ; and in 1554 a child was born to them and was given the name of "Buonarroti," by his wish. In 1553 was published Ascanio Condivi's " Life " of the Master, that later was to prove such a rich mine of information to Vasari. The year 1555 closed with two bereavements : the death of his only surviring brother Gismondo; and that of his faithful servant, Francesco d'Amadore da Castel Duranto, called Urbino, of whom he writes to Vasari on February the 23rd, 1556 : " Urbino kept me alive in his life ; his death has taught me to die without displeasure, but rather with a deep and real desire. I had him with me twenty-six years, and found him above measure faithful and sincere." For some time past the thought of death had been constantly in Michelangelo's mind. Vasari tells how he was sent to the sculptor one night by Pope Julius III for a drawing : " The Master was then working at the Pietà in marble which he afterwards broke. Knowing by the knock who it was who stood at the door, he descended with a lamp in his hand ; and having ascertained what Vasari wanted, he sent Urbino for the drawing, and fell into conversation upon other matters. Vasari meanwhile turned his eyes on a leg of the Christ on which Michelangelo was working and endeavouring to alter it ; but to prevent Vasari from seeing this, he suffered the lamp to fall from his hand, and they remained in darkness. He then called to Urbino to bring a light, and stepping beyond the enclosure in which the work was, he remarked : " I am so old that death often pulls me by the cape, and bids me go with him ; some day I shall fall myself,

like this lamp, and the light of life will be extinguished. " After the losses of his brother and Urbino the thought of death pursued him more and more: on January the 11th, 1556, he writes to his nephew Leonardo to come to him: " Come, because I am old, and should be glad to speak with thee before I die." In that same year, when the Spanish army was nearing Rome, he started out, intending to go to Loreto; but on October the 31st, while he was halting at Spoleto, he was called back to Rome. He writes to his nephew: " A man has been expressly sent to me (by the Pope) to say that I must return to Rome . . . where one lives moderately well, as it pleases God, compared with the misfortunes that we suffer here." On August the 29th, 1561 we find Calcagni writing to Leonardo that a few days earlier Michelangelo, "got up and stood barefoot some three hours, drawing; and all that cold caused him pains in the body and afterwards such a severe fainting fit that he fell down and made strange movements with his face and body; so that the report has gone out that he is dying." The Master's health grew ever worse and worse. On December the 28th he informs Leonardo that he could not answer his letter because his hand would not obey him: he will make others write for him, and will content himself with signing. But his weakness only quickened his fever for work; the unbending will that he carved on the great features of his creations sustained the weak hand and the tired heart of the aged man, who in the last days of his life was still working at the *Pietà* of the Rondanini Palace. His faithful friend Calcagni, in a letter to Leonardo of February 1564, has described his last days tormented by his illness that only increased the disquiet of his spirit: " Walking through Rome to-day I heard from many persons that Messer Michelangelo was ill. Accordingly I went at once to visit him, and although it was raining I found him out of doors and on foot. When I saw him I said that I did not think it right and seemly for him to be going about in such weather. 'What would you have?' he answered; 'I am ill and cannot find rest anywhere.' The uncertainty of his speech, together with the look and colour of his face, made me feel extremely uneasy about his life. The end may not be just now, but I fear

greatly that it cannot be far off." A continual sleepiness weighed him down in his last days, but his valiant spirit fought against it. Diomede Leoni writing to Leonardo says : " in trying to drive this somnolence away he attempted to go riding to-day between ten end eleven o' clock, according to his custom of riding every evening when it is fine ; but the cold of the season and the weakness of his head and legs prevented him ; so he returned to his fire and sat himself in a chair, which he likes much better than being in bed." (1) Three days later, towards five in the afternoon, he was dead. His nephew was obliged to steal his body away from Rome. It arrived in Florence on November the 11th, and was buried in the church of Santa Croce.

(1) Dated February the 15th.

HIS WORK

In their accounts of Michelangelo's youth and his early attempts at art in the Medici Gardens of San Marco, both Condivi and Giorgio Vasari speak of a sculptured head of a Faun, imitated from a classical model. They describe it as the head of " a very old and wrinkled man, the nose injured, the mouth represented laughing. " We have already told how Lorenzo de' Medici pointed out to the lad that a very aged man was unlikely to have a perfect row of teeth, and how the remark was received by Michelangelo. Vasari says that the boy at once " broke out a tooth, filing the gum in such a way as to make it seem that the tooth had dropped out." A marble head in the National Museum of Florence tallies with Vasari's description of the faun's head. The lips are open and show the tongue and the two rows of teeth, of which " one of those above is missing," and there are two little horns among the rough locks of hair. Michelangelo must have taken an ancient head of a cyclops as model and changed it into the head of a faun by adding the two stumps of horn.

An ancient statue of a cyclops on the Capitol has its hair arranged in the same manner as the *Faun-Cyclops* of Michelangelo in the National Museum of Florence. But the work in the Capitol has the little eye in the middle of the forehead half-shut, like a symbol of sluggishness, between the two ordinary eyes which are open ; in Michelangelo's the arch of the faun's eye is brought as far as the hair and is a living part of the architecture of the head. The mouth is stretched wide in a harsh burst of

laughter, showing the tongue and the rows of teeth and making deep furrows between the strong nose, depressed at its point, and the fleshy cheeks; the convulsive laugh seems to tear the lips; it produces no effect at all of gaiety, but rather of physical suffering, of tortured nerves. The sculptor's hand was already powerful: he carved the lower lip stretched, (as on the mouth of his *David*) and made the facial muscles stand out by means of deep and carved incisions, like the marks of finger nails. This massive head, 'counterfeited from the antique in a piece of marble,' with its deep hollows like furrows of the earth, with its tendons swelled and stretched like cords – clay moulded by the hand of a ferocious divinity – already foreshadows the future work of this marvellous boy.

The *Madonna of the Staircase*, in the Buonarroti Museum, though carved in low-relief, (an unusual form with Michelangelo) shows hardly a trace of the sculptor's training in the school of Donatello. The graduating and flattening in this work is done on architectural plans, the arms and the knees of the Virgin corresponding with the vertical walls of the pedestal and with the high steps and pilaster of the staircase. Michelangelo brought to his art a spirit of synthesis which was foreign to Donatello and his pupils, who were inclined to multiply the degrees of the relief and cut the forms facet-wise to draw light from the corners. And in order to preserve the unity of plan the Madonna's mantle is made to cling to the stone base, outlining its edges, and to shape itself on the rigid form of her arm; her crossed legs are flattened by the architectural perspective. The Virgin is sitting austerely, but with majesty, on the bare seat, her head reaching to the frame. The outline of her face is cut hard and deep and has the precision of a cameo against the ornamental hem of her gown and the disk of her aureole. The fierce power of will carved on every feature of the faces of Michelangelo is stamped on this sibyl's face with the severe eyes that seem to challenge destiny. From the balustrade of the staircase with very high steps and an almost vertical bannister – a staircase of giants trodden by the feet of herculean children – an angel, with an athlete's vigour, is throwing into the

hands of an invisible companion the cloth to be stretched behind the Madonna. Two children at the top of the staircase are clasping each other, and seem to be wrestling, like their brothers in the Sistine Chapel. But the sculptor's energy breaks out, above all, in the attitude of the Infant Jesus who is struggling in the small space like a young lion caught in the meshes of a net. In the shape of his back, bent in his efforts to escape from the ruling verticality of the work, and in his heavy pugilist hand, we find that force which later was to give life to the unfinished statues of the *Slaves* in the Academy of Florence.

The low-relief of the *Madonna of the Staircase* does not show Michelangelo's heroic tendencies in form and massing; we get these in the next relief of the *Lapiths and Centaurs* in which the bodies rise from the base almost like perfect statues. The base is rough – a rough-grained rock, riddled by time, its unevenness setting off, by contrast, the roundness of the bodies. The sculptor had been in Siena, or in Pisa. He had seen the reliefs of Giovanni Pisani : the twisted bodies of the damned, the angels and demons. With these models in his memory he drew the iron chain of bodies that enclose the protagonist of the scene, and the figure of the vanquished man who is crouching in a corner pressing his bent head into his hands, so as not to hear the noise of the fight nor see the face of defeat. The young sculptor found a spiritual affinity with the impulsive movement of Giovanni Pisani's works, (those forms that break loose from the tyranny of Roman architecture, issuing forth from the backgrounds as though driven by a storm) ; they inspired his first masterpiece : the two geniuses met and understood each other across the centuries. And there are echoes too of Bartoldo, specially of his *Battle* (1), in Michelangelo's stretched, rigid figures overturned by the fury of war, specially in the central figure of the horseman who is twisting himself in the saddle, bending an arm to thrust at the enemy. But everything is transformed in passing through the hands of Michelangelo, the young god. The horseman, with bent arm, rises from the figures surround-

(1) In the National Museum of Florence.

ing him, like a flame leaping from the open mouth of a crater, and seems in his vault for freedom to be the Genius of Victory. A man is taking a step backwards in his effort to fling a stone at the enemy, and seems to be holding in check with his strong limbs the stream of fugitives; a youth is seizing a foe by the neck almost as though to launch him into space, and is dragging with him all the linked chain of nudes; in a corner two wrestlers are wreaking their fury on a fallen man; ferocious-looking heads are introduced; fists are hammering down in unison with implacable force on the prostrate head of a foe.

In the reliefs of Giovanni Pisani the action moves with lightning speed from link to link of a continuous chain; in those of Michelangelo one single rigid figure is enough to stem the rush of the falling bodies, to show a contrast of forces, the shock of crowds. In Bertoldo's *Battle* the central figure, his body strained in his effort to raise his shield, is lost among the crowd: but Michelangelo's figure dominates it heroically. The fiery features, the massive heads of the *Lapiths and Centaurs* re-appear in a statue carved by Michelangelo at twenty years of age: the Angel that holds a candelabrum in front of the Ark (a masterpiece of Niccolò dell'Arca) in the church of San Domenico. This statue is small in size, but seems to take on immense proportions from its superhuman vigour and strong limbs. The angel candelabrum-holder of Niccolò dell'Arca in his long tunic that falls in straight and rigid folds has the fragile grace of a boy; the strong, thick-set, virile angel of Michelangelo has a square head, short neck, and rounded flesh on his powerful muscles. The former is like a virgin youth holding the stem of a flower before the altar; the latter is a young descendant from the ancient Etruscans, with wings not strong enough to raise him in flight, and is holding a piece of balustrade in his powerful hands; Niccolò depicts a pure youth folding his wings in front of the coffer of the blessed Domenico; Michelangelo shows us a knight ready to put on his armour and throw himself into the heat of battle: the former sings hymns in a gentle voice; the latter is ready to raise his shout of war. We find the same contrast between the saints of Niccolò, long and rigid in their straight,

long tunics, and those of Michelangelo, whose draperies turn and twist like gnarled roots amongst rocks. Niccolò's little statues have straight lines, Michelangelo's figures have broken lines, suggesting active force. St. Proculus, strong and threatening, a young plebeian with hard features, is a presage of the type of the *David ;* his fist is clenched like a fighter's.

The regular, firm profile of the angel of the candelabrum-holder re-appears in the *Cupid* of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, whose face is surrounded by a rich fall of curls, crowning the severe head with beauty. This statue is not among the best examples of Michelangelo's early sculpture; the body seems to swell in its curved attitude. And yet this herculean *Cupid* is undoubtedly a great work. In the shadow thrown by the high-relief of the hair, the large, deep eyes seem to light up, like those of the angel of Bologna; in both these statues the nose is short, and the short lips are held apart by powerful breathing. Like the angel who is not an angel but a warrior, this *Cupid* has not the grace of a child or boy, but is manly and severe. His curved attitude, studied and soft in its feminine elegance, is a contrast to that virile look, and it injures the effect of the work. Only the knee bent on the rock to hold up the weight of the body about to rise from the ground shows the energy that belongs to Michelangelo's creations.

The striving for gracefulness which for the moment turned the sculptor's thoughts from the path he had opened towards superhuman vigour in the *Lapiths and Centaurs* and in the *Madonna of the Staircase* is still more marked in the *Drunken Bacchus* of the National Museum of Florence. This *Bacchus* is a young boy with a feminine rounded body and tender silk-like skin. His hand is delicate, and the features in his chubby face are small and pointed. The right leg is wavering, and the body is bending backwards, searching for support. The boy is staring with desirous and troubled eyes at the goblet filled with wine. In contrast with the wavering attitude of the rest of the body, the left leg is steady and firmly planted on the ground and the right arm holds up the goblet with vigour. The energy innate in every creation of Michelangelo is very evident in this

unsteady image. This Bacchus is among the least representative of the genius of Michelangelo who from his early youth was strongly masterful in his art. His dark, misanthropic spirit had yielded for a moment to a passing ray of gaiety and grace. Round the pedestal of a fallen tree, like a twist of ivy, is a little faun sinking his mischievous face into a bunch of grapes. The vivacity of his shape and his rapid twist of body recall the smile of the enchanting little urchins of the Florence streets.

We attribute the medallion of the *Holy Family* in the Academy of Vienna to Michelangelo at this period of his art. It had had already been suggested that this picture was by his hand; but the idea had been received, first with irony, and then with silence. It is a harsh work; its forms are angular, each attitude expressive of force and tension; and at first it was hard to recognize the heroic forms of Michelangelo in these lean figures with angular limbs, in these thin-shouldered children with loose-jointed, agile legs and arms, with oblong faces. Yet this dry and vigorous form is not so rare in the art of the great sculptor as it looks at first glance to our eyes accustomed to the massing in his sculpture-paintings, the figures rising vigorously from the base in fulness of relief. But to fix its origin we have only to recall some works belonging to the period of the giant statue-like paintings of the Sistine Chapel: for instance the Magdalen of the *Deposition* in London; lean and active, all angles, with fibres of steel. If we compare the Virgin in the *Holy Family* at Vienna with the bony profile of this Magdalen, we shall notice the same convexity of forehead, the same sharp features and the same long, thin neck and pointed shoulders. And in other works which show the Master's hand in their every detail we meet with this same dry, nervously-strung form; we even meet with the rigid and plastic breast of the Virgin and her angular strength; and we meet with the attitude of the tiny, slender child who is clasping its mother's arm with the same contortions as the muscular children of the Sistine Chapel. The Child's eyes, closed in sleep, are swollen under the eyelids, and the nostrils are widened by his strong breathing. The hand of that young babe has the same structure as the hands of the boys who hold the ribbons of the

medallions on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. This immature, shining, nude figure of the Child Jesus, lightened by rays of sun against its green background, is amongst the marvels of Michelangelo's art; the play of the muscles on the crossed legs should be enough by itself to prove its creator to be Buonarroti. This slender child keeps watch in his sleep like the *Night* of the Medici tombs, and his reddish curls seem to send out tongues of flame on the bronze on his convex forehead.

The little St. John, the sacrificial priest, is sitting at the base of the throne and is holding aloft the lustral chalice as though it were the sacrificial dish of the Romans. He is not the playmate of the Child Jesus (as Leonardo and Raphael were fond of painting him) but is the priest at the foot of the altar. The three silent figures have one chord in common–the profundity of their meditation. The little nude figure of St. John, of cast copper, is as slender as the little faun in the National Museum of Florence. His ramskin covering has slipped, and is hanging, heavy as the human skin from the hands of the Martyr Bartholomew in the *Last Judgment;* his ruddy curls are twisted on his head and give out lights of steel. Mysterious in the rapt steadiness of his gaze, he is withdrawn into himself in his contemplation of the chalice with the lustral water. The whole action of the nimble figure is in his effort to balance the movement of his arm that holds aloft the symbolic chalice. The chalice is the centre of the composition, the objective of the gaze of Mary and the little St. John.

Two massive pilasters, placed angularly, frame the scene that opens on a view of the country, the only landscape by Michelangelo that is not composed of shapeless masses and sandy dunes. We get a swift impression of fields, of barren hills, of waters, all of them indefinite in outline. The leaves of the trees are like scars, like stains of shadow on the clear marble of the sky. This wonderfully precious background, the last development of the impressionist type of landscapes of Sandro Botticelli, might have injured the relief of the statue-like forms. But Michelangelo hides it behind the group; he hangs a green cloth at the back of the throne. This cloth provides the flat ground-

work, plain and smooth, that is needed for the high-relief to stand out in its full value. It is the same principle that guided the sculptor to square the seats of the Sibyls and the Prophets and to avoid architectural curves in the Medici Chapel when he made his niches for the tombs. Leonardo and Raphael followed the opposite principle–that of extension; they aimed at wrapping their images in atmosphere, and gave them concave backgrounds, such as grottoes and curved niches. Further reasons for including the medallion of Vienna in our series of Michelangelo's paintings, are the pedestal of the reading-desk with its massive festoons stretched by the weight of their framework; and the monsters curled in the leaves of its base; and the rings of the spiral balustrade with the deep furrows belonging to marble, undoubtedly the work of Michelangelo. To find a counterpart to the grave rhythm of the festoons in this picture we must go to the decorations of the Medici Chapel. Moreover, the colours – the cold blue, the red changing to white under the influence of the light – are all typical of Michelangelo; and, above all, there is a very noticeable decoration of the Madonna's mantle, a pattern of rapid and thick crossings, like fishbones, suddenly accentuated and broken. This resolute and strong characteristic of the sculptor is very familiar to us through his pen-and-ink studies. Every feature of this neglected picture has the true imprint of the leonine hand of Michelangelo.

In the limbs of the dead Christ of the *Pietà* of St. Peter's, we meet once more with the silky and delicate surface of the statue of the *Bacchus*. The *Pietà* was sculptured by Michelangelo just at the opening of the new century. The throat of the Madonna, as ample as that of the Virgin of the *Holy Family* of the Uffizi, seems to be rendered more ample still by the twisting folds of her hood, and by its contrast with the small oval head, not round and massive as in the Uffizi picture. The Christ's dropped head weighs heavily on the arm of his Mother; his limbs, worked at the turner's lathe, shine with manly beauty. Michelangelo, at the end of his life, when he carved the group of the Rondanini Palace, imbued the marble with the spirit of violent despair, the striving of the living to snatch death's prey

from the earth. But in the St. Peter's *Pietà* the movements are calm; the Virgin barely moves her right hand in a grieved gesture of wonder, and the Christ lies on the maternal lap in a deep calm of line. The angular joint of one shoulder raised by his Mother is less vital of structure than is usual with the Master. The hand that modelled the impenetrable face of the *Madonna of the Staircase*, here has forced itself to be caressing, to thin down, to diminish, the outlines of the head of Mary ; her mouth is shown pinched with sorrow. The modelling of her face is very delicate, as is the modelling of the nude body of Christ; and very delicate too are her speaking features, and her flexible eyelids drooped over her eyes to hide their silent agony. In the late *Pietà* of the Duomo of Florence the herculean images are rent by despair; the broken lines seem like furrows made by lightning. But in the *Pietà* of Rome the pain creates a ring of silence around it; the group is a group of stone on a granite base.

The *David* of the Academy of Florence, like the Madonna of the St. Peter's *Pietà*, is rigid: he has stepped backwards the better to take his aim. Donatello and Verocchio show the biblical hero, so beloved of the Florentine *Quattrocento*, as a slender, elegant boy, quick of movement, childishly bold; Michelangelo shows him as a young Hercules, robust of limb, the veins of his hands distended, his brow furrowed by lines like sudden storms. Verrochio shows him as a lad joyous from his triumph, Michelangelo as a man who governs the space around him with his look of challenge, and takes its measure so as to launch his death-dealing stroke. His entire pose is based on the retreating direction of his left leg propped on the border of the pedestal ; the body, planted firmly on the right leg, and the rigid and swollen tendons of the neck, and the hand bent at the wrist – all are ready for the relaxing that in a moment will follow the letting loose of the stone into space. The eye is steady, the hand sure, the limbs are stretched by an act of will, like a stretched bow. The *David* is athletic, but with an athleticism far removed from the superhuman muscular energy of the *Slaves* for the tomb of Pope Julius. The muscles are clearly defined, are marked by the regularity of the art of the fifteenth century. In the works of Mi-

chelangelo's maturity the muscles are fluid ; they ripple in waves under the impulse of powerful breathing. The hands and the head of the *David* are the clearest prophecy of these future works ; the veins of the hands seem almost to be bursting from the rush of the blood coursing through them, the thumbnail is dug into the thigh with the same energy that is shown in the features of the proud face – a tempest-ridden face under the stormy mane of hair tossed by the conflict of his angry forehead. The lips (bow-shaped as in Botticcelli's pictures) are half open ; the nostrils inhale the air with violence ; the pupils of the feline eyes are dilated ; the sickle-shaped locks seem to grapple the forehead on which the sculptor has carved the furrows of a threatening will.

The images in the early medallion of the Albertina Academy of Vienna were angular, with thin and sharp joints ; in the Uffizi medallion they are built with the amplitude of the David, with statuesque roundness. Michelangelo's idol is form : he never sacrifices form, like Leonardo, to the pictorial principle of atmosphere, putting his figures at a distance, to lighten them, but tends always to set them in relief, to detach them from the background, to show us the epic greatness of bodily structure. Leonardo and Michelangelo, (though by opposite means and opposite effects) are both of them antichromatic : Leonardo destroys colour with his distancing ; in the pulsations of light beneath the outer bark of colouring he seems to be searching for the waverings, the vibrations of life. Michelangelo first limits his figures; then he raises them with half-lights; and finally he uses the medium of colour to give a glaze to his sculpture-like painted figures, so as to bring them into harmony with their many-coloured surroundings ; or, to be more exact, this was his plan of work in his early creations – for example in his coloured medallion of the Holy Family, where the pictorial principle is subordinated to that of form, even in the landscape, which is simple and grave, with naked hills and plains with discoloured waters. With Michelangelo a few detached lines are enough to show a landscape. He writes to Francis of Holland with scornful irony of the Flemish landscape painting : " In

Flanders they paint really to cheat the eyes... without substance and without nerves." He is like a person who contemplates the earth from a height: to his eagle's glance the unevenness of the plain disappears, its variety is blended, its details vanish. Before the majesty of Man everything else becomes lessened and lost; Man stands upon the earth like a tower, casting his gigantic shadow, dominating space, filling it with himself. In the medallion of the *Holy Family* in the Uffizi the background of hills and waters is pushed away, deserted and bleak, from the group of figures. A seat, cut in the rock like a marble ledge, serves to heighten the strong beauty of the nude figures; and it detaches the landscape from the space in which the heroes of the scene are grouped. The semi-circular ledge of the rocks gives the impression of a second circle inside the circle of the medallion: the marble bar of a bench across the picture marks its diameter. The nude neophytes, festoons of human beauty, are put towards the background; while the Madonna, St. Joseph, and the Child are brought to the front. The distancing, which lessens the nude figures, as also the Child St. John, who looks like a tiny Bacchus crowned with garlands, makes the block of the three figures appear immense to our eyes. They are bound together spiral-wise, like a twisted column towering in the space around it. The knees of Mary are turned toward the right; her arms which she has lifted to take the Child, as also the body of St. Joseph, are turned to the left; the sculptured group seems to be turning on a pivot, conquering the weight of its massiveness with an effort. The movement is not rapid and winged, like the movement of Leonardo, but is the energy that comes from muscular effort, from work of the human mechanism.

In March, 1501, Michelangelo was considering the draught of a contract with Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini for the work of "fifteen statues in marble," to be placed in the Cardinal's Chapel, adjoining the Library of the Duomo of Siena. On September the 15th, three years later, four of these statues were finished: the *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, *St. Pius* and *St. Gregory*, and also the *St. Francis* that was begun by Pietro Torrigiano and taken over by Michelangelo. In the four statues for the altar

– a monument overcharged with Lombardic ornamentation – it is hard to recognize the hand of the Master. He seems to have avoided the round forms, and in the garments we find a striving for effect, for shining folds, quite foreign to him. The hands of St. Pius, held on the book, are coarse ; the attitude is tired and sad, and the eyelids swollen. Yet this statue of St. Pius, on account of the modelling of the nose, and the St. Gregory, on account of the imperious profile of the face and the energy of attitude, are the only statues of this group that suggest the hand of Buonarroti. The others have no trace of it : the St. James, also attributed to him, seems the work of a later follower of Ghiberti, perhaps a Sienese ; and the statue of St. Peter, mentioned in the documents, with its bunched, untidy folds, its dress adhering to the waist and seeming to squeeze it, and its twisted attitude, is the work of some Sienese artist, some follower of Antonio Federighi. If Michelangelo, as is possible, commenced the statues of Popes Gregory and Pius, destined for the precious niches of the Bregno family among the trite Lombardic decorations, then they were certainly finished by some other artist.

In 1505 Michelangelo and Leonardo were competing with each other with their cartoons of the *Battle of Cascina* and the *Battle of Anghiari* – the works that Benvenuto Cellini described as the " School of the World."

Leonardo, as we could have imagined from his rapid sketches of frays and horsemen, had pictured a battle like a riot of men and elements, giving the illusion of continuity of movement in a wrought-up atmosphere. Michelangelo, on the contrary, (as we see from some original drawings and the engravings of Raimondi, Veneziano and Schiavonetti) imagined an imposing architecture of rocks and nude figures, and the efforts of human muscles and joints. The engravers Raimondi and Veneziano falsified Michelangelo's work ; they added leafy trees and cottages to gain effects of picturesqueness ; whereas Michelangelo was invariably hostile to details of landscape, in fact to all details that could damage his ideal of plastic form. In the print by Schiavonetti, taken from a copy of the

original cartoon, the forms seem diminished by the neo-classical polish; but, in compensation, we get a great group of marble nudes posed with architectural variety on a platform of rock ; and this group is undoubtedly taken from a composition by the Master's own hand. The two prints give us only portions of it. In the study in the British Museum there is a bare bench of rock that has a likeness to the sloped bank of the river reproduced by Schiavonetti, but is grander and more simple. But a rough sketch in the Uffizi Gallery is more satisfactory than this drawing in the British Museum : it shows us the titanic energy of the sculptor released in a few lines of charcoal in the high-relief modelling of the nude.

Michelangelo, unlike Leonardo, does not show an actual battle ; he shows a sudden call to arms on a battlefield, while the soldiers are bathing in the Arno ; it is a means for revealing the heroic beauty of the nude in movement. The men are leaping from the river up the bank, hastily donning their armour, seizing their weapons, and flinging themselves into the fight ; they are pointing to where the enemy is advancing, they are calling their comrades. The very choice of time shows the sculptor's tendencies : the abrupt transition from the idleness of bathing to the tumult of war, the excited gestures caught and fixed at their very instant of climax. And there are other groups, showing horsemen leaping into the saddle or launching their horses to an unbridled gallop (1). These groups were probably only sketches, not used in the cartoon.

The battle sketch done in pen-and-ink with lightning speed on a sheet of paper, now in the British Museum, next to a more definite and finished study for the female figure of the lunette of Naashon, was not meant for the battle cartoon of the Palazzo della Signoria. We speak of it here because it suggests a further comparison with Leonardo, Michelangelo's rival in the cartoons. These artists, (exponents, both of them, of the Florentine intellectualism in art,) aim equally at depicting movement. But Leonar-

(1) See the two sketches, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and in the Uffizi, Florence.

do sees the continuity of the vibrations of light and line across space, whereas Michelangelo sees the clash of equal forces destined to destroy each other mutually in their sudden collision. The sketches of Leonardo show a dizzy tilting of horses and warriors, like eddies of sand moved by a perpetual whirlwind ; the iron strokes of Michelangelo's sketch enable us to form a mental picture of the overpowering crash of storm let loose by the impact of large masses of men who rush down crooked slopes with deadly impetus. In the British Museum there is a sketch of three nudes for the battle-scene, and on the same sheet there is a study in ink of a *Madonna and Child*, drawn with broken, harsh strokes. This sketch (a first example of that treatment made of dashes and accentuations, that we shall meet again in the sketches for nudes in the Sistine Chapel, and for the *Slaves* for the tomb of Pope Julius) is unquestionably Michelangelo's study for the Madonna, now in the northern city of Bruges, where the fogs of the North envelop the already mysterious figure in further mystery: The seated Virgin is holding the Child who is bending his leonine head towards the faithful. In the sketch, as in the sculpture, the Virgin's mantle makes a niche for the little nude figure. But the sketch has a high marble pedestal superimposed on the circular base, to raise the Child, from the ground; in the sculpture the Child has the more suggestive pose of suspension, of difficult balance. The little leonine figure is on the point of slipping, and he is feeling for a support on his Mother's knee and hand. The imposing effect produced by the Madonna's frontal attitude is heightened by the slipping down of Jesus' body from his Mother's lap towards the ground. The hierarchical impressiveness due to the strictly upright position of the central figure of the composition is enhanced by the energy expressed in the naked Jesus, held safely on the sloping base of rock by the Madonna who folds his hand in hers. Whereas in the sketch she holds him with both her hands, and turns her head to one side, bending her neck with energy, in the statue her neck is straight, her eyes look to the right through half-closed lids without changing her voluntary stillness ; the sketch's divergence from the upright has been rejected, so

that the marble group may express that mysterious sense of pause that we shall meet with again in the figure of *Jesse* on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. The oval of the Madonna's face, oblong like the face of the Virgin of the *Pietà* in Rome, with straight features, is framed by drapery arranged with strict symmetry, culminating in an angle, reminiscent of the Eastern image of the Madonna, the *Turris Davidica*. This proud form has none of the sweetness of Raphael's Madonnas ; the features are animated by virile feelings ; the veiled and thoughtful eyes look down from a height on the crowd ; the delicate head is not bent in listening to prayers. This regal figure is more a Sibyl than a Madonna : a Sibyl shut into herself, meditating on the fate of humanity. The people lie at her feet, and the shadow of their destiny is in the clouded eyes of Mary, as in those of the Child Christ, the Genius of Prophecy.

In the medallion of the Bargello in Florence the Virgin who is teaching the Child to read is not young, like the Virgins of Rome and Bruges : the face is furrowed with care ; a suppressed energy quickens the hard features ; the stern eyes gaze at destiny, and defy it. This work in high-relief is surpassingly great and forceful. The little figure of the Baptist, barely detached from the base, is constructive ; it enters into the composition of the large pyramid of the grouping. The squared massing of the figure of Mary and the marble seat, the sphere-shaped bulk of the heads of Mother and Child, give the appearance of statues to the figures emerging from the scarcely hollowed shield. The variety of surface, sometimes dented, sometimes finished with extreme polish – a variety of surface invariably found in the works of Michelangelo – accentuates the different planes of relief and gives the effect of *chiaroscuro*, a new device in sculpture invented by the Master's genius. This medallion of Florence shows an energy curbed and repressed. The group is static ; by means of the square bulk of the massing and the horizontal lines, the figure of the Madonna gains the value of an architectural block. Her classical head is imprisoned in the circle of the medallion. Absorbed in her vision, she

is forgetting her maternal duties; her hand holds the book unconsciously ; problems more difficult than family cares fetter the souls of the creations of Michelangelo : they live in a region where the whirlwinds of life are stronger and more stormy. The Child is not reading the open page, but lies relaxed on his Mother's knees; his legs are crossed, his arm is bent to hold the weight of his heavy head ; his strong body seems conquered by weariness. The Child's attitude is a contrast to the unbending look of the Mother, an image of Fate in her crude and sublime beauty.

In 1504-05 Michelangelo began the *St. Matthew* for the series of the Twelve Apostles that he had undertaken for the Opera of Santa Maria del Fiore. This Apostle is the only figure of the series that he commenced ; and even this he ceased working at when it was barely in the first stages. The Saint is emerging from the background with a fatigued and almost spasmodic movement. He is coming down a flight of steps, his body held backwards and his shoulder pointed in his effort to keep his balance. He is holding a book, and his square fingers clutching its rim are like grappling irons. A cry seems to be coming from his blunt lips, distending his throat and making his eyes protrude.

The marble medallion of the Royal Academy of London is not a work of this first Florentine period, but of the Roman period, when Michelangelo was engaged on the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel. The seated Virgin has the Child Jesus on her knees ; he is frightened by the bird that the little St. John is holding out to him, its neck imprisoned in his fingers. From the belt of the little wanderer of the desert hangs his pilgrim's cup, as in the Holy Families of Raphael. Mary and John are facing each other ; Jesus is throwing himself into his mother's arms with the swift impulse of fleeing, making a sharp contrast with the rhythm of the other figures. This antithesis of direction, giving the effect of rapid movement, this sudden breaking loose of a strong mass from its base, is what distinguishes the London medallion from the sculptor's earlier works. And the graduation of the figures is more varied : the face of the Virgin, tense

and transparent under the veil of silk (a device used later by Pontormo in his figures) is slightly sunk into the base ; the leonine head of the boy breaks out impetuously from the medallion, like the rest of his strong body ; we get the illusion of a strong mass detaching itself suddenly from the groundwork and launching into space. The rough surface of the figure of the little St. John gives him the effect of being wrapped in a thick net, and the coarse granulated background enhances by contrast the polished surface of the body of Jesus and the face of the Virgin.

Of this same Roman period (that of the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel) is the picture of the *Entombment* of the National Gallery of London. Against a squalid background, with rocks that seem to rise from a sandy shore, John, one of the Marys and Nicodemus are carrying the body of Jesus, with the help of strips of cloth, to lower it into the tomb. Two figures at the corners of the picture are facing each other : one of the Marys, vibrating in the nervous tenseness of her pose ; and the Virgin, a statue rudely draughted by the titanic hand of the sculptor, still formless in the block of marble that imprisons it. The body of Christ is nothing now but a weight, a heaviness that the law of gravity drags towards the earth ; the limbs hang broken by death. And yet the eyes seem not to be sealed for ever, but only closed in sleep after the hard struggle. The athlete is ready to open them again ; and when he opens them Victory will flutter her wings ; the alabaster nude is not wounded, does not wear the marks of martyrdom, of death. In his descent to the tomb he seems to drag his carriers along with him ; they bend away from each other like a V in their bodies' effort at levering. The dynamic effect of the Child in the London medallion who seems to be tearing himself away from the background, is here expressed with still greater power by the action of the two bodies stretched in opposite directions by their muscular effort, by the contrast between the inertia that weighs the dead body and the force of the leverage of the carriers who hold it up. In the figures of Mary and John Michelangelo's structure of form attains to its highest vigour. Mary is spare of build, intense,

all nerve and bone, (1) and the disciple is herculean ; he holds the strip of cloth in his right hand as in a gauntlet. His tunic, clinging to his gigantic form like armour, has been torn open on the shoulder by the swelling of the muscles.

The architectural plan of decoration of the Sistine ceiling was without precedent, and has had no sequence. In the fifteenth century the art of ceiling decoration was usually based on a superficial geometrical plan of divisions, such as squares, rectangles, polygons. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Raphael, in the *Stanza della Segnatura*, keeps to this partitioning of panels in gilded frames, the central eye surrounded by imitation mosaics. The decoration of the ceiling of the *Stanza di Eliodoro* is composed differently, like a baldachino of blue stuff divided into four strips that flow from a central rose ; but no constructive solution had been reached. The first artist of the Renaissance to incorporate architectural elements into ceiling decoration was Mantegna, in the *Camera degli Sposi*, where he painted an opening of sky over a terrace peopled with foreshortened figures. He had many imitators : the anonymous painter of a ceiling in Palazzo Costabili in Ferrara ; Bramantino, in the Carafa Chapel in San Domenico at Naples ; Correggio in the Duomo of Parma – to mention only a few. Allegri, following Mantegna's plan of creating effects by architectural perspective, applied it to air perspective, and so to substantial pictorial effects. But Michelangelo constructed above the simple fifteenth century planning of walls, made of small pilasters and squares, an organism of polychrome stone, in which the architectural parts and the human figures have an equal sculptural value. He does not create that effect of air circulating through the cupolas, that we find in Correggio ; and his skies are plain bases for his high-relief.

We know from a sketch in the British Museum that Mi-

(1) The study of a woman, in red pencil, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is similar to the Madonna of the medallion in London. The figure is all nerves and fibre ; intensity is shown in the severe profile, the angular shoulders and in the headdress that rises on her forehead like the sharp visor of a casque.

chelangelo had begun with a different plan for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. His design shows lozenges joined by four studs to rectangular compartments and to niches ; and these are connected by large brackets to circles inscribed in a square. The heavy architecture is supported by the arches of lunettes. Inside the niches, supported by pilasters, sit the Prophets. The architectural plan of the ceiling finally adopted, is newer and more powerful : it is composed of a large tribune divided by many-graded pilasters round the vault, and by panels and chained figures of demons, alternating with thrones on which are seated Prophets and Sibyls. Over the capitals of the dividing pilasters are pedestals, on which are seated nude figures, who hold festoons supporting bronze shields. Wide bands of marble continue the pilasters dividing the tribune, and dark, flat stones with bronze shields support the frames of the minor biblical pictures. In that close and firm armour of design lights and shades, hollows and reliefs alternate, giving the same sculptural effect that we see in the projections and recessions of the Dome of St. Peter's. The thrones of the Prophets stand forward in the light, and even their backgrounds are lightened by floating specks of shadow. The panels, alternating with the demons, are dark and indented ; and the bases of the triangles, from which the pictures of the Patriarchs of Israel rise in high relief, are in shadow. The minor panels of dark marble and the bronze shields round the biblical pictures are indented to heighten the contrast of their dark note with the white bands of marble. The play of light and shadow and of reliefs is increased by the figures of the boys and Prophets and the pairs of children who stand on the pedestals and carry the projecting cornice on their heads : and the frames of the triangles, decorated with inset acorns and sea-shells, heighten the effects of light. Michelangelo's colour has changed from the clear and distinct tones of the medallion of Florence ; it has gained a powerful fusion by the mobility of reflections and the changes of light that illumine the consoles on which the youths are seated and the pairs of caryatide children by its mother-of-pearl tones. The very violence of movement and complexity of plan give an extreme degree

of effect to the severe and dry colouring. And finally, though the colouring of the Sistine ceiling is subordinated to plastic effect, it opened new roads in pictorial art that have since been better understood and developed. But the Sistine ceiling, above all, is the realm of form – the realm of the immense and heroic nude: the figure of *Adam* that takes life at a touch from the hand of God; the *Eve* in the scene of the *Fall of Man*, who seems to have come from the spirals of the winding column; the nude figure like a crashing avalanche above the throne of *Jeremiah*, are supreme examples of the draghtsman skill of Michelangelo, the Titan of form. It was the sculptor's love of form that made him change the curved and shell-like niches of the Prophets in the sketch of the British Museum to great niches with plain bases, to heighten the effects of projection.

On the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel the artist has written the prologue of the history of Humanity; and he pressed into his service as helpers, the Prophets, the Sibyls and all the Seers of the Glory of God. He begins his scenes at the far end of the Chapel with the *Drunkenness of Noah*, and reaches the Altar with the *Creation;* and with each new picture he increases the heroic development of the human form and the violence of dynamic effect. The feeling of the hopelessness of human effort in the face of destiny – the foundation of his pessimism of character – is shown with tragic power in every detail of the *Deluge*. Human passions leap out in that nightmare of death that rises with the rising of the waters and chases the fleeing figures; from the edges of a boat ferocious arms push back the drowning into the waters, and pitiful arms draw them in. (1) But pity and the ferocious instinct to live – all are equally useless: death is overtaking them all with inexorable pace. An immense nude woman whose wild beast profile is sharpened by the black cavern of her mantle is clasping her smiling babe in her arms; it seems as though nothing can stop her grave and rhythmic

(1) Notice the group of youths who are holding up a comrade. The magnificent drawing of the dying nude in the Louvre is not a study for this drowning figure in the Deluge, but is possibly a study for a Pietà of somewhat earlier date.

step, nor bend the energy that stiffens her hard features, nor distract her gaze that searches distantly, tenaciously, for new strips of earth for refuge. Fate weighs heavily on this woman, great in fear and love.

In the *Fall of Man* the forces of Evil and Revenge are unwinding with an equal lightning speed from the trunk of the same tree : Evil is shown as the demon who hands the forbidden fruit to Eve, and Revenge as the angel who drives out the guilty pair from Paradise (1). The serpent, twisted round the tree, with the demon and the angel form a single spiral suddenly uprooted from its base. And the herculean forms of Adam and Eve, in their arid shelter of rocks, form another slow and powerful spiral. The Eve of the *Fall of Man* with her granite solidity of form, the round block of her head, her features stamped with obstinate will, is the mother of Michelangelo's Titanic humanity – still more so than the Eve of the *Expulsion from Paradise*, or the Eve of the *Creation of Man*. An irresistible force is released from the slow, sure movements, the ardent dominating look of this beautiful woman, who contains within herself the vigour and fecundity of the earth: a sublime and primitive majesty, heightened by the squalid landscape, by the light that flashes on the horizon of the torrid sky over the charred desert of Eden.

In the next picture – *The Creation of Eve* – the Garden of Eden is once more shown as a barren stretch of plain with an accumulation of rocks and broken trunks of trees, on which Adam is lying, a statue still imprisoned in its block of stone. Not a flower, not a single sign of life is shown in this corner of the world, the scene of man's coming to birth ; there is only an impressive bareness. The landscape is subordinated to form, the ruling principle of Michelangelo's art : sky and earth, zones of light and darkness are merely bases for the relief of the sculptural groups of rocks and figures. In the panel of *The Creation of Man* the plain has vanished: round the slope on which Adam

(1) The sketch in Casa Buonarroti is stronger than the picture, in which the body is rounded and softened ; the sketch, showing Adam being expelled from the Earthly Paradise, is drawn with rapid strokes like flashes of lightning.

is stretched, like a shipwrecked person on a desert shore, is an emptiness, a measureless abyss trembling with the thunder that the passing of God among the spirits of the Creation raises in the phosphorescent sky. The pose of Adam is a presage of the figures of the Medici tombs : he is a statue coloured with the rarest patina – with a fusion of bronze and earth-red. The image of clay shaped by the mighty hand of God is beginning to come to life : a leg is propped on the ground ; the eyes are fascinated ; the head rises from a strong neck sunk into the circle of the clavicular bones like a tree in the hollow of the earth ; a latent strength is awakening in the torpid limbs. In the scenes of the Creation and in the decorative figures seated on the marble plinths at the corners of the pictures, the nude, the instrument supremely beloved of Michelangelo, draws its energy of expression from the movement of muscles. Amongst these nudes are sublime examples of the sculptor's force ; they are burning with the passion of a race of heroes and giants ; tragic figures of anguish and folly pass before our eyes ; and masks of laughing fauns ; and profiles sunk in a grave silence of thought and sadness. The nude figure bent under the weight of the cornucopia, between lights that reveal the amplitude of the architectural plan ; the Eternal who is dividing the waters from the earth ; and the Jonah (the last of the series of Prophets, near the Altar) touch the extreme limit of the Master's development in the painting of masses (1).

In the corner-spandrels of the ceiling Michelangelo was faced by the problem of decorating curvilinear spaces. The group of *David and Goliath* has a compact base of relief formed by a tent in the background. In the *Triumphs* of Judith and Esther he has given hollowness to the background by putting a wall that divides the scene into equal halves. In the *Triumph of Esther* the division is more complex than in that of *Judith* : the scene is completely filled with the horror of the great crucified body of Haman, with the agonized gesture of his arms. We

(1) In the British Museum there is a sheet with a series of studies for the nudes of the Sistine Chapel.

have two studies for this figure, done by Michelangelo in pen-and-ink on the same sheet, which show its development. The contraction of the muscles and the outline of the tree are drawn with dizzy speed : every line of the tree of pain seems to wound. In one of these sketches the crucified man hangs from the tree with sunken head, at the point of death. In the other sketch he is struggling, as in the picture ; but the face is in profile and the arm bent behind the trunk is less effective than the movement of the body in the finished work. The composition gives a lesser degree of complexity and desperate violence : in the picture the head is bent backwards and the extended arms seem to crack from their opposing movements.

In the fourth corner-spandrel of the *Brazen Serpent* the artist no longer uses the architectural plan of background ; he shows a tragic winding of spirals, and by the superaddition of figures and serpents that seem to turn like a geared machine he obtains that dynamic effect which he had aimed at in his early work of the *Lapiths and Centaurs* and had developed still further in the study of the *Two Wrestlers*, now in the Louvre.

Since Giovanni Pisani's Prophets and Sibyls and Jacopo della Quercia's busts on the main door of San Petronio no artist had ever endowed the figures of the Prophets with impetuous life. Pisani's prophetic figures shiver at the touch of the angels' hands, their eyes are lit by flames of passion or folly; but Agostino di Duccio, on the pilasters of the Malatesta Church, showing the Sibyls with their rolls of the Prophecies amid a vortex winding of lines, is not dramatic ; nor is Ghiberti in his flexible little statues of the Baptistry ; nor even Andrea del Castagno in the imperious Cumaean Sibyl, who seems to be done in tarsia, among the heroines of Judaic or Christian antiquity in the Villa Pandolfini at Legnaia. Luca Signorelli, it is true, in the Brizio Chapel at Orvieto, shows violence of energy in the gesture of a Prophet pointing to the ending of the world; but Ghirlandaio in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinità is content to show the Sibyls as female figures half reclining in pleasant idleness against a background of mosaic shining with gold; and Raphael, on the walls of the Cambio at Perugia, shows the

a figure with the same enigmatic pose that we saw with *Jesse*. In that of *Jacob and Joseph* the aged Jacob, petrified by a vision of horror, holds his mantle tightly round his body with a gesture of dread ; an obscure flame burns in his lamp-like eyes : and his anguish is echoed by a woman's face stretched forward from the shadow of the background, bewitched by that sinister splendour.

The story of the tomb of Pope Julius : the sculptor's anguish of spirit ; the calumnies that embittered him and deepened his sad, morose tendencies ; the heart-breaking contrast between the glorious audacity of his dream and the impoverished fulfilment – all this has been described in speaking of his life.

Some idea of the original plan for the tomb can be gathered from the tracing of a sketch in the Museum of Berlin ; and from a drawing in the Uffizi Gallery in which it is partially developed (1). The architecture of this study is a presage of the works in the Medici Chapel. It depicts a monumental pedestal divided by niches and pilasters ; the second tier, forming a large altar-front, is supported by long pilasters, and is closed by a great majestic lunette with massive candelabra on either side of it. It has many features in common with the painted architecture of the Sistine Chapel: like the Chapel it draws its life from the statues that lean on it, support it, enrich it with shadow. In the two niches are *Victories*, their feet resting on vanquished enemies. Against the lateral pilasters are terminal busts which serve as supports and give an added value to the massive twisted forms of the *Slaves* : victories and slaves hold aloft the

eyelid is modelled with a sovereign mastery of art ; it freezes us with its gloomy fixity. On the same sheet are two sublime sketches of a nude with head drooped on his shoulder. It reminds us of the shipwrecked boy carried by his father in the fresco of the *Deluge*, and of the study, already mentioned, of the dying boy in the Louvre. But here the pencil strokes, dimmed and soft, give an idealized beauty to the head. The ripples of shadow on the back and neck, showing the last throbs of life, put into relief the peace of death stamped on the face by the parallel strokes that arrest the illusion of life. (*Alinari, photo*).

(1) This Uffizi drawing is a copy.

monument of triumph of the Warrior Pope. The great marble panel closed by a lunette forms the base for the sarcophagus; two angels raise the dead man to carry him towards the Madonna who is descending to meet him with her Son in her arms. Against the lateral pilasters, forming guards of honour, are *Rachel* and *Leah*, symbolizing the virtues of the Pope: contemplation and action (1). The architectural mouldings and the figures on the second tier give an impression of soaring, a *crescendo* of detachment from the earth, a triumphal uprising.

But not even the *Slaves*, the first statues to be finished for the tomb, were to take their destined place near the *Moses* in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli. These masterpieces of the sculptor's unrealized dream are in Florence and Paris.

Six studies for the *Slaves* (2) are drawn on the same sheet as a study for one of the hands of the *Lybian Sibyl* and for one of her genii; which proves beyond a doubt that Michelangelo was pondering the work of the tomb while he was still engaged on the Sistine Chapel. The bound slaves in the sketch are standing against pilasters finished by terminal figures. One of them, standing in profile, has his arms behind his back and a leg bent, as if to gather strength to wrest himself loose from his prisoner's chains, and practically the same position is repeated in another slave standing nearly full-face, bound more closely to the

(1) Among the sheets in Casa Biuonarroti in Florence (Frey: plate 221), is a sketch of a naked corpse with a tiara on its head; the dead body is seated on a sarcophagus and is supported by a figure standing on the edge of the tomb. This drawing, which is called by the generic name of a funeral scene, we consider to be a study for a statue of Pope Julius supported by two angels as shown in the tracing in the Museum of Berlin. In the drawing the figure in seen in profile, whereas in the tracing it is nearly full-face. The arms, instead of being crossed, are hanging down at the sides of the body. In both the compositions the head is sunk on the breast, and in the original drawing the neck seems to be broken, because of the tragically abandoned attitude contrasting with the stiffened line of the hips and legs. The lines that just barely indicate the contours are marvellous; in the upper part of the bust and the head they are broken and zigzagging, but outline the elegant, archaic stiffness of the legs with a continuous, synthetic stroke.

(2) In the Louvre.

column; he is stretching his body forward in a painful effort that seems to tear his muscles; a third has crossed his legs and is bending his head under his raised arms like an oppressed caryatide. The *Victory* in the niche beside him seems to unwind herself like a spiral from the crossed legs to the head and to the arm that partially hides it. The energy that bursts from the arrested postures and swollen muscles of the slaves is superhuman.

One of the *Slaves* in the Louvre tallies with the description of one of the figures in this series. His right leg is bent and is propped on a high base ; his arms are tied behind his back ; his head is bowed in a rush of rebellion and anguish. The muscular structure of Michelangelo's work previous to his Roman period has gained a vehement intensity of life. The bull-shaped head and the powerful shoulder, pressed forward with the vigour of a ploughshare cleaving the earth, bend in opposed directions with an equal impetus ; the dynamic effect is irresistible. The swelled tendons of the neck are like chords stretched to bursting point. The head is massive and round, like the head of *Eve* in the *Fall of Man* ; the features are contracted, the eyes are glazed. Beside him stands the *Dying Slave*. His head is drooping backwards on his supporting arm, overcome by lethargy, and his marvellous young body is bent backwards. The measured line of the hips is broken by the angle of the arm bent at the elbow; the body is dilated; the shoulders are pointed in a supreme effort. And yet the ascending line is ideally pure, and the peace of sleep has closed the eyes raised to the sky, and has sweetened the curve of the marvellous lips. The left arm, forming an angle over the head, closes the soaring of the lines. The upward movement of the whole statue is like a cry of liberation.

Four unfinished *Slaves* are in the Academy of Florence. One is a youth with an arm bent above his head, like the *Dying Slave*'s arm in the Louvre ; one is an old man with his face enclosed in a massive frame of hair – an Atlas who is arching his muscular body as though to defend his head from a crushing weight ; the third is a figure who has twisted his legs almost to breaking point in his effort to wrench himself free from his

marble prison. In the last of these unfinished statues the head is still unblocked; the arms are bent at an angle and are grasping the marble mass from which the head was to have been carved, and seem to be hurling it into space.

A figure intended for Pope Julius' tomb is the *Genius of Victory* of the Florence Academy. It is a slender, nude figure of a youth pressing his knee on the bent back of a prisoner. The alertness of his agile form, rising victoriously, half turning from the waist, is heightened by its contrast with the heavy mass of the prisoner whose oppressed shoulders are under his knees. The prisoner's face is pushed forward, his neck seems weighted by a yoke. The *Genius of Victory*, rising from his human base as though from a pedestal of rock, casting his burning eagle's glance around him, has a war-like manner of holding the buckle of his mantle that reminds us of the movement of the David in raising the sling. This statue is undoubtedly of a later period that the *Slaves*. The long proportions of the figure, the stretched outline of the lips, the smallness of the head, all connect it with the date of the statues in the Medici Chapel. Yet its features are not marked by strong shadows as with the Medici statues; nor is it, like them, among the masterpieces of Michelangelo's art. But the prisoner under his knee is indeed a masterpiece. The figure is enclosed within a cube; the pose of the rigid head is perpendicular, as though detached from the bust, and the joints of the knee are pointed as though in a spasm of pain, to intensify the dark immobility of the tortured face. It recalls to us, across the centuries, the tragic caryatides of Dante and Giovanni Pisani.

The colossal *Moses* with his river-like beard and thunderous eyes seems a fit expression of the sculptor's plan of depicting a majesty of rocks and captive athletes to do homage of the Warrior Pope. This great statue, flanked by the figures of *Rachel* and *Leah*, recalls the *Prophets* of the Sistine Chapel. It is a later work than the *Slaves*, as we know from the iron outline to the lips, similar to those of the Medici statues. The gigantic figure of the Leader of Israel is resting his right hand on the Tables of the Law; his left hand, half-shut and with veins swollen as if

by a rush of angry blood, is on his lap ; his profile, retreating from the cruel jaw to the forehead, shows disdain, and disdainful too are the dry, cursing lips and the look which searches the space around him with lightning speed, and from its height above them seems to burn the rebels to ashes.

A work of the same period as the *Slaves* is the *Triumphant Christ* in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome – the statue that was " crippled " by Pietro Urbano, Michelangelo's assistant (1). It is the weakest of all the sculptor's works. The Christ is standing on a rock and is casting a last look on the earth ; in his hands are the Cross and the other symbols of his Passion. It would seem that Michelangelo – the creator of the terror-inspiring image of the Christ of the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel – had deliberately subdued his terrible force to depict a gentle image of the Redeemer. In spite of the relief of the muscles the modelling of the body is soft in its slight indication of curves, and the gesture of the arm is feeble. The hair is arranged with an effort at grace unknown to the art of Buonarroti, and is certainly the work of an assistant ; it is only in the disdainful lips and the deep eyes that we find the sorrowful soul of the creations of Michelangelo.

Another group of statuary belonging to this period is that of *Hercules and Cacus* (2). It is similar to the twisted groups

(1) Michelangelo had sent the statue to Rome at the beginning of the summer of 1521, according to Pietro Urbano, the arrogant restorer alluded to. The painters Sebastiano del Piombo and Federigo Frizzi speak of his work in letters of September the 6th and 7th. The following extract from the second of these letters is important historically : " And we agreed, (Sebastiano Veneziano and Giovanni da Rezo and I, and it seems so to every one else) that he had worked very badly at all parts that he has retouched; for one thing the foot that comes forward, and the hands, both of them, that he has hacked so that they seem to be made of compressed paper, especially the right hand ; and also the beard, that is to say the jaw, of the right cheek... and now I do not know whether to begin the work at these parts that he has touched, or else at those that he has not touched. I will finish it in the best way and with the most diligence that I am able."

(2) In the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

of Gianbologna. The spiral movement of the two fighters that recalls the *Punishment of the Idolaters* in the Sistine Chapel, should be seen in profile ; looked at from this angle the back of the upright figure seems to twist and revolve wearied round his opponent, who holds him by the legs as though to uproot him from the ground.

Among the statues intended for the tomb of Pope Julius is the *David* (previously known as the "Apollo") in the National Museum of Florence; the sculptor had meant to place it among the *Slaves*. The sketch for this statue until quite lately was accepted as being the study for the David of the Florence Academy. It is true that the pen-and-ink strokes in the detail study for the arm, as well as the hurried and rigid drawing of the muscles, recall the sculptor's early work; but the circular lines on the legs and the arm of the complete figure are extremely similar to the lines in the studies for the *Madonna* of the Medici Chapel ; and the sharp and iron-strong profile has no replica among the early works. This study was undoubtedly used by Michelangelo for the so-called "Apollo" (1). The proportions in the drawing are similar to those of the statue, and the work is free from the giantism of the early David. The right leg is trampling on the block of stone, the still uncarved head of the conquered Goliath ; the left foot, steady on the ground, is supporting the weight of the body ; in the sketch, as in the statue, the right arm is stretched downwards along the body, with the hand resting on the leg.

But the upper parts of the statue are different : the head, instead of being in profile, is bending away from the direction of the raised arm ; the attitude of opposing lines is heroic and harmonious; it expresses force, softened by repose. The sculptor,

(1) In the Louvre there is a sheet with the following lines written in the sculptor's own handwriting :

Davicte cholla fromba
e io chollarcho
Michelagniol
Recte facta cholonna el verd...

superlatively great at showing violence, seems to have gathered a moment of calm joy in the modelling of these gentle reliefs, in showing the half-relaxed muscles of the lovely body, and the god-like youth's serene, smooth forehead, encircled by the vaguely-defined hair. Force is here, but sweetened; as in some of the boys of the Sistine Chapel.

A composition belonging to this Roman period is the red chalk drawing of the *Archers* in the Royal Library of Windsor. It shows a group of naked archers shooting at a Hermes protected by a shield. The figures are rushing towards their target with the same swift flight as their unseen arrows. In this magnificent drawing we find types and proportions very similar to those of the nude figures at the corners of the biblical pictures in the Sistine Chapel; and the two children in the background who are puffing at the flames of a fire have the same swollen-looking limbs as the genii behind the Prophets and Sibyls.

The archer nearest to the target, with locks of hair entangled like the suckers of a vine, and arms stretched rigid in his efforts at bending the bow, is found in the drawing of a *Bound Prometheus*, also at Windsor, that reminds us of a marble high-relief (1). The Prometheus is fastened to a ridge of sloping rock; he is trying to raise his dark and obstinate head and to stretch his arms to push back the eagle, but the slope of the rock hinders him. The immense shadow of the eagle's wings is over his body.

A third sheet of sketches at Windsor belongs to this same group. It represents three of the *Labours of Hercules;* the first figure bears the inscription : " This is the second lion that Hercules has killed." The powerful-limbed Hercules recalls the Adam of the Sistine Chapel; the base of his neck has the same hollow that puts into relief the strong tendons swollen by his wrestling.

The *Slaves* carved for the monument of Pope Julius II tally in many respects with some studies of the *Risen Christ* that are perhaps the most marvellous of all Michelangelo's creations.

(1) Copied by Giulio Romano in a picture in the National Gallery of Rome.

The Christ in the fifteenth century pictures of the Resurrection, was usually represented with his feet still touching the tomb, and holding a standard showing the emblems of the Passion. Michelangelo's Christ is in mid-air, in a soaring flight, carried upwards by the wind. Below him are the guards, newly-awakened from their sleep ; they are breaking into tumult, but are constrained by the same mysterious force that has opened the tomb and carried away the Dead. The bodies of the guards, crouched upon the ground, of else fleeing in fear, give a contrasted value to the light, buoyant soaring of the nude figure. Of all Michelangelo's creations perhaps no other figure gives quite so marvellously the effect of easy spontaneous movement, or has a line so fluid and harmonious as this Christ ; even the raised shoulder gives no feeling of effort (1). The attitude of this shoulder is an interesting contrast to the continuity of line of the *Dying Slave* in the Louvre.

In the same group of sketches for the *Risen Christ* there is a third study in which the Saviour has the air of a warrior ; one foot is on the ground and the arms have been raised with the sudden movement of a person at the instant of preparing to leap ; the whole stretch of the body is like a triumphant shout. In the first two sketches the design was developed in an upward direction ; here it is broadened out : the soldiers on the left are huddled in a close group, while the prostrate soldiers on the right are a circle round the upright, naked figure that is recoiling in the opposite direction to that of the Christ.

A variation of this study is in the Louvre. The line of the composition has been changed : the Christ is no longer in the centre ; the recoiling figure is on the extreme right of the picture, his shoulder touching its edge ; and his attitude of strained horror is repeated in that of the nude figure still upon the ground,

(1) There is a detail study for this Christ in the Royal Library of Windsor. The figure is in a curved attitude on the edge of the tomb as if a vortex were about to engulf him, and the winding-sheet is being whirled by the tempest. This study accentuates in a very striking manner the harmonious simplicity of the first drawing.

stretching away from the Christ. The effect of the contrasted movement of these diverging figures is very powerful.

In the Royal Library of Windsor is yet another study for the figure of the *Risen Christ.* It is a work of extreme vigour producing an effect of mercurially quick movement. The Christ has one foot still in the tomb, while the other is planted on the edge of the open lid. He is preparing – not to soar lightly to the sky, as in the first study – but to spring towards heaven with vehemence. His attitude is one of difficult balance, which accentuates the relief of the muscles. His right hand seems to be trying to find a support in the density of the air.

The dizzily-rapid line of the above sketch is given a greater stability in a study in the British Museum in which the Christ seems to be hurling thunderbolts on the earth. There is the same great distance between the foot on the ground and the other planted on the lid of the tomb ; which is also found in a study in the British Museum that has vague outlines of soldiers' figures round the tomb. But in the last-named sketch the line of the body of the Christ is curved in harmony with the wheel-like movement of the arms. The Redeemer is looking down on the earth with austere majesty.

Michelangelo's work in the Medici Chapel, together with the Old Sacristy of Brunelleschi in the same church, marks the summit of the golden age of the Florentine Renaissance. The Chapel of Brunelleschi has slender lines, supple as reeds ; that of Michelangelo takes its life from the projection of the masses and the planes of relief. It is divided into squares and lunettes, severe in their grey colouring against the white background. The many recesses and projections on the walls against a smooth ground, the liberal use of the plastic value of lights and shades are in contrast with the slender framings of Brunelleschi. Michelangelo, in this as in all that he did, remained first and foremost a sculptor. His Medici Chapel is an integral whole of statues and architectural frames : he loved the effects of projection in architecture as he loved the curves of his painted or sculptured nudes. There is not a single deep concavity in the Medici Chapel ; the decoration is formed of square panels, rectangular

spaces of blind windows and doors, large beams between jutting cornices, and lunettes with plain backgrounds. An echo of the architecture of Brunelleschi is the ascent of the cornices, but this light upward movement is subdued by other opposite forces tending downwards ; and the soar of the windows is opposed by the crushing weight of the centering, and the joyous festoons of laurel are opposed by their funeral, hanging ends. In a pen-sketch of the Buonarroti Collection in Florence for the Medici Chapel or for the Laurentian Library the windows are flanked, not by pilasters, but by columns that support the arched cornices. In another drawing, in pencil, there are no lateral columns or pilasters ; the cornice supports the tympanum : in the Medici Chapel the tympanum rises from the *abaci* of the pilasters, increasing the dynamic effect of the broken line of the archivolts.

Nearer to Brunelleschi's scheme of architecture, (followed by Sangallo and Cronaco) are the windows of the second story that are supported by narrow pedestals that lengthen their proportions : in spite of the strong mass of the drum they seem delicate and slender between flat cornices.

The twin windows and doors at the corners of the Chapel, and the wide, fluted pilasters that enclose them, flank the spacious niches for the barely-sunk sarcophagi. The niches appear majestic, like the façade of a temple. They are divided into three spaces by two sets of twin pilasters; and the attic too, instead of the usual trigliphs, has sets of twin balusters, giving a powerful effect of high-relief, and is decorated by garlands in the metopes.

In the architecture of the Medici Chapel Michelangelo turned his back upon all the material of angels, Virtues and Liberal Arts that was usual at that time. He wanted only a grey silence in the funeral chapel: not garlands, nor offerings of love or pity. In that silent place – that temple of eternal sleep – are two sarcophagi ; on each of them are reclining two statues: *Dawn* and *Twilight*, *Day* and *Night*. Above each sarcophagus is a rectangular niche, one containing a statue of Giuliano, the other of Lorenzo de' Medici, each between large blind windows.

The sculptor had at first intended the two sepulchres to be a single monument. This we know from a pen-sketch in the

British Museum which shows sarcophagi raised on a high summit and supported by lions' feet, as was the custom in Florence in the fifteenth century. Above a base are two rectangular niches with allegorical statues, roughly sketched in a few perpendicular lines, like falling drops of water. On the top of the niches are circles, and between them, in an imposing aedicula flanked by twin pilasters and crowned by an arch, sits in majesty the statue commemorating the dead. The decoration of the base – of tablets held up by ample festoons – calls to mind the ornamentation of the attic in the Medici Chapel ; while in a study sketched on the same sheet two statues (shown with a magnificent dash of the pen) are seated on brackets over the simpler and more severe sarcophagi. In another drawing, in the Louvre, the scheme of this last-mentioned sketch is adhered to, with few changes. But the two statues on the tombs are turned towards the axis. And they are placed in this same facing position in a pencil sketch in the British Museum showing a richness of statues on the rectangular niches and in the recesses crowned by curved pediments ; in the spaces beneath the sarcophagi recline the statues, holding urns in their hands, and looking like images of classic rivers. The statues endow the vast structure with life. This sketch was probably among the last of Michelangelo's studies for the Medici tombs, for on the back of the sheet is a drawing for the *Twilight*. On another sheet in the British Museum the tombs are no longer together ; the sarcophagus rises from a high base in its final form, with the statues reclining on the volutes of the lid in opposed directions. The lateral niches are crowned by curved pediments, as in the Medici Chapel ; while in the centre there is a simple squared panel. Yet the differences are still noticeable : the panels at the sides of the sarcophagus, which in the Medici Chapel are merely shown by a line, in the sketch are sunk into the wall, to accommodate seated statues; other statues are shown at the sides of the pedestal that supports the sarcophagus ; and a summit, ornate with panoplies and nude figures gathered under large festoons, crowns the façade of the sepulchre.

Finally, there is another drawing, at Oxford ; in a central

rectangular recess is seated the statue commemorating the dead; the cornices of the lateral niches are richer and more imposing than the one in the centre, and are embraced by the robust curve of a pediment. These drawings, and the many others scattered through the collections of Europe, show how prolonged were Michelangelo's struggles and meditations before he finally created the sublime architectural severity of the Medici Chapel. The purity of the Chapel's marble surface is varied by the deep shadows of the pediments and the niches. Even the ornaments of the statues play their part in the architecture; the women's headgear are twisted on their brows like volutes, and the crest of Giuliano's helmet throws a shadow over his intensely gazing eyes, and crowns the august image with a volute. The smooth background, bare of further sculptures, puts in relief the shining sarcophagi and the rocky bulks of the sculptured figures on their lids. The bases of the sarcophagi in their marvellous perfection of simplicity are relieved by a scarcely-raised tablet. The central niche with the statue is different from the niches shown in most of the drawings, and is simpler than the side-niches crowned by pediments; its simple and smooth framing gives a value to the rounded statue. Ornamentations of the Chapel are the fish-scales on the feet of the sarcophagi and on the brackets of the lateral windows; the festoons and amphorae on the attic; the masks and shells on the capitals; and the flutings of the pilasters.

Facing the Altar is the *Madonna*. She is raised on a high seat, like a shelf hewn in a rock, and is holding the Child who is eagerly searching for her breast: his robust sturdy form follows the line of the Madonna's arm that is propped on the seat. She is the Guardian of the Sepulchre; her distant downward gaze seems to be striving to unlock the mysteries of death; in her deep eyes are clouds of shadow and of mourning (1).

(1) The two figures drawn in ink on a sheet in the Louvre, considered by Brinkmann to be early works of Michelangelo, are probably the studies for the Medici Madonna. The Child is astride his mother's knee and is searching hungrily for her breast as in the Medici group. The Child's attitude is similar to the above in a pen-

The Altar is supported by balusters and flanked by large, ornate candlesticks. On the other two walls between the Madonna and the Altar are the Medici tombs. With the recumbent allegorical statues and the erect statue of the dead the tombs have the form of a pyramid even to the sharp angles of the base. The superhuman energy of Michelangelo's sculptures for the tombs is expressed in a series of contrasts : the polished surface and the clear-cut cornices of the sarcophagi, carved with perfection of severe elegance, put in relief the base of coarse rock which is miraculously balanced on the volutes of the lid and holds up the crushing weight of the giant statues. The bodies are recumbent, with one leg stretched out and the other bent at the knee, and the limbs are twisted and turned ; and the concavity of their attitudes is opposed by the restrained convexity of the volutes. The strip of rock on which they are lying continues along the line of the volutes, its sharp point projecting into space ; it gives the impression – more especially on the tomb of Giuliano – of a sudden cleft.

Day and *Night*, *Dawn* and *Twilight* weigh on the tombs ; the limits of time seem to seal the eternity of death. *Night*, lying on draperies and cushions, with an empty tragic mask beside her, and guarded by a grim-eyed owl, is sunk in a sleep that does not close her convulsed eyelids ; her lips are relaxed, her head is bent by the strong pressure of her hand. The hooked and hard profile breaks the spiral of the neck and head that is like the curve of a branch bent by giant hands. The elbow of the right arm propped on the leg gives an expression of inexhaustible strength – of a stillness that is not repose but only a prelude

sketch in the Albertina Gallery in which the Madonna's arm is pressed on the edge of her seat ; she has the same long proportions of body and oblong shape of face. The hungry gesture of the baby's hand is marvellous ; the little fingers are spread on the Mother's breast with an electrically rapid movement. On a sheet in the Buonarroti collection is a pencil group of the Virgin nursing the Child. An expression of superhuman force is in the stationary vigour of the Mother as in the impetuosity of the Babe who is sucking life from her breast. If we compare the muscular movements of the body and the arm of Jesus in this sketch with those of the statue we cannot doubt that this drawing was Michelangelo's study for the Medici Madonna.

to further struggling. Next to this virago with the storm-ridden face is the male statue of *Day*. He is awakening for the fight; his enormous trunk is turning with the motion of his right arm, away from the direction of his head. The tragic face is unfinished, there is a monstrous challenge of terror in the empty caverns of his eyes. A cry of regained strength seems to burst from this giant as he throws off the lethargy of his limbs made torpid by the smallness of space.

Twilight and *Dawn*, who guard the tomb of Lorenzo, are less violent than *Night* and *Day*; their bodies are relaxed on their stony beds in a torpor that does not lessen the effect of strength; their bodies slope down on the volutes like rivers of solidified lava, and the same line is carried out by the drapery under the *Dawn*. The bend of her shoulder is very expressive of the resistance of her body propped on her arm. Like the desolate and charred landscape of Eden on the Sistine ceiling Michelangelo's *Dawn* has no heavenly smiles of light; in her desirous lips, in the broken arch of her eyebrows, in the shadow of mourning that weighs on her anguished eyes is the same suppressed despair that we saw in Jeremiah. This Dawn, instead of flinging wide the Eastern gates, is slowly unlocking the doors of day to hopeless struggling. The funeral statue of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino – an image of silence and meditation – expresses the suffering of the sculptor's own soul in face of the ruins of Florence and Italy. *Dawn*, rising from her stony bed, shows a kindred suffering: in the agony of her waking eyes is very wonderfully expressed the torment of soul that conquered her during sleep (1).

In the Academy of Florence there is a broken fragment of a statue showing a *River god* (2), very probably one of the stat-

(1) On October the 24th, 1525, we find him writing to Fattucci: « *The four figures* which I began are not yet finished, and there is still much work to do on them. *The other four for Rivers* are not yet begun because thiere is no marble for them ».

(2) In a drawing in the Louvre the *Dawn* is depicted as contorted by mental suffering. A study for the *Twilight* is to be seen in a little room adjoining the Medici Chapel. The figure is modelled in clay, and the little knobs of clay that cover the

are so different from the construction finally carried out that we cannot be certain that they were ever intended for the Library. In the first two drawings two flights of stairs meet on a landing surrounded by a balustrade; in the third there is a wide curved space between the two flights, like a great niche, resting upon a base of semi-circular steps. There is also a drawing for the wall of the Vestibule of the Laurentian Library. It has doors surmounted by triangular pediments; and has shell-shaped niches, instead of the smoothly-hollowed niches with flat bases which are more usual with Michelangelo, and which were adopted; above the niches are shown plain plaques without the fretwork ornamentation of the festoons; and the columns at the sides of the doors are single, instead of in pairs; and there are panels on the walls.

In the Buonarroti Collection there is yet another drawing for this work – a plan for the wall that connects the Vestibule with the Library. The door is surmounted by a triangular pediment crowned by a tablet and by two windows with curved pediments with circles above them. The windows are separated by groups of two columns and two pilasters that give an effect of greater vigour and majesty than is seen in the finished work. Over the cornice, in the place of the rectangular blind windows, runs a decoration of inset square panels and medallions (1).

The staircase, as we now see it, with its two over-slender brackets, and with pilasters with superficial panels, shows the hand of Buonarroti very clearly, especially in the effect of movement in the curved stair and the massive curves of the balustrades. The whole Vestibule with its general sculptural effect of sinking in and projection, and especially in its great niches, is very typical of the sculptor. The Hall of the Library, with its double rows of windows, seen through a *loggiato*, recalls the sacred majesty of the Medici Chapel. The Library, that before had been gay and light in the Tuscan style of the fifteenth century, in the hands of Michelangelo became a solemn, dim temple through the effect of the heavy grey cornices.

(1) **Frey**: plate 234.

Drawings for the ceiling of the Library are in the Buonarroti Collection; and these were adhered to by Michelangelo's followers, except that they added some trifling details. In 1526 the sculptor was giving his attention to the benches of the Library. In Casa Buonarroti can be seen a drawing for them, with a curious very rapidly-drawn figure in profile of a reader, that reminds us of an Assyrian bas-relief. The highly ornate benches of the Library to-day have not the vital lines of those drawn in this sketch that the artist threw down with the lightning speed of a first inspiration; but the outline of their ornamentation shows the hand of the Master.

No drawing was made for the giant statue that Pope Clement VII wished to erect in the Piazza San Lorenzo near the Medici Palace, " as high as the battlements of his house" ; but a passage in one of the sculptor's letters shows how his imagination was busy with the idea creating a gigantic statue that would express the deep sadness of his soul: " Still another fantasy is desired from me, which would be very effective; but one ought to do the figure much bigger; in that case one could do it much better. It would be convenient to build it in pieces: the head could serve as a Bell-tower for San Lorenzo, which has great need of one; and if bells were put in the head, and if the sound were to come out of its mouth it would seem that the said giant was crying for mercy; and especially so on feast days when one rings more often and with bigger bells ". This voice crying loudly for mercy from the mouth of a stone giant above the houses of Florence in the joyous Tuscan sky seems an echo of the soul of Michelangelo – seems the voice of all his creations, destined to a hopeless struggle without consolation.

We do not know for which monument the statue of the *Crouching Boy*, probably taking a thorn from his foot, was intended by the sculptor, but its date is certainly very close to his return to Rome and his painting of the *Last Judgment*. This unfinished statue is among the smallest of the works of Michelangelo; and yet, when we see it in a photograph, it seems like a Rhodian giant, a Hercules, from the powerful limbs and the big and swollen muscles of the thorax. The face of this gainer of

Olympian prizes is hidden in the shadow, and our eye is attracted by the barely-draughted hair, a vortex of contrary circles and stormy waves that expresses the turbulent life of all Michelangelo's creations. That liquid mass of the hair, beaten by contrary winds, seems carved by the Genius of Tempests to crown the peaceful statue of this boy.

The *Bust of Brutus* in the National Museum of Florence has a likeness to the figures in the *Last Judgment*. The Tribune's head is held backwards, he dominates the space around him; it seems as though the idol of tyranny must crumble before his glance. Though the arms are missing the tension of the face and the firmness of the profile suggest an energy that is gathering itself together to take aim, and strike. The very roughness of surface increases the repressed violence of the face. The enemy of tyranny is immortalized in this head with the powerful jaw and the passionate, imperious profile.

On Christmas Day, 1541, the *Last Judgment*, the great page of the *Dies Irae* of Michelangelo, was uncovered to the public. Its background is the sky, but a sky splashed by light in the lower part of the picture, giving the appearance of a marble slab; the solidified air does not surround, but supports, the groups of souls. The outlines of the figures are deeply engraved; the painted images are shaped like the statues of the Medici tombs, with the same deeply-sunk features and intense shadows: struggle and pain have furrowed their faces. Shadow accentuates the face of the Virgin, narrowing the limit of her cheek, and shadow deepens her eyes under the stretched eyelids, and depresses and points her angry lips. In the figure of Sebastian the stretched lower lip is bent like a bow: the features are enlarged by the same attitude of head as that of Leah on the tomb of Pope Julius; the face is stamped by a threatening austerity, a restrained tension of anger that is on the point of sending out darts like a bow ready to shoot. The tension that hollowed the cheeks of Brutus is reproduced in the heroic clay of the athlete Avengers of the *Last Judgment*.

In the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel each of the individual figures is an architectural element, standing out by itself : for instance the Prophets in the niches and the genii who are moving round them ; the nudes at the corners of the biblical pictures ; the shipwrecked figures of the Deluge, where the complex groups separate and fall into their own places: there is only the one exception of the crowd of Idolators. But in the *Last Judgment* it is difficult to separate the individual figures in this great bunch of forms : only in the centre, surrounded and divided from the rest by a halo, stands out the great image of Christ, eternalized in the menacing gesture that makes the guilty souls sink before him.

From the plan of base – of a raw indigo colour above, and flame-coloured below – the crowds of souls press forward with the speed of clouds that the storm tears apart and gathers together by turn: the crowds of the Saints are close to the Judge, hurled impetuously towards him, and enclose him in a stormy crown : all around the aureole overflow these crowds, swelling, colliding, crossing each other in space.

Groups of rising souls are pulled upwards, hauled by athletic angels who seem to be dragging up bodies with ropes from some alpine abyss ; the damned, beaten down by angels, are entwined with the savage groups of demons below ; angels, suspended like clouds in the thunderous air, blow their trumpets towards the earth. Two groups are facing each other at the sides of the heralds of vengeance : the Elect who are hauled up with herculean effort ; and one of the Damned who is being dragged towards the abyss by demons hung on to him like the lead that weights a body buried at sea. The earth is bare except for rocks and the resurrected sinners and Charon with his load of damned that is collapsing on the shore like a crumbling wall towards Minos, the judge ; these close the scene of Judgment at the bottom of the composition. At the top of the fresco it is closed by two groups of angels : accusing witnesses at the divine tribunal they are carrying the symbols of the passion towards Christ. The distribution of the statue-paintings shows

the genius of the great architect who knew so well how to oppose one with another and to balance the masses, intensifying the life of the whole through the constrast of separate forces.

Giotto, in the Scrovegni Chapel, had depicted Christ with the calm majesty of a divine Judge; Fra Angelico had shown him with all the sweetness of his own mystical spirit; Fra Bartolomeo with the gesticulations and oratorical art of a Dominican friar. But Michelangelo shows the Christ with grandiose violence of gesture, releasing thunderbolts and sinking the guilty down into the pit. He is a young and athletic Jehovah; the wound in his side that proclaims him the martyr-God, as well as the Cross and the column carried by a whirlwind of angels, are symbols of accusation rather than of mercy The tumult of the arriving clouds breaks at the edge of the storm of light that surrounds the God. His raised hand has a grave and terrible rhythm – a contrast to the irruptive motion of the surrounding hordes; he is throwing an eternal curse on the guilty. The accusing Saints, armed with the instruments of their own martyrdom, cry for revenge; Sebastian stretches his arms as though bending an invisible bow, and seems to be shooting down arrows on the damned beneath him. The multitudes of angels, wingless genii of the tempest, with eyes protruding from terror or darkened with anger, climb with herculean efforts to the Cross, a gigantic tree uprooted from the ground with superhuman impetus; the heralds point their trumpets towards the earth, calling mankind once more to passion, to wrath, to pain, to everlasting damnation; the energy of the forms increases in intensity. But the climax of this nightmare of Michelangelo's soul is the tragic group, already mentioned, of the demons who are dragging a reprobate down to Hell, winding like serpents round his powerful limbs and forming a twisted column that untwiness itself with ghastly slowness. The sinner is bent forward upon himself, crushed by the weight of his curse; his arms are crossed, his head is propped on his hand, his eyes are fixed with terror on the pit that awaits him. Whoever has seen this half-hidden face, the eyes staring wide, the mouth a panting wound, the forehead clawed with terror, can never

lose the memory of it. This conquered giant is an image of remorse and madness, the most haunting of all the figures in the terrible *Dies Irae* of Michelangelo (1).

A marvellous drawing in red pencil in the Louvre is contemporary with the *Last Judgment* but is not one of the studies for it. It depicts a group of men carrying a dead body up a slope. This group of nude figures bent with the load of the body that drags them down with its dead weight is one of the most striking examples of sculptural form in the art of Michelangelo. In the drawing, which is very probably a study for an Entombment, all the figures seem hewn from an immense marble pilaster. This drawing is unusually important because of the pre-sixteenth century effect of the light that is beating down on the head of one of the carriers and on the dead body; it weighs on the forms, solidifying them.

Another drawing, of the same period as the *Last Judgment*, and showing the same types, is the bust of a woman with plaits of hair wound tightly round her head, almost like heavy ropes; her severe mouth seems carved from a piece of marble; her eyes are dilated by horror and lit by an inner flame.

A pencil drawing, with some pen-strokes in it, in the Buonarroti Collection, shows many variations of the *Last Judgment*. Christ, the centre of the composition, seems to be throwing down thunderbolts with his right hand; the Madonna, who in the fresco is contemplating the rising souls of the Elect from a height, in this drawing is kneeling, imploring the Judge to show them mercy; gigantic forms are falling into the pit.

In a drawing of Bonnat, at Bayonne, a circle of martyrs with looks of horror and anger and menacing gestures are bending over the pit. A study in tho British Museum has a rapidly drawn bust at the top of the sheet that reminds us of the more herculean of the *Slaves* for the tomb of Pope Julius: and

(1) In the British Museum is a study for the angel with body curved as though leaning over the edge of the abyss to raise up the blessed. Other sketches for the *Last Judgment* that are small in actual size but appear immensely large to our eyes because of the force they depict, are in the Royal Library at Windsor.

in another study in the British Museum an upright figure is stretching out his arms to angels carrying symbols of the Passion, thrusting his face forward, and bringing into play all the energy of his muscular body to cleave the resisting air.

The series of studies for the *Fall of Phaeton* have forms that are similar to those of the *Last Judgment.* In the first of them, in the British Museum, the picture is composed of three groups, each above the other. Below, on the ground, the river god Eridanus is lying in a classical position, with his pitcher beside him ; his massive bust is raised like that of *Day* on the Medici tombs, and he is fixing his eye on Phaeton. The sisters of the youth are twisting their strong bodies already imprisoned in three trunks of trees with rough and thorny shoots that seem transplanted from Dante's Wood of the Suicides. The little boat-like chariot is tossing in the deadly vortex formed by the horses and the youth.

In the next drawing, in the Royal Library of Windsor, the powerful river god, his arm resting on his pitcher, is looking thoughtfully at the stream of water that is pouring out of it. The nymphs are running forward screaming ; one of them seems to be hurling maledictions at the sky, the other is in a shrinking attitude as though she felt the avalanche from above crashing down on her strong shoulders. The chariot, which in the drawing of the British Museum was tossing in space, is shown here at the instant of being overturned. Jove is no longer in a facing position, as in the first study, but is twisted in a direction contrary to that of Phaeton. The sharp construction of the picture, the violently angular position of Phaeton, and of the figure of the avenging Jupiter taking his aim, give the scene a terrible quickness of action, like the fall of a thunderbolt.

The above studies for the *Fall of Phaeton* in the British Museum and in Windsor, have forms similar to those of the Medici Chapel; but a third drawing in the Academy of Venice, recalls the *Last Judgment.* And the constructive rhythm is more complex: the agile movement of Jove has become an oppressive weight ; the chariot is falling almost perpendicularly into the abyss under the aim of the Avenger; and the horses are

grouped in couples at the sides of the chariot and are clutching each other like pincers in their fall; the masses, divided and balanced with architectural symmetry, fall from the height with the heaviness of rocks ; on the earth the women are contorted with the sting of pain, like plants caught in a hurricane. The athletic, manly figure, no longer with any of the attributes of a river god, stretches his arms to the youth, following the axis of the grouping that has its top in Jupiter. The immense mass of the nude figure, stretched in a cry, raises its arms to ward off ruin. Along the axis of the composition the directions of the movements are continually contrasted : the figure of the River with that of Phaeton, Phaeton with the chariot, and the chariot with the figure of Jupiter; they all turn in different directions, forming a slow, marvellous spiral between earth and sky. The grouping, which in the other drawing was developed in an upward direction, is here broadened out; the agile rhythm has become heavy and leaden, and the sculptural effect is increased, as in the statuary groups of Michelangelo, by the contrast between the upper part, done in *chiaroscuro*, with the vaguely-defined and powerful figures, roughly-draughted, as though out of coarse rock.

A drawing in the British Museum showing *Christ driving the Merchants out of the Temple*, might be confused with the drawings for the *Last Judgment* ; while a series of studies for a *Crucifixion* has forms half-way between those of the *Last Judgment* and the pictures of the Pauline Chapel. A sheet in the Louvre shows the drama of the Cross by three statue-like figures in a tragic solitude. In the fifteenth century (and in Florence since Giotto in the fourteenth) Italian art had depicted the crucified Christ with his arms stretched almost horizontally, and his head on a level with his arms ; Mascaccio depicted him in this attitude, and Pietro Perugino, and Donatello ; and the painters of the seventeenth century. And Fra Bartolomeo in his drawings, Raphael in the Mond picture, Titian in his *Crucifixion* at Ancona, all follow the same scheme. But Michelangelo attains to a dramatic effect, like that reached by Giovanni Pisani in the Crucifix of the pulpit at Pistoia with the Christ drooping on a high cross with oblique arms. The weight of Mi-

chelangelo's Christ hangs painfully on the pierced hands that are dragged upwards as though nailed to the branches of a tree, and their upward line towards the sky is opposed by the weight of the body dragged by gravity towards the earth. The figures of Christ and the Virgin are riddled with shadows; that of John, barely sketched in, with few and light shadows, appears to our eyes like an unfinished statue of which we distinguish only its large bulk from under the sheeting that is wrapped round it.

The drawing in the Library of Windsor, with the figures of John and the stooping Mary petrified with terror and pain; and the other in the same collection in which the oblique arms of the Cross drag the arms of Christ upwards with lacerating cruelty, have forms more approaching to those of the Pauline Chapel. In another drawing, in the British Museum, the Virgin and John are gathered closely together at the foot of the Cross, like shipwrecked people clinging to a rock, lonely and forlorn in the tempest of sorrow. There is no longer any distance between the figures, and the statuesque unity of the grouping is greater.

The drawing for the group of the stucco relief in the Casa Buonarroti collection in Florence is of this same period: its five figures seem overturned by the whirlings of a vortex; the composition of ladders propped against the Cross, figures of carriers busy along the ladders, two groups of figures at the foot of the Tree, that was customary in the Florentine Renaissance – with Filippino Lippi equally with Bachiacca and the followers of Donatello – is transformed by Michelangelo through the superhuman muscular efforts of the carriers, and through the impetus of the figures on the ground who are raising their arms to Christ. The twisted figures with upraised arms seem like a tree at the mercy of a storm. The figure of John, bending wearily on the left of Mary, recalls the works of the great Giovanni Pisani, who, together with Luca Signorelli, came nearest to the Master. But with Michelangelo the human form is given greater prominence, and the dynamic effect is changed through contrast of forces.

In the two years, 1549-50, Michelangelo finished the paintings of the Pauline Chapel which he had begun in 1542. In the *Fall of St. Paul* the distribution of the angels round the Almighty recalls the *Last Judgment*; but the sky furrowed by torrents of light, and the depth of the landscape, deprive the statue-like groups of that unity and compactness of base which derives from a sculptural conception, and which in the *Last Judgment* had already been partially abandoned. But the art of Michelangelo, even when he was old and embittered, and in spite of unhappy restorations, shows the Master's unbreakable power. The figures seem carved from the pieces of a column, especially the two men on the left, near the edge of the picture, with their backs turned to us. Dark clouds gather in the sky, and the clusters of angels, like clouds scattered by a thunderbolt, group themselves round the Almighty.

The *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, like the above work, has its scene laid in a grand and severe corner of the Roman Campagna with lines of hills like sand dunes; but the masses that were scattered by the fall of St. Paul here move heavily with a simultaneous and slow movement towards the cross, the centre of the picture.

The great wooden cross is being raised with difficulty from the ground by panting soldiers and executioners who are moving round it laboriously as though round a mill-stone; and the outer circle of armed men and Peter's followers is turning too, in a slow and grave movement of which the lances and the halberds mark the rhythm; all the figures are turned towards the rising cross. The cross seems so heavy as to strain the wall on which it is painted, and to be about to break through it. The structure of the groups is grand and synthetic; they seem like cubiform rocks that an invincible power is trying to bend, to uproot, from the ground. The dominating force is the cross of Peter; it is the pivot of the whole composition, the gigantic crane that raises everything.

In 1550 Michelangelo was working at the statues of the *Pietà* for the Duomo of Florence. Their forms are extremely similar to those of the frescoes of the Pauline Chapel. The figur-

es of Christ and Nicodemus, bending slowly, inevitably, to the right, have the same rhythm as the groups bending towards the cross of St. Peter. At the body of Christ – a mass that is falling to the ground – is the kneeling Mother, pressing herself to his side; she is making a rampart around him, as if to keep possession of his body, to protect it from the grave: Nicodemus, gathering both the Son and the Mother into his strong arms, forms a prop to the group. To the falling of the dead Christ is opposed the effort of Nicodemus' shoulder bent at an angle and thrust between the two heads like a ploughshare cleaving the earth; the figure of the Magdalen, more finished, and less grandiose, than the others, is introduced into the group merely as a support, as a caryatide. The aged Michelangelo's power of showing movement in sculpture reaches its highest point in these three unfinished statues that fuse the angular masses into one single cube of sharp and rough rock.

The Rondanini *Pietà* (one of the works classified as having remained in the house of Macel de' Corvi after the Master's death) consists of a barely-outlined figure that serves as a support, like the Magdalen of the Florence *Pietà*, and of two spectre-like figures superimposed one on the other, despairingly clasping each other, folded tightly together, like a banner furled in mourning. The Christ is not a prostrate giant, a massive rock that drags down with it everything it meets with in its fall, as in the Florence *Pietà*: he is standing, weakly supported by his Mother; the thin knees are bending, and the feet are slipping on the small base of stone. The large mass of the Florence group is here lengthened and narrowed, planned vertically. The two heads, one against the other, one above the other, droop towards the earth which is on the point of engulfing the martyred Christ. The Virgin, the staff of support, bends with her Son under the same blow of pain and death; the two statues form a single tree, with its leaves falling to the ground, to the grave.

A print of Du Perac, dated 1619 shows us Michelangelo's plan for the rebuilding of the Piazza Campidoglio. He probably started this work about 1546-47. A great flight of steps

leads to the Piazza with the statue of Marcus Aurelius in the centre – the statue that Michelangelo himself had moved there from the centre of the Foro Capitolino. A majestic stairway, detached from the building and fronted by a fountain amongst groups of statues, makes the Palace more important, and gives a new character to the façades of the sixteenth century palaces. The fountain gives an added sculptural effect to the masses: an effect which is continued in front of the Palazzo dei Senatori by a central *loggia* embellished with columns and statues. Figures of gods crown the three buildings; and groups of statues, put together as trophies, crown the balustrade that encloses the Piazza. In the modern Palazzo dei Senatori, the picturesque effects of shadow of the baroque scrolls, the great niche with a curved back and the statue symbolizing Rome, alternate with the severe majesty of the façades of Michelangelo. And in the lateral palaces the middle large window brings a central harmony that is lacking in the print of Du Perac.

In 1546 Michelangelo's drawing was chosen by the Pope as the winner of the competition for the large cornice of the Palazzo Farnese that Sangallo had been engaged in partially restoring; the work had been nearly finished. We have told how Michelangelo made a full-sized wooden corner and fitted it on to the Palace, to try its effect; and how he was commissioned to take over the work of Sangallo in the Farnese Palace and in the fortifications of the Borgo. The cornice of the Farnese Palace shows the hand of Michelangelo more clearly than do the other parts of the building, though even the cornice has not the grandeur of the complicated design on a sheet which may be seen in Casa Buonarroti in Florence. It is probable that, except for the cornice, Michelangelo worked only on the windows of the cortile. Their sculptured projections of pediments, whose spaces deepen the shadows between the cornices, and the tablets inset into the base of the second story, are all characteristic of his work. The inset panels serve to break the unity of the surface, like the little windows in the cupola of St. Peter's. The new effects introduced by Michelangelo into the cortile of

the Farnese Palace – the strong accentuations of light and shadow that break the monotony of the old background – are based on the projections alternating with the sculptural pauses of shadow.

In 1562 Jacopo del Duca was working at the decorations of the Porta Pia from sketches of Michelangelo ; and notwithstanding the changes introduced, and the consequent lessening of powerful effects, the mark of the great sculptor is clearly impressed on the inner side of the Porta Pia. The *rayère* is opposed by the weight of an inset lunette, the scrolls of the pediment by the presence of the cornice broken with the impetus of a bird's wing, and the medallions of the upper story by the restraint of a horseshoe ornamentation, making a perfect balance. The whole front, dominated by the imperious structure of the gate, shows the dynamic effects of Michelangelo's sculpture, whether in the violent and repeated breakings of the mouldings, or the constant play of shadows in the recessed parts. Though the work was carried out by assistants a drawing by Michelangelo in the Buonarroti Collection tallies with the Roman gate, and many features of this drawing are found in the architecture, such as the broken *rayère* of the cornice, the two small triangular panels sunk into the lunette, the triangular pediment with its summit hung with a festoon, and the pilasters returned on to the wall. These points are sufficient proof that the gate was inspired by the drawing. The differences, however, are many : in the design there are columns instead of pilasters ; there is no tablet ; and the angle of the tympanum is spanned by an arch, which in the building is broken into two to support the festoon. The sketch shows merely the central part of the building with two little blind windows at the sides of a great shield supported by volutes like dolphins. The drawing is more closely carried out in regard to proportion : the key-stone of the gate extends from the centre of the *rayère* through a rectangular panel as far as the cornice, to support a small shield ; and the curved outlines of the coat of arms over the pediment are echoed in the festoon. In the finished building this continuity of the architectural ligament – an essential of every form of Michelan-

gelo – is spoilt by the insertion of the mask and of the tablet in the tympanum and in the façade.

But the only work of architecture in Rome that reflects the whole light of Michelangelo's genius is the mighty Dome, raised aloft in the sky, crowning the Mother Church of Christianity in the heart of the papal city like an immense tiara. In this dome of St. Peter's we hear an echo of the sonorous voice of the domes which Alberti intended to raise, and the triumphal soar of the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore. But Michelangelo's effects are derived from the harmonizing at distances of powerful constrasts of masses with lights and shadows, from the juxtaposition of impetus and restraint in the struggle that is found in every form of the sculptor, the fruit of his restless spirit and boundless will. The Dome, the splendid expression of the sovereignty of Rome, has the powerful limbs of the Master's sculptures. Twin columns, supporting a massive broken cornice, are placed on the base of the drum and jut out in the light against the background of the concave wall from which open the typical windows with their flat frames which allow full vigour of expansion to the high relief of the pediments. The twin columns, the living nerves of the edifice, are continued in the fragmentary groups of pilasters adorned with masks and festoons which divide the metopes of the frieze, and in the ribs which restrain the expanding of the dome. The double columns are repeated in the cupola culminating in a ball and a cross; and between the ribs of the cupola the little windows that give light to the interior are incrusted like sea-shells. In the dome of Brunelleschi the tiny *loggia* is like lace-work, and the structure is thin and simple and the openings reduced to small points, so as not to disturb the unity of the smooth surface; in Michelangelo's dome every moulding has width of volume, and the low notes are continually contrasted with the rising sounds, the basses with the trebles; the artist's love of sculptural effects took the place of pure architecture. And yet the two geniuses (the genius that opened, and the genius that closed, the Florentine Renaissance) have one element in common in their domes: the way in which the energetic line of the ribs, nerving the organism, is put in evidence. In the dome

of St. Peter the corners of the ribs, the sharpened edges of the cornices, sum up and intensify the dynamic effect of the masses and their lights and shadows. This mighty structure, which at a distance gains a look of repose in the majesty of its soaring curves, is Michelangelo's dream of grandeur come true.

Giotto, in the fourteenth century, and Masaccio, in the fifteenth, had been the leaders of European art in the painting of form ; and Florence was the centre of this purely Italian development in art during the whole of the Renaissance. Masaccio, by means of perspective, determined and limited the space round the human figure, showing it with fulness and significance, and making it stand out from the canvas in sculpture-like relief. Piero della Francesca, following in the steps of Andrea del Castagno, and still more in those of Paolo Uccello, put into practise his own ideal of planes of relief through grades of light ; his pictures are composed with geometrical crystalline clearness, and his influence spread as far as Gian Bellini in Venice and Antonello in Sicily. He developed that important school of metrical art that Antonelli and Francesco and Luciano Laurano and other great painters had followed. The Florentine artists Donatello, Antonio Pollajolo and Botticelli, aimed at depicting movement by clear, forcible lines. Instead of Piero della Francesca's simple outline, used merely for limiting his plans, theirs is individual, and breaks into angles and curves; instead of the static images of that mighty contemplator of abstract forms, theirs have a quick vitality, a nervous and convulsive energy. These two streams in the art of painting meet in the pictures of Luca Signorelli, who at times (as in the *Dispute of Pan*, the Gualino *Nativity*, and the *Birth of St. John* in the Louvre) is a perfect constructor of simple and metrically-regular masses. But Signorelli is more often complicated than simple ; like the violent Pollajolo he shows the human form with angular, broken lines. At times he paints with the speed of an impressionist, spasmodic, careless of the composition. In certain ways he is the forerunner of Michelangelo, even more so than Bertoldo or Pollajolo. The comparison between Signorelli and Michelangelo, the two Titans of art, has become a tradition and in many respects it is justified, even if

we remember the great changes that took place with the merging of the fifteenth century into the sixteenth. But Michelangelo's art is more consistent and coherent; he keeps to the path on which he started in his boyhood: always and in everything he is a sculptor; when forced by the Popes to accept commissions for painting he does it unwillingly: and even when painting he remains a sculptor. As a sculptor he reduces and simplifies his landscapes, to make his human figures stand out in relief. Though Masaccio endowed the human form with grandeur his severe perspective held him back from developing it fully. Michelangelo, on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, paints his figures against a recessed background, to make them project in abnormally full relief. Leonardo, with his cloudiness, his gentle transitions from one shadow to another, puts his figures at a distance, and wraps them in atmosphere. But Michelangelo brings them forward and makes them stand out vigorously, and makes them alive and articulate with his own pulsating life; their twisted and swollen muscles show his own torment of soul. Heroic and visionary, he sets no limits to his dream of human grandeur and energy: gigantic and exaggerated as are his creations they still fall short of his ideal of titanic, towering statuary.

The sixteenth century was the maytime of art, when the flower of the human form came to full blossoming with the works of Leonardo, Raphael and Correggio. But Michelangelo saw man as a nude figure against a squalid background of sand and rock, as in the biblical pictures on the Sistine ceiling; or against the marble of cornices and pilasters, as in the pent-up silence of the Medici Chapel. His humanity is heroic, gigantic; there is a primitive grandeur in the herculean limbs of his men and women, in their features furrowed by intensity of will, their dynamic attitudes, the movements of their limbs, and in their great muscles that seem to conquer the weight of the masses. Leonardo and Correggio show their figures and landscapes with vague outlines dispersed in the atmosphere, undecided and fluid as a dream. But Michelangelo fixes his forms in the very instant of their greatest energy. The spiral of Leonardo and Correggio is like a volute of smoke or foam; it floats

upwards–rapidly, easily, without effort. The spiral of Michelangelo seems to be conquering some hard attrition ; its outline is definite, it seems to sum up in a supreme synthesis the forces of energy latent in his enormous masses. Effort and struggle are the vital elements of his art: the hopeless struggle of titanic humanity against the cruelty of fate. Sorrow, bitterness and anger weigh upon his spirit in a world still pulsating with the joy of the Renaissance; a bitter, hopeless struggle is written on the features of his creations. Every circumstance of his life wounded him : the parsimony of the Popes hampered him in his art which he idolized, preventing the birth of his mighty visions ; he smarted under the preference of the Romans for their beloved Raphael ; he was pained by calumnies of other artists envious of his greatness, and by the insolence of the nobles. When his nephew came to visit him in illness he thought he was impatient to come into his money ; when Urbino, his faithful servant died – the only person in the world to whom his tormented soul turned with unmixed confidence – he exclaimed: «Nothing more is left me now but extreme of misery». He was a bitter, solitary man in a world still floating gaily in the serene visions of the Renaissance – a wounded soul suspicious of everyone ; he saw that world of gaiety as covered with a veil of mourning. Among the men of his time who deliberately put aside the vision of coming ruin, obstinate in their rose-coloured view of life, he is oppressed by the vision of a menacing future. He is a rebel against fate. He seems like one of his own Prophets or one of his tempestuous angels that awaken humanity with the sound of their trumpets in the *Last Judgment.* Under the nightmare of the invasion of Rome he says : « Truly no peace is to be found anywhere, except in the woods » ; and on the birth of his nephew's child he writes to Vasari: «So much pomp displeases me, for men should not be merry when all the the world is weeping. Leonardo was ill-judged to keep festival for a birth ; for joy and gladness should be reserved for the death of one who has lived well ». These words seem an epitome of the tragedy of his soul: of his pained vision of life as effort, struggle and hopeless suffering.

LIST OF REPRODUCTIONS

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LV. – THE DELUGE. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson photo*).

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CCXLV. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCXLVI. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCXLVII. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCXLVIII. – CHRIST AS JUDGE. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCXLIX. – THE VIRGIN. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCL. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Alinari, photo*).

CCLI. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLII. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Alinari, photo*).

CCLIII. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Alinari, photo*).

CCLIV. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLV. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Alinari, photo*).

CCLVI. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLVII. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLVIII. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLIX. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLX. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Alinari, photo*).

CCLXI. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLXII. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLXIII. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Alinari, photo*).

CCLXIV. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Anderson, photo*).

CCLXV. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Alinari, photo*).

CCLXVI. – THE LAST JUDGMENT. Detail. Rome, Sistine Chapel. (*Alinari, photo*).

REPRODUCTIONS

I HEAD OF FAUN-CYCLOPS (*Brogi, photo*)

Florence, National Museum

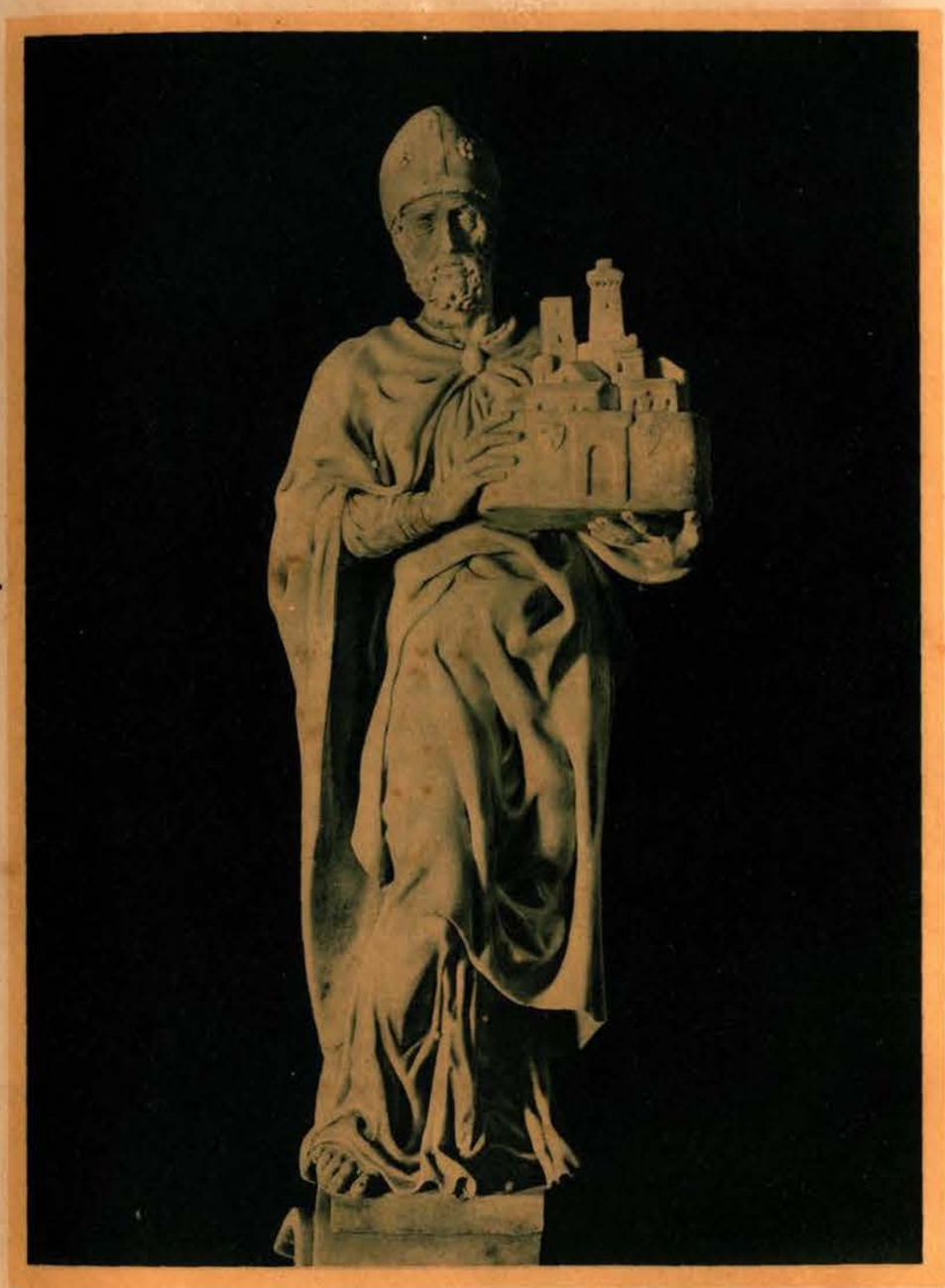
II RELIEF OF LAPITHS AND CENTAURS (Alinari, photo)

Florence, Buonarroti Museum

III MADONNA, KNOWN AS MADONNA OF THE STAIRCASE *(Alinari, photo)*

Florence, Buonarroti Gallery

IV ARK OF SAN DOMENICO - Niccolò dell'Arca, helped by Michelangelo *(Alinari, photo)*
Bologna, Church of San Domenico



V STATUE OF ST. PETRONIUS (*Alinari, photo*)

Bologna, Church of San Domenico

VI

STATUE OF ST. PROCULUS (*Alinari, photo*)

Bologna, Church of San Domenico

VII

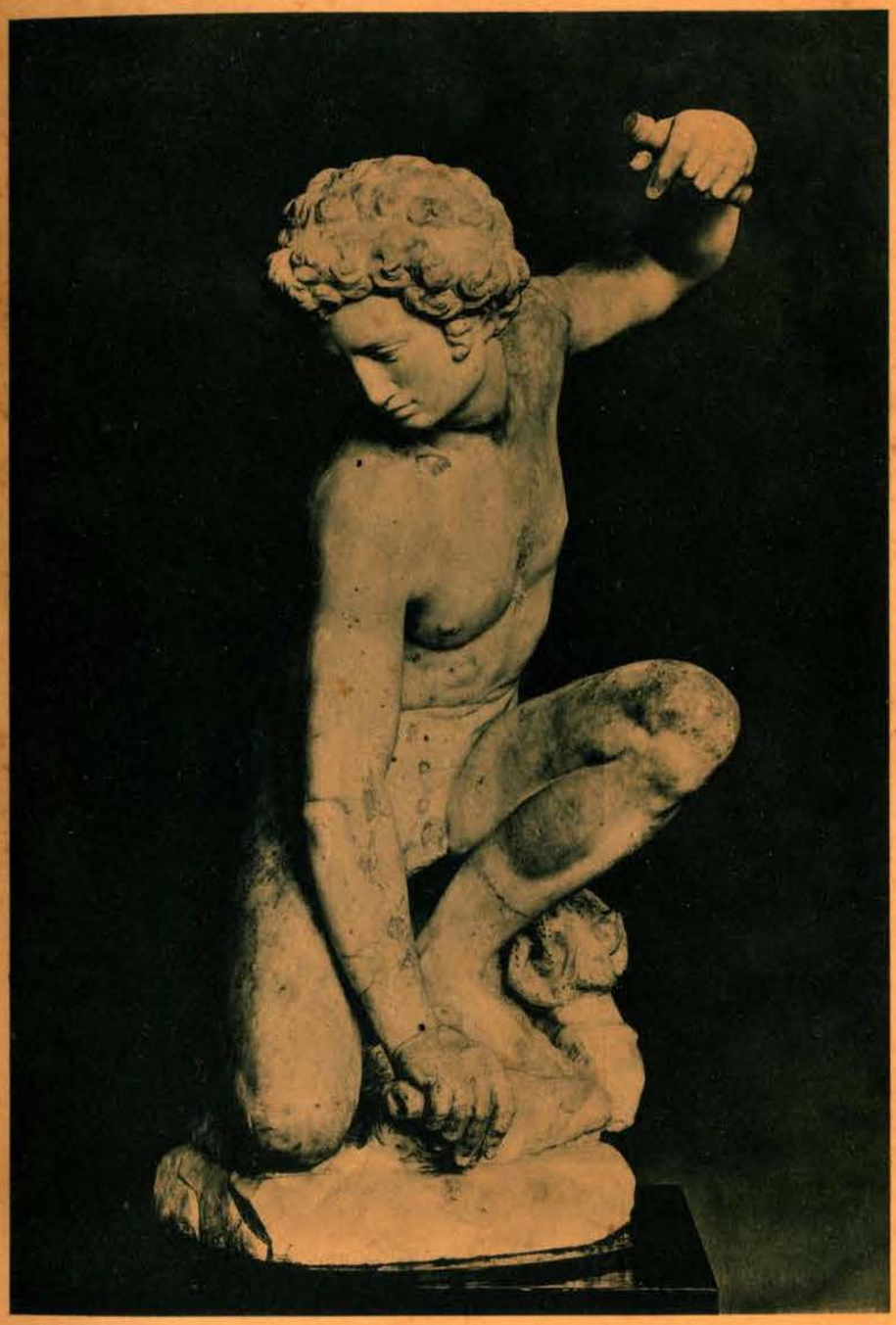
ANGEL - Niccolò dell'Arca

Bologna, Church of San Domenico

(Alinari, photo)

VIII ANGEL HOLDING CANDELABRUM *(Alinari, photo)*

Bologna, Church of San Domenico



IX CUPID

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

X VIRGIN, INFANT CHRIST AND ST. JOHN
Vienna, Academy

XI

VIRGIN, INFANT CHRIST AND ST. JOHN - Detail
Vienna, Academy

XII BACCHUS *(Anderson, photo)*

Florence, National Museum

XIII PIETÀ *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, St. Peter's Basilica

XVI STATUE FROM A DRAWING BY MICHELANGELO *(Lombardi, photo)*
Siena, Cathedral

XVII STATUE FROM A DRAWING BY MICHELANGELO *(Lombardi, photo)*
Siena, Cathedral

XVIII STATUE OF ST. PAUL - With help from Michelangelo *(Lombardi, photo)*
Siena, Cathedral

XIX STATUE OF ST. PETER - With help from Michelangelo *(Lombardi, photo)*
Siena, Cathedral

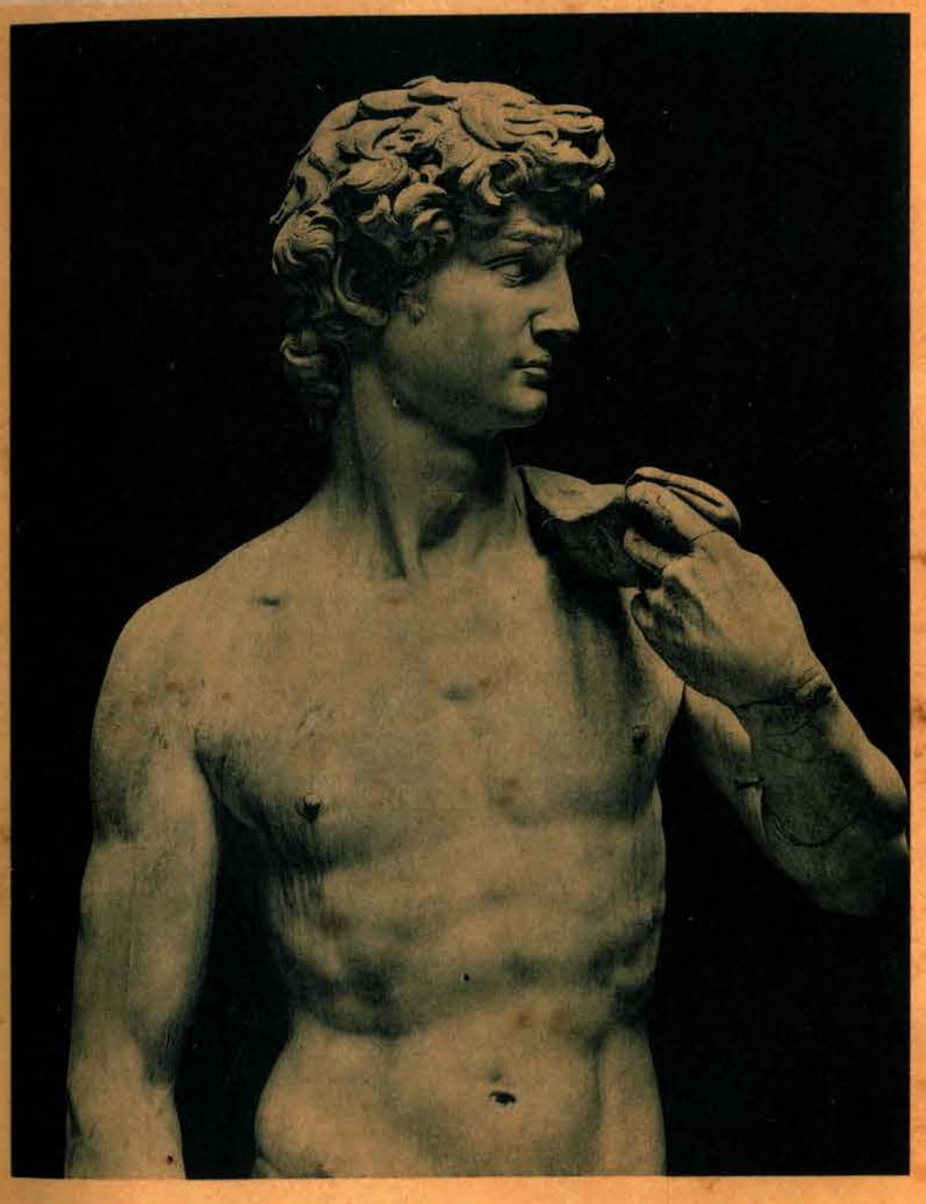
XX STATUE OF ST. FRANCIS - Pietro Torrigiano and assistants *(Lombardi, photo)*
Siena, Cathedral

XXI DAVID (Anderson, photo)

Florence, Academy

XXII **DAVID** *(Alinari, photo)*

Florence, Academy



XXIII DAVID - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*
Florence, Academy

XXIV STUDY FOR THE CARTOON OF THE BATTLE OF CASCINA (*Braun, photo*)

London, British Museum

XXV LUIGI SCHIAVONETTI FROM A CARTOON BY MICHELANGELO *(Alinari, photo)*

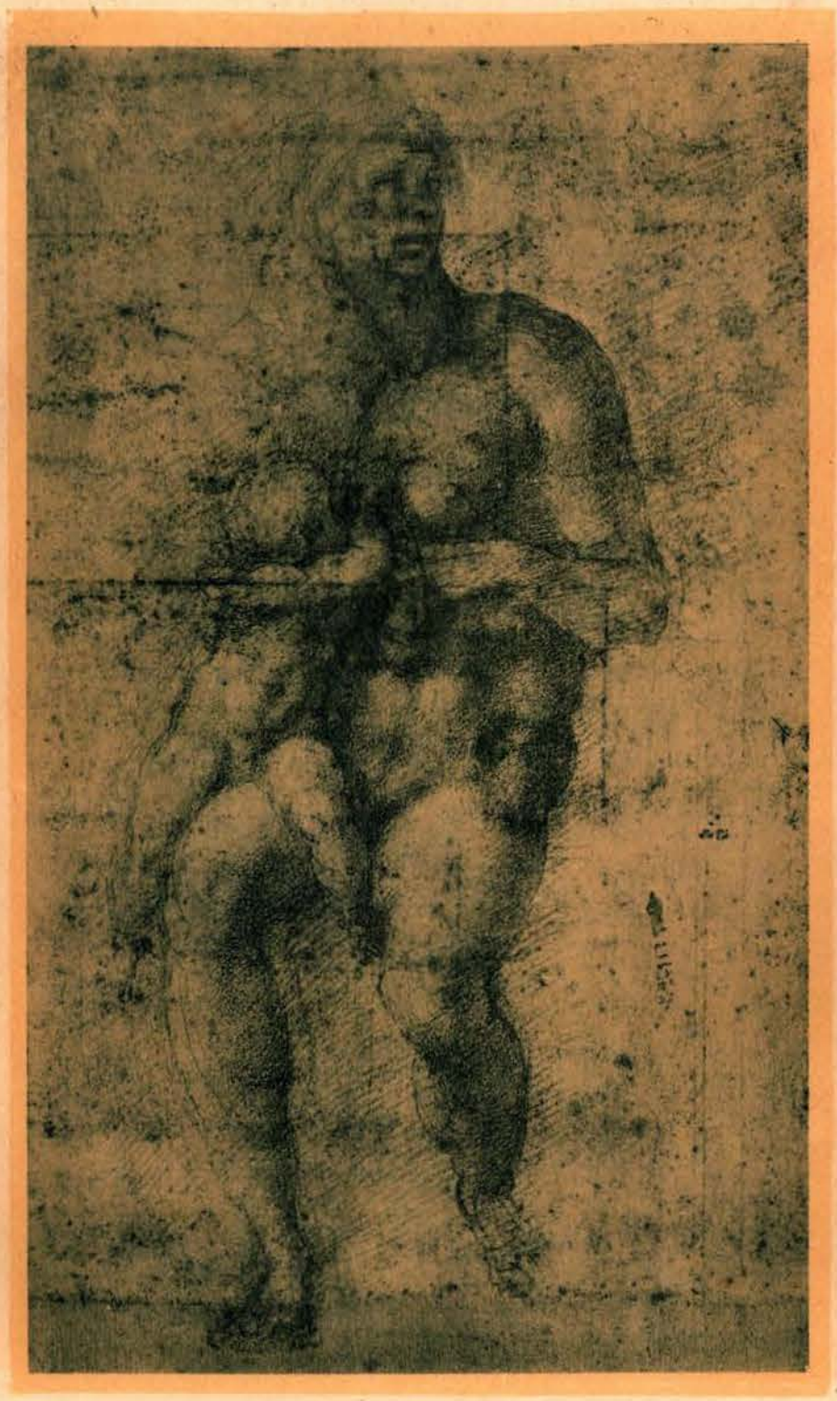
Florence, Uffizi

XXVIII STUDY FOR THE BATTLE OF CASCINA *(Anderson, photo)*

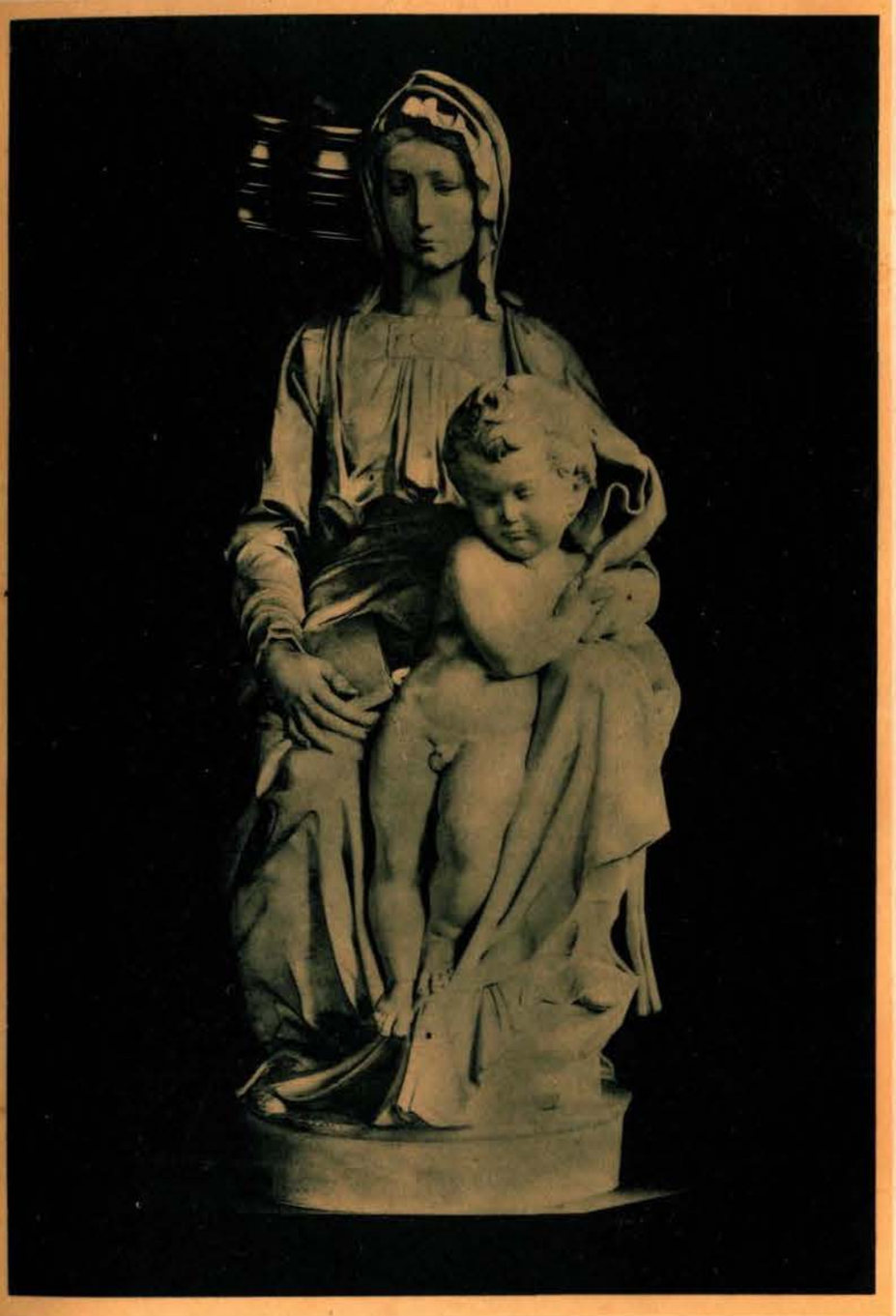
London, British Museum

XXIX STUDY FOR THE BATTLE OF CASCINA *(Anderson, photo)*

London, British Museum



XXX STUDY FOR MADONNA AND CHILD *(Anderson, photo)*
London, British Museum



XXXI

MADONNA AND CHILD

Bruges, Church of Nôtre Dame

XXXII

STUDIES FOR THE BATTLE OF CASCINA
AND THE MADONNA OF BRUGES
London, British Museum

(Anderson, photo)

XXXIII HOLY FAMILY *(Anderson, photo)*
Florence. Uffizi

XXXIV HOLY FAMILY - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*
Florence, Uffizi

XXXV VIRGIN, INFANT CHRIST AND ST. JOHN *(Anderson, photo)*
Florence, National Museum

XXXVIII

CEILING OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL
Rome, Vatican

(Anderson, photo)

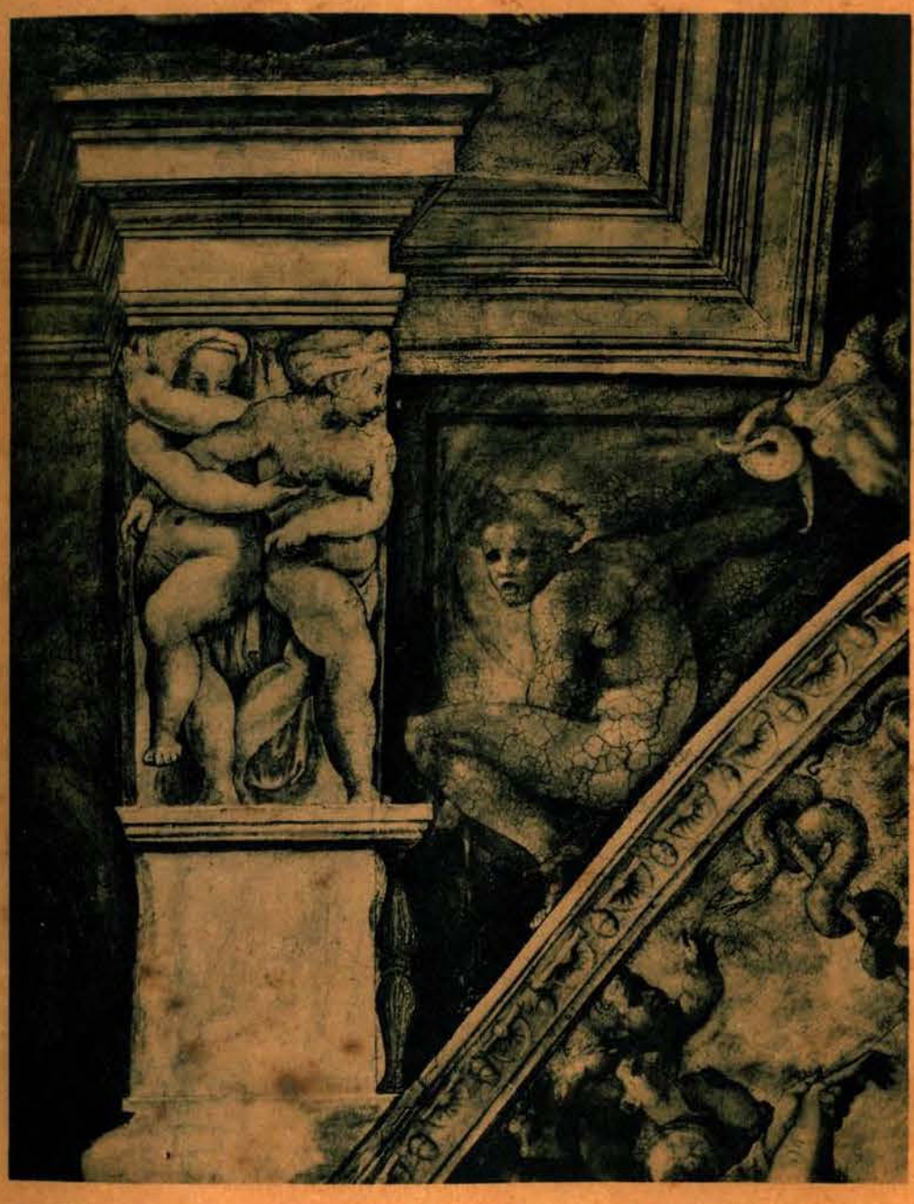
XXXIX

STUDIES FOR NUDE FIGURES FOR THE SISTINE CHAPEL
London, British Museum

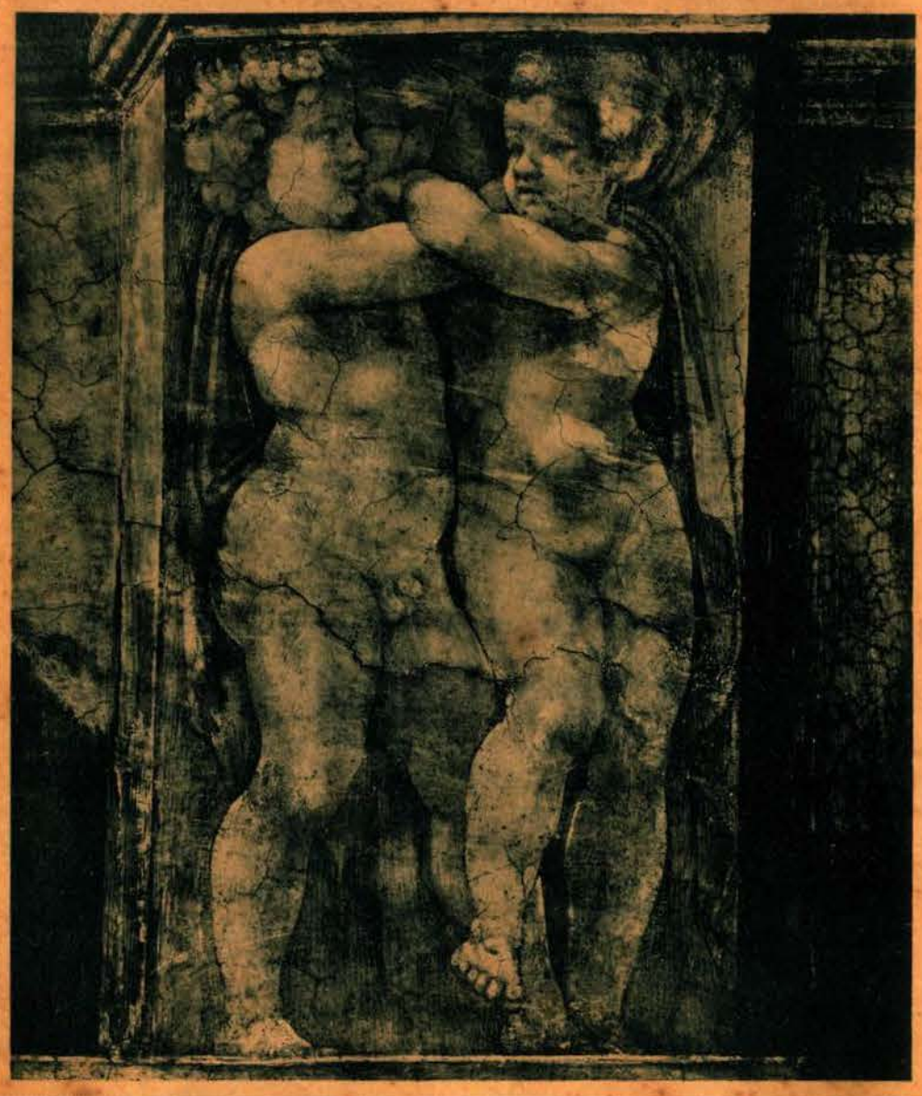
(Anderson, photo)

XL STUDIES FOR THE LIBYAN SIBYL *(Anderson, photo)*

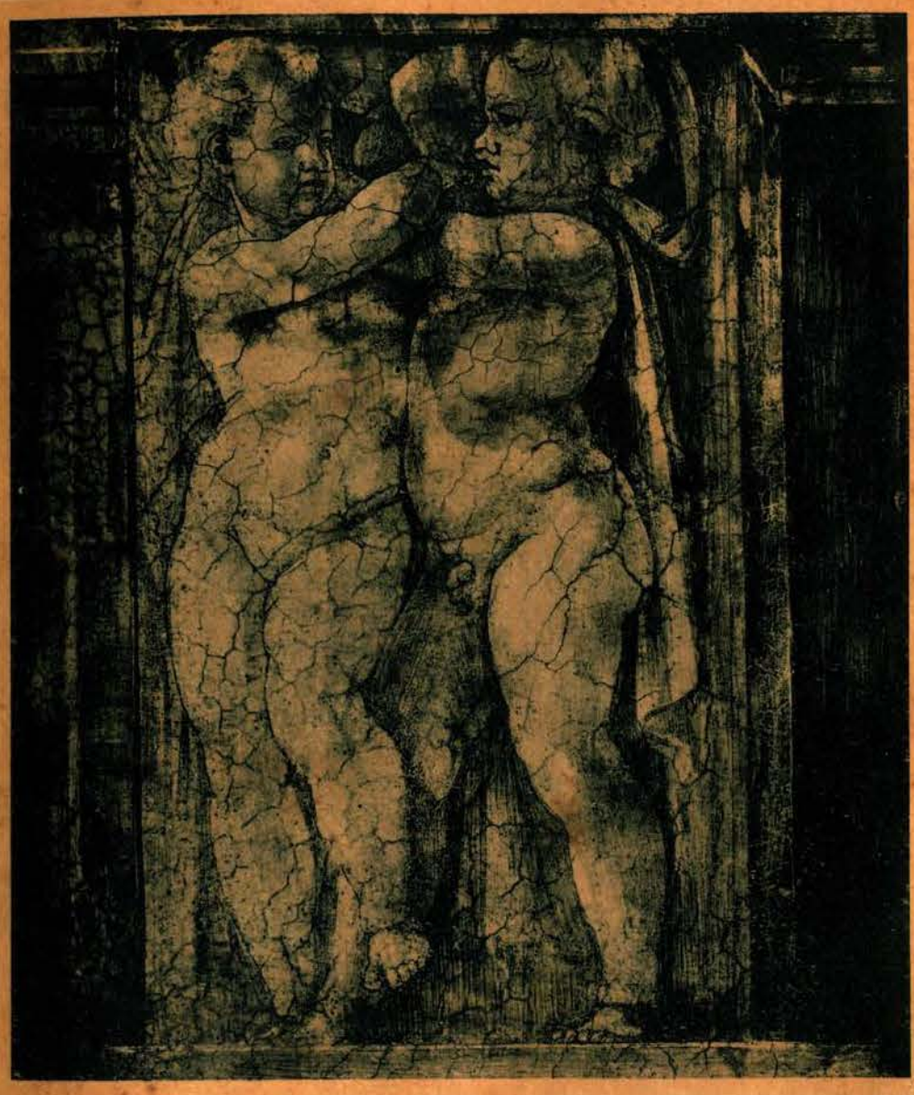
Madrid, Bernete Collection



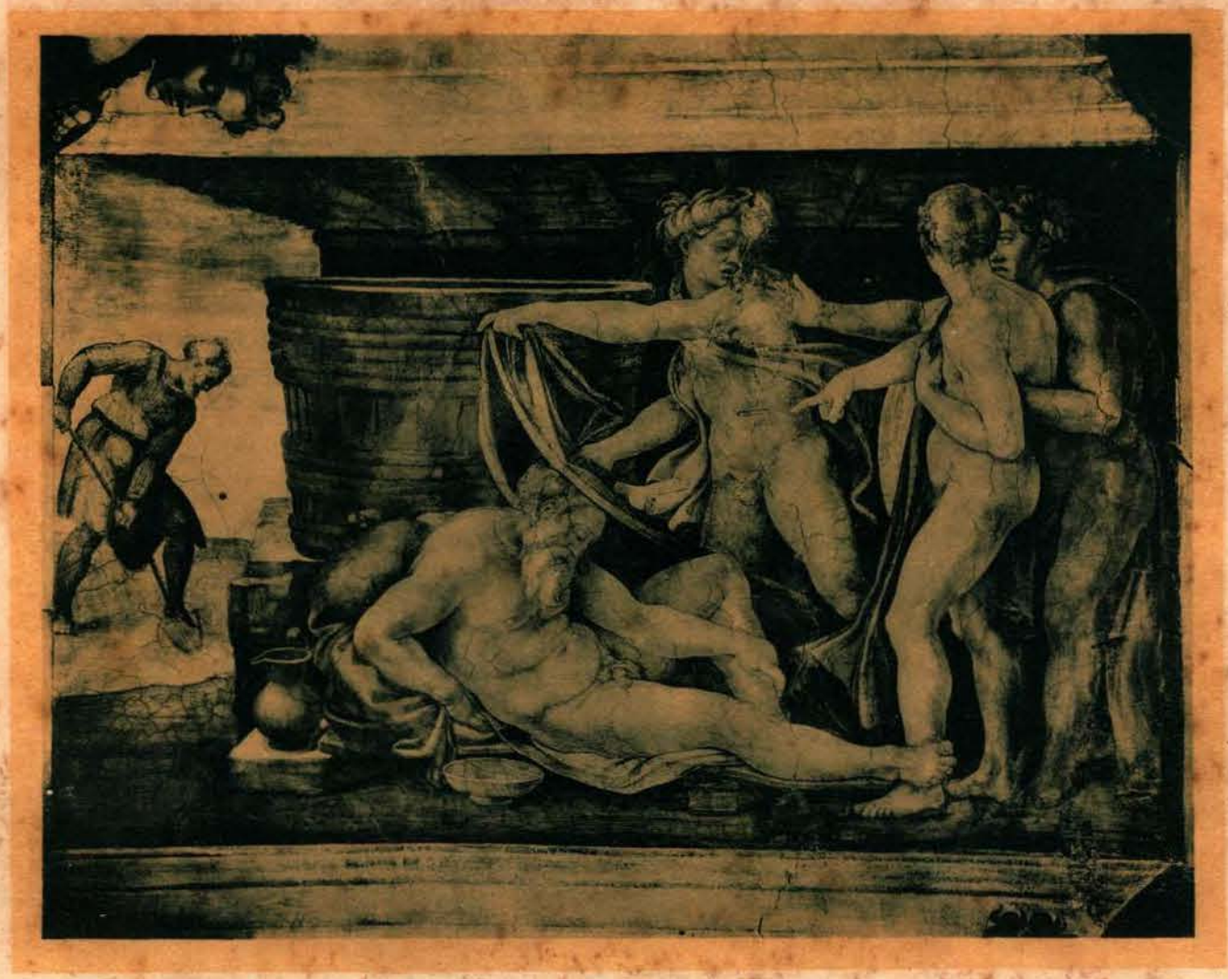
XLI SISTINE CHAPEL - Detail of Ceiling *(Alinari, photo)*
Rome, Vatican



XLII SISTINE CHAPEL - Children near the Prophet Zachariah *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Vatican



XLIII SISTINE CHAPEL - Children near the Prophet Zachariah *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Vatican



XLIV NOAH'S DRUNKENNESS (Anderson, photo)

Rome, Sistine Chapel

XLV

NOAH'S SACRIFICE
Rome, Sistine Chapel

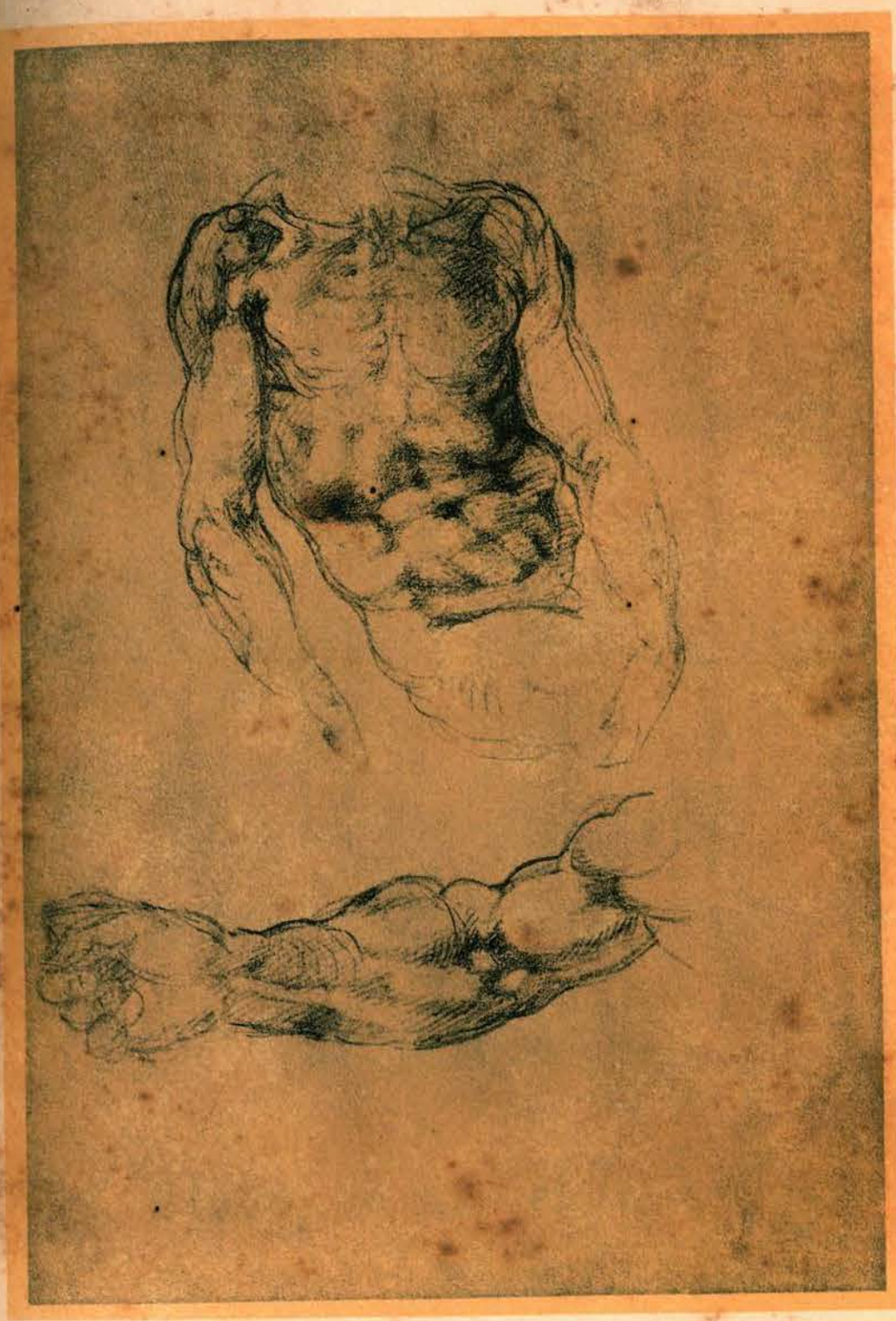
(Anderson, photo)

XLVI

THE DELUGE

Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)



XLVII

STUDY OF NUDE

Florence, Buonarroti Gallery

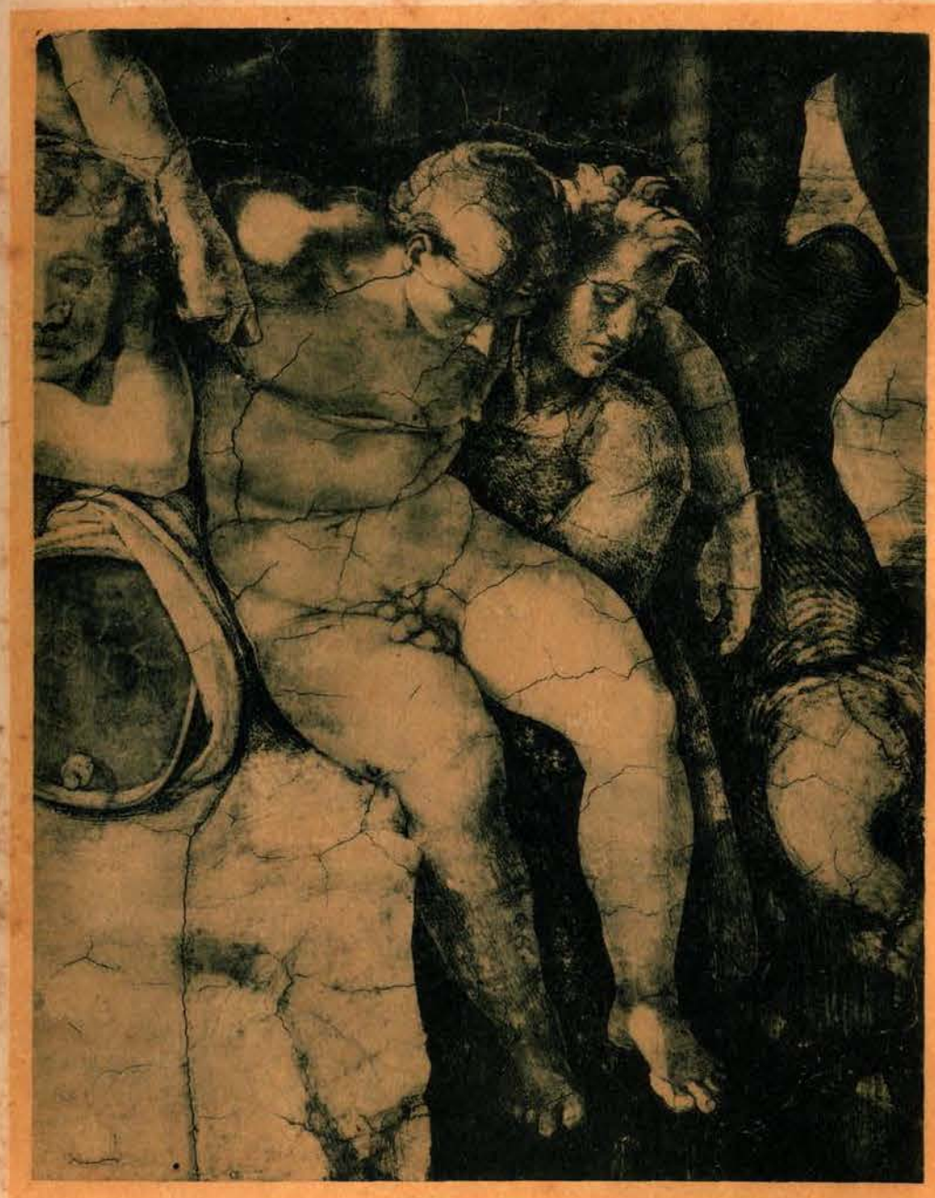
(Anderson, photo)

XLVIII

STUDY OF NUDE

Paris, Louvre

(Braun, photo)



XLIX THE DELUGE - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel

L

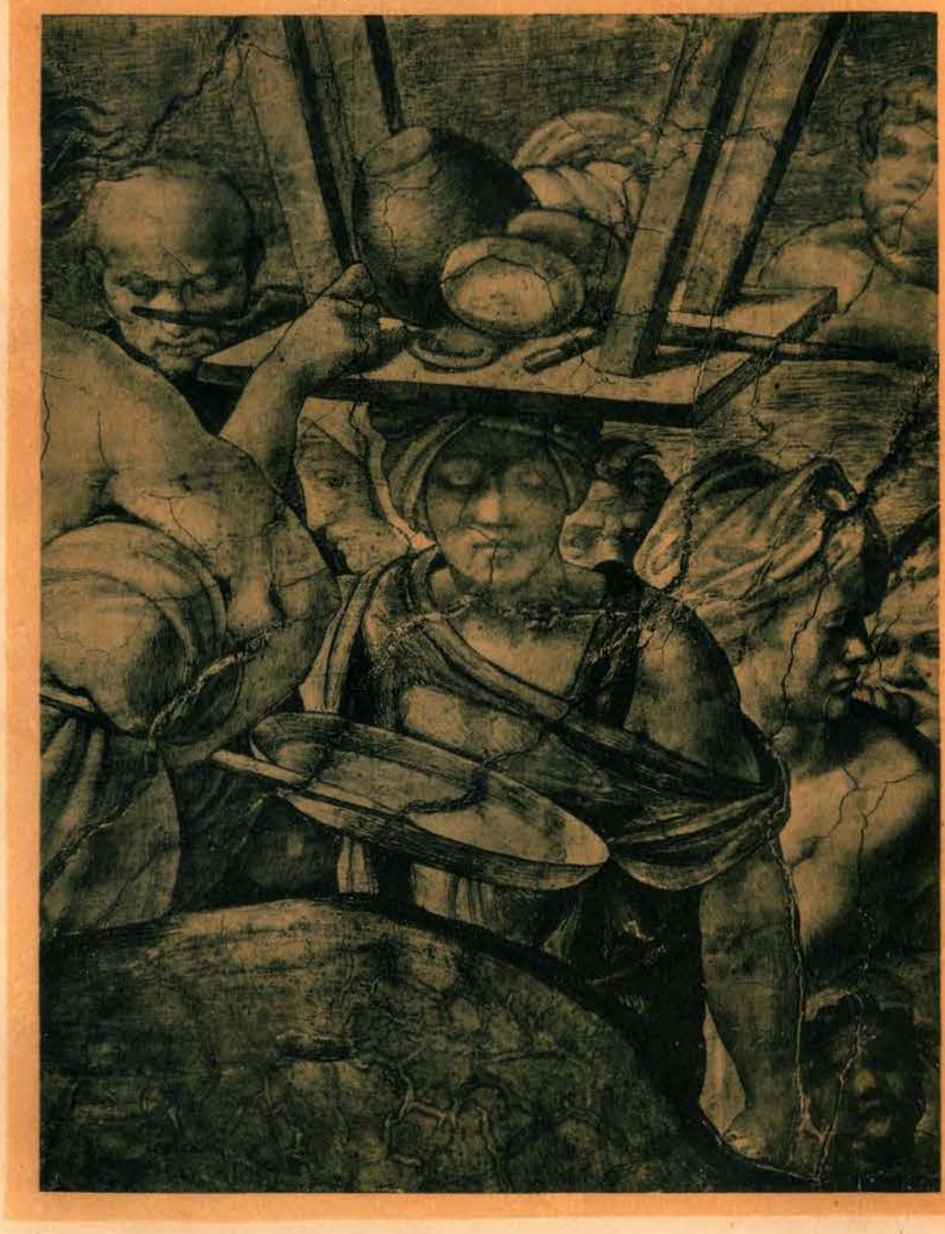
THE DELUGE - Detail
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

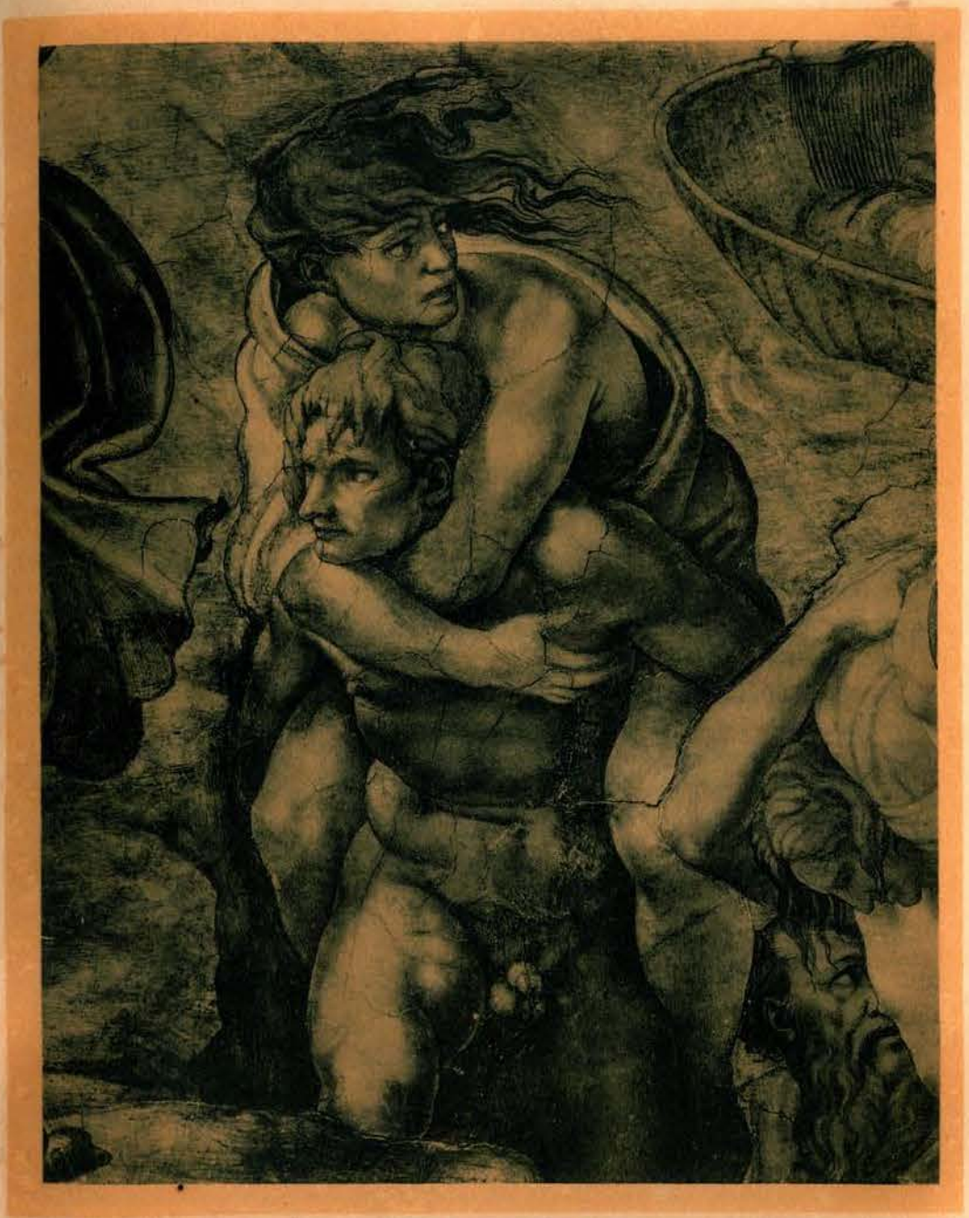
LI

THE DELUGE - Detail
Rome, Sistine Chapel

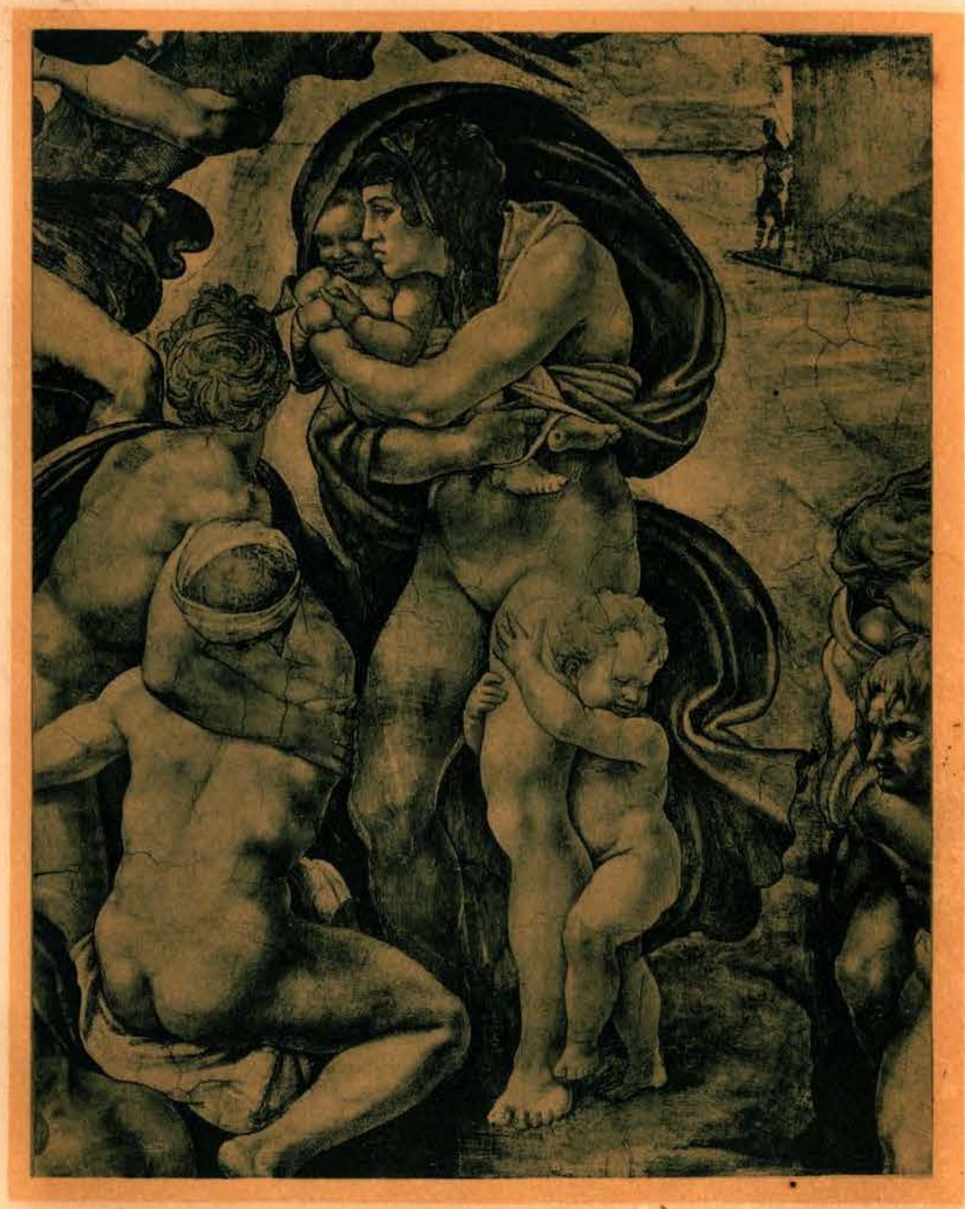
(Anderson, photo)



LII THE DELUGE - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Sistine Chapel

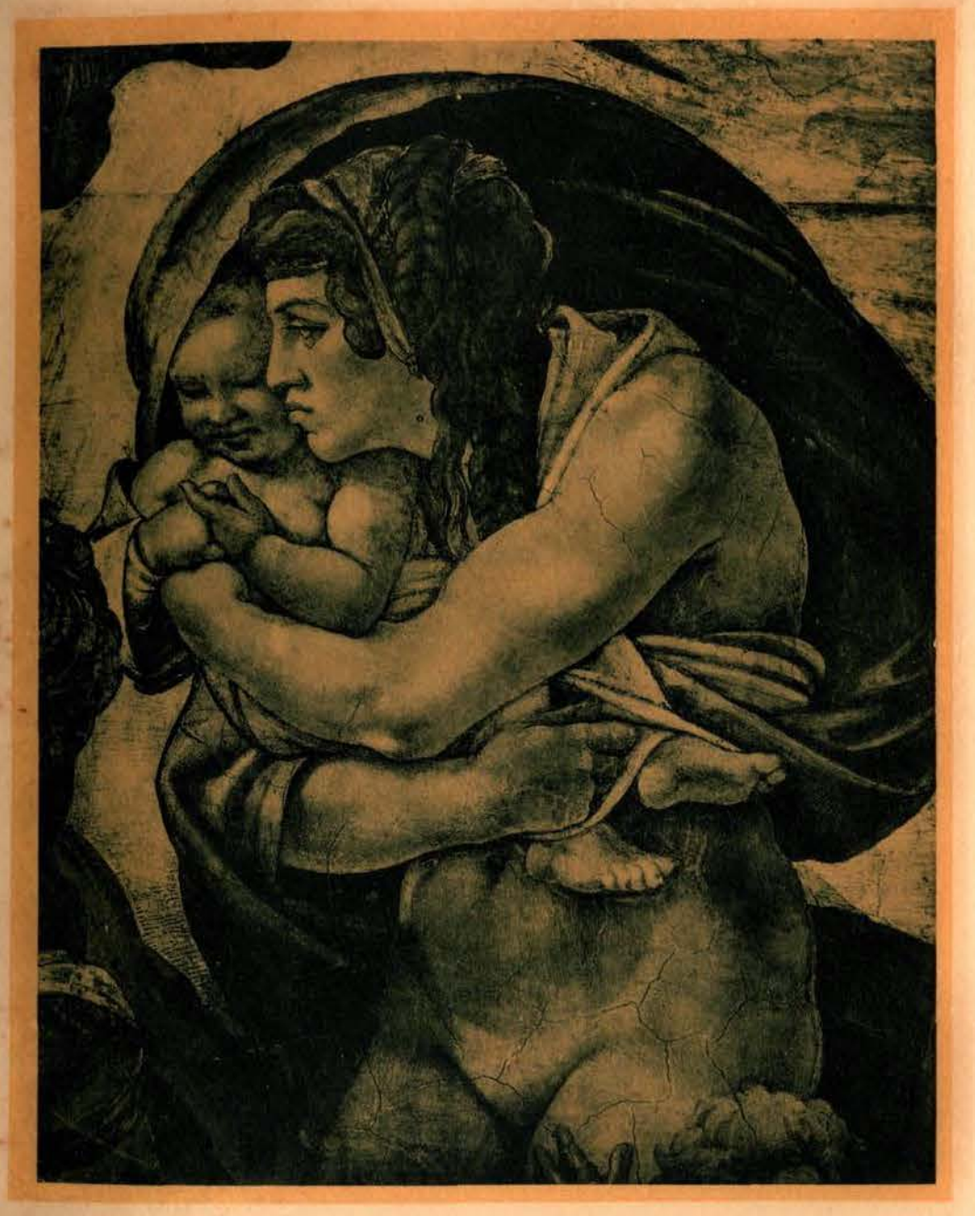


LIII THE DELUGE - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Sistine Chapel

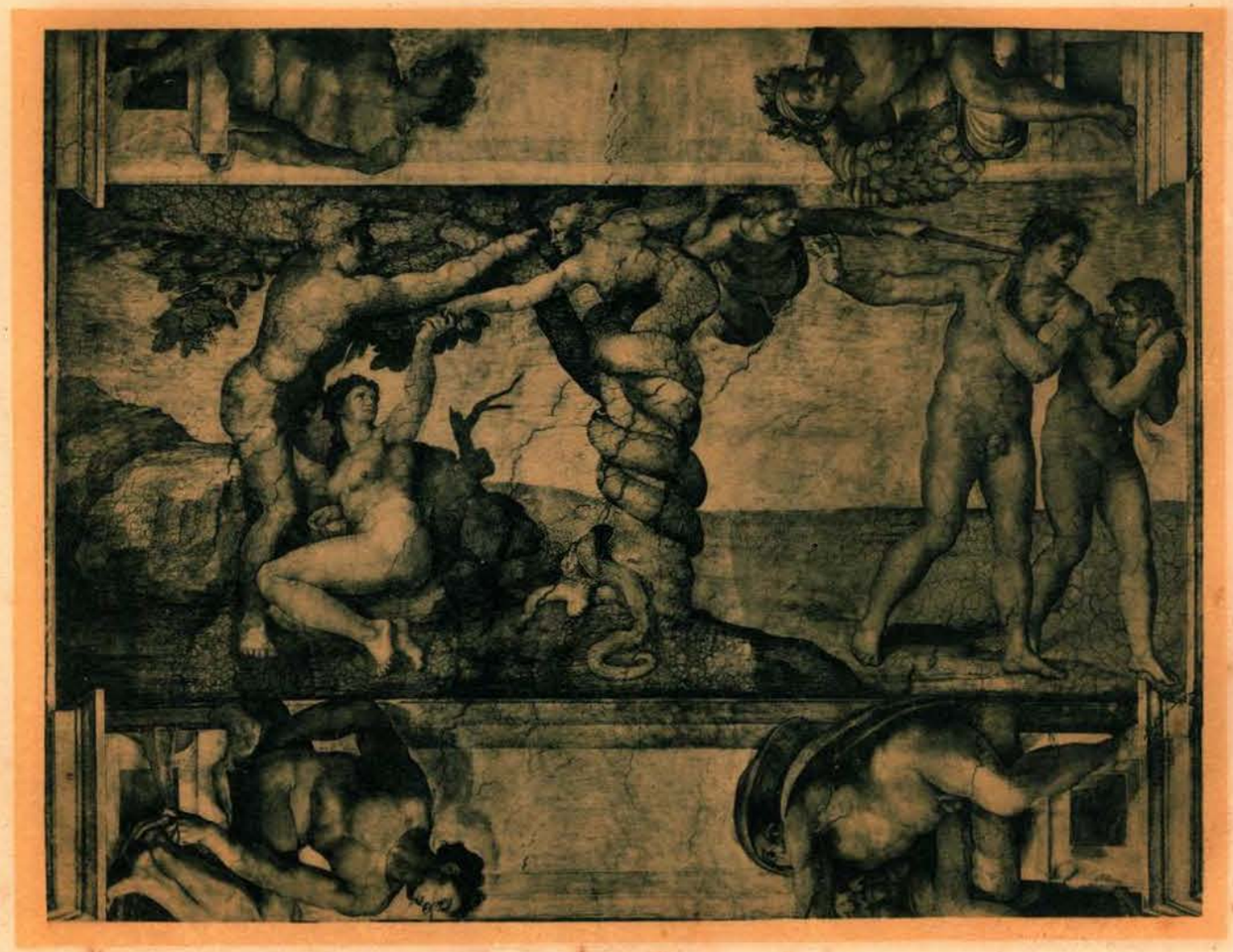


LIV THE DELUGE - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel



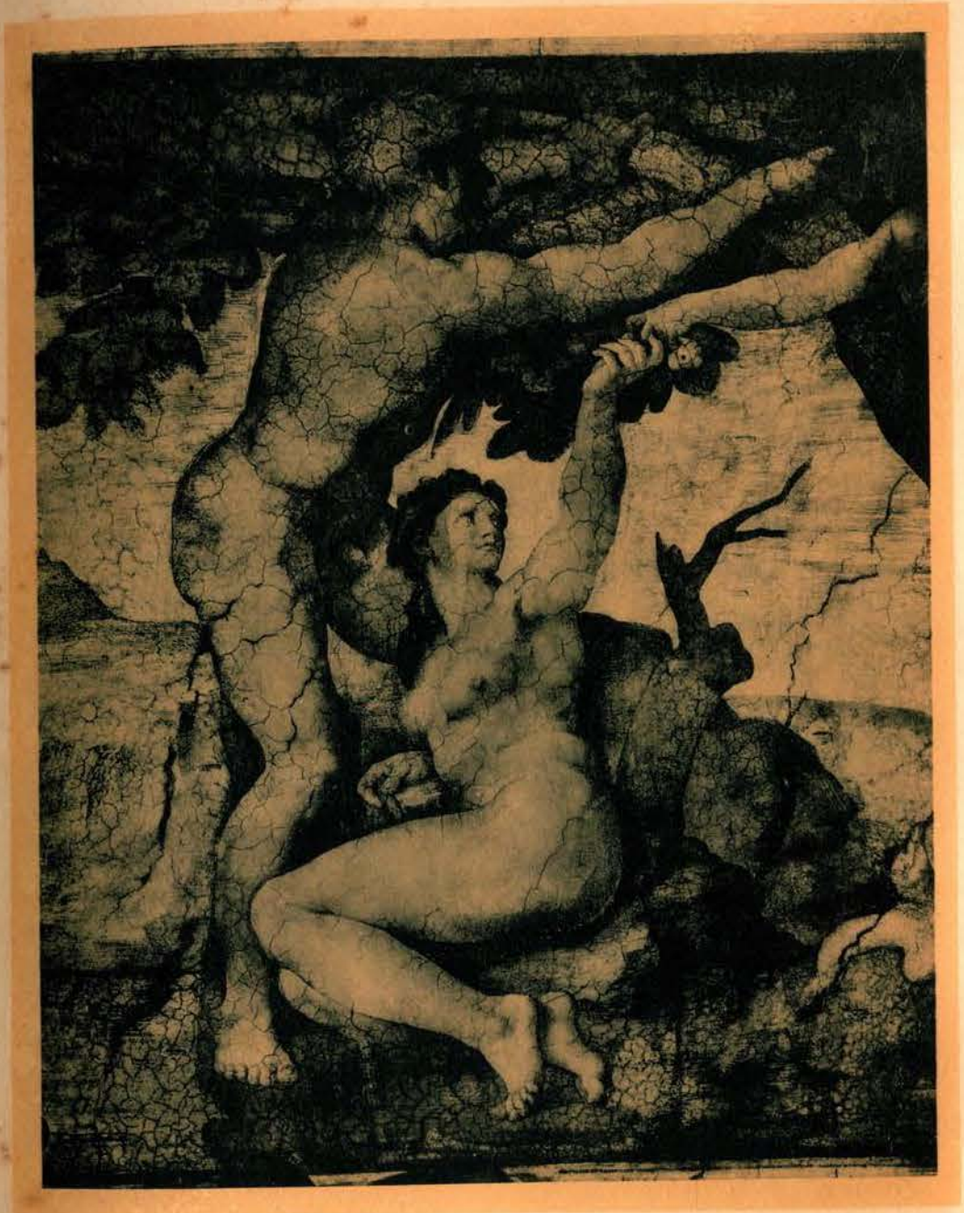
LV THE DELUGE - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Sistine Chapel



LVI

THE FALL OF MAN
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)



LVII THE FALL OF MAN - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Sistine Chapel

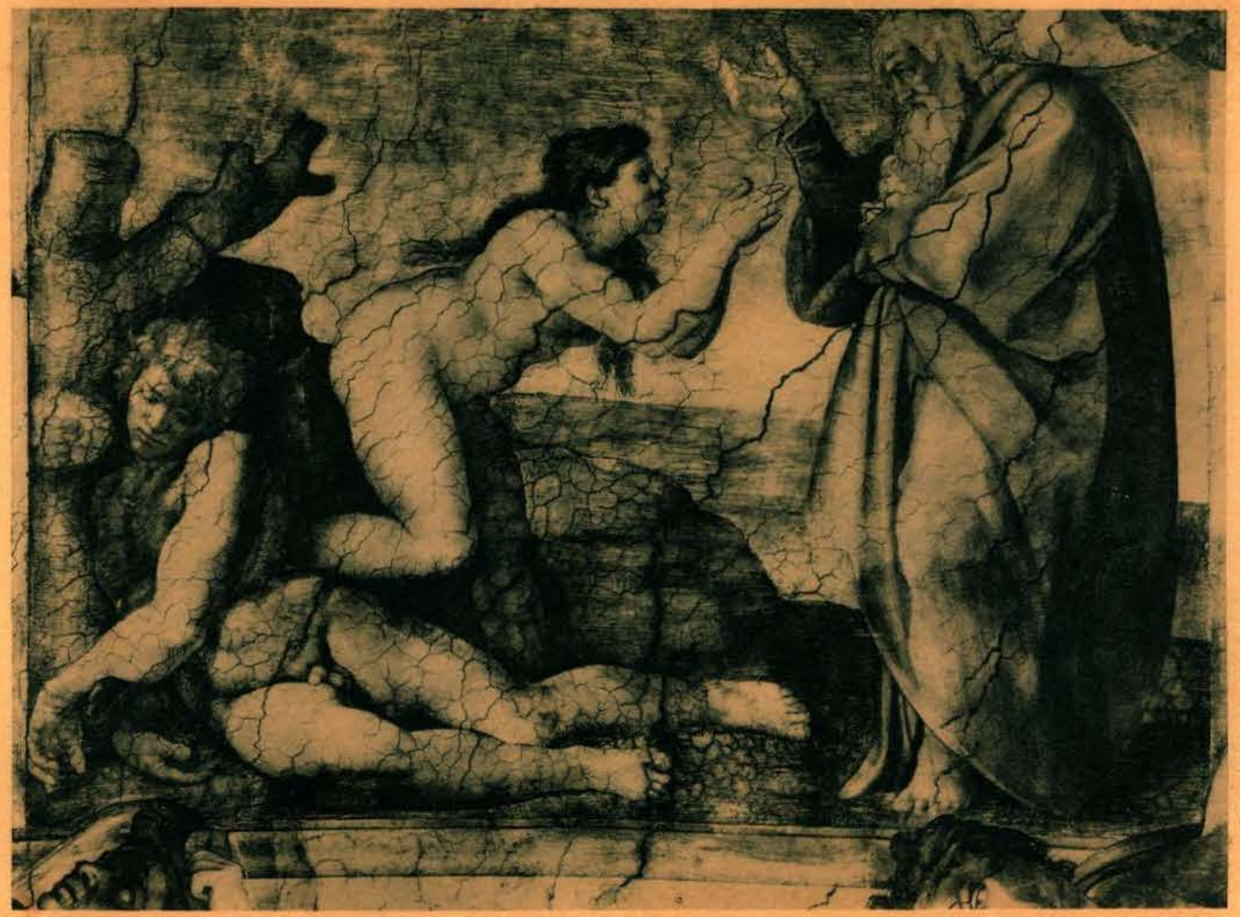
LVIII

DRAWING FOR THE FIGURE OF ADAM EXPELLED FROM PARADISE

Florence, Casa Buonarroti

(Alinari, photo)

LIX ADAM AND EVE EXPELLED FROM THE EARTHLY PARADISE *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Sistine Chapel

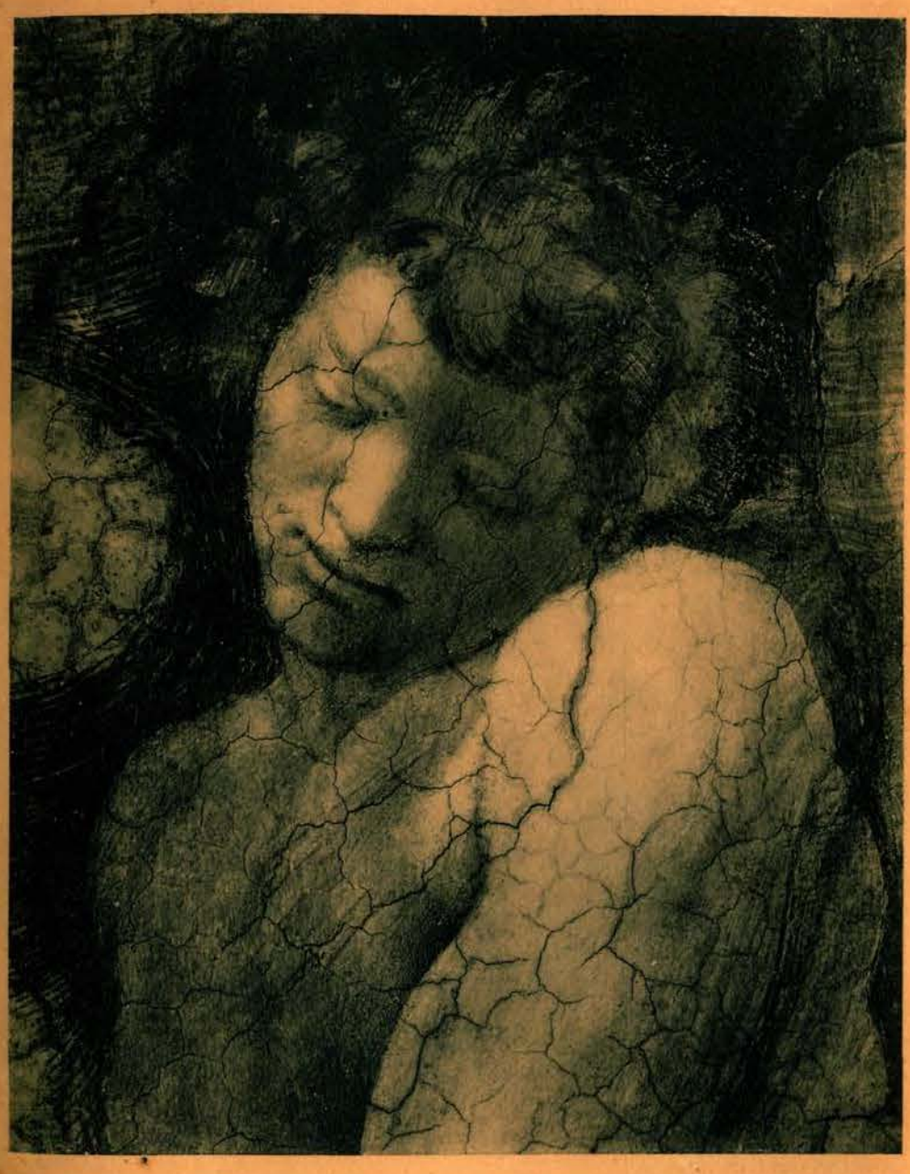


LX

THE CREATION OF WOMAN

Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)



LXI THE CREATION OF WOMAN - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*

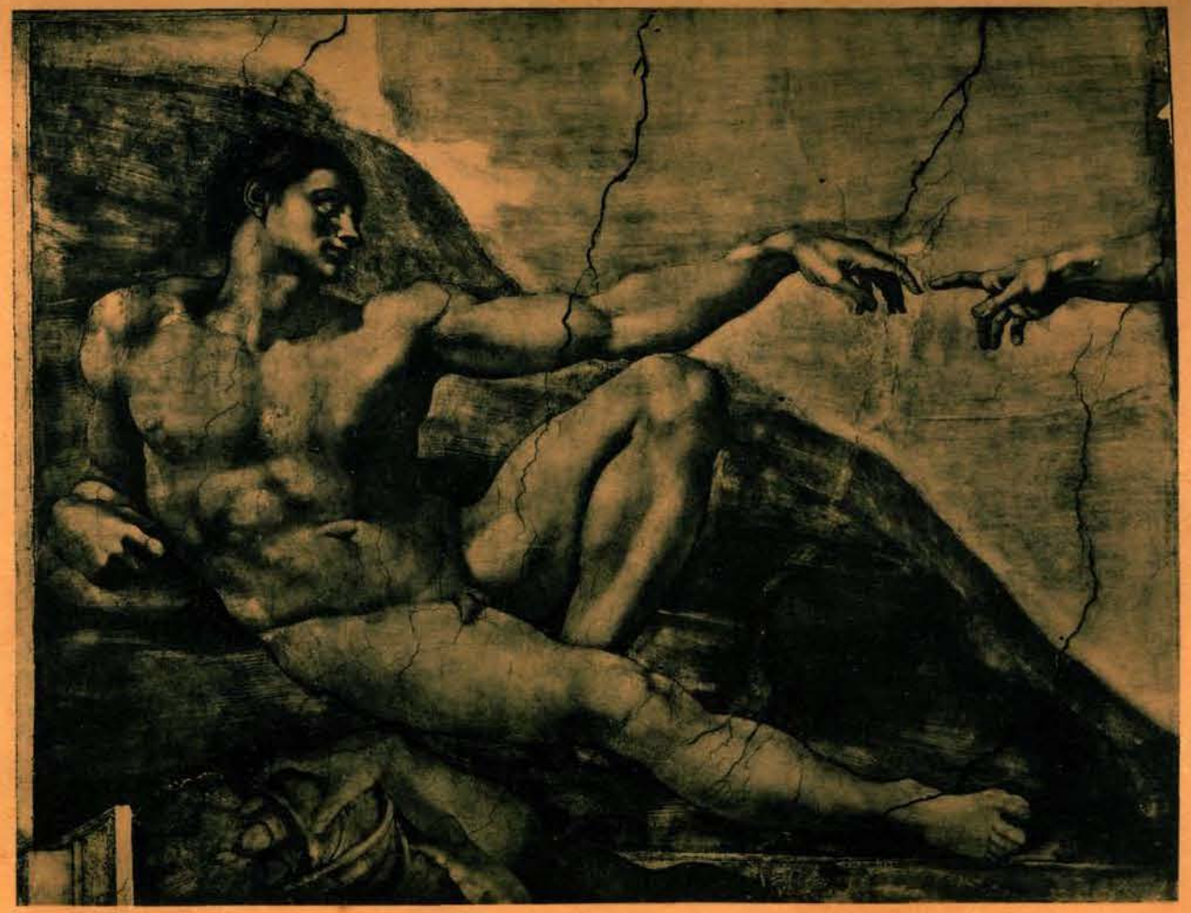
Rome, Sistine Chapel

LXII

THE CREATION OF MAN

Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)



LXIII

ADAM

Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXIV

ADAM - Detail
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXV

THE CREATION OF MAN - Detail
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXVI

THE SEPARATION OF EARTH AND WATER

Rome, Sistine Chapel

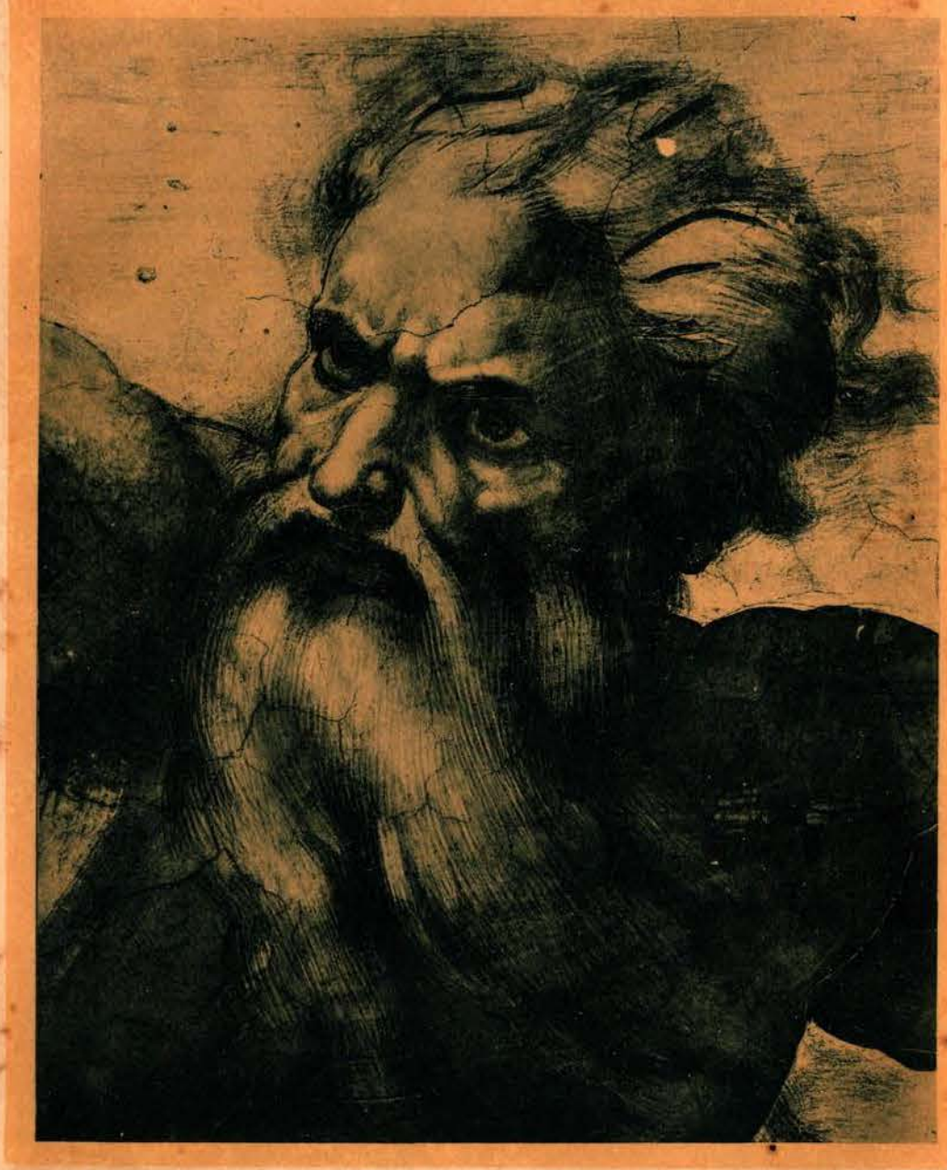
(Anderson, photo)

LXVII

THE CREATION OF THE SUN AND MOON

Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

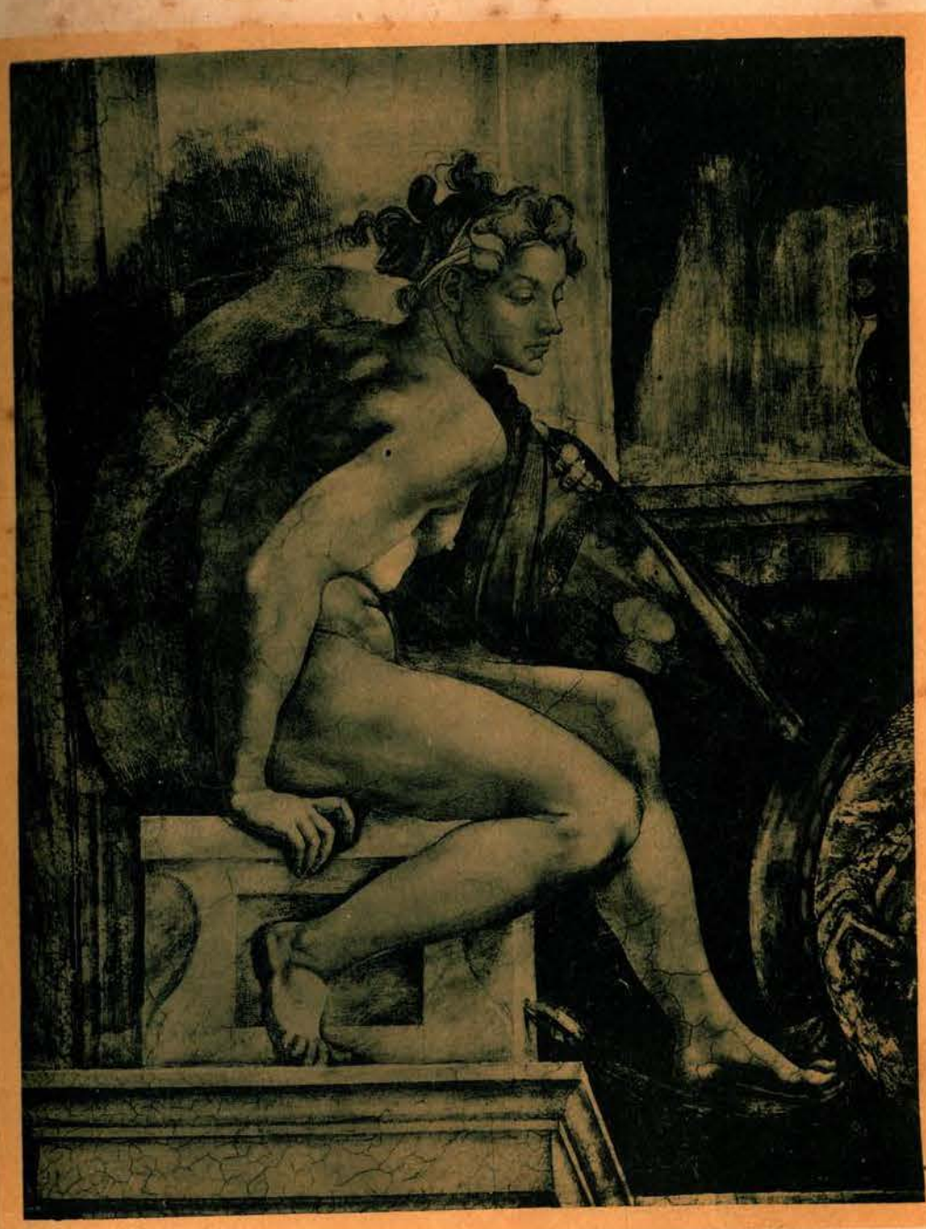


LXVIII THE CREATION OF THE SUN AND MOON - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Sistine Chapel

LXIX THE SEPARATION OF NIGHT AND DAY *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel

LXX STUDY FOR ADAM FOR THE SISTINE CHAPEL *(Anderson, photo)*
London, British Museum



LXXI

NUDE
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXXII

NUDE - Detail
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXXIII

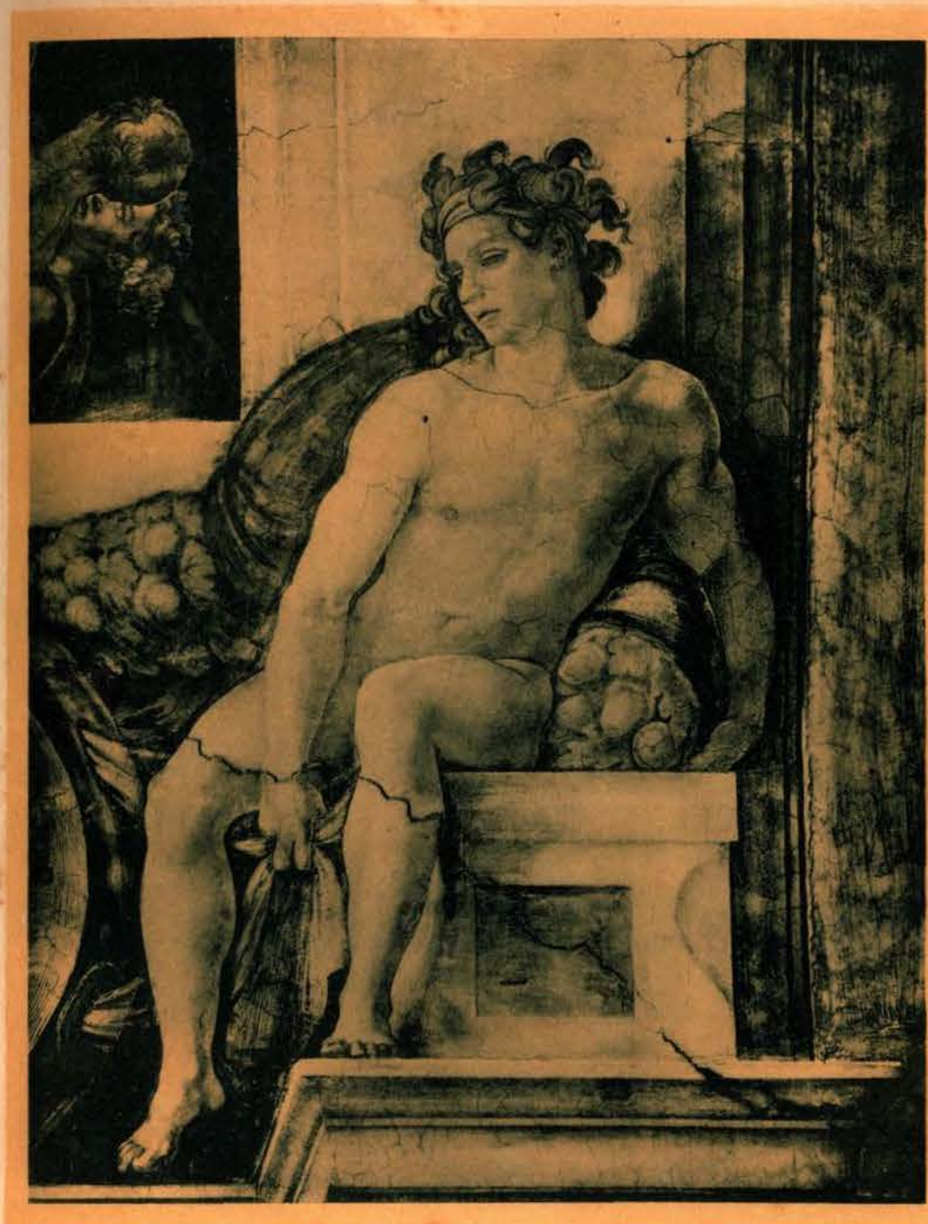
NUDE

Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXXIV HEAD OF A YOUTH *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel



LXXV NUDE (Anderson, photo)

Rome, Sistine Chapel

LXXVI

NUDE - Detail

Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXXVII

DETAIL OF DECORATION
Rome, Sistine Chapel

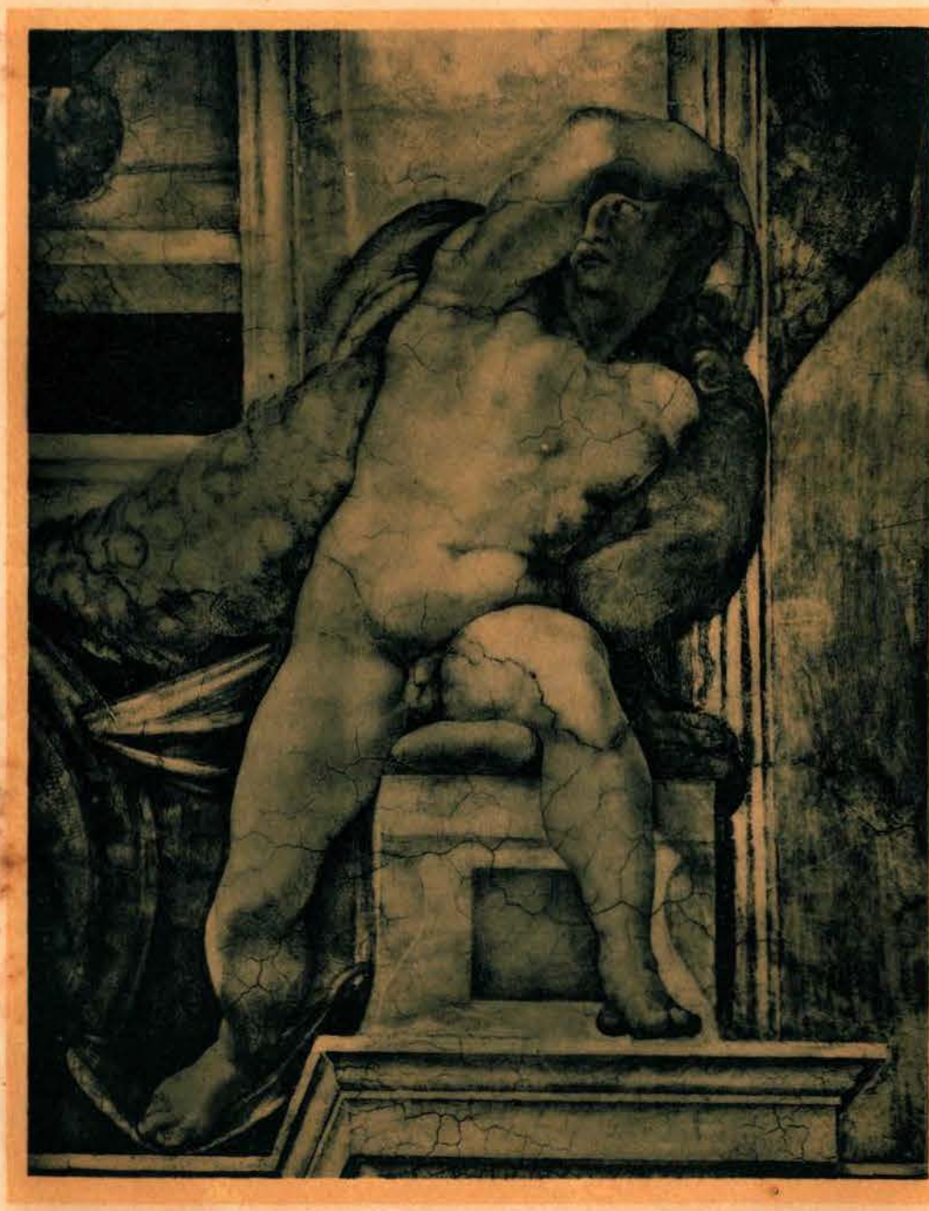
(Anderson, photo)

LXXVIII NUDE *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel

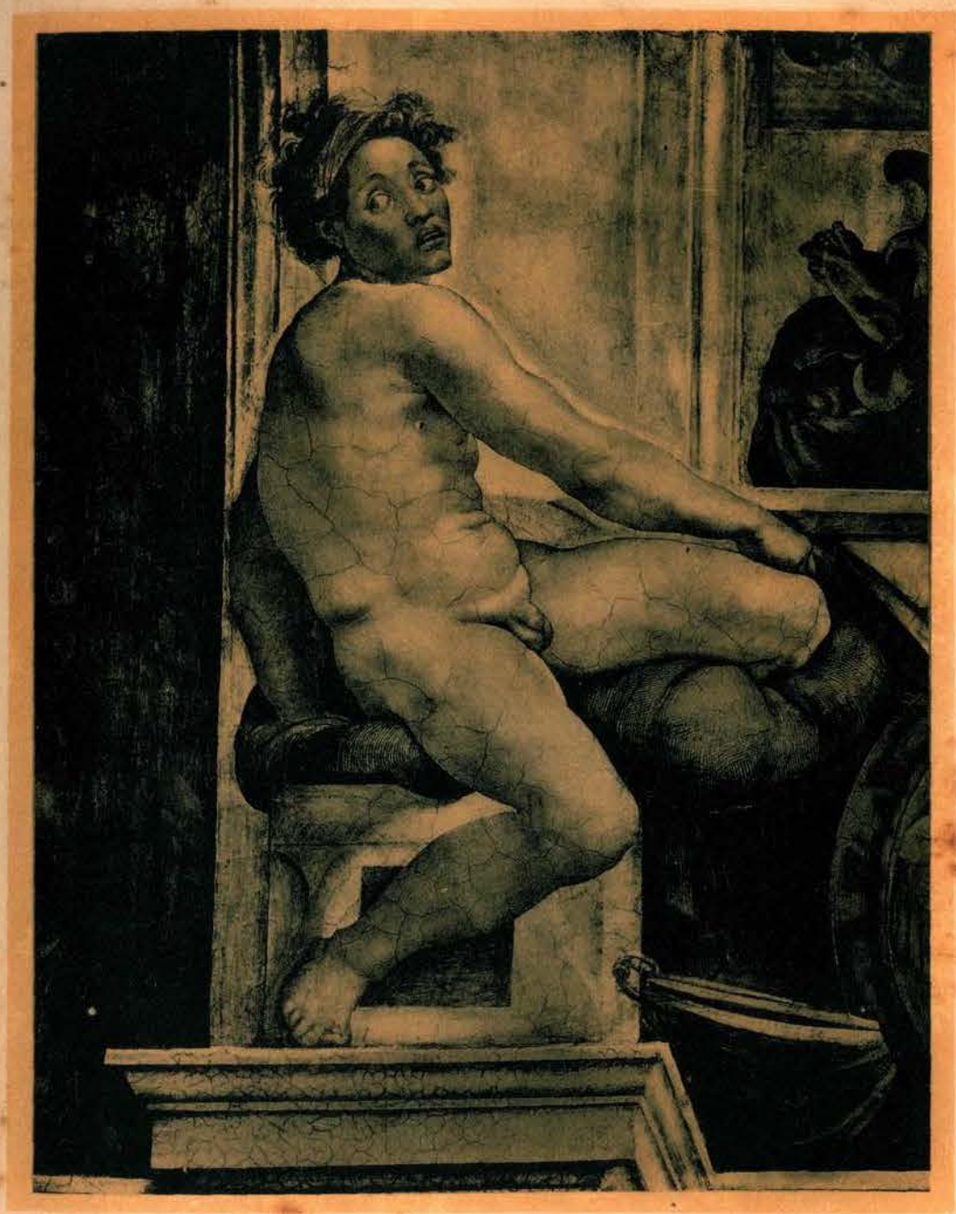
LXXIX MUDE - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel



LXXX **NUDE** *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel



LXXXI

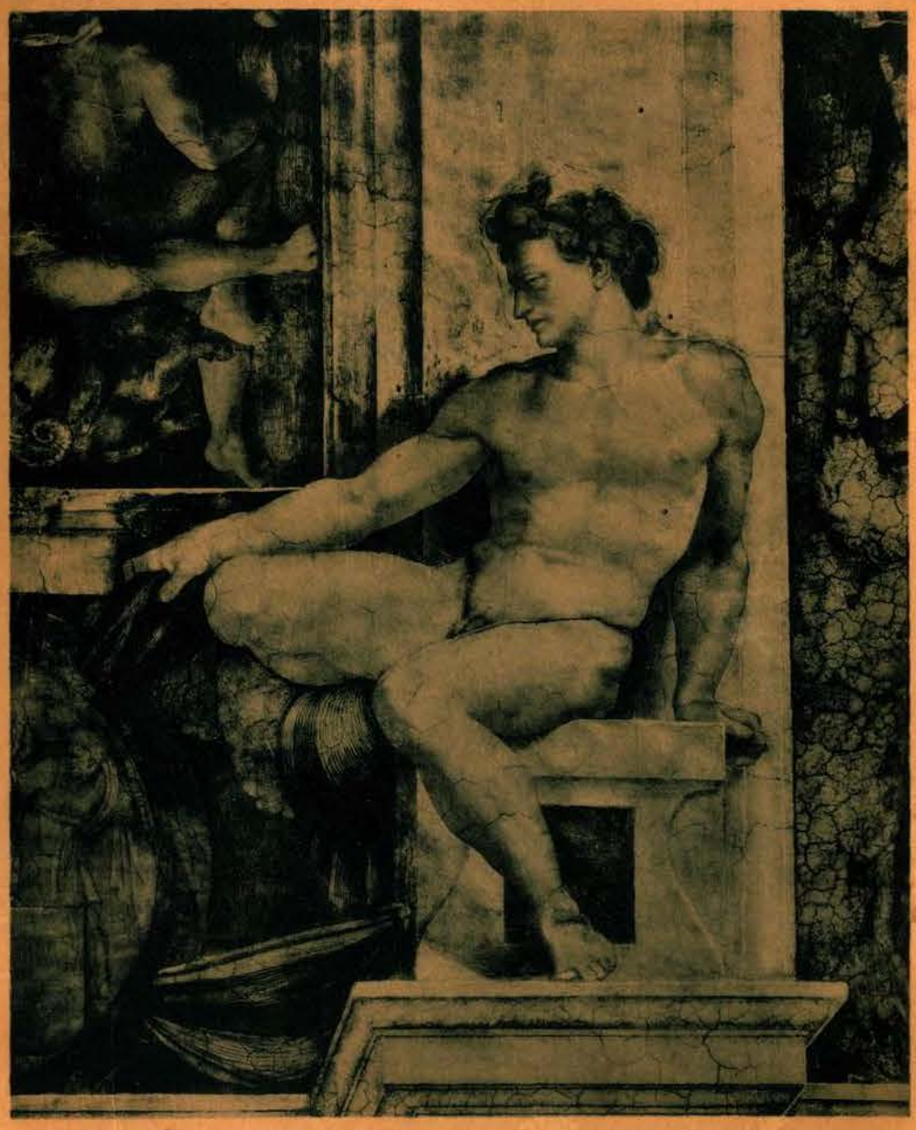
NUDE
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXXXII

NUDE - Detail
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

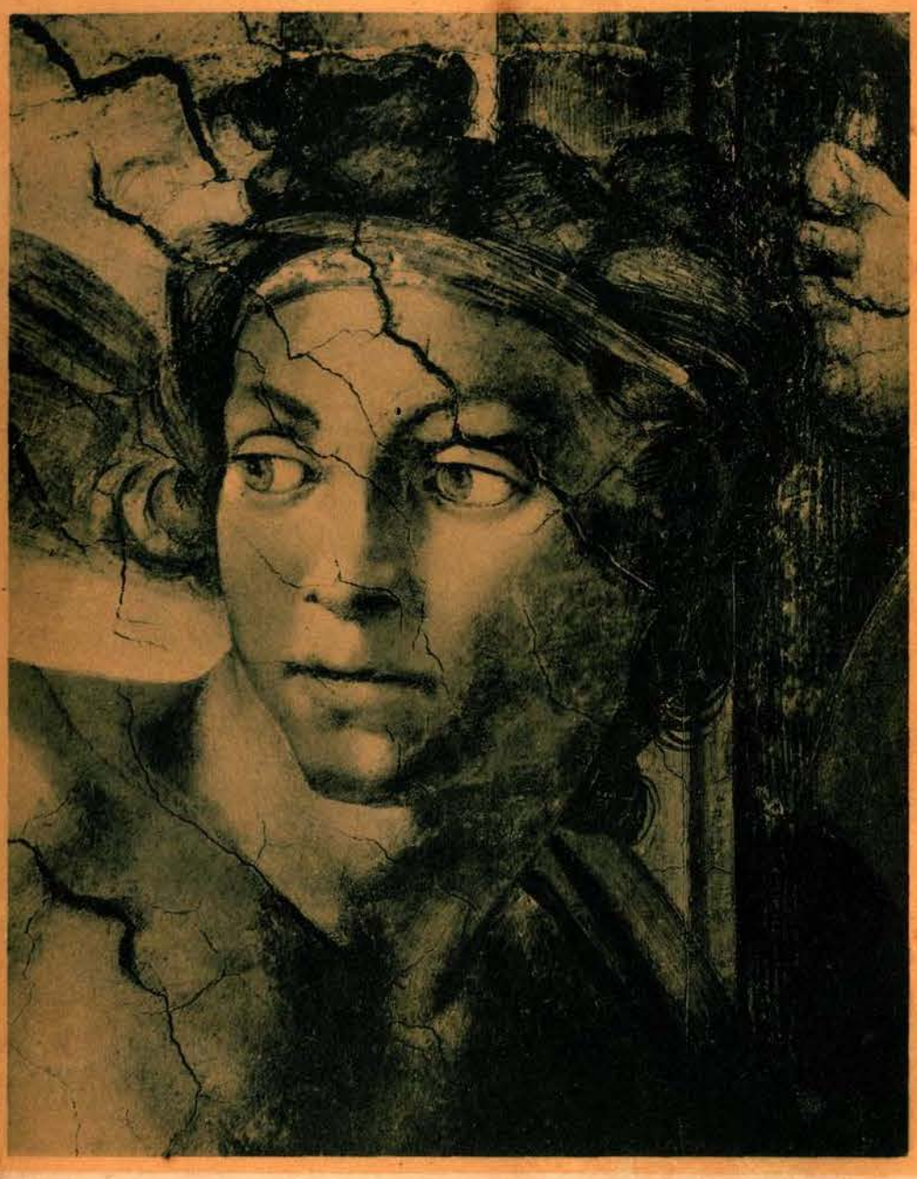


LXXXIII **NUDE** *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel

LXXXIV NUDE *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel



LXXXV

NUDE - Detail

Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

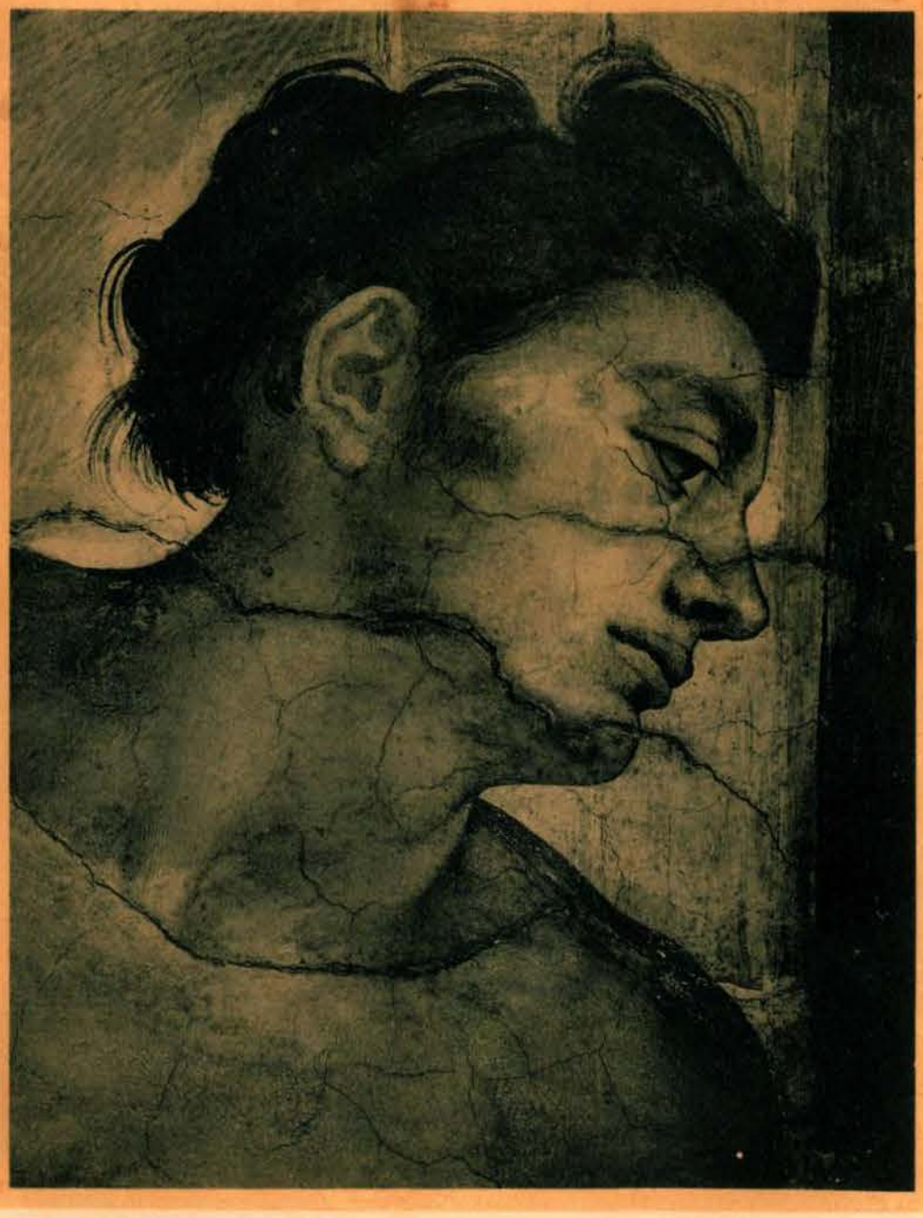
LXXXVI

NUDE
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)

LXXXVII **NUDE** *(Anderson, photo)*

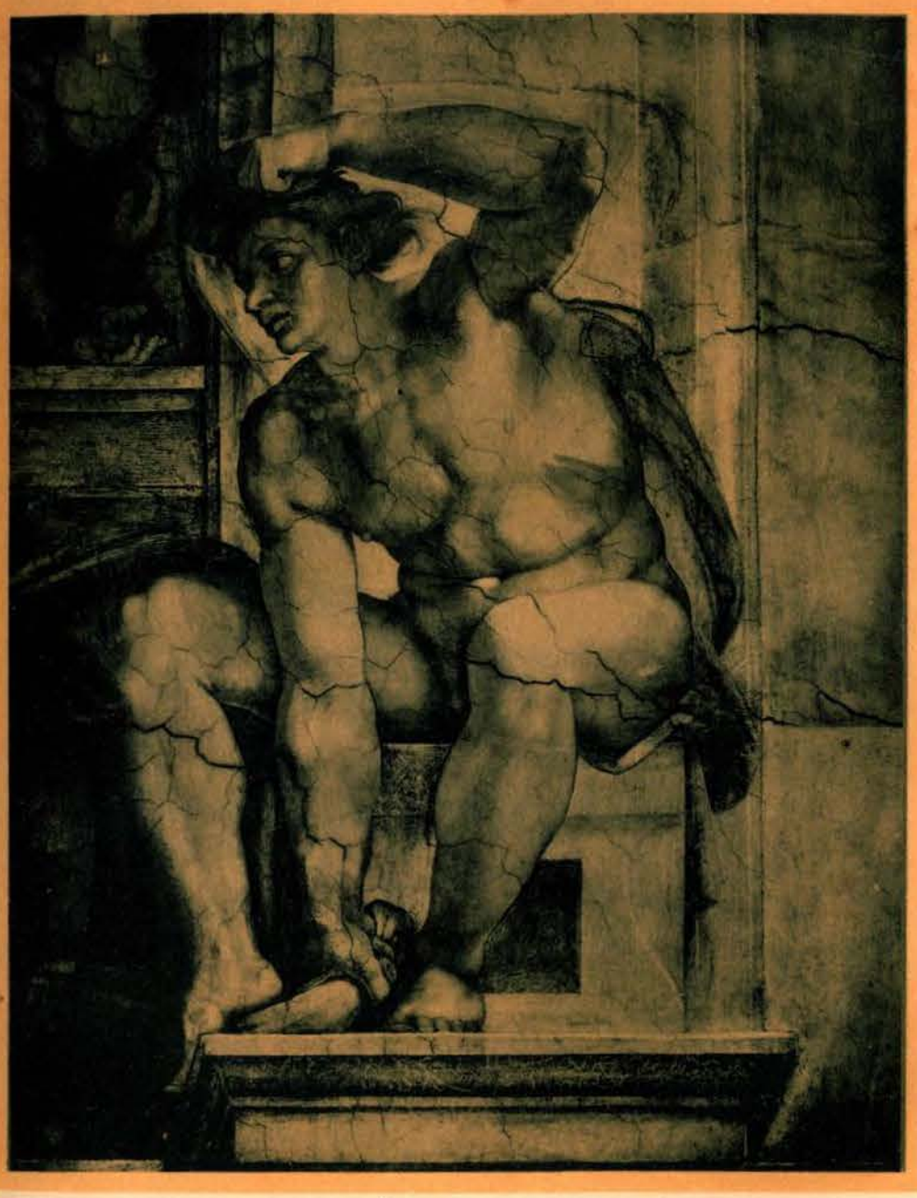
Rome, Sistine Chapel



LXXXVIII

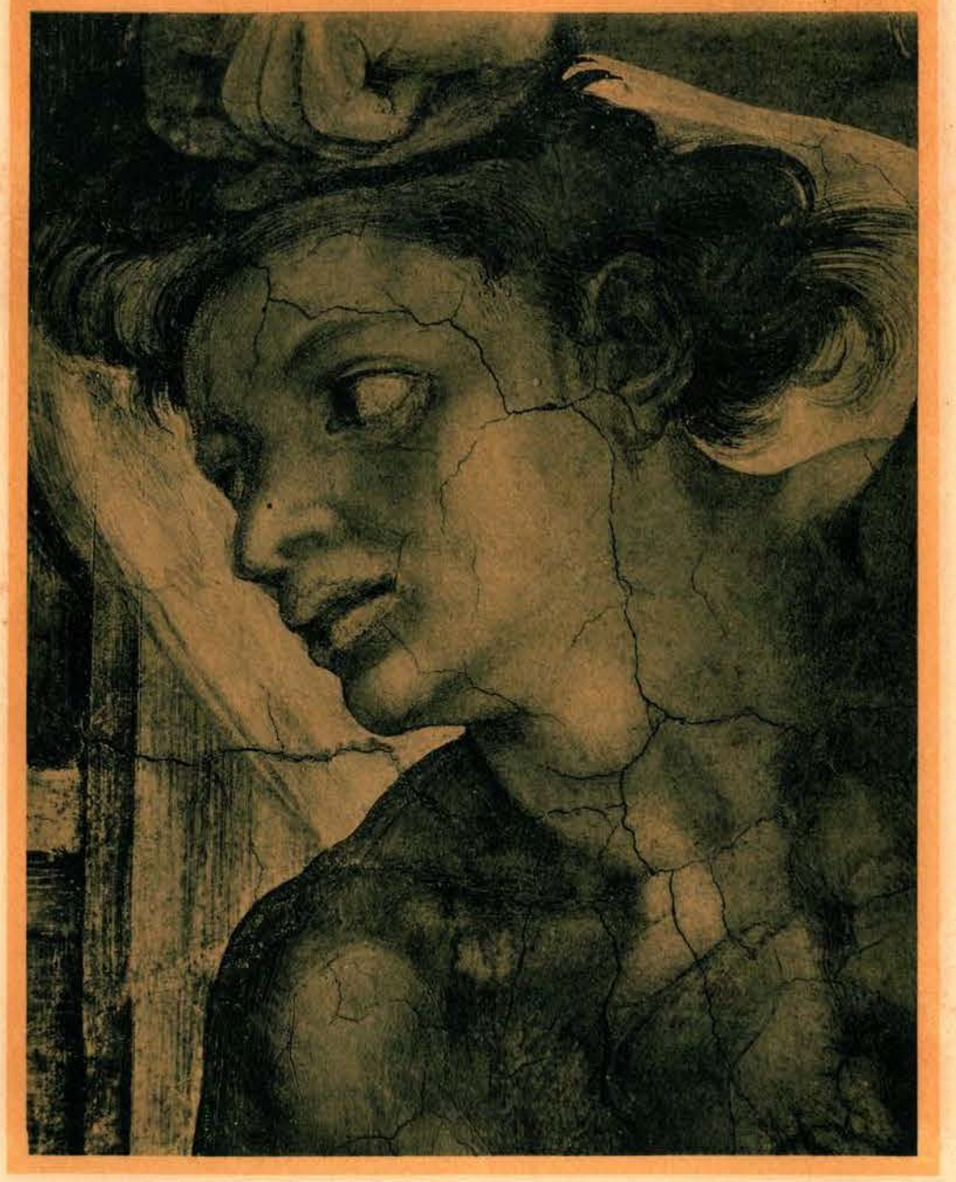
NUDE - Detail
Rome, Sistine Chapel

(Anderson, photo)



LXXXIX **NUDE** *(Anderson, photo)*

Rome, Sistine Chapel



XC NUDE - Detail *(Anderson, photo)*
Rome, Sistine Chapel