

The Relationship between Michelangelo  
and Pope Julius II from 1505 to 1513

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION. . . . .	iii
Chapter	
I. MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (1475-1505) . . . . .	1
Biography	
His Artistic Development	
Achievements Leading to His Call to Rome	
II. Pope Julius II (1443-1505). . . . .	11
Brief Biography	
His Ambitions as Pope	
His Ambitions as a Prince of Italy	
The Conflict of Interests	
The Summoning of Michelangelo	
III. 1505-1513 . . . . .	20
Contract for Julius' Tomb	
The Pope's Preoccupation with War	
Contract for the Sistine Chapel Ceiling	
The Pope's Impatience	
Completion of the Ceiling	
Death of Pope Julius II	
CONCLUSION. . . . .	30
FOOTNOTES . . . . .	32
APPENDIX I (MAP). . . . .	36
APPENDICES II-V . . . . .	37
BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	41

## INTRODUCTION

A very important relationship was established when the artist, Michelangelo, met the reigning Pontiff, Pope Julius II, in 1505. It was important in many respects, particularly in the fields of art and religion. Michelangelo, under the patronage of the warring Pope Julius, was to rise to the summit of his artistic imagination; and, by employing the forms of antique sculpture and drawing extensively from the philosophical doctrines of his time, he created an instrument through which the spiritual turmoil of the 16th century could be made visible. His greatest creations emerged during the reign and under the patronage of Pope Julius II, a war-like Pope devoted to the salvation of the Church as a temporal power and of Rome as the center of the world for religion and art. Together these two men transferred the center of the Renaissance from Florence, the hometown of Michelangelo, to Rome, and forced Renaissance art to its supreme flowering. These accomplishments arose directly from the relationship of Michelangelo to Pope Julius, since the Pope unceasingly challenged Michelangelo to deviate from his habitual form of behavior. Due to Julius' many military campaigns and diplomatic maneuverings and his continuous impatience and arguing, Michelangelo was forced to develop his artistic genius as he matured in the thought and learning of the 16th century. The resulting masterpieces of sculpture and painting have remained as historical evidence of the beauty and turmoil of the Renaissance in Italy. Michelangelo died on February 18, 1564, fifty-one years after the death of Pope Julius in 1513, but his art has survived to revolutionize the field of art in the work of generations to the present day.

This thesis is an account of the lives of these two great men from 1505 to 1513. Chapters I and II are the biographies of Michelangelo and Pope Julius II respectively, and are meant to acquaint the reader with the events which occurred prior to their meeting in 1505. They are accounts serving as background material for a better understanding of the actions taken by the artist and the Pope from 1505 until Julius' death in 1513. These actions are illustrated in the account of their relationship in Chapter III. No conclusions have been drawn from this material; it is simply a historical report of a fruitful relationship involving two of the prominent characters of the High Renaissance in Italy.

## CHAPTER I

### MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (1475-1505)

Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni firmly believed in the noble ancestry of his family and refused to accept positions which required skilled manual labor. Thus it was that in 1474 he accepted the relatively insignificant position of Podestà of Caprese in central Italy. While he held this office his wife, Francesca di Neri di Miniato del Sera, gave birth to a son. He was born on March 6, 1475<sup>1</sup> and was named Michelangelo.

After only six months in Caprese, the Buonarroti family moved back to the city of Florence where Lodovico and his brother owned a house in the section of the city called Santa Croce. From this spot Michelangelo was to encounter all the richness and beauty that would instill in him an unquenchable thirst for the arts. For Florence had accumulated an impressive list of great names in her past. Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch were authors praised throughout the civilized world. Brunelleschi and Alberti had recaptured the forms and scales of classical antiquity and welded them into an entirely new form of architecture. Giotto had rediscovered the possibilities of representing three dimensions in painting. These were further explored by Masaccio and Castagno in anatomy and Uccello in perspective. Other great artists included: Botticelli, Donatello, Ghiberti, and Verrocchio. The banking houses of the Strozzi, Pitti, and Medici families were known all over Europe.<sup>2</sup> Florence had been, and was now, explosive with ideas. Each man could follow his chosen role in a more or less democratic atmosphere. Government and art were both supported and controlled by those who possessed the influence and financial wealth to sway public thinking. It was these who

gave to Florence the great treasures for which she was famous.

Through the centuries of Florentine history it was these "universal" men who built and developed the city which would greatly influence the art and thought of Michelangelo. A short distance from his home Michelangelo would encounter the artistic treasures of the fortress-like Palazzo della Signoria, seat of the city government; the church of Or San Michele, shrine of the arts and crafts guilds; the octagonal Baptistery; the cathedral with Brunelleschi's dome, and beside it, the bell tower of Giotto. Across the city stood the great churches of Santa Maria Novella, San Marco, and San Lorenzo. The treasures of these shrines would instill a longing which, combined with stubbornness and determination, would transform the boy Michelangelo into Florence's greatest artist and sculptor.

Michelangelo's career began when his father, planning for the support of his proud family name, sent him to school under the direction of Francesco da Urbino, a man learned in grammar. This was to be Michelangelo's only formal education. During the time he attended school, he became acquainted with a student named Francesco Granacci. According to Vasari, a contemporary biographer of Michelangelo, Granacci 'had placed himself under Domenico del Ghirlandaio to learn the art of painting; when, being fond of Michelangelo, and seeing him very apt at drawing, Granacci supplied him daily with the drawings of Ghirlandaio.'<sup>3</sup> Together they followed other art apprentices and began to study and sketch the designs and frescoes of Florence's majestic buildings. Granacci inspired Michelangelo to study under his master Ghirlandaio and to become an artist.

Lodovico was upset by his son's decision. His eldest son was to enter a Dominican monastery and the future of the Buonarroti family would be in the hands of Michelangelo. His scorn for manual labor caused him to balk at his

son's early instincts toward art. According to him, a gentleman's hands should be soiled only by signing his name or counting his ducats, never by paint brush or chisel.<sup>4</sup> Michelangelo's determination, coupled with the advice and urgings of those who saw the potential in Michelangelo's sketches, proved too strong for Lodovico. The entry in his dairy reads:

1488. I record that on this first day of April how I, Lodovico ..., bind my son Michelangelo to Domenico and David de Tommaso di Currado for the next three ensuing years, under these conditions and contracts: to wit, that the said Michelangelo shall stay with the above-named masters during this time, to learn the art of painting, and to practice the same, and to be at the orders of the above-named; and they, for their part, shall give to him in the course of these three years twenty-four florins: to wit, six florins in the first year, eight in the second, ten in the third; making in all the sum of ninety-six lire.<sup>5</sup>

Lodovico had bowed to the inevitable and Michelangelo had been granted entry into his world.

As Michelangelo worked with Ghirlandaio, Lorenzo de' Medici, the ruler of Florence in everything but title, had become concerned with the lack of sculptors in his city. Men such as Donatello had transformed Florence into the school of the world for sculptors. Most of them had either passed away or had moved from the city to execute works for their foreign patrons. Lorenzo decided the only way to create more interest in sculpture was to transform the Medici Gardens on the Via Larga into a school for sculptors under the direction of the aged Bertoldo. He then asked the masters of Florence to send him their most gifted students. Ghirlandaio sent Michelangelo. Thus it was that Michelangelo began to study and sketch the ancient Greek and Roman treasures in one of the world's finest collections of ancient art. Here also Michelangelo first learned the art of handling stone. His skill progressed rapidly. Toward the end of his first year he was carving a work which Lorenzo, who toured the garden frequently, happened to admire. Lorenzo

grew fond of the boy and made arrangements for him to live and study in the Medici Palace. In the Palace, Michelangelo was tutored almost daily by Lorenzo's intimates. They comprised the Plato Academy, an assemblage of some of the most brilliant and creative minds in all Europe: Marsilio Ficino, who had founded the Plato Academy for Cosimo de' Medici, Lorenzo's grandfather; Cristoforo Landino, tutor to Lorenzo's father, and the authority on Dante's Divine Comedy; Angelo Poliziano, magnificent scholar in Latin and Greek, translator of Homer's Illiad, and a superb lyric poet in his own right; Pico della Mirandola, who read and wrote in twenty-two languages, described as divinely gifted as a scholar; and Girolamo Benivieni, who taught Michelangelo how to write sonnets.<sup>6</sup> This was the most dynamic environment for the education of a boy in the late fifteenth century. Michelangelo used it to his advantage up to the time of Lorenzo's death two years later.

It is not known how many works Michelangelo completed during this time. Only two works remain, the Madonna of the Stairs, carved in 1491, and the Battle of the Centaurs in 1492. The Madonna of the Stairs is a marble relief in which Michelangelo's stubborn individuality is thrust out. An affinity exists between this and many of the sculptor's later works. The Battle of the Centaurs, another relief in marble, unleashed Michelangelo's energy and zeal for anatomical precision in a contorted mass of human bodies. By this time the two branches of Michelangelo's art could be seen clearly. One was the desire for the beauty of mythological, classical art, the other stressed a deep religious preoccupation.

Two other essential ingredients were also present in Michelangelo's art at this time. As Sir Kenneth Clark has remarked, "...a passion for anatomy and a consciousness of sin, were, so to say, poured into his mind."<sup>7</sup> The passion for anatomy began shortly after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici.



Lorenzo died only a few months before Columbus discovered the new world, leaving the future of Florence in the hands of his son, Piero. Michelangelo, in great sorrow, returned to the house of his father and began to dissect corpses for anatomical study under the protection of the Prior of Santo Spirito. At Piero's request, he then returned to the home of the Medici, but fled when the citizens of Florence sacked the Palace in 1494. That which had aroused Michelangelo to the consciousness of sin had also aroused the anger and hatred of the city. Their anger had been caused by the fanatical preaching of the Dominican monk, Savonarola, who sharply criticized the immorality of Florentine life, and also by the political actions of Piero. Michelangelo, fearing his life was in danger, fled over the Apennines to the city of Bologna. Here he was befriended by John Francis Aldovrandi, the head of one of the controlling families of the wealth and politics in the city. He was offered a commission for three statues which would complete the tomb of Saint Dominic begun by Niccolo dell' Arca. These three works---St. Petronius, St. Proculus, and the Angel with Candlestick---though executed to compliment Niccolo's work, still evinced Michelangelo's astonishing perfection and individuality. He never copied what he saw; he merely assimilated what he saw and recreated it in his own manner. During his stay in Bologna he was also greatly influenced by the portals of San Petronio, the work of Jacopo della Quercia.

In 1495 Michelangelo returned once more to Florence. The city was now quite different from the Florence ruled by Lorenzo de' Medici. A new and more democratic constitution had been adopted. Savonarola had been elected as ruler in the first elections. Everything in the city was ruled from his monastery. The city was overcome by a peace of penance and solitude. Michelangelo was welcomed warmly and offered a commission to carve a statue of a

young St. John by one of the Medici cousins. After completing this contract, he began to work on a sleeping cupid which he was urged to sell as an antiquity. The statue made its way into the hands of Cardinal Riario di San Giorgio in Rome and the fraud was discovered. The cardinal sent a messenger to Florence to find the sculptor who was capable of such fine work and bring him back to Rome. Thus, in 1496, Michelangelo set out for his first visit to the Eternal City.

The Rome of 1496 was alive with the discoveries of ancient works of art. The influence of these works affected Michelangelo to such a degree that the inspiration he derived from antiquity began to overshadow that which he derived from Christianity. He was "Romanized" immediately and began to carve a statue of Bacchus, the ancient Greek god of wine and revelry, for his new friend and patron, Jacopo Galli. The Bacchus, a standing nude with lazily moving limbs and a soft roundness of forms, is a classical figure interpreted in contemporary terms. It is comprised of a small satyr seated on a tree trunk behind the central figure of Bacchus, nibbling at the grapes which Bacchus holds by his side. Bacchus holds a cup of wine; grapes and vine leaves burst from the thick curls on his head. Charles de Tolnay, in explaining the statue, suggests that the three heads in the statue are cosmic symbols: the satyr symbolizes the renewal of life; the Bacchus represents the decline of life; and the head of the lion skin on the base of the statue signifies death.<sup>8</sup> These symbols may have been results of the events which took place in Rome and Florence about this time. The bloody body of Pope Alexander VI's eldest son had been dumped into the Tiber, and Savonarola, with two of his followers, had been hung and burned in the great square of Florence.

Galli was so pleased with the statue that he introduced Michelangelo to the French Cardinal Jean Bilheres de Legranlas. The cardinal had been search-

ing for a promising sculptor to carve a statue of a dead Christ in His mother's arms for the French Chapel in St. Peter's. The historic contract, dated August 26, 1498, reads: "Let it be known...that the most Reverend Cardinal of San Donigi (the name of his titular church) has thus agreed with the master Michelangelo, sculptor of Florence, to wit, that the said master shall make a pietà of marble at his own cost; that is to say, a Virgin Mary clothed, with the dead Christ in her arms, of the size of a proper man, for the price of 450 golden ducats of the papal mint, within the term of one year from the day of the commencement of the work."<sup>9</sup> At the end of the contract came a guarantee from Galli: "And I, Jacopo Galli, pledge my word to his most Reverend Lordship that the said Michelangelo will finish the said work within one year, and that it shall be the finest work in marble which Rome today can show, and that no master of our days shall be able to produce a better..."<sup>10</sup> This was a bold guarantee, but Michelangelo fulfilled it by carving the finest sculpture produced during his youth. In no other of his sculptures was marble ever made so yielding and sensitive to light. No other sculpture to come from his hand was more finished. The cold marble took on the warmth of living flesh. The grief of the Virgin Mary is transformed into an acceptance of faith: the death of her son is the fulfillment of a divine decree. She does not mourn; she merely bows her head; and, with a restrained gesture of her hand, expressing obedience to a superior will, she yields to destiny.<sup>11</sup>

Michelangelo's reputation spread far and wide at the completion of the Pietà. Again he had demonstrated the two distinct branches of his art: the statue of Bacchus was thoroughly humanistic in its derivation from the past; the Pietà sprung fully from the mainstream of his Christian faith. Both were superb examples of the perfection which Michelangelo demanded of himself. This same yearning for perfection in his art would grow so strong in the later

years of his life that Michelangelo would abandon many half-completed works which he considered imperfect. In 1501, his commissions in Rome having been fulfilled, the homesick Michelangelo decided once more to return to Florence.

He returned to a city glad to be free of Savonarola's unbearable atmosphere of repentance. In 1502, Piero Soderini, the head of one of the leading Florentine families, was elected gonfaloniere of justice. Since he was a patriot and a patron of the arts, the city began to appear as it once had under the rule of Lorenzo de' Medici. Michelangelo was called on immediately to carve fifteen small statues for the tomb of Cardinal Piccolomini in the Cathedral of Siena. Cardinal Piccolomini was to become Pope Pius III after the death of Alexander VI. Before he had even started to carve these statues, he accepted another commission which, when completed, would establish him as Florence's greatest sculptor. This was the monumental statue of David.

Charles de Tolnay has observed that Michelangelo's David "is an embodiment of the two chief virtues of the Renaissance."<sup>12</sup> These virtues were FORTEZZA, an active struggle in defense of the homeland; and the IRA, or passion of anger which had been condemned as a vice during the Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup> The contract was concluded on August 16, 1501. Michelangelo was to carve the statue from a piece of marble which had been spoiled by Bartolomeo di Pietro and from which Agostino di Duccio had attempted to carve a David. From this spoiled piece of marble, Michelangelo carved a symbol of Florence. The nude torso resembles that of a Hercules rather than that of a young man. Hercules had been considered the patron and protector of Florence for a long time as can be seen on the seals of the city at this time. The inscription on these seals gives his symbolic significance: "Herculaea clava domat Florentia prava" (With Hercules' club Florence curbs infamy), meaning that Hercules defends liberty against the domestic enemy as David defends liberty against the

foreign enemy.<sup>14</sup> The ease of David's stance reflects a vitality and consciousness restrained by a classical dignity. The head, turned sharply, indicates the power and awareness which Florence possessed in her dealings with the rest of the world. Even the place where "the Giant" finally came to rest was of political significance. In 1504 the statue was placed in front of the Palazzo Vecchio as a symbol of the Republic's victory over its enemies. The statue was admired by all Florentines, with the exception of the Medici, who considered it a symbol of their enemy, the Republic. Michelangelo had progressed one more step in his art. He had flawlessly achieved the difficult transition from normal scale to the colossal. Leaving the original quarry marks on the top of the head and traces of the cuttings made by Agostino di Duccio on the back, Michelangelo left visible signs of the physical limitations he had so triumphantly overcome.

Michelangelo was then commissioned for two other works. One involved a contract for twelve statues, one of each of the twelve apostles, for the Cathedral of Florence. Only one, that of St. Matthew, was begun. Michelangelo had been offered his second, and more important, commission by the Signoria. It called for a mural of some important event of Florentine history to be painted on the wall of the Signoria's new hall. This was to be a great challenge for Michelangelo since his painting was to be in competition with a mural being painted by Leonardo da Vinci. Leonardo was painting the Battle of Anghiari in the same hall. Michelangelo chose the Battle of Cascina, where a certain Florentine defeat was changed to a complete rout of an age-old enemy, Pisa, in 1364. He chose to paint the camp of the Florentines at the moment when the message came that the enemy was near. The resulting cartoon of human forms scrambling to prepare for battle, the only part of the mural Michelangelo was able to complete, was later cut up and studied by

artists throughout the world. Leonardo had experimented with a new method of applying paint, and his mural has since disappeared. Therefore, nothing now remains of this, one of the greatest contests between great masters to be recorded in world history. The reason Michelangelo never completed his mural is that, in the spring of 1505, he received an invitation he could not possibly decline. Pope Julius II, the former Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, wanted him to come to Rome and build him a tomb.

## CHAPTER II

### POPE JULIUS II (1443-1505)

Giuliano della Rovere, the son of Raphael de la Rovere and Theodora Manercla, was born at Albisola, in Liguria, on December 15, 1443.<sup>15</sup> He joined the Franciscan order at an early age and was raised to high ecclesiastical offices by his uncle, Pope Sixtus IV. In 1471 he became Bishop of Carpentras, and in that same year was elevated to the position of Cardinal of St. Peter in Vinculis. Pope Sixtus IV died on August 12, 1484, but the Cardinal's powers continued to influence the Papacy through the first part of the reign of his successor, Pope Innocent VIII. The prestige of the Papacy declined considerably during the reign of Innocent VIII, and on his deathbed he begged the Conclave of Cardinals to elect a better successor. He died on July 25, 1492.

Pope Innocent's plea for a more able successor was answered by the election of Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, who chose to be called Pope Alexander VI. As Innocent VIII had done before him, Alexander VI allowed his temporal pre-occupation as head of state to take priority over his religious obligations as head of all Christendom. He was denounced by Savonarola for his simoniacal practices and his practice of nepotism. To rid himself of this Dominican friar, Alexander conspired with those in Florence who wished to see Savonarola's power over them terminated, and the fanatic monk was hanged and burned in 1498.

Only once did Pope Alexander consider the much-needed reform of the Church. This was after the mortally-wounded body of his favorite son was found floating in the Tiber. His grief did not last long. In a short time

his mind was again occupied with the plans for his son Cesare's career. To distinguish his son as a prince of Italy, Alexander allotted him the northern section of the Papal States known as the Romagna. Cesare held this land, much to the chagrin of Pope Julius II, with a skill and energy which Machiavelli praised in his book, The Prince. He states that he "...could not suggest better precepts to a new prince than the examples of Cesare's actions."<sup>16</sup> As stable as Cesare's position seemed, there was one to come who would disrupt and destroy the Borgia security. This was Alexander's successor, Pope Julius II.

The new Pope encountered the Church in a state of economic and political confusion. Indeed, the States of the Church, in existence since Pepin, King of the Franks, bestowed them on Pope Stephen II in 754, were now hardly anything but a name.<sup>17</sup> They were exposed to invasion by many of the major powers in Italy at this time. Cesare held the Romagna with a firm hand. The city of Venice was continually attempting to extend its dominion. Louis XII, the King of France, was eager to gain a foothold in northern Italy. France and Spain were at war for the possession of Naples. Powerful families, such as the Orsini and the Sforza, held local power in the principal cities and states. Each was eager to preserve his possessions and was watchful lest someone should usurp what belonged to another and grow so strong that the rest should fear him. These were the conditions which had to be considered by the Conclave of Cardinals in 1503 after the death of Alexander VI on August 13.

Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was elected after the short reign of Alexander's successor, Pius III, and he was determined to dedicate all his power to freeing Italy from alien domination. He would renew the States of the Church under the banner which read: "ITALIA FARA DA SE", (Italy will



form itself).<sup>18</sup> As Paolo Brezzi noted, the Pope planned to organize a state with a directive function for Italy. It was to serve as a safe basis from which the Pope's voice could be heard in Europe.<sup>19</sup> His goal was the temporal power of the Church, not the glorification of his own family. Rather than a league among the major states, a great and strong state was necessary for Italy. This state, the Church, would act as a bulwark against foreign invaders and keep peace within the Peninsula. In accomplishing these goals and practicing these beliefs, Pope Julius II was to become the savior of the honor of the Papacy and the second founder of the Papal States. He would do honor to the man whose name he had chosen. Indeed, he would strive to become another Julius Caesar.

To succeed in his ambitions, Pope Julius had to first curb the power of Cesare Borgia. Julius was determined to regain the Romagna since it rightfully belonged to the Church. Even though Cesare had supported Julius in his election, the Pope decided to break their unsteady relationship. He allowed Cesare to feel that his position was precarious. He failed to award Cesare the title of Standard-bearer to the Church, a position he had promised if he were elected, and Cesare's spirit was broken. In reply to the Pope's failure to award him this title, Cesare implored the Venetians to supply him with troops to retain and defend the Romagna. He then left Rome to complete the negotiations. Meanwhile, Faenza, an important stronghold in the Romagna, had surrendered to Venice. This upset the Pope, who sent messengers to bring Cesare back to Rome. The Pope demanded that all the important places in the Romagna be given to him to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Venetians, but Cesare strongly refused.

Venice then defeated Rimini, another Romagna stronghold, and the Venetians quickly sent word to Julius that their only purpose was to defeat their

enemy, Cesare. To this Julius replied in a letter to the Doge of Venice dated January 10, 1504:

...it is not permissible to keep unlawful possession of that which belongs to the Holy Roman Church, and that We are bound to use all the means in Our power to obtain its restoration. From the beginning of Our reign it has been Our steadfast purpose to restore to the Church the territories of which she has been despoiled; to this We hold fast, and ever shall do so....We have always entertained...the belief that...you would prove the defenders and not the usurpers of the rights of the Church.<sup>20</sup>

Julius then sent orders for Cesare's arrest. Instead of imprisonment or execution, the Pope treated Cesare with consideration, allowing him to reside in the Vatican, hoping by these means to obtain the peaceful surrender of his governors. The governors refused to obey Cesare's orders to surrender while their prince was still a prisoner of the Pope. Julius then allowed Cesare to go to the Terre Borgia where he continued negotiations. Finally, on January 29, 1504, it was agreed that the castles of Cesena, Forli, and Bertinoro would be surrendered in forty days or Cesare would be imprisoned for life.<sup>21</sup> On March 10, Cesare, who had traveled to Ostia, bound himself to obtain the evacuation of Bertinoro and Cesena, and made himself responsible for a sum of money which the Castellan of Forli demanded as the price of his surrender. Cesare then hastened to his uncle in Naples, which had been won by the Spanish, where he was again arrested and taken to Spain. In 1506, Cesare escaped from his prison but was killed in battle on May 12, 1507.<sup>22</sup> He died fighting the Count of Lerin for his brother-in-law, Jean d'Albret, the King of Navarre. The news of his death must have been well received by Pope Julius. As Machiavelli wrote: "The Duke by no means wished to exalt the Church. Nevertheless, all that he did tended to her advantage; when he was gone, his heritage fell to her."<sup>23</sup>

Julius could now turn his attention to other areas of his troubled States. Refugees to Rome had begged the Pope to overthrow the tyrannical rule of the Baglioni family in Perugia, and the Bentivogli of Bologna. To comply with these urgings, Julius demonstrated to the world that he was a man of action, a vigorous leader, and a daring general. He knew the overthrow of these tyrants would require an efficient army. This would require plenty of money. To gain the needed revenue, Julius began to sell offices and benefices, not for personal ends, but to replenish the depleted coffers of the Church. He silently collected troops and, on August 26, 1506, he set out to capture Bologna for the Church.

Burckhardt says that it was "an unavoidable necessity..." that the Pope should lead his forces into battle "...at a time when a man in Italy was forced to be either hammer or anvil."<sup>24</sup> As Michelangelo in the field of art, in the field of battle Pope Julius II was called 'PONTEFICE TERRIBILE', a fitting title for the vehement and proud Pope which points to his heroic greatness of mind, as well as his intensive irritability.<sup>25</sup>

Before setting out for Bologna, the Pope had concluded alliances with Florence, Siena, Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino. He had also asked the King of France, Louis XII, to support him with troops, and warned the Venetians to remain neutral. In October, the Legate of Perugia met the Pope at Orvieto and handed over to him all the defenses of Perugia, promising to join the Pope against Bologna. Julius knew that Bentivogli had no intention of relinquishing his authority without a struggle. He became so enraged over this that he proclaimed an interdict on Bologna and excommunicated Bentivogli. This, together with the impending threat of Louis XII's generals sacking the city, caused the citizens of Bologna to beg the Pope for protection against the French and the removal of the interdict. Pope Julius intervened with the

French for them and made his triumphant entry into the city on November 11. Erasmus, the Prince of Humanists, was a witness to this triumphal entry. The shock of seeing the Vicar of Christ in such warlike occupation was never effaced from his memory. After Pope Julius' death, he wrote the much-read Julii Genius, an amusing satire launching an attack upon the abuses of Church authority.<sup>26</sup> Pope Julius reorganized the government of the city to make the Church popular and, in 1507 he returned triumphant to Rome.

Pope Julius' aim was clear and was not mixed with personal considerations. It gained in grandeur as it was made intelligible. He did nothing to raise the Church from its purely secular course of policy, but he did succeed in making that policy respectable. He proved his skill in diplomacy off the battlefield as well as on it. He demonstrated a remarkable marriage policy which ended the strife which had existed between the Church and some of the most influential families in Italy for decades. He married his nephew Niccolò della Rovere to Laura Orsini, a member of the powerful Roman family which used their private armies to settle arguments. His daughter Felice became the bride of Giovanni Giordano, head of the line of Orsini of Bracciano. A niece, Lucretia Gara della Rovere was wed to Marcantonio Colonna of the Paliano family.<sup>27</sup> These marriages proved fruitful to Julius, especially in time of war. Their support was often a primary cause for Julius' triumphant victories.

Pope Julius did everything in his power to keep peace in the States of the Church. Even though he made and disposed of allies as quickly as he changed his mind, many gained during his reign. On December 23, 1503, he granted a dispensation to Henry VIII, King of England, allowing him to marry his brother's widow, Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.<sup>28</sup> By giving the Duchy of Sermoneta back to the Gaetani family in 1504, he had

condemned the actions of Alexander VI.<sup>29</sup> Even the common people in the States of the Church benefited from the Pope's thoughtfulness.

In 1506 Julius issued a Bull declaring simoniacal elections invalid and granting the cardinals power equal to impeachment. On January 21, 1506, the Swiss Guards were organized as protection against the bandits of Rome. Their costumes of dark blue, red, and yellow were designed by Michelangelo.<sup>30</sup> The continuing threat of Turkish invasions in the Mediterranean was eased by the organization of a crusade. The Pope looked after the welfare of his subjects, put down abuses and oppression, and did all he could to improve administration. This can be shown in two individual circumstances. The first was the reorganization of the administration in the city of Bologna after the conquest of that city in 1506. The other occurred on January 7, 1507, when, in a letter to the governor of Cesena and Bertinoro, the Pope wrote:

A citizen of Bertinoro has complained to the Pope that the Castellan has taken wood from him and injured him in other ways. Let the Castellan and his abettors be punished without fail, and take care that no harm comes to the complainant.<sup>31</sup>

As can be seen, all were equally able to benefit from the reign of Pope Julius II---from the King of England to the common citizen.

The city of Rome, by far, benefited more than any individual. It could indeed be called the Eternal City, due to Pope Julius' great patronage of the arts. During his reign, and that of his successor, Leo X, the Medici Pope, the Renaissance reached its zenith in splendor and magnificence in Rome. The sense of the grandeur and taste for display that he had developed during Innocent VIII's reign played an important role in Julius' reign. The Pope founded the first Arabic printing press in Fano and commissioned Sansovino to build the tombs of the cardinals Sforza and Girolamo Basso della Rovere in Santa Maria del Popolo.<sup>32</sup>

While still a cardinal, Julius had taken a deep interest in the minor arts and in collecting books and manuscripts. Even though his thoughts turned more to war than letters, Julius added costly and rare books to his private collection and insisted that the academic activities of the University should continue. Buildings begun earlier, and delayed since the school was involved in Julius' wars and financial problems, were ordered to be completed.<sup>33</sup> Even institutions outside of Rome benefited from the Pope's solicitude. Indirectly, through his physician, John of Virgo (1460-1520), the Pope even contributed to the study of medicine. Since his physician was attached to the court of the fighting Pontiff, he saw much of field surgery. His greatest claim to fame is founded on the fact that he was the first to write a surgical treatise on wounds made by firearms.<sup>34</sup> He also wrote a text book on surgery.

Pope Julius' greatest contributions in the field of art were in the areas of painting and sculpture. He may even be called the savior of painting. Alexander VI, the Borgia Pope, had patronized a sensuous, frivolous art which had been bound up with vanity and display. Pope Julius could not stand to live in the Borgia apartments due to this art, and employed artists of a more severe style. A magnificent collection of Roman antiquities, including: the Laocoön, discovered on the Esquiline, the Hercules, the sleeping Ariadne, the groups of the Nile and the Tiber, and the Apollonias of Nestor, were displayed for artists and sculptors to study and sketch.

Sculpture had been an important part of the Curia's life throughout the Renaissance. In the sense of grandeur, and not unlike the Pharaohs of Egypt who built the pyramids as monuments to stand over their burial places, the Princes of the Church had been commissioning artists to erect glorious monuments to stand over their final resting places. Pope Julius, not to be out-

done, decided to have a magnificent monument erected in St. Peter's in Rome to honor him after his death. Since he only commissioned the finest artists and sculptors, and remembering the beautiful Pietà which the French Cardinal Jean Bilheres de Legrandas had commissioned in 1498, Pope Julius II sent a messenger to Florence. In 1505, Michelangelo Buonarroti was called to Rome.

### CHAPTER III

1505-1513

Michelangelo met Pope Julius II in Rome, and together they influenced the world of art to a great degree. The results of this meeting have been witnessed and cherished by generations of art lovers in nations throughout the world. Pope Julius II was a rambunctious man, full of violence, a vigorous character, and an abrupt uncompromising spirit. Haunted by imperial dreams, he was a true Renaissance man. Though he was filled with desires of authority and grandeur and was involved in many military campaigns and diplomatic maneuverings, he eagerly pursued art, learning, and lesser pleasures. The latter became the cause of his contact with Michelangelo, the most concentrated and undeviating of great artists. Like Julius, Michelangelo was to rise to the full height of his powers and would show his best under the stress of great undertakings. Together they would turn the impossible into the possible by making these undertakings embrace too vast a field. Michelangelo possessed a destructive pride which caused him to attempt to do more than any mortal could possibly do. He was to rise to the summit of this pride under the patronage of Pope Julius and would develop his artistic genius to the peak of its achievement. Sir Kenneth Clark has remarked: "Gorki once said of Tolstoy, 'His relations with God are very uneasy: like two old bears in a den'; such were Michelangelo's relations with God's vicar on earth."<sup>35</sup> Even so, the relationship between these two men resulted not only in the development of the full power of Michelangelo's imagination, but also in the transference of the center of the Renaissance from Florence to Rome and the forcing of Renaissance art to its supreme flowering. The two men, both giants



in their field, were so much alike that their relationship, due to the Pope's war-like attitude, was an uneasy one.

Pope Julius II was involved, as were his predecessors, in the beautification and restoration of Rome as the artistic capital of the world. The Avignonese Papacy left Rome in the same state as a mining town after the mine has closed down. Rubbish was strewn everywhere and the buildings, even the old St. Peter's, were crumbling. The Popes who reigned over Catholicism since Martin V had returned the Papacy to Rome had sought to rebuild and beautify the city. They employed artists, sculptors, and architects from every European nation and each made a significant contribution to some great papal project. All the great Quattrocento artists---Fra Angelico, Filippino Lippi, Signorelli, Perugino, Ghirlandaio, Botticelli---had visited Rome and left marvelous paintings behind decorating Rome's glorious buildings. Julius II, collecting the greatest artists and sculptors of his time, summoned Michelangelo only to have him on hand should a project require his genius. No specific project had been planned for him, but Julius suddenly decided to have Michelangelo build him a tomb. It was to be a free-standing monument which would include approximately forty larger-than-life-sized statues. The first plan submitted by Michelangelo was equal to Julius' expectations in that it would be the most magnificent tomb in existence (SEE APPENDIX II). Michelangelo once confessed that in painting and sculpture alone there is no peace.<sup>36</sup> This was to prove correct in what Condivi calls "the tragedy of the tomb".<sup>37</sup> The monument was to reveal the progressive states of catharsis of the human soul beginning on the bottom with the Captives, symbols of human souls imprisoned in the body.<sup>38</sup> The "tragedy" of the tomb was that this dream of both the Pope and the artist would never be fulfilled in reality.

Michelangelo, filled with enthusiasm for his new project and visions of colossal statues and bronze reliefs rising toward heaven, set out to supervise the quarrying of the marble he would need from Carrara. Julius began searching for a building large enough and architecturally suited to give his tomb proper display, and decided to solve his problem by tearing down the crumbling old St. Peter's and erecting a vast new basilica in its place. As Burckhardt describes the project, it was to be an outward symbol of the Pope's conceptions, the greatest expression of power in unity which can be imagined.<sup>39</sup> Julius, to build this, the greatest church in all Christendom, entrusted Sangallo, his official architect, and Bramante, another architect he admired, to submit plans for it. Bramante was a rival of Michelangelo for the Pope's favor. Robert Coughlan suggests that Bramante was jealous, and even fearful of Michelangelo and decided to halt the plans for the tomb.<sup>40</sup> To do this he first distracted the Pope's money, energy, and enthusiasm from the tomb by convincing the Pope that it was not good to build one's own tomb during one's lifetime, and focused the Pope's attention on the building of the new St. Peter's.

Thus, when Michelangelo returned from Carrara with his marble, Julius advanced no more money for the tomb and even refused to see Michelangelo. The artist reported that he overheard the Pope saying that "...he did not want to spend a penny more on large or small stones."<sup>41</sup> Michelangelo persisted in his attempts to see the Pope and was finally turned away by a groom who had orders to do so. To Michelangelo, his mind charged with colossal images for the tomb and his spirit burning like a fire, this treachery was intolerable. He stormed out of Rome and went quickly to Florence. On May 2, 1506 he wrote a letter to Sangallo asking him to write to the Pope instructing him that he was "...more disposed than ever to go on with this work, and

if he wants the tomb built no matter what...he should place that deposit here in Florence....<sup>42</sup> He also stated that he had reason to believe "...that if I stayed in Rome my tomb would be built before the Pope's. And this was the cause of my sudden departure,(SEE APPENDIX III).<sup>43</sup>

Even though there were no great differences between Pope Julius and Michelangelo, this was to be the first of many noisy arguments. Julius was now preoccupied with his plans to conquer Bologna and overthrow the tyrannical rule of the Bentivogli family. Still, he sent messages to Michelangelo in Florence demanding his return to Rome. Michelangelo, fearing the Pope's wrath, was protected by his friends in the city of Florence. Julius, refusing to release such a gifted artist, again ordered him back to Rome under penalty of papal displeasure. Julius had triumphantly subdued Perugia and Bologna and the city fathers in Florence dared not hold out any longer. They told Michelangelo: "We cannot endanger the state by making war with the Pope over you."<sup>44</sup> They sent him to the Pope in Bologna as an official representative from the city of Florence. Michelangelo attended Mass in Bologna and there, as a penitent rather than a great artist, begged the Pope's mercy and forgiveness. The actions of a prelate sent by Cardinal Soderini to intervene on behalf of Michelangelo at this point is described by Condivi: The prelate "...came forward and said: 'Your Holiness might overlook his fault; he did wrong through ignorance; these painters, outside their art, are all like this.'<sup>45</sup> Condivi also relates the reaction of the Pope, who answered in a fury: "It is you, not I, who are insulting him."<sup>46</sup> The prelate proved to be an excellent scapegoat and was cast out. The Pope then pardoned Michelangelo and peace reigned once more between the two fierce spirits.

Michelangelo was now hopeful that he would be able to continue his work on the tomb, but Julius ordered him to begin work on a bronze statue to be

placed over Jacopo della Quercia's portal of the cathedral of San Petronio. Bronze was not an entirely new medium to Michelangelo and the statue was finished and hoisted into its special niche above the famous portals in February of 1508. Julius was portrayed in full regalia, his right hand raised in a violent blessing. Michelangelo had proposed placing a book in the left hand, but Julius retorted saying, "A book in my hand! No, not a book, but a sword."<sup>47</sup> The statue was carved with the left hand holding neither the book nor the sword, but the keys of St. Peter. No one copied the statue while it existed and it was destroyed by the Bentivogli forces, who returned to a short reign of power less than four years later. Ironically, the bronze was melted to construct a cannon which was named La Giulia.<sup>48</sup>

After the statue had been completed, Michelangelo returned once again to Florence. It was the spring of 1508 and he had unfinished works to complete for his patrons there. The Cascina fresco, the Twelve Apostles, and the rest of these unfinished works were never to be completed, for the Pope once more summoned the great artist to Rome. Michelangelo, to appease the Pope, eagerly traveled to the Eternal City to complete his great tomb.

But the tomb was not the reason Julius had summoned Michelangelo. His uncle, Pope Sixtus IV, had built the Sistine Chapel in 1473 as a fortress. The chapel itself had been constructed in such a way that it could be decorated with frescoes and tapestries, and many great artists had already left beautiful paintings on its massive walls. Julius, due perhaps to Bramante's unrelenting urging, wished to have the portraits of the twelve apostles painted on the vault of the chapel. Bramante, realizing that Michelangelo would dislike this type of work and would probably fail in his attempt to do it, recommended him for the commission. This would even allow still greater success to befall Raphael, Bramante's young kinsman, who was then painting

magnificent frescoes on the walls of the papal apartments. Michelangelo tried to excuse himself from the task on the grounds that he was a sculptor, not a painter, and suggested that young Raphael was more capable of such work.<sup>49</sup> The Pope's will prevailed however, and Michelangelo, doing his best to keep at peace with the Pontiff, decided to undertake the painting. He recorded in his journal of official transactions: "I record that on this day, the 10th of May, 1508, I, Michelangelo, sculptor, have received from...Pope Julius II, 500 ducats... on account of the painting of the vault of the Sistine Chapel, on which I begin work."<sup>50</sup>

Four years filled with superhuman toil, bitterness, and unexpressable hardships, from May 1508 to October 1512, were to result in the greatest expression of Michelangelo's genius. A new theme, greater than that which depicted the twelve apostles, was approved by Pope Julius and a new contract was signed. The new theme would include three particular sections including: the Forefathers of Christ, the Miraculous Salvation of the People of Israel, and the Stories of Creation. They would consist of three hundred and forty-three colossal figures within a complex frame of simulated architecture.

Charles H. Morgan describes this plan:

Down the center of the vault he saw nine mighty panels representing the Story of Creation and the Fall of Man from Grace. Surrounding these are liberated souls in ecstasy. In the triangular spaces below, Prophets and Sibyls respond to the divine message according to their varying sensitivities. The semicircles over the windows (the lunettes) and the sloping dormers which let them into the vault (the spandrels) pillory spiritless humanity as it crouches down awaiting regeneration. Flanking the major figures, supporting the fanciful arches, crowding into odd triangular spaces, and even elaborating the discs held by the rejoicing spirits, he interjected the human form in every imaginable attitude to amplify the major motive he had in mind.<sup>51</sup> (SEE APPENDIX IV)

The beauty of this plan was to be marred by many difficulties. Bramante, still trying to discredit Michelangelo in the eyes of the Pope, had erected

a scaffolding suspended from the ceiling from which Michelangelo was to work. Seeing that the structure would leave gaping holes in the plaster when it was removed, Michelangelo had it torn down and constructed a more practical scaffolding of his own design. When this was done, he and his Florentine assistants began the tedious work of fresco painting. When a few figures had been completed, it was discovered that a mold was beginning to form on the painted surfaces. Michelangelo again tried to excuse himself on the grounds that this was not his trade, but a solution was found to the problem and he continued with his work. Being furious at the Pope's obstinacy, he dismissed every one of his assistants and barred the chapel to everyone but the Pope and those who had been granted special permission. He then tore off the old plaster on the newly-painted section and began once again.

Pope Julius was very pleased with the work. As it progressed, he became more anxious to display Michelangelo's creation for all the world to admire. Condivi relates: "While he (Michelangelo) was painting, Pope Julius used oftentimes to go and see the work, climbing by ladder, while Michelangelo gave him a hand to help him on to the platform."<sup>52</sup> Julius, though pleased with the progression of the work, soon became impatient to display it to the public and began to ask Michelangelo when he would be finished. His reply, according to Condivi, was simply: "When I can."<sup>53</sup> Due to the Pope's incessant arguing and the tediousness of the task, Michelangelo wrote a bitter sonnet reiterating the fact that, "...I'm no painter."<sup>54</sup> (SEE APPENDIX V) Again the Pope's will prevailed and Michelangelo had the scaffolding taken down and the ceiling uncovered before he had completed the entire ceiling. He then wrote a sonnet to Julius in which his zeal for perfection can be seen clearly. He feels Julius is not pleased with his work when he writes:

I am your faithful servant, as of old;  
I am to you as the sun's rays are his.  
My time does not disturb you or distress,  
I've pleased you less the more that I have labored.<sup>55</sup>

Michelangelo, being so involved in his work, does not seem to take into account the other events which had to take priority in Julius' mind. The Pope befriended Michelangelo and had genuine interest in his work, but the temporal affairs of the Church troubled him greatly. On December 10, 1508 Louis XII and Maximilian had joined forces to form the League of Cambrai. The League was formed to force Venice to give back her spoils and to form a Crusade against the Turks.<sup>56</sup> Both Spain and the Pope were invited to join the League in which case the Pope would regain all the Romagna cities. But France would also gain that important foothold in northern Italy that she desired. The Pope, quite unwilling to allow a foreign government to gain power on the Peninsula, tried to dissuade Venice's unjust actions in both temporal and spiritual affairs. When the Venetians failed to heed the Pope's warnings of the impending disaster, Julius joined the League on March 23, 1509. He pronounced excommunication on the entire city and combined his troops with those of France and Germany. Many victories and defeats followed, the most important victory being at Agnadello, and on February 15, 1510, peace negotiations were concluded with Venice.<sup>57</sup>

The Pope's next concern was the expelling of the foreigners from Italian soil. France was now a danger to the independence of the Holy See and the freedom of Italy. Louis XII gained the support of some of the cardinals and demanded that a General Council should meet on July 30, 1510. Its purposes were: the reformation of the Church, the pacification of Christendom, and a Crusade against the infidels. This posed a dangerous threat to Pope Julius. Not only was there a threat of a schism, but everything he had fought for

was now crumbling before his eyes. Even Bologna, which he had so triumphantly captured in 1508, had fallen back into the hands of the Bentivogli forces again. No city was nearer to the Pope's heart than Bologna, and its capture disheartened the Pope. With all of these problems arising as dangerous threats to the power of the papacy, Julius became gravely ill. He was so close to death that he made arrangements with the cardinals to have prayers said after his death and even made plans for his own funeral. With all of Rome mourning over his illness, the Pope made a remarkable recovery. He at once called a Universal Council, the Fifth Lateran Council, to meet in Rome on April 9, 1512. By doing this he fulfilled the promise made at his election and checkmated the schismatic French cardinals' act of open rebellion. Julius also formed the Holy League with Spain and Switzerland in 1512 and forced the French to retreat from Italy. He then turned his attention to an Italian city that had aided the French, Michelangelo's hometown, Florence. On their march to Florence, the papal troops had sacked and pillaged Prato, a small city that had refused to surrender to the Pope. The news of this terrible sack had reached Michelangelo in Rome and he immediately wrote to his brother Buonarroto, urging him to flee from Florence and take all the family and Michelangelo's money with him. He also instructed him not to "...get involved in anything, either in words or actions, and act as if it were the plague; be the first to run away."<sup>58</sup> The Pope entered the city peacefully and the Signoria humbly accepted his terms: a huge fine and the restoration of the Medici after eighteen years of exile.<sup>59</sup>

These diplomatic maneuverings and war-like actions of Pope Julius were responsible for the uneasy atmosphere existing between himself and Michelangelo. Michelangelo could never predict what would happen next. Even his own family had been in danger, yet he continued to work long and strenuously



at his fatiguing labor. He finally completed the ceiling and the Sistine Chapel was opened for the admiration of the public on October 31, 1512. The dignitaries of Rome and artists from all over Europe joined Pope Julius at the unveiling. All were amazed at what they saw. Vasari called the ceiling "a lamp for our art which casts abroad luster enough to illuminate the world."<sup>60</sup> Julius must have felt this way too, for he granted Michelangelo a bonus even though he had no other project in mind for the immediate future. He must have enjoyed the artist as much as he enjoyed the art, but his enjoyment was short-lived. Pope Julius II, the Savior of the Papacy and the Second Founder of the Papal States died a natural death on the night of February 20, 1513, nearly four months after the unveiling of Michelangelo's masterpiece.<sup>61</sup> Thus ended the relationship between a great Pope, the patron of the Divine Michelangelo, and an artist who left behind the fruits of that relationship for generations of people to love and admire for centuries to come.

## CONCLUSION

Michelangelo's feelings on the death of his friend and patron are not recorded, but he surely felt grief and a deep sense of loss. As Vasari has recorded: "Michelangelo knew the Pope and was, after all, much attached to him."<sup>62</sup> Even though Julius was gone, his friends and relatives continued to influence Michelangelo's life. The artist could now anticipate continuing the work on Julius' tomb. A new plan was drawn up, even greater than the one Julius had so admired, and a new contract was signed. Michelangelo carved his famous statue of Moses, as well as the Dying Slave and the Rebellious Slave, but had to discontinue his work again when more problems arose. Pope Leo X, the former Giovanni de' Medici, wished Michelangelo to design and build the tombs of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici in the Medici Chapel of Florence's Church of San Lorenzo. For this chapel Michelangelo carved the massive and muscular statues of Night, Day, Dusk, and Dawn. Pope Clement VII then commissioned him to design the Laurentian Library in Florence and, for reasons of personal sentiment, Michelangelo could not refuse even though the Duke of Urbino, a relative of Pope Julius II, was demanding that the tomb be finished without delay. Michelangelo designed the fortifications needed by the city of Florence, but these fortifications were never built since the matter of the tomb was raised again in 1531.

A new contract was signed on April 29, 1532 but Pope Clement ordered Michelangelo to paint the wall behind the altar in the Sistine Chapel. Even though Clement died shortly after this, his successor, Pius III, made Michelangelo carry out the project as planned. The resulting masterpiece was the breathtaking Last Judgment, Michelangelo's most dynamic work. Finally, when

a fourth contract had been substituted, Michelangelo began to finish the tomb of Pope Julius. He had stored the Moses, the Dying Slave, and the Rebellious Slave, along with various decorous pieces in his house in Rome. He decided to substitute the statues of Leah and Rachel in place of the two Slaves and mounted them, along with the Moses, in the simplified version of Julius' tomb in San Pietro in Vinculis. The tomb was unveiled in February of 1545 and the tragedy of the tomb was finally over. Michelangelo had written to a friend that "it would have been better if in my young years I had started making matches, for now I wouldn't be so full of grief."<sup>63</sup> His grief was well rewarded however, for Condivi writes:

It can now be seen in San Pietro in Vincoli, not as in the first design with four facades, but with one front, not standing free, but against the wall. But although the work has been so patched up and reduced, it is the most worthy monument to be found in Rome and perhaps the whole world, on account of the three figures on it which are by the master's own hand.<sup>64</sup>

The relationship between Michelangelo and Pope Julius II was now over. Michelangelo had been subjected to every humiliation and considered most of his works as failures, but he and Pope Julius were undoubtedly the catalysts of the supreme flowering of Renaissance art in Rome. Michelangelo completed many other notable achievements, the most important of which is the design for the dome of the new St. Peter's in Rome, then he died peacefully on February 18, 1564 at the age of eighty-nine.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Gerald S. Davies, Michelangelo (2nd ed.; London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1924), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Charles H. Morgan, The Life of Michelangelo (New York: Reynal & Company, 1960), p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>Davies, Michelangelo, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Morgan, The Life of Michelangelo, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup>Robert Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564 (New York: Time Incorporated, 1966), p. 14.

<sup>6</sup>Irving and Jean Stone (ed.), I, Michelangelo, Sculptor (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup>Charles de Tolnay, The Art and Thought of Michelangelo (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), pp. 36-37.

<sup>9</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>De Tolnay, The Art and Thought of Michelangelo, p. 62.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>15</sup>The Chevalier Artaud de Montor, The Lives and Times of the Popes (New York: The Catholic Publication Society of America, 1911), IV, p. 207.

<sup>16</sup>Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince, TRANS. Thomas G. Bergin (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1497), p. 17.

<sup>17</sup>"Church States," The Encyclopedia Americana, VI (1965), pp. 660-661.

<sup>18</sup>Joseph Fernhart, The Vatican as a World Power, TRANS. George N. Shuster (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), p. 242.

<sup>19</sup>Paolo Brezzi, The Papacy: Its Origins and Historical Evolution, TRANS. Henry J. Yannone (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1958), p. 133.

<sup>20</sup>Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, ed. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1923), VI, p. 253.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 241.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>24</sup>Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance, TRANS. S.G.C. Middlemore (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1945), p. 74.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>26</sup>Erasmus, The Julius Exclusus of Erasmus, TRANS. Paul Pascal (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 7.

<sup>27</sup>Hans Kuhner, Encyclopedia of the Papacy (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958), p. 139.

<sup>28</sup>De Montor, The Lives and Times of the Popes, p. 210.

<sup>29</sup>M. Creighton, A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897), V, p. 81.

<sup>30</sup>E.D. McShane, "Swiss Guards," The New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), XIII, pp. 840-841.

<sup>31</sup>Pastor, The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, p. 230.

<sup>32</sup>Kuhner, Encyclopedia of the Papacy, p. 143.

<sup>33</sup>John Linus Paschang, The Popes and the Revival of Learning (Washington, D.C., 1927), p. 99.

<sup>34</sup>James J. Walsh, The Popes and Science (New York: Fordham University Press, 1908), p. 214.

<sup>35</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 104.

<sup>36</sup>Bernhart, The Vatican as a World Power, p. 227.

<sup>37</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 107.

<sup>38</sup>De Tolnay, The Art and Thought of Michelangelo, p. 37.

<sup>39</sup>Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance, p. 75.

<sup>40</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 109.

<sup>41</sup>Robert N. Linscott (ed.), Complete Poems and Selected Letters of Michelangelo, TRANS. Creighton Gilbert (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 191.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Morgan, The Life of Michelangelo, p. 79.

<sup>45</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 110.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Davies, Michelangelo, p. 59.

<sup>48</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 111.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Morgan, The Life of Michelangelo, p. 84.

<sup>52</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 113.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Linscott (ed.), Complete Poems and Selected Letters of Michelangelo, pp. 5-6.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>56</sup>Pastor, The History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages, p. 299.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 300.

<sup>58</sup>Linscott (ed.), Complete Poems and Selected Letters of Michelangelo, pp. 214-215.

<sup>59</sup>Morgan, The Life of Michelangelo, p. 103.

<sup>60</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 113.

<sup>61</sup>Rolf Schott, Michelangelo (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1962), p. 112.

<sup>62</sup>Coughlan, The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564, p. 131.

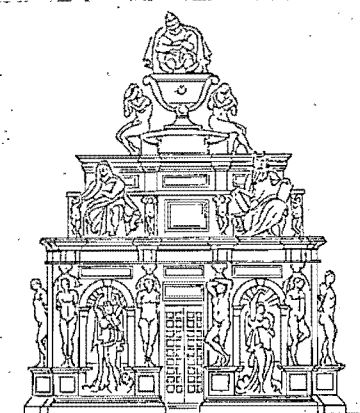
<sup>63</sup>Stone (ed.), I, Michelangelo, Sculptor, p. 164.

<sup>64</sup>The Sculptures of Michelangelo (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 12.

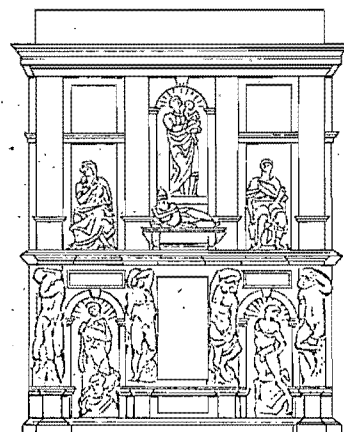




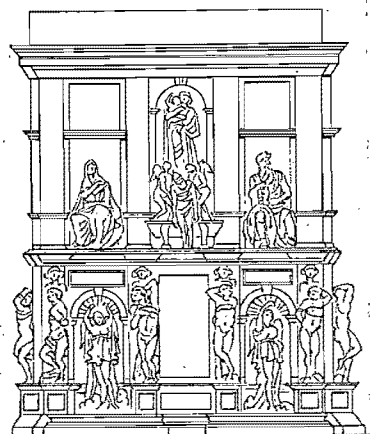
APPENDIX II



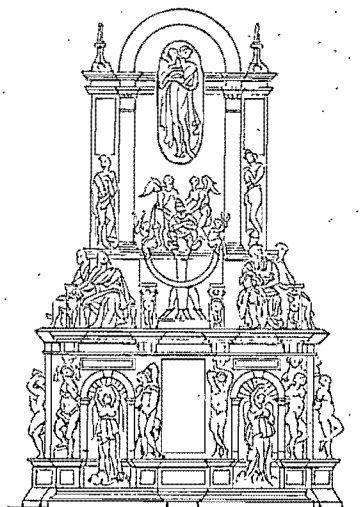
Project of 1505



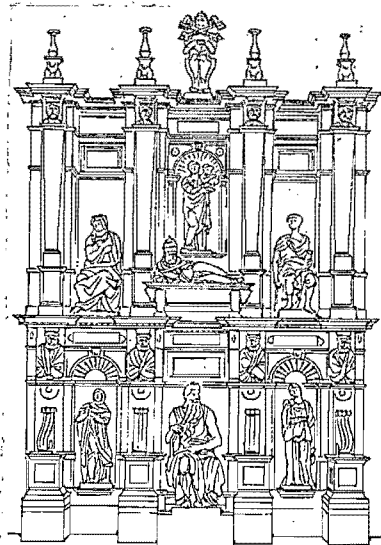
Project of 1532



Project of 1516



Project of 1513



Tomb of Julius II Today

\*from The World of Michelangelo 1475-1564 by Robert Coughlan, p. 134-135.

APPENDIX III

(TO MASTER GIULIANO DA SANGALLO,  
PAPAL ARCHITECT IN ROME;  
FLORENCE, MAY 2, 1506)

Giuliano: I have learned from one of yours how the Pope took my departure badly, and how His Holiness is going to make a deposit and do what he had agreed, and that I should come back and not be doubtful about anything.

As for my departure, it is true that on Holy Saturday I heard the Pope, speaking at table with a jeweler and the Master of Ceremonies, say that he didn't want to spend a penny more either on large or small stones, which amazed me a good deal. Still, before I left I asked him for part of what I needed for going on with the work. His Holiness answered me that I should come back Monday; and I came back there Monday and Tuesday, and Wednesday and Thursday, as he saw. Finally, on Friday morning I was sent out, that is, chased away, and the fellow who sent me out of there said that he knew me but those were his orders. So, since I had heard those words on Saturday, and then seeing the result, I got extremely desperate. But this was not the entire cause of my departure; there was also another thing, which I don't want to write; suffice it that it made me think that if I stayed in Rome my tomb would be built before the Pope's. And this was the cause of my sudden departure.

Now you write me on the Pope's behalf, and thus you will read this to the Pope; and His Holiness should know that I am more disposed than ever to go on with this work, and if he wants the tomb built no matter what, it shouldn't bother him where I build it, so long as at the end of the five years that we agreed on it is put up in St. Peter's, wherever he likes, and is a fine thing as I have promised; for I am certain, if it is made, the whole world will not have its equal.

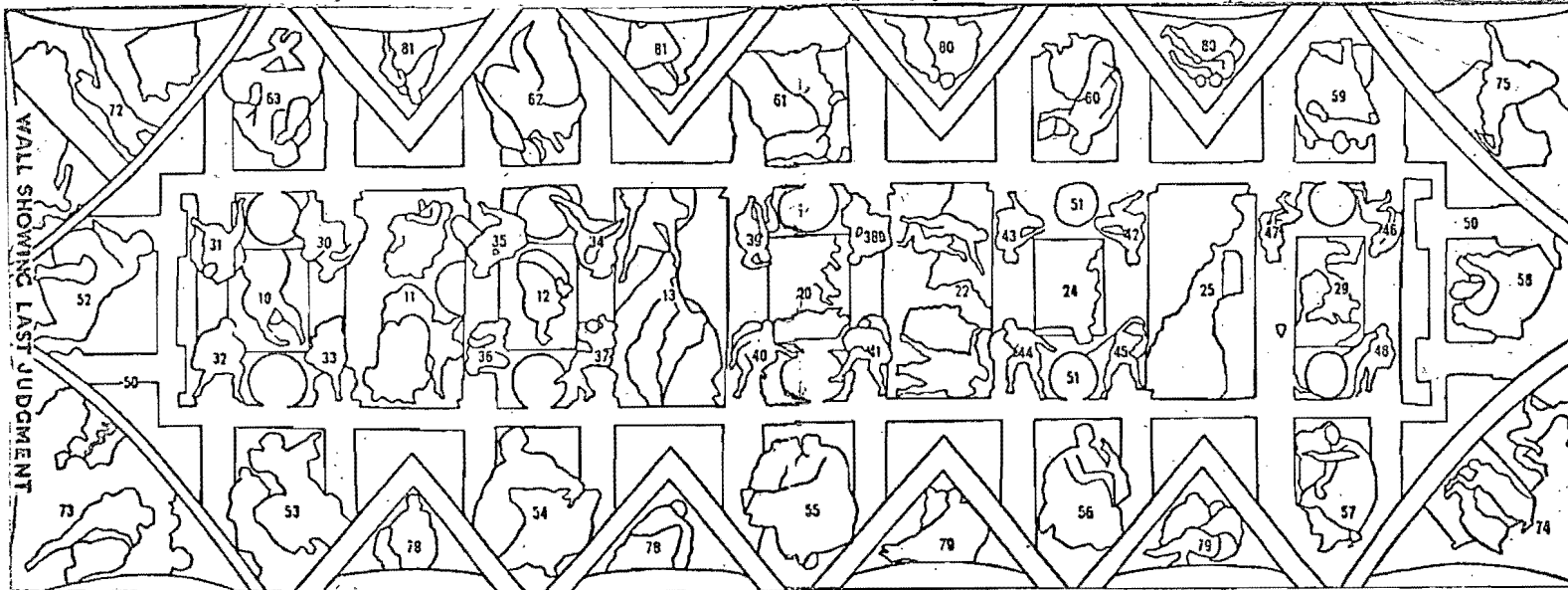
Now if His Holiness wants to go on, he should place that deposit here in Florence, I'll write him where, and I have many marbles on order in Carrara which I shall have brought here, and I shall also have those brought here that I have there; although it would be quite a disadvantage to me, it wouldn't bother me if I could do that work here, and I would send the things as they were done, piece by piece, in such a way that His Holiness would be pleased, just as if I stayed in Rome, or more so, since he would see things done without having any other bother about them. And as for that money and that work, I shall obligate myself as His Holiness wishes, and shall give him whatever security he asks here in Florence. Be it what it will, I'll guarantee it no matter what, and all Florence should be enough. I have this to tell you too: that it is not possible that I could do that work in Rome for this price, as I can here on account of the many advantages available which don't exist there, and besides, I shall do it better and more lovingly because I shan't have to think about so many things. In the meantime, my dear Giuliano, I ask you to make me an answer, and quickly. There's nothing else.

May 2, 1506

Yours, Michelangelo, sculptor, in Florence

\*from Complete Poems & Selected Letters of Michelangelo, translated by Creighton Gilbert, edited by Robert N. Linscott, pages 191-193.

APPENDIX IV



PLAN FOR THE SISTINE CHAPEL CEILING

- |   |                            |
|---|----------------------------|
| 10 - God Separates Light from Darkness      | 55 - Cumaean Sibyl         |
| 11 - God Creates the Stars                  | 56 - The Prophet Isaiah    |
| 12 - God Creates the Animals                | 57 - Delphic Sibyl         |
| 13 - The Creation of Adam                   | 58 - Zachariah             |
| 20 - The Creation of Eve                    | 59 - Joel                  |
| 22 - The Original Sin                       | 60 - Erythraean Sibyl      |
| 24 - The Sacrifice of Noah                  | 61 - Ezekiel               |
| 25 - The Flood                              | 62 - Persian Sibyl         |
| 29 - The Drunkenness of Noah                | 63 - Jeremiah              |
| 30-48 - Nineteen Nudes                      | 72 - The Triumph of Esther |
| 50 - Pairs of Decorative Cupids             | 73 - The Bronze Serpent    |
| 51 - Medallions Depicting Biblical Episodes | 74 - Judith and Holofernes |
| 52 - The Prophet Jonah                      | 75 - David and Goliath     |
| 53 - Libyan Sibyl                           | 78 - Jesse - Asa           |
| 54 - The Prophet Daniel                     | 79 - Ezekias - Josias      |
|   | 80 - Zorobabel - Ozias     |
|   | 81 - Roboam - Salmon       |

\*from All the Paintings of Michelangelo by Enzo Carli, translated by Marion Fitzallan, pages 26-31.

APPENDIX V

SONNET TO JOHN OF PISTOIA  
ON THE SISTINE CEILING (1509-12)

I've got myself a goiter from this strain,  
As water gives the cats in Lombardy  
Or maybe it is in some other country;  
My belly's pushed by force beneath my chin.

My beard toward Heaven, I feel the back of my brain  
Upon my neck, I grow the breast of a Harpy;  
My brush, above my face continually,  
Makes it a splendid floor by dripping down,

My loins have penetrated to my paunch,  
My rump's a crupper, as a counterweight,  
And pointless the unseeing steps I go.

In front of me my skin is being stretched  
While it folds up behind and forms a knot,  
And I am bending like a Syrian bow.

And judgment, hence, must grow,  
Borne in the mind, peculiar and untrue;  
You cannot shoot well when the gun's askew.

John, come to the rescue  
Of my dead painting now, and of my honor;  
I'm not in a good place, and I'm no painter.

\*from Complete Poems & Selected Letters of Michelangelo, translated by  
Creighton Gilbert, edited by Robert N. Linscott, pages 5-6.

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