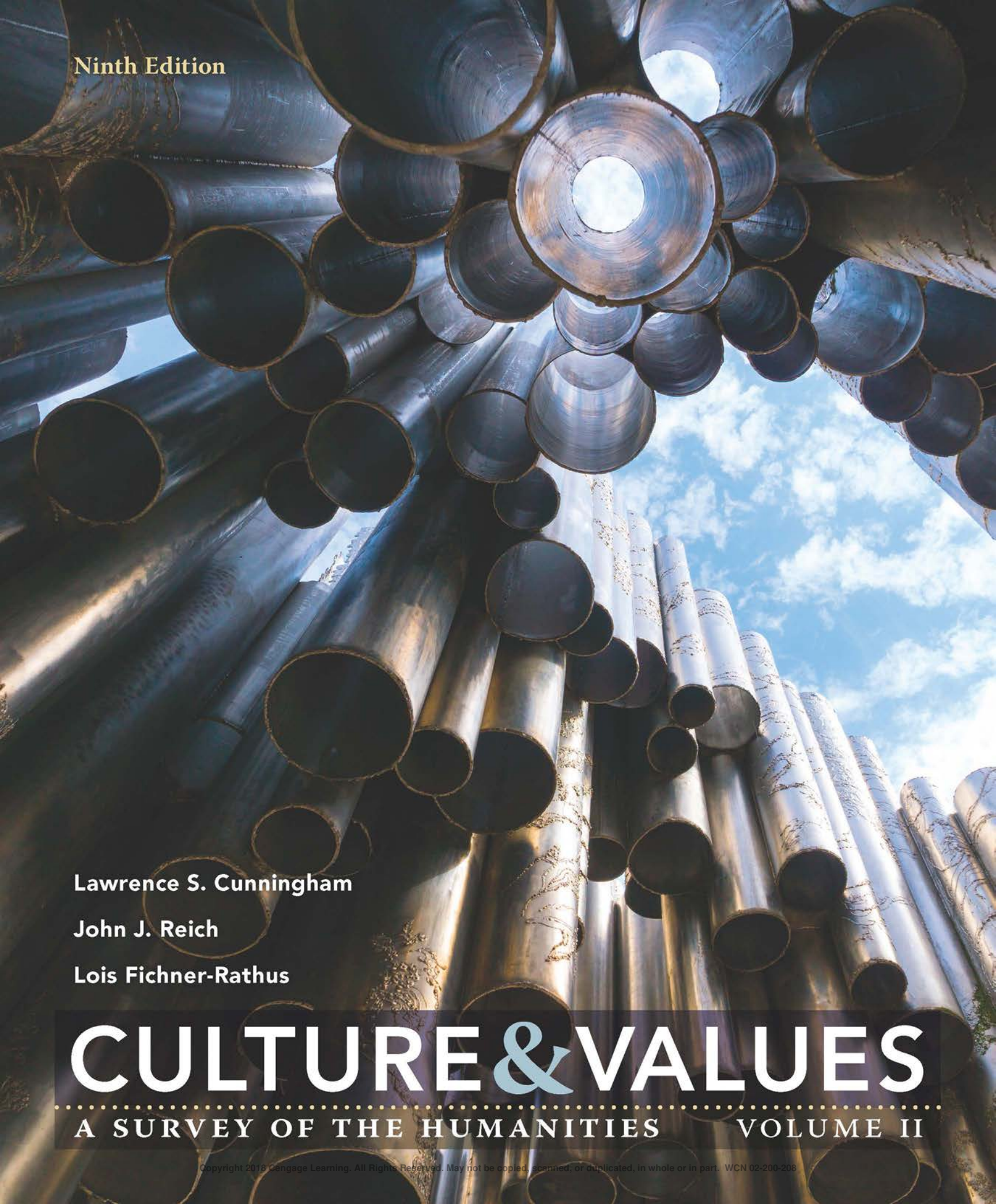


Ninth Edition

Lawrence S. Cunningham

John J. Reich

Lois Fichner-Rathus

CULTURE & VALUES

A SURVEY OF THE HUMANITIES VOLUME II

CULTURE & VALUES

To Clark Baxter
Slim customer, cherished friend

CULTURE & VALUES

A SURVEY OF THE HUMANITIES

VOLUME II

NINTH EDITION

LAWRENCE S. CUNNINGHAM
John A. O'Brien Professor of Theology
University of Notre Dame

JOHN J. REICH
Syracuse University
Florence, Italy

LOIS FICHNER-RATHUS
The College of New Jersey

CENGAGE Learning®

Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

Culture & Values:
A Survey of the Humanities, Volume II, Ninth Edition
Lawrence S. Cunningham, John J. Reich, Lois Fichner-Rathus

Product Director: Monica Eckman
Product Manager: Sharon Adams Poore
Content Developer: Rachel Harbour
Product Assistant: Danielle Ewanouski
Senior Marketing Manager: Jillian Borden
Senior Content Project Manager: Lianne Ames
Senior Art Director: Cate Rickard Barr
Manufacturing Planner: Julio Esperas
IP Analyst: Christina Ciaramella
IP Project Manager: Kathryn Kucharek
Production Service: Thistle Hill Publishing Services, LLC
Compositor: Cenveo® Publisher Services
Text and Cover Designer: Chrissy Kurpeski
Cover Image: © mvlampila/Alamy Stock Photo

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016945332

Student Edition:
ISBN: 978-1-337-10266-7

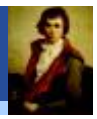
Loose-leaf Edition:
ISBN: 978-1-337-11659-6

Cengage Learning
20 Channel Center Street
Boston, MA 02210
USA

Printed in the United States of America
Print Number: 01 Print Year: 2016

Contents

18 Africa 603



19 The Eighteenth Century 625

20 Europe and America: 1800–1870 663

Reading and Playlist Selections

MindTap for *Culture & Values*, Ninth Edition, provides direct links to the unabridged versions of these literary excerpts in the Questia online library.

13

Reading Selections

Playlist Selections

Palestrina: Missa Papae Marcelli, Credo

14

Reading Selections

Playlist Selections

Thomas Morley: "Now is the Month of Maying"

15

Reading Selections

Playlist Selections

"La Marseillaise"

Ludwig van Beethoven: Piano Sonata No. 8 ("Pathétique") in C Minor, Op. 13

Ludwig van Beethoven: Symphony No. 5 in C Minor

Hector Berlioz: *Symphonie fantastique*, V, "Dream of a Witches' Sabbath"

Giuseppe Verdi: Violetta's aria "Ah, fors' è lui" from *La traviata*

Richard Wagner: "The Ride of the Valkyries" from act 3 of *The Valkyrie*

21

Reading Selections

Playlist Selections

Georges Bizet: *Carmen*, Act One, "Habanera"

Gilbert & Sullivan: *H.M.S. Pinafore*, "When I Was a Lad"

Tchaikovsky: "Waltz of the Flowers"; "Arabian Dance"

Claude Debussy: "Claire de Lune" (Moonlight)

Arnold Schönberg: "Mondestrunken" from *Pierrot Lunaire*

Igor Stravinsky: "Dance of the Adolescents" from *The Rite of Spring*

22

Reading Selections

Playlist Selections

Scott Joplin: "Maple Leaf Rag"

Joe "King" Oliver: "West End Blues," Louis Armstrong and His Hot Five

Ella Fitzgerald: "Blue Skies"

Billy Strayhorn: "Take the 'A' Train," Duke Ellington Orchestra

Benny Goodman: "Sing, Sing, Sing"

Glenn Miller: "In the Mood"

Lotte Lenya: "Mack the Knife"

George and Ira Gershwin: "Summertime," *Porgy and Bess*

23

Reading Selections

Playlist Selections

Pierre Boulez: "Piano Sonata No. 2"

John Cage: "Piano Sonata II"

Steve Reich: "The Desert Music, Third Movement"

Philip Glass: "Music in 12 Parts"

Dmitri Shostakovich: "Symphony #13 (Babi Yar) II Humour"

Andrew Lloyd Webber: "Superstar" from *Jesus Christ Superstar*

Claude-Michel Schönberg: "The Heat Is On in Saigon" from *Miss Saigon*

Rodgers and Hammerstein: Matthew Morrison, "You've Got to Be Carefully Taught" from *South Pacific*

Galt Macdermont: "Hair" from *Hair*

Jonathan Larson: "One Song Glory" from *Rent*

Elvis Presley: "Heartbreak Hotel"

The Beatles: "I Want to Hold Your Hand"

The Beatles: "Back in the U.S.S.R."

The Beach Boys: "California Girls"

Run-D.M.C.: "Walk This Way"

Michael Jackson: "Thriller"

Preface to the Ninth Edition

The ninth edition of *Culture & Values* continues its mission to inform students of the history of humankind through the lens of the humanities—language and literature, art and architecture, music, philosophy, and religion. Through the study of the humanities, we aim not only to *know* but to *understand*—to consider what humans across time and lands have thought about; how they have felt or acted; how they have sought to come to terms with their relationship to the known and the unknown; and how culture has influenced them to develop and express their ideas, ideals, and their inner selves. *Culture & Values* encourages students to place their own backgrounds and beliefs in context and to consider how understanding both their own and other heritages contributes to becoming a citizen of the world in the 21st century.

WHAT'S NEW IN THE NINTH EDITION

Professors who have taught with earlier editions of the book will find that the ninth edition is familiar, yet, in many respects, quite new. Readers of the ninth edition will discover a new chapter on the Americas, three new types of features, and new works throughout, including numerous new maps.

New Chapter: Cultural Centers of the Americas

The new Chapter 16 provides comprehensive coverage of various cultures of the Americas, from the Olmec civilization to the Post-Columbian period. It covers:

- The migration of humans from Asia across the land bridge from present-day Siberia to North America some 23,000 years ago.
- The development of civilizations and cities in Mesoamerica and South America, and the cultures of migrants who remained north of Mexico.
- The polytheistic religions of these cultural centers, how they explained the origins of the universe, and how they governed the rituals of daily life.
- Achievements in architecture, including the construction of monumental pyramids; sculpture; earthworks; crafts; and fine poetry.
- Scientific achievements in astronomy and the creation of calendars.
- The consequences of the European conquest of these territories, including the destruction of native cultures and belief systems and the introduction of new languages and religions.

New Chapter Organization

The new Chapter 16, "Cultural Centers of the Americas," inspires a new organization for Volume II of *Culture & Values*. The new chapter follows Chapter 15, "The Seventeenth Century," because it is during that era that the preponderance of European exploration and colonization of the Americas and other parts of the world—such as Africa—took place. The ancient history of South Asia, China, and Japan is presented in Chapter 5 of the first volume; in Chapter 17 of the second volume, "South Asia, China, and Japan: From Medieval to Modern Times," we revisit these regions just as east–west encounters became more prevalent. Chapter 18, "Africa," completes the cluster of non-European civilizations.

The 17th century and the years directly before and afterward—despite their impact—comprise but a small part of the full history of these regions. Rich cultural developments hark back to ancient times in the Americas, the East, and Africa. Moreover, cultural developments in these regions, as in the West, continue to impact the wider world today, often in directions that would have been impossible to predict.

New Features

The ninth edition has three new features designed to engage students and to demonstrate the relevance of the humanities to their contemporary world:

THE NEW CULTURE AND SOCIETY FEATURE highlights relationships between cultural and social developments, both ancient and modern. A sampling of topics includes:

- "The Maya Ball Game," a Mesoamerican "sport" connected with Maya beliefs concerning life, death, resurrection, and transformation.
- "The Works Progress Administration," Franklin Delano Roosevelt's expansive Great Depression employment relief

program that funded a spectrum of projects ranging from public works to works of art and literature.
- "Liberation" discusses various kinds of liberation, from liberation from totalitarian regimes to gay liberation.

THE NEW CONNECTIONS FEATURE draws parallels between works of art and literature, relays contemporary responses to ancient events, and offers engaging new perspectives on cultural figures and monuments. Examples include:

- Chapter 17, "South Asia, China, and Japan: From Medieval to Modern Times," includes a feature on action painting, east and west, which relates Japanese artist's Kazuo Shiraga's painting with his feet while suspended over his canvases to the American Jackson Pollock's method of drip painting.
- Chapter 18, "Africa," contains a feature on Gustavus Vassa, who wrote the first slave autobiography.
- A feature in Chapter 22, "The World at War: 1914–1945," illustrates collaboration between art forms such as ballet, writing, and the visual arts.

THE NEW RELIGION FEATURE presents essential aspects and tenets of belief systems past and present, including:

- The Puritans
- Gods and Goddesses in the Aztec Pantheon

WHAT'S NEW IN THE NINTH EDITION—CHAPTER BY CHAPTER

13 The High Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy

- New illustrations, including new views of the Sistine Chapel, the Tempietto, and the Villa Rotunda
- Connections feature: Papermaking and Leonardo's experimental sketches and drawings
- Connections feature: The mutilation and restoration of Michelangelo's *Pietà*

14 The High Renaissance in Northern Europe and Spain

- New illustrations, including Madrid's El Escorial and Seville's La Casa De Pilatos
- Culture and Society feature: "Principal Discoveries and Inventions in the Sixteenth Century"
- Connections feature: The preservation of Cordoba's Mezquita after the Catholic monarchs drove the Muslims from Spain in 1492

15 The Seventeenth Century

- New illustrations, including Carracci's ceiling fresco *The Loves of the Gods* and the Palace of Versailles
- New coverage of John Winthrop, including an excerpt from *A Model of Christian Charity*
- Connections feature: Velasquez and the Knights of Santiago
- Connections feature: Rubens's royal patrons
- Culture and Society feature: "Principal Scientific Discoveries of the Seventeenth Century"
- Connections feature: Pisa's Galileo and Jupiter's Ganymede
- Religion feature: "The Puritans"

16 Cultural Centers of the Americas

- New works of architecture and art, including the Temple of the Feathered Serpent, Teotihuacán, Mexico; Moche pottery; a Nazca geoglyph; Machu Picchu; a Chilkat blanket; the Serpent Mound in Ohio; and works by Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo
- New coverage of the Olmecs; Teotihuacán; the Maya; the Aztecs and Tenochtitlán; the Nazca, Moche, and Inka cultures of South America; Oceania; the native cultures of North America; and the European conquest
- Five new readings, including excerpts from the *Florentine Codex*; the recounting of the conquest of Mexico from the Aztec point of view and from the Spanish viewpoint (as related by a soldier of Cortes, Bernal Diaz del Castillo); and metaphysical poetry by Nezahualcoyotl
- Religion feature: "The Feathered Serpent"
- Culture and Society feature: "The Maya Ball Game"
- Religion feature: "Some Gods and Goddesses in the Aztec Pantheon"
- Culture and Society feature: Mexican Nationalism in the 20th century

17 South Asia, China, and Japan: From Medieval to Modern Times

- New illustrations of "hybrid" art and architecture from the British colonial period, including Mumbai's Victoria Terminus
- New coverage of Indian artists known as the Progressives
- Expanded coverage of the Chinese transition from monarchy to Republican to Communist rule
- Expanded coverage of the development of modern Japan
- New coverage of the Japanese Gutai Art Association

- Connections feature: Jackson Pollock, Kazuo Shiraga, and action painting

18 Africa

- Revised chapter preview featuring Neolithic rock painting
- Connections feature: The *Catalan Atlas* and a pilgrimage to Mecca by Mansa Musa I, the 14th-century king of Mali
- Connections feature: The slave biography of Gustavus Vassa
- Connections feature: Celebrity, identity, and impersonation in the art of Cameroonian photographer Samuel Fosso

19 The Eighteenth Century

- New illustrations, including Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, Panini's *Interior of the Pantheon*, and Gilbert Stuart's iconic portrait of George Washington
- Connections feature: The 18th-century Grand Tour of Europe
- Connections feature: Representing George Washington

20 Europe and America: 1800 to 1870

- New illustrations and discussions of art and war in the Romantic era
- Connections feature: Beethoven, Goya, Wilde, and hearing loss
- Connections feature: The photographic documentation of war

21 Toward the Modern Era: 1870–1914

- New illustrations, including works by Gaudí, Kandinsky, Picasso, Braque, and others
- Connections feature: Portraying the fourth dimension in art
- Connections feature: The phenomenon of World's Fairs
- Connections feature: La Sagrada Familia

22 The World at War: 1914–1945

- New illustrations, including a discussion of the artistic collaboration between Picasso, Satie, Cocteau, and Diaghilev for the 1917 ballet, *Parade*
- Connections feature: Surrealism, André Breton, and Frida Kahlo
- Connections feature: Contrasting visions of America in Walt Whitman's poem "I Hear America Singing" and Langston Hughes's "I, Too"
- Culture and Society feature: "The Works Progress Administration"

23 The Contemporary Contour

- New illustrations and discussions of the depth and breadth of postwar art and architecture
- Expanded coverage of rock and roll legend Elvis Presley, including a Connections feature on Elvis
- Culture and Society feature: "Liberation"
- Connections feature: Revisiting and revising Richard Hamilton's 1956 collage *Just What Is It That Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing?*

Familiar Features in the Ninth Edition

A DYNAMIC, ELEGANT, AND ACCESSIBLE DESIGN that features brilliant, accurate color reproductions of works of art along with large-format reproductions of original pages of literary works. Students will be able to fully appreciate the visual impact of these works and may be inspired to seek out art in museums and to visit historic sites.

CHAPTER PREVIEWS draw students into the material of each chapter by connecting intriguing works of art and other images with the ideas and ideals that permeate the eras under discussion. From the opening chapter—in which students discover how contemporary technologies are used to reconstruct the human past—to the last—in which the emergence of new media charts multiple cultural and artistic directions in the 21st century—students are encouraged to face each new period with curiosity and anticipation. At the same time, the previews reinforce connections to the knowledge students have accumulated from previous chapters.

COMPARE + CONTRAST features present two or more works of art or literature side by side and encourage students to focus on stylistic, technical, and cultural similarities and differences. The features promote critical thinking by encouraging students to consider the larger context in which works were created, honing their interpretive skills and challenging them to probe for meaning beyond first impressions. Compare + Contrast features parallel the time-honored pedagogy of analyzing works of art, texts, and ideas by describing their similarities and differences.

TIMELINES in each chapter give students a broad framework for the periods under discussion by highlighting seminal dates and events.

END-OF-CHAPTER GLOSSARIES provide students with an efficient way to access and review key terms and their meanings.

THE BIG PICTURE feature at the end of each chapter summarizes the cultural events and achievements that shape the character of each period and place. Organized into categories (Language and Literature; Art, Architecture, and Music; Philosophy and Religion), the Big Picture reinforces for students the simultaneity of developments in history and the humanities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We first acknowledge the reviewers—our colleagues who, as instructors in the humanities survey, collectively have shaped student encounters with art, music, religion, philosophy, and literature over generations. The extent to which *Culture & Values*, Ninth Edition, meets their pedagogical needs and inspires their students—and yours—is a direct result of their willingness to share—and our commitment to learn from—their expertise and experiences. They have had the enduring patience to read the text meticulously to inform us of any shortcomings, and they have inspired us with their unique pedagogical visions. Sincere gratitude and thanks to the reviewers for the ninth edition: Yubraj Aryal, Purdue University; Terri Birch, Harper College; Steven Cartwright, Western Michigan University; Erin Devin, Northern Virginia Community College; Taurie Gittings, Miami Dade College; Charles Hill, Gadsden State Community College; Sean Hill, Irvine Valley College; Garry Ross, Texas A&M University—Central Texas; Arnold Schmidt, California State University, Stanislaus; Teresa Tande, Lake Region State College; and Scott Temple, Cleveland Community College.

The authors acknowledge that an edition with revisions of this magnitude could not be undertaken, much less accomplished, without the vision, skill, and persistent dedication of the superb team of publishing professionals at Cengage Learning. First and foremost is Sharon Adams Poore, our Product Manager, who, as always, guides a project with steady and collegial hands, seamlessly meshing author and publisher, needs and desires, idea and reality. She is our touchstone, our champion, our trusted friend; Rachel Harbour, our Content Developer, worked intensely day by day, bringing her grasp of cultural matters and her global insights to the evaluation and enhancement of nearly every word and phrase in the manuscript—all for the better; Danielle Ewanouski, Product Assistant; Lianne Ames, our veteran Senior Content Project Manager, the enviable master of all she surveys, who guarantees that all of the pieces fit and that everything keeps moving along consistently and coherently, and who always finds a way to marry pedagogy, aesthetics, and quality of production in spite of crushing deadlines; Cate Barr, our Senior Art Director, whose splendid taste, acumen, and flexibility resulted in the exceptional print or digital text you find before you—without Cate as our design "rudder," we would never bring the ship of our dreams to port; Christina Ciaramella, Intellectual Property Analyst; Kathryn Kucharek, Intellectual Property Project Manager; and, last but not least, Jillian Borden, our Senior Marketing Manager—without Jillian's strategic and boundlessly creative mind, her enthusiasm and energy, and belief in the authors and products in her keeping, our efforts to support the teaching of humanities might never come to fruition.

We can only list the others involved in the production of this edition, although they should know that we are grateful for their part in making *Culture & Values* a book we are proud to present: Chrissy Kurpeski, interior and cover designer; Angela Urquhart, editorial project manager at Thistle Hill Publishing; and Corey Smith and Kristine Janssens, photo and literary permissions researchers at Lumina Datamatics.

Lois Fichner-Rathus would also like to thank Spencer Rathus, her husband, silent partner, and true-to-life "Renaissance man" for the many roles he played in the concept and execution of this edition.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Lawrence Cunningham is the John A. O'Brien Professor of Theology at the University of Notre Dame. He holds degrees in philosophy, theology, literature, and humanities. John Reich, of Syracuse University in Florence, Italy, is a trained classicist, musician, and field archaeologist. Both Cunningham and Reich have lived and lectured for extended periods in Europe.

Lois Fichner-Rathus is Professor of Art and Art History at The College of New Jersey. She holds degrees from the Williams College Graduate Program in the History of Art and in the History, Theory, and Criticism of Art from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In addition to being co-author of *Culture & Values*, she is the author of the Cengage Learning textbooks *Understanding Art* and *Foundations of Art and Design*. She teaches study-abroad programs in Paris, Rome, Spain, and Cuba and resides in New York.

RESOURCES

For Faculty

MINDTAP® FOR INSTRUCTORS Leverage the tools in MindTap for *Culture & Values*, Ninth Edition, to enhance and personalize your course. Add your own images, readings, videos, web links, projects, and more to your course Learning Path. Set project due dates, specify whether assignments are for practice or a grade, and control when your students see these activities in

their course. MindTap can be purchased as a stand-alone product or bundled with the print text. Connect with your Learning Consultant for more details via www.cengage.com/repfinder.

FULL READINGS IN QUESTIA This edition's MindTap includes free access to Questia, an online research library with tens of thousands of digital books and millions of academic journal articles. Links to the full versions of many of the literary works excerpted in the ninth edition appear within the MindTap version of the text. Look for the Questia icon next to individual readings on pages x–xiii of the print book to see which readings are available and linked within MindTap.

For Students

MINDTAP FOR STUDENTS MindTap for *Culture & Values* helps you engage with your course content and achieve greater comprehension. Highly personalized and fully online, the MindTap learning platform presents authoritative Cengage Learning content, assignments, and services, offering you a tailored presentation of course curriculum created by your instructor.

MindTap guides you through the course curriculum via an innovative Learning Path Navigator where you will complete reading assignments, annotate your readings, complete homework, and engage with quizzes and assignments. This edition's MindTap features a two-pane e-reader, designed to make your online reading experience easier. Images discussed in the text appear in the left pane, while the accompanying discussion scrolls on the right. Highly accessible and interactive, this new e-reader pairs videos, Google Map links, and 360-degree panoramas with the matching figure in the text.

WRITING AND RESEARCH TOOLS IN QUESTIA The MindTap for this edition of the text includes free access to Questia, a digital research library replete with tips and instruction on how to complete research- and writing-based activities for your course. You can view tutorials and read how-to advice on the steps of completing a research paper, ranging from topic selection to research tips, proper citation formats, and advice on how to structure a critical essay. Look for links to many of these resources available through Questia right in the Learning Path of your course.

CULTURE & VALUES

13

The High Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy

PREVIEW

The Italians had a word for awe-inspiring power and grandeur, overwhelming emotional intensity, intractable will, and incalculable rage: *terribilità*. That they used the word to describe two outsized personalities—Pope Julius II and Michelangelo Buonarroti—whose intertwined destinies shaped both history and the history of art and give us insight into the Renaissance papacy, patronage of the arts, and the lust for legacy.

On his fourth attempt to secure the papacy, Giuliano della Rovere, called "il Terribilis," was elected almost unanimously in 1503 by a conclave of cardinals, several of whom he most certainly bribed—heavily. He took the name Julius II, not in honor of the canonized fourth-century pope by the same name but in emulation of Julius Caesar, the great Roman statesman, conqueror, and architect of the future empire. Julius II would become known as the Warrior Pope who brought the Papal States back under control of Rome after the Avignon papacy and who waged military campaigns against the Republic of Venice in partnership with the Holy Roman emperor and the kings of France and Aragon.

Like Caesar, Julius II would aim to glorify Rome, using art and architecture conspicuously to assert his power and wealth and to ensure his legacy. He directed his energies—and funds from the papal treasury—toward several pet projects that would reflect his authority, influence, and personal taste. They included the construction of a new Saint Peter's on the site of Constantine's fourth-century basilica and major works of art for the Vatican. An advocate for and patron of contemporary artists, Julius II was, in the words of the author R. A. Scotti, "a one-man MoMA."[1] In every way, he was larger than life. A Venetian ambassador to the Vatican said: "No one has any influence over him, and he consults few or none.... It is almost impossible to describe how strong and violent and difficult to manage he is.... Everything about him is on a magnificent scale, both his undertakings and his passions."[2] As it happened, Julius II might have spoken those very words in describing Michelangelo, for their relationship was anything but smooth.

By the time he was 30, the Florentine sculptor Michelangelo had secured his position as the hottest artistic commodity in Italy. With at least two significant, attention-getting works under his belt—the *Pietà* in a chapel in Old Saint Peter's Basilica and the *David* in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence—Michelangelo was destined for work in Rome. That was where power and the money were. And that is where Julius II would use him to realize his grand plans—beginning with his own funerary monument, a massive freestanding pyramidal structure with 40 carved figures to be placed in none other than the basilica of Saint Peter's. It was the commission of a lifetime,

◀ **13.1 Michelangelo, *Moses*, detail, 1513–1515. Marble, 92½" (235 cm) high. San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, Italy.**

1. MoMA is the acronym for the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.
2. Quoted in R. A. Scotti, *Basilica: The Splendor and the Scandal; Building St. Peter's* (New York: Penguin, 2006), p. 4.

and Michelangelo threw himself into the project with passion and zeal. But while the sculptor was away from Rome choosing perfect, creamy-white marble from the quarries in Carrara (his favorite material), Julius turned his attention to something even grander: a new Saint Peter's. Julius's choice of the architect Donato Bramante—a longtime bitter rival of Michelangelo—and sporadic provision of adequate funds for the tomb project caused tension and, eventually, outright conflict. Worst, perhaps, was the fact that Michelangelo was not getting the attention from the pope to which he was accustomed, and Julius II made a habit of adding insult to injury by granting several important commissions to his competitors. Michelangelo's rage, obstinacy, and moodiness—and the legendary temper of Julius II—amounted to a clash of titans.

Completion of the tomb plagued Michelangelo throughout Pope Julius II's reign (Julius's other "side projects" for the artist included the Sistine Chapel ceiling fresco), and things would not improve after the pontiff's death. Subsequent popes wanted to harness Michelangelo's talent for their own projects and purposes; very few were interested in glorifying their dead predecessor, particularly with a mammoth monument-tomb in as high profile a place as Saint Peter's. In the end, a completed work—much diminished from its first, grand design—was erected in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli (that is, "Saint Peter in Chains") where it can still be seen today. Julius, who always intended to have his remains interred in Saint Peter's, is indeed buried there—alas, beneath the floor, his grave marked by a simple inscription carved in marble.

The masterwork of the monument to Pope Julius II is Michelangelo's *Moses* (**Fig. 13.1**), a portrait of the great Hebrew prophet and lawgiver fresh from his communion with God, gripping the tablets inscribed with the Ten Commandments, glowering in fury at the idolaters about to be destroyed. A figure of awesome might, uncompromising will, fearsome temperament, and unwavering belief—he is the artistic embodiment of *terribilità*. In his face, we see Julius; we see Michelangelo.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY IN ITALY: POLITICS, POPES, AND PATRONAGE

Culturally, one could argue that the Renaissance in Italy affected the daily lives of only the few. Pope Martin V returned the papacy to Rome in 1420, but much of the city was poor and in ruins from its history of invasions, the loss of its position as the seat of the papacy during the "Babylonian Captivity," and the fallout of the Great Schism. But the century between Pope Martin's move back to Rome and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's (r. 1519–56) sack of Rome in 1527 was a period of growth and renewal and the return of power to the hands of the papacy.

That said, the 16th century witnessed a continuation of wars among the city-states, the most prominent among them Milan, Florence, Siena, Genoa, Venice, Naples, and the Papal States—territories in central and northern Italy as well as France that were directly controlled by the pope (see **Map 13.1**). As leader of the faith, the pope held ecclesiastical power but, as a head of state, he also held temporal power. The papacy had governed territories in central Italy from the Middle Ages (ca. 756) and securing and defending these holdings was a priority; Pope Julius II led armies to do so over and over again. Territories under the control of the papacy in Rome continued into the 19th century; the last Papal State, which we know as Vatican City, was established in 1929. Although the territory is located within the geographical boundaries of the city of Rome, it is a separate country.

The High Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy

1471 CE	1501 CE	1520 CE	1600 CE
Reign of Pope Sixtus IV (della Rovere)	Michelangelo sculpts *David*	Reign of Pope Clement VII (de' Medici)	
Columbus lands in the Americas	Leonardo da Vinci paints *Mona Lisa*	Sack of Rome by Charles V	
Foreign invasions of Italy begin	Reign of Pope Julius II (della Rovere)	Churches of Rome and England separate	
Leonardo da Vinci paints *The Last Supper*	Michelangelo paints the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel	Titian paints *Venus of Urbino*	
	Venetian trade declines as a result of new geographic discoveries	Council to reform the Catholic Church begins at Trent	
	Reign of Pope Leo X (de' Medici)		
	Reformation begins in Germany with Luther's 95 Theses challenging the practice of granting indulgences		

MAP 13.1 Italy in the early 15th century.

The papacy in the 15th and 16th centuries was awash in powerful family names who used their influence—and often, money—to secure the papal seat: Colonna (Martin V), della Rovere (Sixtus IV and Julius II), Farnese (Pope Paul III), Medici (Leo X, Clement VII). Starting with Julius II, Michelangelo worked for all of them—and others. As Rome proceeded to claim its position as the capital of a unified church and Christendom's most important (and lucrative) pilgrimage destination, the Renaissance popes projected their power as patrons of the arts and letters. Inspired by classical architecture, the discovery and collection of ancient art, and the classics of Greek and Latin literature, under their leadership, Rome became a center of artistic excellence, humanist learning, and the revival of all things antiquity. If you were an intellectual or an artist in the 16th century, Rome was the place to be.

By the second half of the 15th century, artists already were chasing opportunity as it shifted from the generous and refined **patronage** of powerful Florentine families to the even deeper coffers of papal patronage in Rome. Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484) had commissioned many eminent Florentine artists—among them Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, and Perugino—to paint the walls of a new Papal Chapel (the Sistine) named after himself, as well as to work on other projects that caught his artistic fancy. Not the least of these was the enlargement and systematization of the Vatican Library.

The period known as the High Renaissance really began, however, in 1503, when a cardinal nephew of Sixtus IV, Giuliano della Rovere, succeeded the Spanish pope, Alexander VI (Borgia) to become Pope Julius II. As we noted in the opening of this chapter, Julius was a fiery man who did not hesitate to don full military armor over his vestments to lead his papal troops into battle. But he also summoned both Michelangelo and Raphael to Rome to glorify the Church—and his papal reign—in art and architecture.

It should be noted that although the papal court of the Vatican in Rome became the preeminent center of arts and culture in 16th-century Italy, patronage—and power politics—did not stop elsewhere. In Florence, the Medici dynasty's political influence waned but was far from over. The territory of Florence expanded, becoming the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in 1569. Between 1523 and 1605, the Medici family produced four popes and a queen of France (Catherine de' Medici, who reigned from 1547 to 1559). Their second queen of France, Marie de' Medici, reigned at the beginning of the 17th century, from 1600 to 1610. They remained serious patrons of the arts, competing with the Sforza and Visconti families in Milan, the Gonzagas in Mantua, and foreign monarchs for the services of Italy's most renowned artists. But the twin gravitational fields of patronage and the Church were inexorably pulling the center of the art world toward Rome.

THE VISUAL ARTS

The High Renaissance ushered in a new era for the most sought-after artists—one of respect, influence, fame, and, most important, the power to shape their circumstances. Here is an example: Sometime in 1542, Julius II and Michelangelo were in the midst of one of their many conflicts, and the artist was feeling the brunt of the pope's rage. Julius seemed to be backing out of the tomb project and was refusing to pay Michelangelo

for the materials he had already purchased. When the artist sought to redress these grievances, Julius had him removed from the Vatican. Michelangelo let his outrage be known—as well as his suspicions:

> A man paints with his brains and not his hands, and if he cannot have his brains clear he will come to grief. Therefore I shall be able to do nothing well until justice has been done me.... As soon as the Pope [carries] out his obligations towards me I [will] return, otherwise he need never expect to see me again.
>
> All the disagreements that arose between Pope Julius and myself were due to the jealousy of Bramante and of Raffaello da Urbino; it was because of them that he did not proceed with the tomb,... and they brought this about in order that I might thereby be ruined. Yet Raffaello was quite right to be jealous of me, for all he knew of art he learned from me.[3]

This passage offers us a good look at the personality of an artist of the High Renaissance. He was in demand, independent, and indispensable—and could be arrogant, aggressive, and competitive.

In Italy at the end of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th, three artists dominated the discourse on the visual arts: Leonardo da Vinci, a painter, scientist, inventor, and musician; Michelangelo, a painter, sculptor, architect, poet, and enfant terrible; and Raphael, a painter whose classical-inspired works were thought to have rivaled those of the ancients. Among architects, it is Donato Bramante who is deemed to have made the most significant contributions of this period. These are artistic descendants of Giotto, Donatello, Masaccio, and Alberti.

LEONARDO DA VINCI If the Italians of the High Renaissance could have nominated a counterpart to what the Classical Greeks referred to as the "four-square man," it most assuredly would have been Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519). He came from Vinci, a small Tuscan town near Florence, but lived in Florence proper until the 1480s when he left for Milan. From there, he moved from place to place until his death in France—the country in which he is buried.

Leonardo's capabilities in engineering, the natural sciences, music, and the arts seemed unlimited, as he excelled in everything from solving mundane drainage problems (a project he undertook in France just before his death) and designing prototypes for airplanes and submarines, to creating some of art history's most iconic paintings.

We know that in about 1481, Leonardo looked for work with Ludovico Sforza, the son of the Duke of Milan. Just as we sometimes tailor our résumés to coincide with the job we are seeking, so too did Leonardo write his letter of introduction stressing those talents that he felt might be of greatest interest to Sforza—designing instruments of war—and mentioning just briefly his artistic abilities. Leonardo's application (see Reading 13.1) was accepted, and he left Florence for Milan in 1482 where he stayed for the next 17 years.

READING 13.1 LEONARDO DA VINCI

Letter of Application to Ludovico Sforza (ca. 1481)

Most Illustrious Lord, Having now sufficiently considered the specimens of all those who proclaim themselves skilled contrivers of instruments of war, and that the invention and operation of the said instruments are nothing different from those in common use: I shall endeavor, without prejudice to any one else, to explain myself to your Excellency, showing your Lordship my secrets, and then offering them to your best pleasure and approbation to work with effect at opportune moments on all those things which, in part, shall be briefly noted below.

1. I have a sort of extremely light and strong bridge, adapted to be most easily carried, and with it you may pursue, and at any time flee from the enemy; and others, secure and indestructible by fire and battle, easy and convenient to lift and place. Also methods of burning and destroying those of the enemy.
2. I know how, when a place is besieged, to take the water out of the trenches, and make endless variety of bridges, and covered ways and ladders, and other machines pertaining to such expeditions.
3. If, by reason of the height of the banks, or the strength of the place and its position, it is impossible, when besieging a place, to avail oneself of the plan of bombardment, I have methods for destroying every rock or other fortress, even if it were founded on a rock, etc.
4. Again, I have kinds of mortars; most convenient and easy to carry; and with these I can fling small stones almost resembling a storm; and with the smoke of these cause great terror to the enemy, to his great detriment and confusion.
5. And if the fight should be at sea I have kinds of many machines most efficient for offense and defense; and vessels which will resist the attack of the largest guns and powder and fumes.
6. I have means by secret and tortuous mines and ways, made without noise, to reach a designated spot, even if it were needed to pass under a trench or a river.
7. I will make covered chariots, safe and unattackable, which, entering among the enemy with their artillery, there is no body of men so great but they would break them. And behind these, infantry could follow quite unhurt and without any hindrance.
8. In case of need I will make big guns, mortars, and light ordnance of fine and useful forms, out of the common type.
9. Where the operation of bombardment might fail, I would contrive catapults, mangonels, trabocchi,

3. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Michelangelo: A Record of His Life as Told in His Own Letters and Papers,* trans. Robert W. Carden (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), p. 201.

▲ **13.2A Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna of the Rocks*, ca. 1483–1490. Oil on panel, transferred to canvas, 78 ¼" × 48" (199 × 122 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.** The *Madonna of the Rocks* was commissioned as the central painting for an altarpiece for a church in Milan. Leonardo did not comply with the deadline, and lawsuits followed.

▲ **13.2B The pyramidal structure of Leonardo da Vinci's *Madonna of the Rocks*.** The favorite compositional device of the Renaissance painter was the triangle (or pyramid). It provided a focal point as well as stability to figural groups.

and other machines of marvelous efficacy and not in common use. And in short, according to the variety of cases, I can contrive various and endless means of offense and defense.

10. In times of peace I believe I can give perfect satisfaction and to the equal of any other in architecture and the composition of buildings public and private; and in guiding water from one place to another.
11. I can carry out sculpture in marble, bronze, or clay, and also I can do in painting whatever may be done, as well as any other, be he who he may. Again, the bronze horse may be taken in hand, which is to be to the immortal glory and eternal honor of the prince your father of happy memory, and of the illustrious house of Sforza.

And if any of the above-named things seem to anyone to be impossible or not feasible, I am most ready to make the experiment in your park, or in whatever place may please your Excellency—to whom I commend myself with the utmost humility, etc.

Leonardo only left us about 30 paintings—an exceptionally small number for a Renaissance artist of such stature. One of his earliest was completed in Milan soon after his arrival. *Madonna of the Rocks* (**Fig. 13.2A**) was commissioned as part of an altarpiece for the chapel of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception in the church of San Francesco Grande. In it we

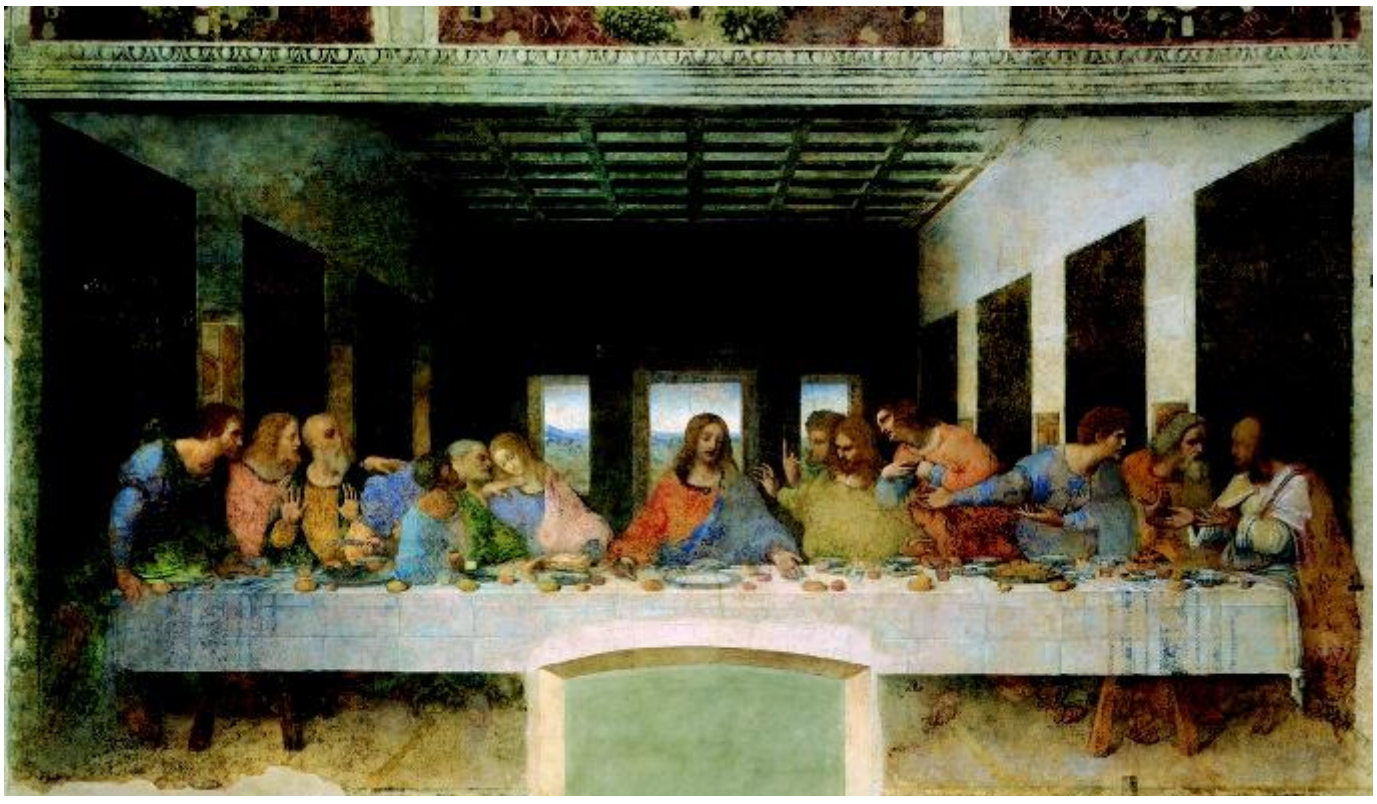
detect what would become Leonardo's signature *humanization* of the characters in Christianity's dramatic narrative: Mary is no longer portrayed as the venerated Queen of Heaven (as she had been during the Middle Ages and the early years of the Renaissance); she is a mother, she is human, she is "real."

But the visual representation of Mary as a mother in a grotto on an outing with her son and his cousin, John the Baptist, is not the only aspect of this painting that creates a more human vision of the Madonna. The dramatic tableau that Leonardo stages is the thing that makes the painting remarkable. We cannot be sure of the actual meaning of the painting, but the action and interconnected gestures compel us to interpret what may be going on. Mary is the centerpiece of the composition (see **Fig. 13.2B**). She extends her arms outward toward the two boys, placing her arm around John (on the left, kneeling and praying) and reaching for Jesus (in the right foreground, sitting with one hand raised in an attitude of blessing). Her left hand might have reached her son were it not for the hand of an angel that interrupts the contact with a pointed finger. The boys look at one another, the angel looks at us, and Mary looks downward, her head cocked to one side. How do we read her expression? Sadness? Resignation? Perhaps both. Does the angel's gesture represent the Word of God that will prevent Jesus's mother from protecting him as he fulfills his destiny as Redeemer? The moment is a tender one, made all the more so by the warm light that caresses the figures and softens the atmosphere that surrounds them. Leonardo's **chiaroscuro**—his use of light and shadow—has been called *sfumato*, from the Italian word "fumo" meaning smoke. Just as smoke obscures the edges of things, so does the technique of sfumato create a blurry, soft, or vague effect.

Leonardo's compositional scheme emerged as a common one during the High Renaissance. The figures are placed in a triangular (or pyramidal) configuration: Mary's head is in the apex of the triangle, her arms and, in extending the line therefrom, the backs of John and the angel, form the two sides of the triangle, and the horizontal of the ground line at the water's edge forms the base. These actual lines are complemented by implied lines that connect Mary's sideward glace toward John, her left hand to the top of Jesus's head, the glances of the two cousins, and the angel's glance toward us—the viewers—outside of the picture space. These implied lines create the action—the movement, the energy—in the piece and are balanced by the stabilizing (actual) lines of the compositional triangle.

The *Last Supper* (**Fig. 13.3**), commissioned by Ludovico Sforza for the refectory (dining room) of the convent of the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan stands as one of Leonardo's greatest works. The condition of the work is poor because of his experimental fresco technique—although the

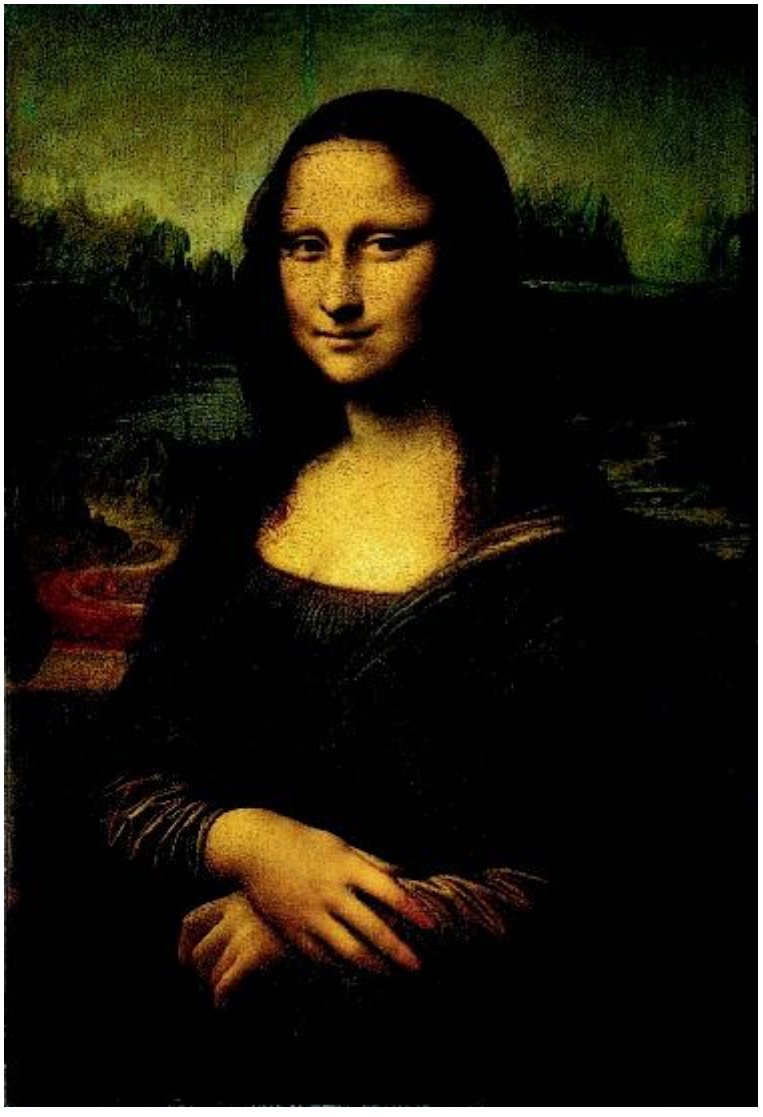
▼ **13.3 Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, ca. 1495–1498. Fresco (oil and tempera on plaster), 15' 1" × 28' 10" (460 × 880 cm). Refectory, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan, Italy.** There had been many paintings on the subject of the Last Supper, but the people in Leonardo's composition are individuals who display real emotions. They converse with one another animatedly, yet most heads are turned toward Jesus, focusing the viewer's attention of the center of the composition.



humidity in Milan certainly has been a contributing factor in its deterioration over time. A 21-year-long restoration of the mural (1978–1999) was undertaken to remove centuries of grime and overpainting and to stabilize what was left of Leonardo's brushwork. Unlike the fresco paintings you have seen in previous chapters, the *Last Supper* was painted not on wet plaster (*buon fresco*) but on dry plaster (*fresco secco*). An advantage of buon fresco is that the paint is absorbed into the plaster and the two dry simultaneously. Leonardo chose to paint on dry plaster, in all likelihood to duplicate the spontaneous effect of painting on wood, but the mural began to flake not long after it was completed. In spite of its condition, however, we can perceive the Renaissance ideals of Classicism, humanism, and technical perfection that came to full fruition in the hands of Leonardo. The composition is organized through the use of one-point linear perspective. Solid volumes are constructed from a masterful contrast of light and shadow. A hairline balance is struck between emotion and restraint.

The composition of the *Last Supper* is one of near absolute symmetry, with Jesus positioned as the fulcrum to the left and right of which are six animated—one could say agitated—apostles. All of the lines in the composition **(orthogonals)** converge at a single point on the horizon, seen in the distance through the center of three windows behind Jesus. Our attention is held by His isolation; the apostles lean away reflexively at His accusation that one among them will betray Him. Incredulous, they gesture expressively and turn to one another—and to Jesus—for answers. "Who can this be?" "Is it I?" It is a testament to Leonardo's convincing portrayal of human reaction and emotion that we find ourselves imagining their dialogue. The guilty one, of course, is Judas, shown, elbow on the banquet table, clutching a bag of silver pieces at Jesus's left. The two groups of apostles are subdivided into four clusters of three, pacing the eye's movement along the strong horizontal line of the table. At the ends, left and right, the "parenthetic" poses of the men coax the viewer back inward to Jesus at the center. Leonardo's exacting use of perspective and his subtle balance of motion and restraint represent two significant aspects of Renaissance composition.

The misty, hazy atmosphere and mysterious landscape of the *Madonna of the Rocks*, deftly handled chiarosocuro, and the cryptic expression on the face of the Virgin Mary, were still in Leonardo's pictorial repertory when he created what is arguably the most famous portrait in the history of art—the *Mona Lisa* (**Fig. 13.4**). It is a portrait of Lisa di Antonio Maria Gherardini, commissioned by her banker-husband, Francesco del Giocondo. The portrait, which is sometimes referred to as "La Gioconda" takes its name from the Italian contraction of the words "ma donna (*my lady*) Lisa." What is it about this portrait that has contributed to its iconic status? To begin with, it is one of his relatively few completed paintings. With his *Mona Lisa*, Leonardo modernized portraiture: he replaced the typical profile view of a sitter with a natural three-quarter-turned body position by which a visual dialogue could be established between the sitter and all of us outside of the picture space. He departed from convention by fixing the sitter's confident eyes on the viewer when it would have been considered inappropriate for a woman to look directly into the eyes of a man. For Leonardo, the face (particularly the eyes) and the hands (their placement and gestures) conveyed much about the personality of the sitter, inviting us to "know" them rather than just to see them. That invitation is accepted by about 6 million people per year who see her



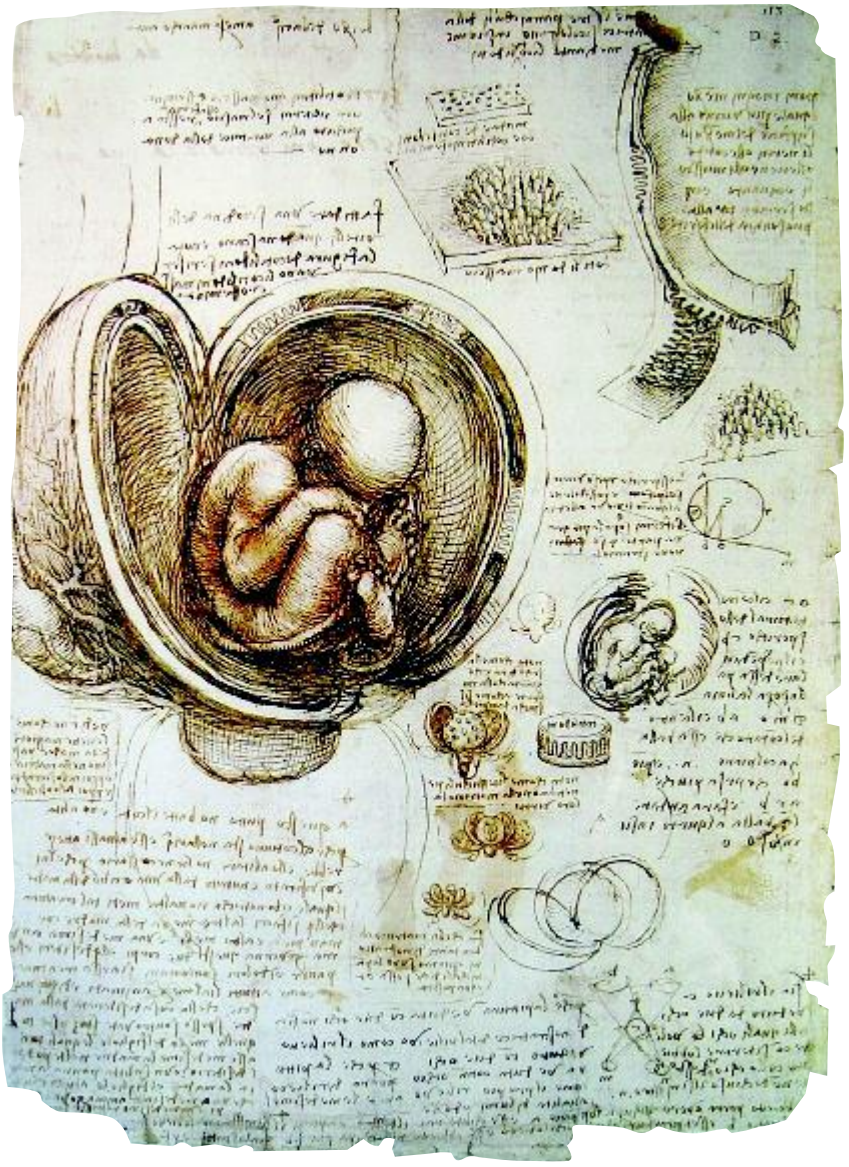
▶ **13.4 Leonardo da Vinci, *Mona Lisa*, ca. 1503–1505. Oil on wood panel, 30¼" × 21" (77 × 53 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.** *Mona Lisa* has been called the most famous portrait in the world, even the most famous painting. The sitter's face, subtly modeled with gradations of color, has been called inscrutable. Is her gaze engaging the viewer or perhaps the artist? The gentle repose of her hands has been considered exquisite. The scenic backdrop is fantasy.

at Paris's Louvre museum who may wonder about who might be the object of her glance or what conversation brings a mysterious smile to her lips. Leonardo was a master of the fine line between revealing and concealing, and thus our interpretation of the painting is limited only by our capacity to imagine. The American singer-songwriter Bob Dylan wrote that "Mona Lisa must have had the highway blues; you can tell by the way she smiles."

If we had been bequeathed nothing but Leonardo's *Notebooks*, we would still say that he had one of humanity's most fertile minds. By means of his sketches, one could say that he "invented" flying machines, submarines, turbines, elevators, ideal cities, and machines of almost every description. His knowledge of anatomy was unsurpassed (he came close to discovering the circulatory path of blood), and his interest in the natural worlds of geology and botany was keen. The *Notebooks*, in short, reflect a restlessly searching mind that sought to understand the world and its constituent parts. Leonardo's investigations were driven by an obsession with science and mathematics, a deep respect for the natural world, explorations into the psychology of human behavior, and a love for beauty—interests that were part and parcel of the Renaissance spirit. A page from Leonardo's *Notebooks* (**Fig. 13.5**) shows one of the first drawings of a human fetus and lining of the uterus. Typical for his notebook pages are copious annotations that fill virtually every square inch of space, along with myriad smaller drawings of different things and thoughts.

CONNECTIONS Leonardo's *Notebooks* were comprised of leaves of paper, a relatively new drawing material that was introduced to Italy in the late 15th century, fast on the heels of Gutenberg's first printing press. Until that time, artists made drawings on either parchment or vellum—both derived from animal skins. The material was expensive to produce and thus drawings were made with great attention and precision; the idea of quick, experimental sketches would have been out of the question. But in the late 15th century, the process of creating paper from pulp in great quantities made the material affordable and, with that, drawings became extremely common—a vital part of the artist's conceptual and creative process.

Papermaking came late to Europe. Archaeologists date the invention of papermaking to China some 2000 years ago. The Chinese closely guarded the secret of paper manufacturing, but it eventually spread to the rest of the world via the Silk Road. Arabs, who learned papermaking from the Chinese and created a paper industry in Baghdad as early as 793, also kept the process secret. It was not until 1150 that paper arrived in Spain from North Africa as a result of the Crusades.



◀ **13.5 Leonardo da Vinci, anatomical drawing, medical studies of the human body, 1509–1514. Black and red chalk, pen and ink wash on paper, 12" × 8⅝" (30.5 × 22 cm). Royal Library, Windsor Castle, London, United Kingdom.** Leonardo's anatomical drawings show great drafting skill, but the slight scientific inaccuracies reflect the state of knowledge of his day.

RAPHAEL SANZIO Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520) was born in Urbino, a center of humanist learning east of Florence dominated by the court of the Duke of Urbino. His precocious talent was first nurtured by his father, a painter, whose death in 1494 cut short the son's mentoring. The young Raphael then went to Perugia as an apprentice to

◀ **13.6 Raphael, *Madonna of the Meadow*, 1508. Oil on panel, 44½" × 34⅝" (113 × 88 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria.** Like Leonardo in his *Madonna of the Rocks*, Raphael organizes his figures in a pyramidal shape. Unlike Leonardo, he opts for a vivid backdrop, a bright palette, and crisp contours.

the painter Perugino where his talents were quickly recognized. In 1505, at the age of 22, he moved on to Florence, where he worked for three years.

While in Florence, Raphael painted many compositions featuring the Virgin Mary and Jesus in an outdoor setting. The *Madonna of the Meadow* (**Fig. 13.6**) features a typical format for Raphael: Mary, Jesus, and, in this case, John the Baptist are arranged in a pyramidal configuration similar to that which we see in Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks*, a format that produces a rationally ordered composition. The group is placed in the extreme foreground against a fertile landscape that fades to a misty blue at the **horizon line**, and the even compositional lighting (as opposed the sfumato Leonardo preferred) adds clarity to the forms and colors. Raphael's precise drawing, subtle modeling of the figures, and placid smiles contribute to a feeling of sweetness and overall peacefulness in the composition that seems a bit at odds with the visual narrative he constructs. The child, John the Baptist, genuflecting on one knee before the baby Jesus, hands Him a thin wooden staff in the shape of a cross. Jesus grasps it and, at the same time, His mother seems to gently keep Him from advancing toward John. As in Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks*, even though the relationship between the boys seems playful, their gestures may be interpreted as a premonition of Jesus's sacrifice on the cross to come.

Raphael's approach to painting was, in most ways, markedly different from Leonardo's. Raphael's style was more linear—more reliant on meticulous drawing—than Leonardo's, his use of chiaroscuro was more delicate than dramatic, and his brushwork was more tightly controlled.

Raphael left Florence for Rome in 1508. Within a year, at Pope Julius II's behest, he began painting the walls of the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican Palace and, after completing that project, he painted a portrait of his employer in 1511. According to Vasari, it was "so true and so lifelike, that the portrait caused all who saw it to tremble as if it had been the living man himself" (**Fig. 13.7**).

Raphael died at the early age of 37 but had amassed an extensive list of projects and responsibilities under both Julius II and his successor, Pope Leo X, including assorted administrative posts for the papacy, overseeing the construction of the new Saint Peter's, and serving as superintendent of the Vatican's collection of antiquities. At Raphael's request, he was buried in the Pantheon; the inscription on his tomb reads "Here lies that famous Raphael by whom Nature feared to be conquered while he lived, and when he was dying, feared herself to die."

▼ **13.7 Raphael, *Portrait of Pope Julius II* (mid-1511). Oil on poplar, 108.8 × 81 cm. National Gallery, London.**

One of Raphael's most outstanding works—and certainly one of the most important for defining the meaning of the 16th-century Renaissance in Rome—is a fresco painted in 1510–1511 on a wall of the Stanza della Segnatura, a room in the papal apartments that was originally used by Julius as a library and private office. The iconographic program of the frescoes concerns the education of a contemporary pope; *The School of Athens* (**Fig. 13.8A**), which occupies one full wall of the square room, represents philosophy; the others symbolize law, theology, and poetry.

Philosophy (The School of Athens) portrays an imagined gathering of the great minds of antiquity in an immense vaulted space that must have been inspired by the impressive ruins of Roman baths and basilicas, and perhaps the work new Saint Peter's, then under construction. The central figures, framed by the most distant of a succession of arches, are the two giants of Classical-era philosophy—Aristotle (on the right) and his mentor, the elder Plato (on the left). On a par with one another as they stride toward us, the two are flanked to either side by those whose views of the world and accomplishments were framed by their distinct philosophies: Plato's theory of Forms and concern with the mysteries that transcend human experience, and Artistotle's belief that knowledge is rooted in empirical observation. By virtue of their attributes, some of the figures have been identified, and several feature portraits of contemporary artists who allied with these competing philosophies. In the left foreground—on Plato's side—we see Pythagoras making notes while a younger man, standing before him, displays the harmonic scale. Sprawled on the steps in a blue garment is the Cynic philosopher, Diogenes, and the pendant figure to Pythagoras on the opposite side—Artistotle's side—is Euclid, who bends over a slate with a compass to demonstrate a theorem. This is thought to be a portrait of the architect, Bramante, a great supporter of Raphael's. Above his head, echoing its round,

▼ **13.8A Raphael, *Philosophy (The School of Athens)*, 1509–1511. Fresco, 25' 3" × 18' (770 × 548 cm). Stanza della Segnatura, Stanze di Raffaello, Vatican Palace, Vatican City State, Italy.** The central figures represent Plato and Aristotle. The man in the forefront is believed to be Michelangelo resting his head on his fist. This is no static portrait: people move about in all directions, some with their backs turned to the viewer. One tries to scribble in a notebook held precariously on his raised knee.

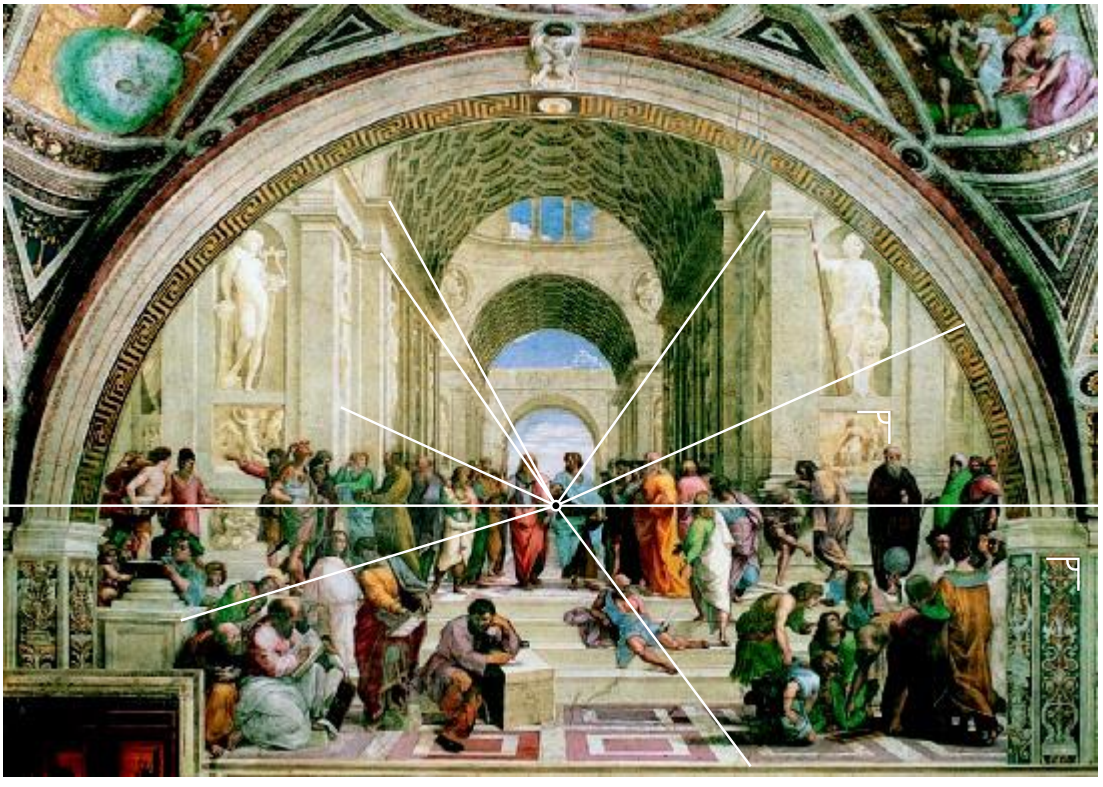
◀ 13.8B Raphael, *Philosophy (The School of Athens)*, 1509–1511. Fresco (detail), 25'3" × 18' (770 × 548 cm). Stanza della Segnatura, Stanze di Raffaello, Vatican Palace, Vatican City State, Italy. Raphael included a self-portrait in the lower right corner of the fresco, placing himself firmly within the rationalist tradition of Aristotle.

balding pate, are the two astronomers, Zoroaster and Ptolemy (see detail, **Fig. 13.8B**), both holding globes. Just beyond their right, tucked into the corner and staring out at us in a black velvet hat, is Raphael himself—soundly placed in the company of the Aristotelians.

Raphael's *Philosophy (The School of Athens)* could be seen as a textbook exercise in linear perspective (**Fig. 13.8C**), with all of the compositional lines above and below the horizon converging at a single point, waist-level, between Plato and Aristotle. The compulsively ordered space acts as a stable foil for the myriad gestures and body positions of the assembly of humanist celebrities.

That such a fresco should adorn a room in the Vatican, the center of Christian authority, is not difficult to explain. The papal court of Julius II shared the humanist conviction that philosophy is the servant of theology and that beauty, even if derived from a pagan civilization, is a gift from God and not to be despised. To underscore this point, Raphael's homage to theology across the room, his fresco called the *Disputà*, shows in a panoramic composition similar to *Philosophy (The School of Athens)*, the efforts of theologians to penetrate divine mystery.

Finally, in the lower center of Raphael's *Philosophy (The School of Athens)* is a lone figure leaning an elbow on a block of marble and scribbling, taking no notice of the exalted scene about him. Strangely isolated in his stonecutter's smock, the figure has recently been identified, at least tentatively, as Michelangelo. If this identification is correct, this is the younger artist's homage to the solitary genius who was working just a few yards away from him in the Sistine Chapel.



◀ 13.8C One-point perspective in Raphael's *Philosophy (The School of Athens)*. In one-point perspective, parallel lines converge at a single vanishing point on the horizon.

MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI Of the artists considered to be the three great figures of the arts of the Italian Renaissance, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) is probably most familiar to us. During the 1964 World's Fair in New York City, hundreds of thousands of culture seekers and devout pilgrims were trucked along a moving walkway for a brief glimpse of his *Pietà* at the Vatican Pavilion. A year later, Hollywood captured the saga of the Sistine ceiling and the relationship between Pope Julius II and Michelangelo in a film version of Irving Stone's 1961 biographical novel, *The Agony and the Ecstasy* (1961). More recently, Ross King's impeccably researched *Michelangelo and the Pope's Ceiling* (2003) brought the complicated history of the project and the relationship between the two men to light again in his definitive book.

Michelangelo's first apprenticeship was in the studio of the Florentine painter, Domenico Ghirlandaio, but one might say that his education as an artist began in earnest when he was brought into the circle of Lorenzo de Medici. It was through this lofty connection that he first studied sculpture. He might have stayed in Florence for a while but, with Lorenzo's death in 1492 and the subsequent demise of Medici supremacy, Michelangelo left the city for Venice. He made his way to Rome in 1496. Two years later, he created the ***Pietà*** (Fig. 13.9), his first work for a Roman patron—a French cardinal living in Rome. The subject, the Virgin Mary holding her dead son in her lap, was a common theme in French and German art. Yet Michelangelo's rendering of the subject displays a profound sensitivity and as yet unparalleled mastery of textural effects in his handling of the marble. But beyond technique, Michelangelo introduced an aspect of his approach to the human form that digressed from both Leonardo's and Raphael's calculated ideal. He was more interested in practice than theory—more interested in what his eyes told him about the totality of the form than in any systems by which he might perfect it. How is this evident in the *Pietà*? An exacting observer might wonder how it is that Mary, so slight in frame, can believably cradle a fully grown man in her lap as if she were holding a sleeping child. The answer is that Michelangelo manipulated the proportions of the figure to make it work visually. The lower part of Mary's body, concealed beneath voluminous drapery, appears to have expanded to accommodate the body of Christ.

If Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* is one of the best-known paintings in Western art, in the medium of sculpture, Michelangelo's *David* (Fig. 13.11) is certainly one of the best-known sculptures—if not the best-known. It was commissioned upon Michelangelo's return to Florence in 1501, and the artist worked on a massive piece of Carrara marble that had lain abandoned behind the cathedral in Florence since the middle of the preceding century. For Michelangelo, as he described his creative process, the task was to see the form within the block of stone and to liberate it—to remove the material that surrounded and "imprisoned" it. He succeeded in doing just that with *David*, cementing his reputation as an artist of exceptional ability.

By the time Michelangelo crafted his own *David*, earlier versions of the biblical hero had been on display in Florence for several years—one by Donatello (see Fig. 12.16) and the other by Verrocchio (see Fig. 12.17). Michelangelo departed from these forerunners in many ways. His David is older, more mature—someone who does not simply fulfill his destiny but writes it. Donatello and Verrocchio depict him after he fells the giant with his slingshot and beheads him with a sword; the severed head lies at the youth's feet. Michelangelo gives us

◀ **13.9 Michelangelo, *Pietà*, 1498–1499. Marble, 69" (175 cm) high. Saint Peter's, Vatican City State, Italy.** Michelangelo's *Pietà*, like those that preceded it, shows the Virgin Mary holding her dead son, Jesus, in her lap. Although it is an intensely religious work, it stirred controversy because Mary is portrayed as beautiful and not mature enough to have an adult son. Michelangelo countered that her beauty represented her purity. Julius II endorsed the sculpture by commissioning Michelangelo to create several other works after viewing the *Pietà*.

CONNECTIONS Forty-one years after Laszlo Toth jumped over a railing in Saint Peter's Basilica and attacked Michelangelo's *Pietà* with a hammer, the Vatican Museums held a seminar on the statue and on the controversies that arise over how (and why) damaged works of art should be restored. Toth had struck the figure of the Madonna 12 times, knocking off her left hand and arm completely and smashing her nose and the back of her head. At least 100 marble fragments had lain strewn on the floor of the chapel where the *Pietà* was displayed. One would think that restoring it would have been a simple, uncontested decision, but it was not. Some felt that the statue should remain in its damaged state as a reminder of the attack. Some thought that it should be repaired but that the missing pieces should be filled in with a material that would make them obvious. In the end, the *Pieta* was restored to the look of the original (using so-called integral restoration), reattaching pieces that remained and infilling the missing pieces with their equivalents, which were created from molds of an existing, full-scale copy of the statue. A Reuters reporter wrote, "restorers painstakingly pieced together the chunks and fragments, including one that arrived anonymously from the United States. A tourist who was in the basilica picked up a piece in the confusion as the police were arresting Toth. The tourist later apparently felt guilty and mailed it back [to the Vatican]."*

▲ **13.10 Michelangelo's *Pietà*, shown after the attack.**

* Philip Pullella. (2013, May 21). Vatican marks anniversary of 1972 attack on Michelangelo's Pieta. http://www.reuters.com/article/us-vatican-pieta-idUSBRE94KoKU20130521.

▲ **13.11 Michelangelo, *David*, 1501–1504. Marble, 14'3" (434 cm) high. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, Italy.** David's weight is shifted to his right leg, causing a realignment of his body and lending to the realism of the sculpture. True, he stands there, but he is certainly not inert. He is contemplating his attack on the giant Goliath, and we imagine him pulling the sling from his shoulder and unleashing its missile.

David before the deadly encounter. He stares intently at his enemy, his knitted brows reflecting the inner workings of his razor-sharp mind. Michelangelo captures David caught in the moment between choice and action with what would become a signature physical and emotional tension. The sculptor's portrayal of the body at rest (with flawless contrapposto) compels our eyes to linger, to take in the details of David's splendid form. Michelangelo's version of David is a perfect reflection of the humanist notion that human beings are at the center of the universe, the "measure of all things." A century after Michelangelo carved his *David*, William Shakespeare would pen some of his most famous lines in a reflection on humankind conveyed through the character of Hamlet:

> "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason, how infinite in faculty! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world. The paragon of animals."
>
> WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *HAMLET*, ACT 2, SCENE 2

The statue was placed outside the Palazzo Vecchio as a symbol of the civic power of the city, where it remained until ongoing damage from weather and pollution led to its transfer to a museum in 1873.

Michelangelo was called back to Rome in 1505 by Pope Julius II to create the monumental tomb we spoke about in the opening pages of this chapter. According to Ascanio Condivi, the artist's biographer, it was to be a three-story structure replete with perhaps 47 figures glorifying Julius's spiritual and temporal power: Victory, bound captives, allegorical figures representing the active and contemplative life, and larger-than-life-size statues such as *Moses* (**Fig. 13.12**), the only one by Michelangelo's hand to make it into the final, much-diminished design. The crowning glory likely would have been the Pope's effigy.

Work on *Moses* began after Julius's death in 1513, a mere eight years after Michelangelo accepted the commission from the Pontiff. Originally to be positioned on the second level of the tomb, it was intended that the statue of Moses be seen from below rather than at ground level as in its current placement.

Michelangelo is a master of restrained energy and pent-up emotion, and we see it in *Moses* just as we do in his *David.* His awesomeness is palpable. From the carefully modeled particulars of musculature, drapery, and hair to the fiercely inspired look on his face, Moses has the appearance, we can only imagine, of one who has seen God. His face radiates divine light but also divine fury toward the idolaters he spies when he comes down from Mount Sinai after receiving the Ten Commandments. He looks as though he will rise to judge the unrighteous and the earth will quake.

Michelangelo had hardly begun work on the Pontiff's tomb when Julius directed him to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel to complete the work done in the previous century under Sixtus IV. Michelangelo fiercely resisted the project (he actually fled Rome and had to be ordered back by papal edict). Nevertheless,

▲ **13.12 Michelangelo, *Moses*, 1513–1515. Marble, 92½" (235 cm) high. San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, Italy.** Moses has brought the commandments from Mount Sinai, and now he sits—momentarily—with his face twisting into a terrible wrath as he views idolaters. The "horns" on his head represent rays of light; the use of horns instead of rays is based on a mistranslation in the Latin Vulgate Bible.

he relented and, in spite of numerous technical problems and a steep learning curve for the artist in the art of fresco, he finished the ceiling in just under four years (1508–1512) (**Fig. 13.13**). He signed it "Michelangelo, Sculptor" to remind Julius of his reluctance and his own true vocation.

The vault measures some 5800 square feet and is almost 70 feet above the floor. After much anguish and the abandonment of a first design that would have populated the ceiling with a variety of colossal religious figures (eventually more than 300 in all), Michelangelo took command of the space by dividing it into painted, architectural "frames" into which he would place scenes from Genesis and other vignettes, biblical prophets and sibyls (female prophets), and *ignudi*—20 seated male nudes. In the four corners of the vault are scenes that depict heroic action in the Hebrew Bible (Judith beheading Holofernes, David slaying Goliath, Haman being punished for his crimes, and the rod

◀ **13.13**
Michelangelo, ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, 1508–1511. Fresco, 44' × 128' (13.44 × 39.01 m). Sistine Chapel, Vatican Palace, Vatican City State, Italy. The more than 300 figures painted by Michelangelo contain biblical scenes of the creation and fall of humankind. The fresco cycle took the artist some four years. Michelangelo would suffer the physical effects of working on the project for the rest of his life.

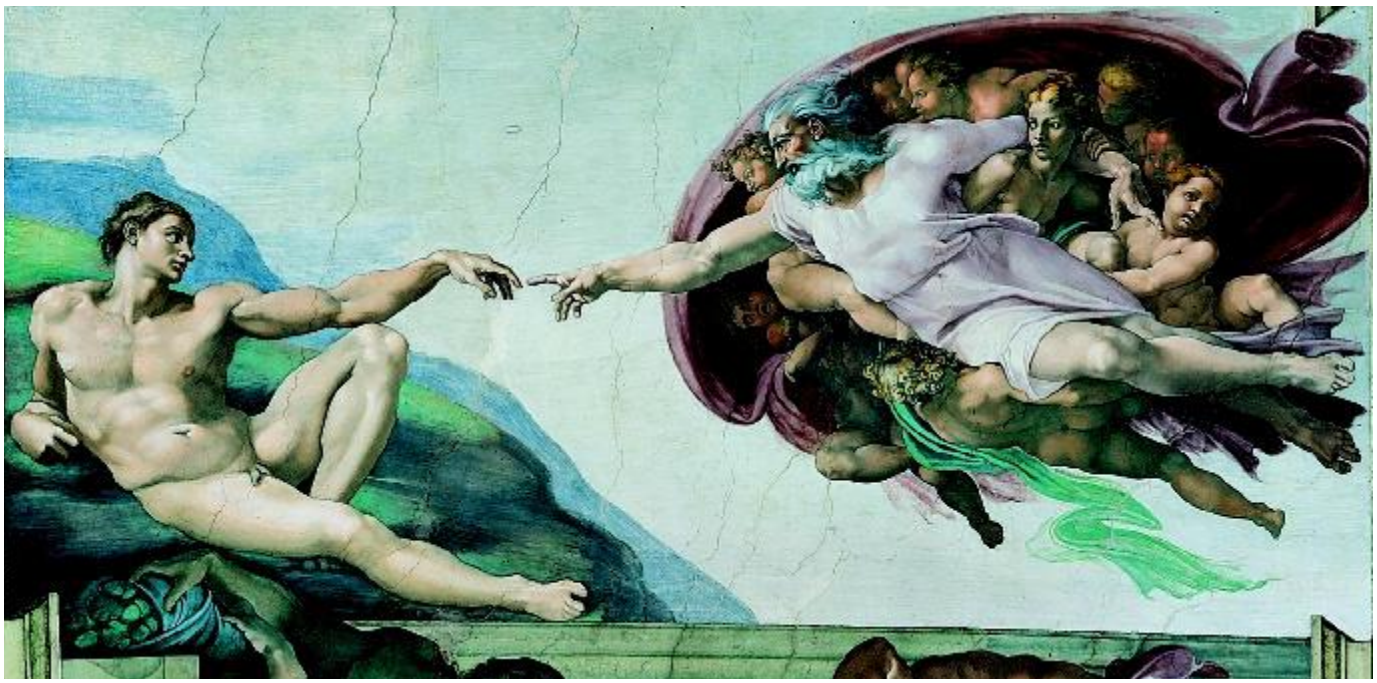
of Moses changing into a serpent). The other eight triangles—four on each long side of the rectangular space—are devoted to the biblical ancestors of Jesus Christ. Sandwiched between them are ten figures representing, alternately, Hebrew prophets and pagan sibyls. Ten major intermediate figures are alternating portraits of pagan sibyls (female prophets) and Hebrew prophets. The rectangular central panels that fill the vault from the entrance to the chapel to the altar wall on the opposite end, feature scenes beginning with God's creation of the world (closest to the altar) and ending with the Drunkenness of Noah (Genesis 9:20–27) after the great flood (closest to the entrance). Michelangelo started with the last scenes and, moving the scaffolding as each segment was completed, worked his way backwards in time to the creation, getting better and more confident as he went along.

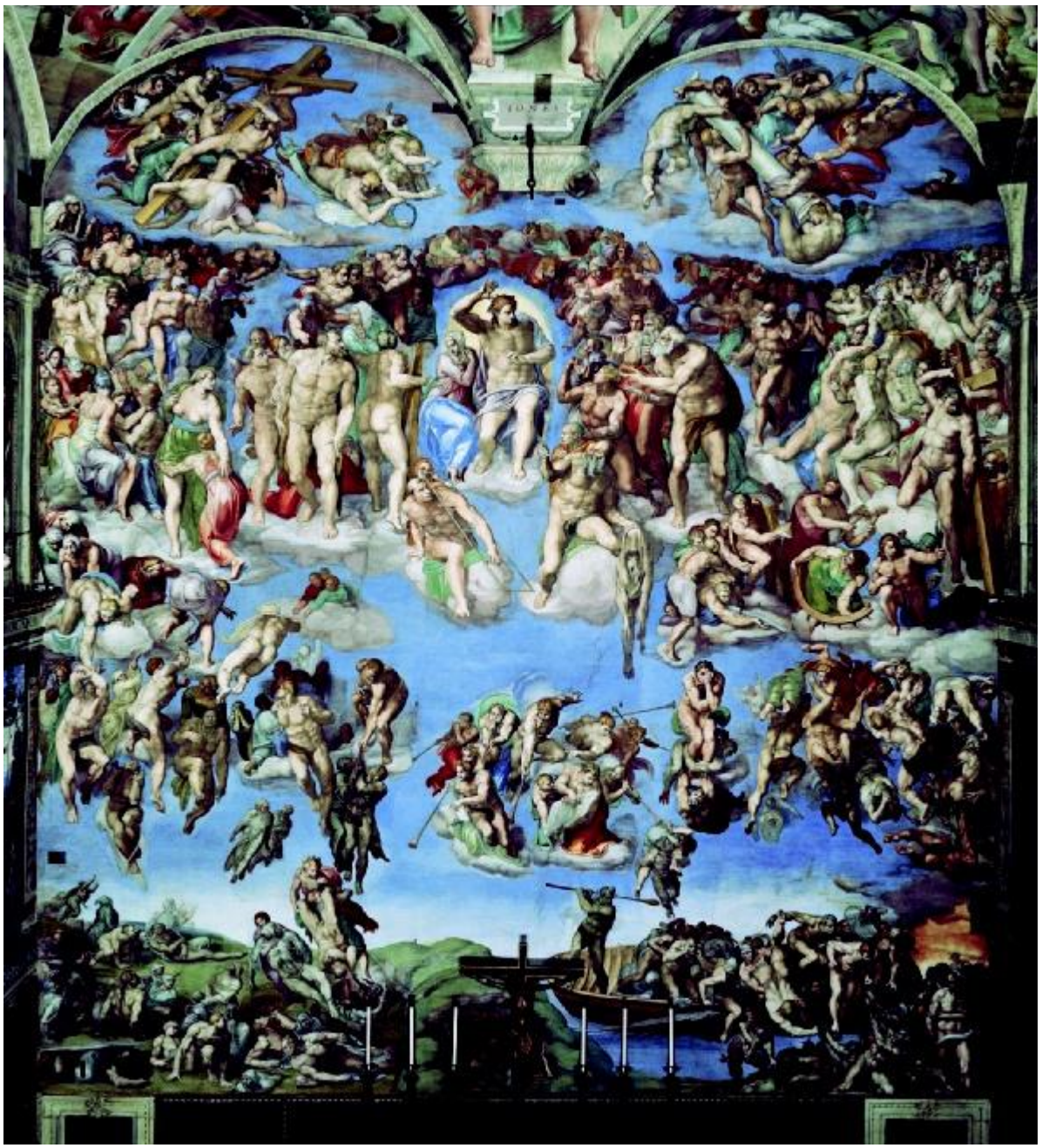
Arguably the most famous of these scenes is *The Creation of Adam* (**Fig. 13.14**) and, in viewing the fresco, it becomes clear why Michelangelo saw himself more as a sculptor than as a painter. In translating his sculptural techniques to a two-dimensional surface, he conceived his figures in the round and used the tightest, most expeditious line and modeling possible to render them in paint. The fresco, demonstrating Michelangelo's ability to combine physical bulk with linear grace and a powerful display of emotion, well exemplifies the adjective *Michelangelesque*, applied to many later artists who were influenced by his style.

In this fresco panel, Michelangelo imagined the most dramatic moment in God's creation of the first human. Adam lies listless for lack of a soul on a patch of fertile green and looks directly at God the Father as He rushes toward him amidst a host of angels nestled under billowing drapery. The entire composition pulls toward the left, echoing the illuminated diagonal of empty sky that provides a backdrop for the very moment of creation. The atmosphere is electric; the hand of God reaches out to spark spiritual life within Adam—but does not touch him! In some of the most dramatic negative space in the history of art, Michelangelo has left it to the spectator to complete the act.

The full force of Michelangelesque style can be seen in the artist's second contribution to the Sistine Chapel: *The Last Judgment*, painted on the wall behind the main altar between the years 1534 and 1541 (**Fig. 13.15**). An enormous fresco marking the end of the world when Christ returns as judge, *The Last Judgment* shows the enthroned Messiah in the top-center of the chaotic scene, the world beneath Him being divided into the damned to His lower left (our right) and those who are called to glory above. Into that great scene, Michelangelo poured both his own intense religious vision and a reflection of the troubled days during which he lived. It was painted after the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V had sacked Rome in 1527 and after the Catholic Church had been riven by the Protestant Reformation following Martin Luther's posting of his 95 Theses in 1517. It is a fearsome representation of the wrath of God and trembling souls that resided in Michelangelo's imagination and was, in this fresco, made real. His own anxiety and dread did not escape representation. To the right of Jesus, just below and along an

▼ **13.14 Michelangelo, *The Creation of Adam*, 1508–1512. Fresco (detail), ca. 9' 2" × 18' 8" (280 × 570 cm). Sistine Chapel, Vatican Palace, Vatican City State, Italy.** The spark of life is passed from God to Adam. The composition of the work unifies the figures, but they do not actually touch.





▶ 13.15
Michelangelo, *The Last Judgment*, 1534–1541. Fresco (restored), 44' 11" × 40' (13.7 × 12.2 m). Sistine Chapel, Vatican Palace, Vatican City State, Italy. The loincloths on the figures were added later to appease the prudish sensibilities of post-Reformation Catholicism. The flayed skin of Saint Bartholomew below and to the right of Christ is a self-portrait of the painter.

implied diagonal line, is the martyr Saint Bartholomew who holds, in his left hand, a flayed human skin representing the horrific method by which he was slain. The head on the limp remains bears Michelangelo's self-portrait.

Between the two projects for the Sistine Chapel, Michelangelo accepted a commission by Pope Leo X and the future Pope Clement VII—both from the Medici family—to design a funerary chapel in the Florentine Church of San Lorenzo to house the tombs of Medici dukes, Lorenzo di Piero and Giuliano di Lorenzo, and their more illustrious forbearers, Lorenzo the Magnificent and Giuliano de' Medici, one-time co-rulers of Florence. Although Michelangelo first conceived the project in 1519, he worked on it only in fits and starts from 1521 to 1534 when he departed for Rome permanently. He never personally saw it to completion, the final realization left to the hands of his Florentine pupils.

The interior of the Medici Chapel—the New Sacristy (**Fig. 13.16**)—echoes Brunelleschi's design for the Old Sacristy, also part of the Church of San Lorenzo, and his Pazzi Chapel in its dramatic contrast of white stucco and grayish "pietra serena" stone, Corinthian pilasters, arches, and other classical architectural motifs. The tombs of Giuliano and Lorenzo sit across from one another in the space, their figural groups arranged in a triangular shape above the **sarcophagi** that house their remains.

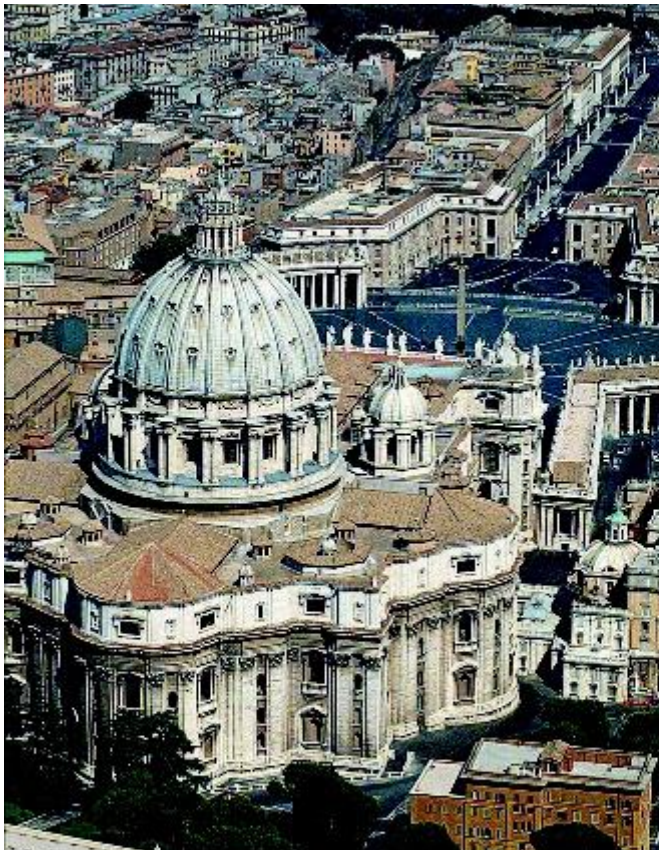
▲ 13.16 Michelangelo, Medici Chapel with tomb of Giuliano de' Medici, 1519–1534. Church of San Lorenzo, Florence, Italy.

Scholars have suggested that, in addition to what we see, two other figures—of river gods—may have been intended for the floor beneath the sarcophagi, creating a "weightier" visual base and completing what they believe was a complex iconographic scheme based on Neo-Platonic philosophy. The statues of Lorenzo and Giuliano are a study in contrasts; Lorenzo is portrayed as introspective and meditative, Giuliano imposing and confident. The photograph in Figure 13.16 shows Giuliano's tomb, and the pendant figures beneath his statue are Night (on the left) and Day (on the right); Lorenzo's tomb includes figures of Dawn and Dusk. Both the stark decoration of the chapel and the positioning of the statues (Duke Lorenzo seems always turned to the dark with his head in shadow, whereas Duke Giuliano seems more readily to accept the light) form a mute testament to the rather pessimistic and brooding nature of their creator.

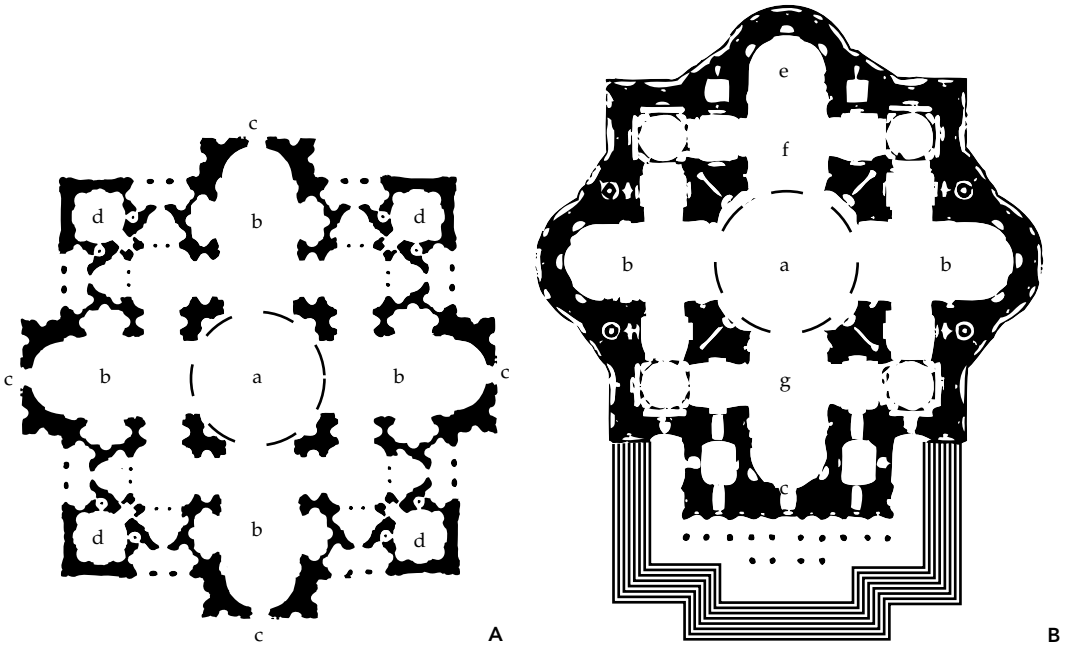
The New Saint Peter's

In 1506, Pope Julius II commissioned the architect Donato Bramante (1444–1514) to rebuild Saint Peter's Basilica in the Vatican (Figs. 13.17). Old Saint Peter's had stood on Vatican Hill since it was first constructed more than 1000 years earlier, during the time of the Roman emperor Constantine. By the early 16th century, it had repeatedly suffered roof fires, structural stresses, and the general ravages of time. In the minds of the Renaissance "moderns," it was a shaky anachronism.

BRAMANTE'S PLAN Bramante's design envisioned a domed, central-plan featuring a cross with arms of equal length that each terminated in a semicircular apse (Fig. 13.18A) and portal. Access to the interior would have been possible from any of the four portals and the central dome equidistant from each. The plan was not executed in Bramante's lifetime, but a small chapel in Rome commissioned by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain and begun in 1502 may give us a clue to what Bramante



▲ 13.17 Michelangelo, Saint Peter's Basilica (looking northeast), 1546–1564 (dome completed in 1590 by Giacomo della Porta). Vatican City State, Italy. Length of church, ca. 694' (212 m); diameter of dome, 138' (42 m); height of nave, 152' (46 m); height from nave floor to summit of cross on dome, 435' (133 m).



◀ **13.18 Floor plans for the new Saint Peter's Basilica, Rome, Italy, 1506–1564.** Bramante's plan, part A (1506–1514), shows a compact plan of a Greek cross with arms or transepts (b) of equal length meeting at a central altar (a) set under a dome, with each arm ending in a semicircular apse (e) opening to a portal or entrance (c), and including several chapels (d) for smaller services. Michelangelo's plan, part B (1547–1564), shows a centralized domed Greek cross inscribed within a square but retained the vestibule (c), now fronted by a portico with giant columns. Artwork by Cecilia Cunningham.

▲ **13.19 Donato D'Angelo Bramante. Tempietto, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, Italy, begun 1502.** The image is similar to the design of Bramante's vision for St. Peter's.

had in mind for the dome. The so-called *Tempietto* ("little temple," **Figure 13.19**) has elements that are similar to the image of Bramante's proposed St. Peter's on a 1506 coin minted to commemorate the new building (**Fig. 13.20**).

MICHELANGELO'S PLAN After Bramante's death, other architects—including Raphael—worked on the massive project, and in 1547, Michelangelo was appointed chief architect. He returned to Bramante's plan for a central-domed church (see **Fig. 13.18B**) and envisioned a ribbed dome somewhat after the manner of the cathedral in Florence, but on a far larger scale.

▲ **13.20 Cristoforo Foppa Caradosso, attributed, cast bronze medal of Pope Julius II commemorating the building of St Peter's. Rome, Italy, 1506. British Museum, London, Great Britain.**

The main façade of the present-day Saint Peter's gives us no clear sense of what Michelangelo had in mind when he drew up his plans. It is only from the aerial view looking eastward at the back of the basilica that we can appreciate the undulating contours, multiple apses, and, most importantly, the relationship between the dome and the rest of the structure (see Fig. 13.17). Michelangelo's central plan included a vestibule and an extended columned portico, which was eventually elongated by Carlo Maderno, who added the present nave in the early 17th century. **Figure 13.21** shows the façade, designed by Maderno, that we see today, as well as the colonnaded elliptical piazza in front of the basilica that was completed under the direction of Gian Lorenzo Bernini in 1656–1667, almost a century after Michelangelo's death. Michelangelo lived to see the completion of the drum that was to support his dome, which was raised some 25 years after his death by Giacomo della Porta.

CONNECTIONS Michelangelo Buonarotti of Florence worked in Rome under the patronage of six different popes for a total of nearly 60 years.

- Julius II (1503–1513): Nephew of Pope Sixtus IV of the della Rovere family; commissioned his tomb and accompanying sculpture (a gargantuan freestanding structure originally planned for Saint Peter's but downsized considerably and set, instead, in the transept of San Pietro in Vincoli) and the Sistine Chapel ceiling frescoes
- Leo X (1513–1521): Son of Lorenzo the Magnificent of Florence's Medici dynasty; commissioned the reconstruction of the façade of the church of San Lorenzo in Florence along with figurative sculpture (never completed)
- Clement VII (1523–1534): Grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent; commissioned the Medici tombs in Florence, the Laurentian Library in the church of San Lorenzo, and *The Last Judgment* for the Sistine Chapel in Rome
- Paul III (1534–1549): Commissioned the Piazza del Campidoglio and the upper floor of the Farnese Palace, both in Rome
- Julius III (1550–1555): Appointed Michelangelo chief architect of Saint Peter's in Rome
- Pius IV (1559–1565): Commissioned the Porta Pia gate in Rome's ancient Aurelian Walls

◀ **13.21 Saint Peter's Basilica and Piazza (looking northwest). Façade 147' high × 374' (44.8 × 114 m) long. Vatican City State, Italy.** The building combines Renaissance and Baroque elements. The nave and façade were finished by Carlo Maderno (1556–1629) between 1606 and 1612, and the colonnades around the square were built between 1656 and 1663, according to Bernini's design.

The High Renaissance in Venice

The brilliant and dramatic outbreak of artistic activity in 16th-century Rome and Florence found its counterpart in the Republic of Venice to the north. While Rome produced renowned examples of architecture, sculpture, and fresco painting, Venice (and its territory) became famous for its revival of Classical architecture and for its oil paintings. Venice's impressive cosmopolitanism derived from its position as a maritime port and its trading tradition.

ANDREA PALLADIO The leading architect of the whole of northern Italy in the High Renaissance, the only one to rival the achievements of Tuscan architects of the caliber of Alberti and Michelangelo, was Andrea di Pietro della Gondola (1508–1580)—better known as Palladio. Coined by his first patron, Gian Giorgio Trissino of Vicenza, the name derives from that of the ancient Greek goddess Pallas Athena and indicates the main source of Palladio's inspiration: the architecture of Classical Greece as he saw it reflected in the buildings of ancient Rome. The young Palladio and his patron made several visits to Rome, studying both High Renaissance buildings and the ruins of the ancient city. His designs for villas, churches, and palaces stressed the harmonic proportions and Classical symmetry that the Romans had inherited from the Greeks. His *Four Books of Architecture* (1570) spread his style throughout Europe. The Palladian style became particularly popular in 18th-century England and in due course was exported to North America, where it inspired much of the "Greek Revival" architecture of the Southern United States.

Whether Palladio was born in Vicenza is uncertain, but it is this city that contains the largest number of his buildings, both public and private. As a result, Vicenza is one of the most beautiful and architecturally interesting cities of Renaissance Venetian territory, and indeed of Italy as a whole. The Villa Rotunda is perhaps the finest example of Palladio's style (**Fig. 13.22**). Built for a monsignor of the Papal court who retired from service, the plan owes much to prototypes from antiquity—particularly the Pantheon in Rome (see Fig. 4.33)—in its symmetry and temple-front porticos. But Palladio was not just an imitator, his work not just derivative. He internalized the mathematical systems and structural vocabulary of the Classical era and composed his own, highly original architectural essays, as it were. The plan of the Villa Rotunda is essentially a circle within a square within a cross. From the center of the villa—the domed space—one can look in four directions that culminate in beautifully framed views of the surrounding landscape. The sense of harmony and balance of proportion is a perfect example of the Renaissance revival of Classical ideals.

Painting in Venice

Renaissance art in Florence and Rome was based, first and foremost, on the study of form. From Masaccio to Michelangelo, whether with line or light (chiaroscuro), artists endeavored to convincingly portray the substance of form through meticulous drawing and the illusion of space using mathematical systems. But for the Venetians, color—not sculptural form—was the primary focus, and oil painting—not drawing—was the vehicle for capturing vibrant, intense hues and the brilliance and subtlety of Venetian light. First popularized in the north, oil painting provided the artist unparalleled opportunities to enrich and deepen color with applications of multiple, translucent layers of paint. Venetian painters, like their counterparts in Northern Europe, also had an eye for detail and a passion for landscape (an ironic interest, since Venice had so little land).

TITIAN Tiziano Vecellio (ca. 1488/1490–1576), called Titian, was the master of the colorist methods and painting techniques for which Venice was renowned. His work had an impact not

◀ **13.22 Andrea Palladio, Villa Rotunda (looking southwest), near Vicenza, Italy, ca. 1550–1570.** The villa revives Classical ideals. Parts of it resemble Roman temples, yet it is also highly innovative.

◀ **13.23 Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, 1538. Oil on canvas, ca. 47" × 65" (119 × 162 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy.** The artist created the radiant golden tones of Venus's body through the application of multiple glazes over pigment.

only on his contemporaries but also on later, Baroque painters in other countries—Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp and Diego Velasquez in Spain. He had more in common with the artists who would follow him than with his Renaissance contemporaries in Florence and Rome. Titian's pictorial method differed from those of Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo; he constructed his compositions by means of color, brushwork, and **glazing** rather than with line and chiaroscuro.

Titian's artistic output during 70 years of activity was vast. He was lionized by popes and princes and was a particular favorite of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who granted him noble rank after having summoned him on several occasions to work at the royal court.

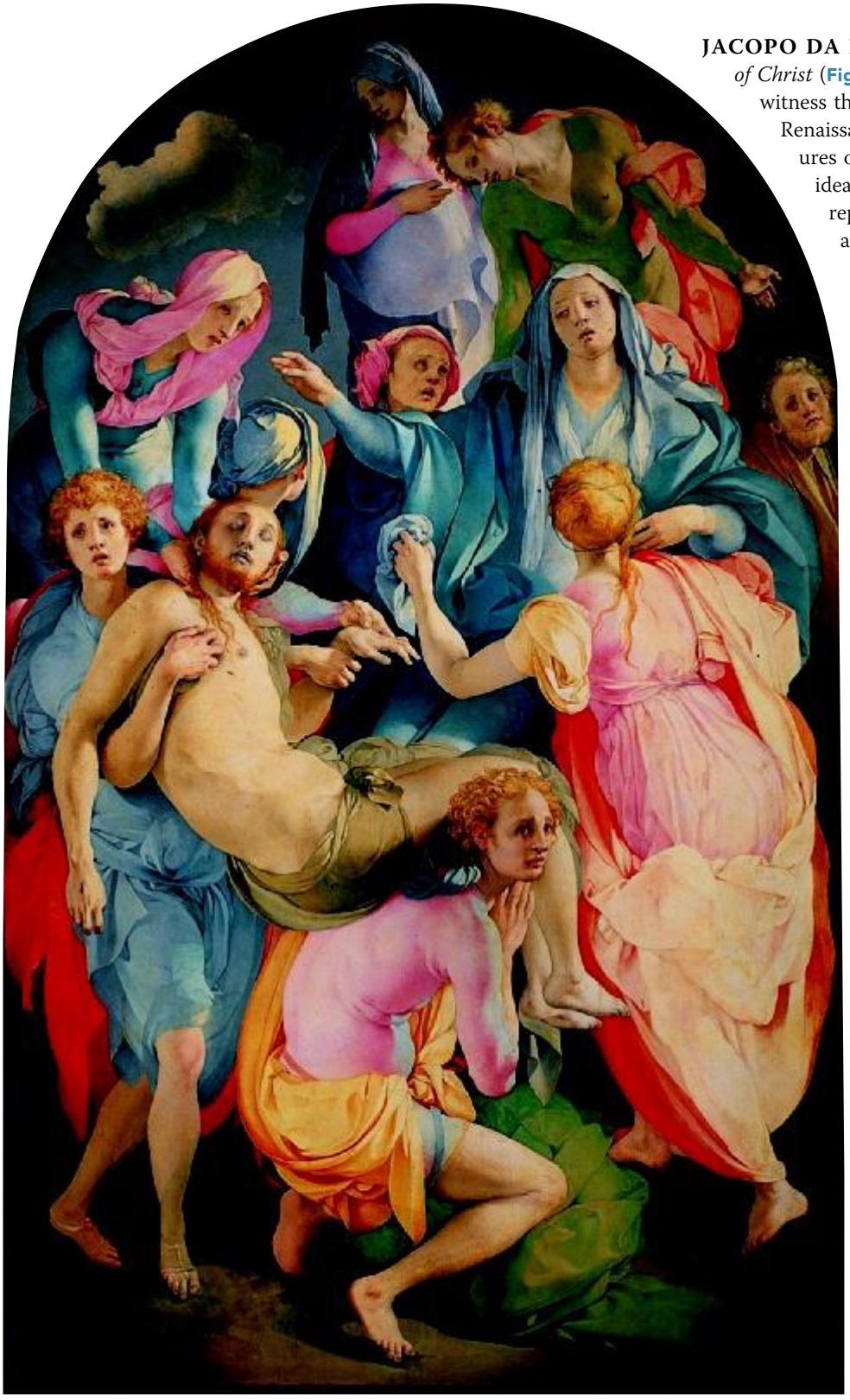
Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (**Fig. 13.23**), likely painted for the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo II, is a reclining nude woman in a bedchamber in the guise of the goddess of love. Inspired by a painting of a sleeping Venus by his teacher, Giorgione, Titian's goddess lounges on a red, upholstered couch draped in pure white linens. She is thoroughly relaxed, legs crossed, arm draped discretely over her pelvis, hand gently clutching a small cluster of roses. Venus meets our gaze and blushes, ever so slightly, her rosy cheeks mirrored in the pink-tinged glow of her luminescent flesh created through extremely subtle gradations of pigment blended into transparent glazes. Titian's virtuoso brushwork seems to dance across the canvas, delighting in a display of textural contrasts: the smooth flesh and soft tendrils of hair against delicate folds of drapery, the silky coat of the little pet dog curled up at Venus's feet, the delicate flower petals against rich brocade fabric.

Titian's use of color as a compositional device is also significant. A square block of green velvet drapery provides a stark backdrop for Venus's head, shoulders and torso, encouraging our eyes to linger on the most important part of the scene. At the same time, the strong contrast between that drapery and the light in the distant part of the room draws our attention to the action occurring in the right background. The patch of red in the upholstery and the red dress of the servant—diagonally opposed—capture the eye and shift it from foreground to background and back again. Titian thus subtly balances the composition using color and light, curvilinear and geometric shapes, stillness and movement.

Mannerism

There is no doubt that powerful artistic personalities like Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Titian dominated the Italian art scene during the High Renaissance. So extraordinary were their accomplishments that one might legitimately wonder, "What was there to do next?" Works of art emerged among the next generation of artists—termed *Mannerist* by art historians—that were distinct in style from one another but had in common a rejection of many of the artistic tenets of these "Old Masters." Collectively, **Mannerist** artists set a different course, one that often seems in direct opposition to the High Renaissance styles of Florence, Rome, and Venice.

Characteristics of Mannerist art include distortion and elongation of figures; flattened and ambiguous space; lack of



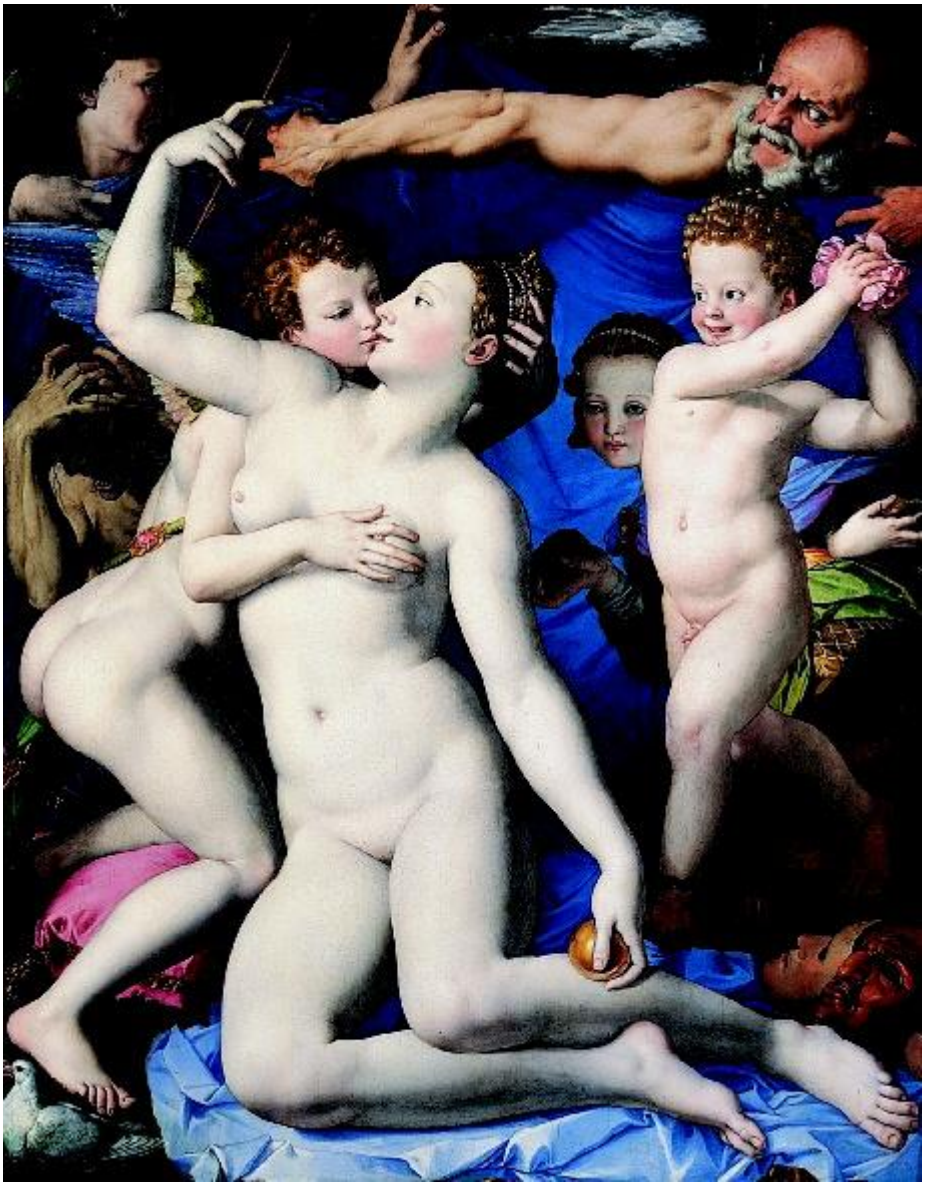
▼ **13.24 Jacopo Pontormo (born Carucci), *Entombment*, 1525–1528. Oil on panel, 123" × 76" (312.4 × 193 cm). Capponi Chapel, Santa Felicità, Florence, Italy.** The figures do not possess the substantial realism of those of Michelangelo and Raphael. Instead, we find nearly weightless figures with elongated limbs.

compositional balance and defined focal point; and discordant pastel hues. In general, the pursuit of naturalism that preoccupied painters since Giotto was abandoned as Mannerist artists took pleasure instead in highlighting the "artmaking" aspect of their work—the artifice.

JACOPO DA PONTORMO In the *Entombment of Christ* (**Fig. 13.24**) by Jacopo da Pontormo, we witness this strong shift from the typical High Renaissance style. The sculpturesque figures of Michelangelo and Raphael and the ideal proportions of Leonardo have been replaced with figures that seem to float, almost weightless. Their bodies and limbs are elongated, and their heads, much smaller in proportion, are dwarfed by their billowing, pastel-colored robes. There is a certain innocent beauty in the common facial features, haunted expressions, and nervous glances. The movement swirls around an invisible vertical axis; the figures press forward to the picture plane and outward toward the borders of the painting, leaving a void space in the center of the composition.

The weightlessness, distortion, and ambiguity of space create an almost otherworldly aspect—an atmosphere in which objects and people do not come under an earthly gravitational force. The artist proffers this strangeness with no apology, and we find ourselves taking the ambiguities in stride. In fact, it really is not clear whether the subject is the descent from the cross or the entombment of Christ; for Pontormo and other Mannerists, conventional narratives and **iconography** are irrelevant.

BRONZINO Agnolo di Cosimo di Mariano Tori (1503–1572), known as Bronzino, was a student of Pontormo. Bronzino's 16th-century masterpiece *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time (The Exposure of Luxury)* (**Fig. 13.25**) is a classic example of a work in which there is much more than meets the eye. On the surface, it is a fascinating jumble of mostly



▲ **13.25 Bronzino, *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time (The Exposure of Luxury)*, ca. 1546. Oil on wood, 57½" × 45⅝" (146.1 × 116.2 cm). National Gallery, London, United Kingdom.** Along with its eroticism, the painting has the ambiguity of meaning and obscurity of imagery that are considered characteristic of Mannerism.

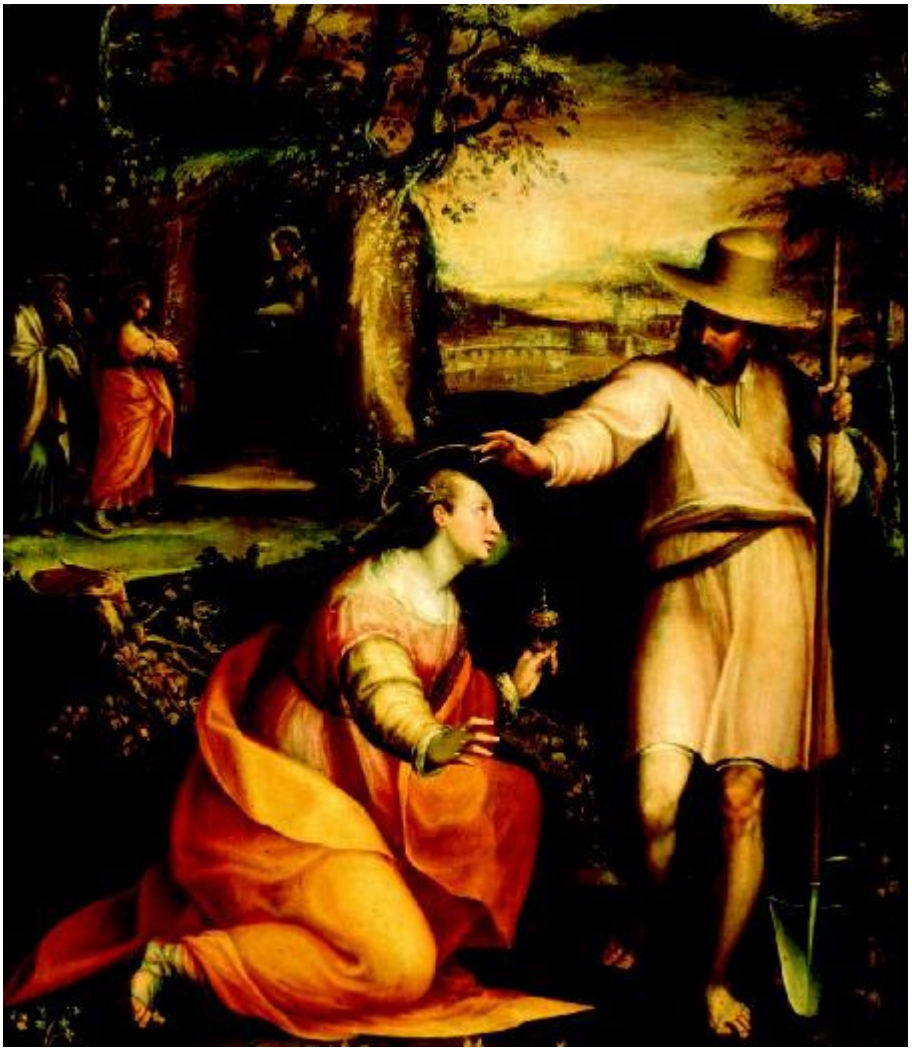
pallid figures, some of which possess body proportions that, as in the Pontormo painting, do little to convince us that they would exist in the real world. Over the years, the work has alternately titillated and intrigued viewers because of the manner in which it weaves an intricate allegory, with many actors, many symbols. Venus, undraped by Time and spread in a languorous diagonal across the front plane, is fondled by her son Cupid. Folly prepares to cast roses on the couple, while Hatred and Inconstancy (with two left hands) lurk in the background. Masks, symbolizing falseness, and other objects, with meanings known or unknown, contribute to the intricate puzzle. What is symbolized here? Is Bronzino saying that love in an environment of hatred and inconstancy is foolish or doomed? Is something being suggested about incest? Self-love? Can one fully appreciate Bronzino's painting without being aware of its iconography? Is it sufficient to respond to the elements and composition, to the figure of a woman being openly fondled before an unlikely array of onlookers? No simple answer is possible, and a Mannerist artist such as Bronzino would have intended this ambiguity. Certainly one could appreciate the composition and the subject matter for their own sake, but awareness of its meaning would enrich the viewing experience.

LAVINIA FONTANA The daughter of an accomplished painter in Bologna, Lavinia Fontana (1552–1614) trained in her father's studio and traveled to Rome to study the works of Michelangelo and Raphael. There she found patronage, primarily as a portrait painter, even at the level of the Papal court. Her husband, Gian Paolo Zappi, gave up his own career after they married in 1577 to manage her prolific one.

Fontana's painting *Noli Me Tangere* (*Do Not Touch Me*) (**Fig. 13.26**) is noteworthy in that women artists of the era were far less likely to acquire commissions for religious paintings than were male artists. Yet Fontana painted altarpieces as well as the usual portraits. *Noli Me Tangere* refers to the words attributed to the risen Christ in the Gospel of John (20:11–18). Mary Magdalene visits Jesus's tomb on the third day following his execution (pictured in the left background) and finds it empty. Soon thereafter, she has a chance encounter with a man disguised as a gardener (her figure now repeated in the foreground) and comes to realize his true identity. Jesus has risen from the dead. She drops to her knees and reaches for Him, but He rejects her touch.

The subject was not unusual, but Fontana's presentation is. Artists typically placed the visual emphasis on Jesus but Fontana, in positioning the Magdalene's plaintive face front and center, focuses our attention on her and the emotions that she must be experiencing—joy that Jesus is risen but confusion and melancholy when He keeps her away. Recalling the way in which Renaissance artists humanized their religious figures to draw feelings of empathy, it is imaginable that Fontana tapped into her viewers' own experiences with personal loss to create a dialogue between them and her subject.

SOFONISBA ANGUISSOLA In 1556, Giorgio Vasari traveled to Cremona to see the "marvels" of six sisters, children of the Anguissola family, who were "excellent in painting, music,

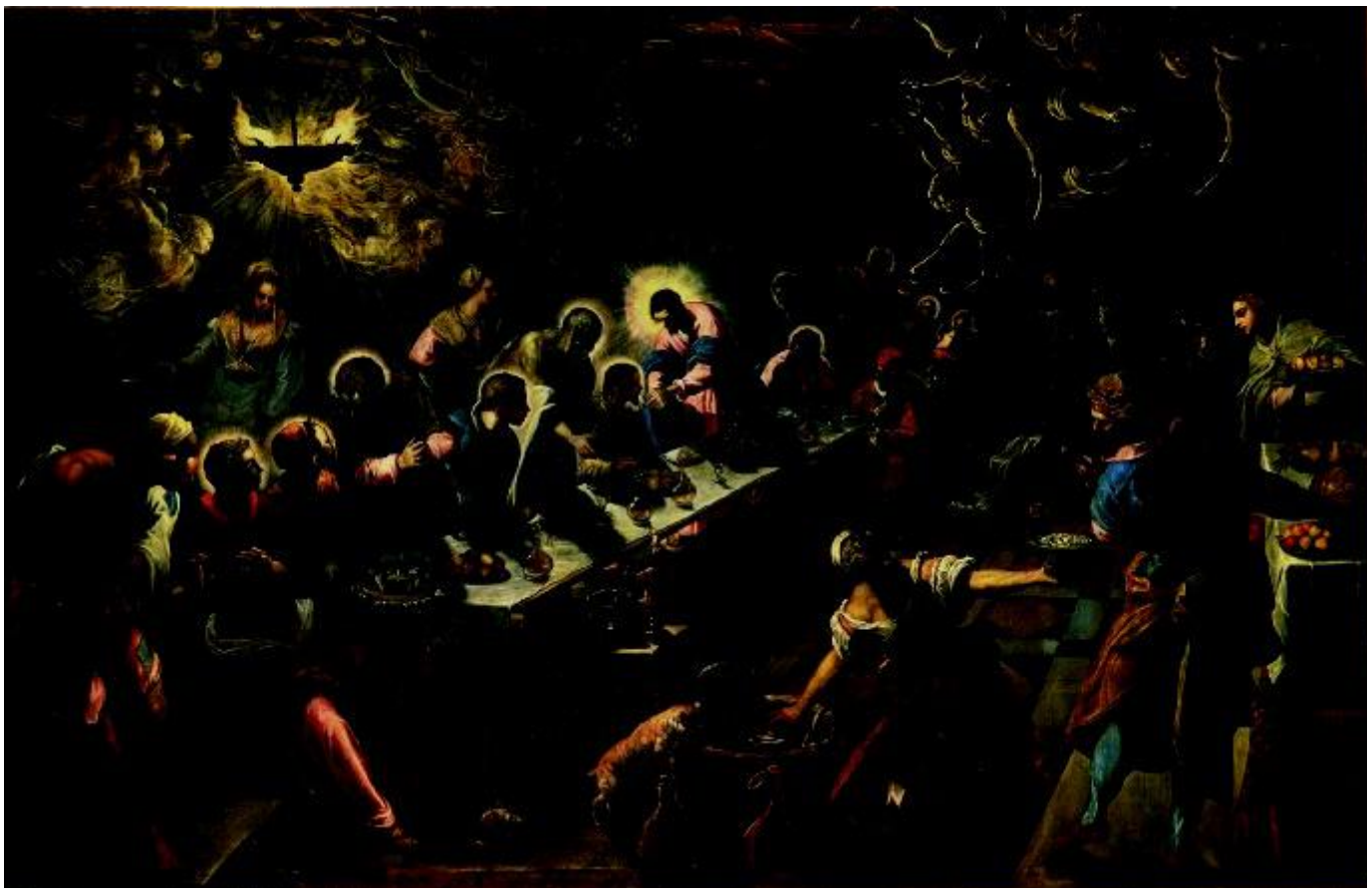


13.26 Lavinia Fontana, *Noli Me Tangere*, 1581. Oil on canvas, 31 ½" × 25 ¾" (80 × 65.5 cm). Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy. Fontana was an important portrait artist in Bologna whose father Prospero, himself a painter, had taught her to paint in the Mannerist style. But Fontana also made a number of religious paintings, with *Noli Me Tangere* considered to be among her best.

and *belles artes*." The beneficiary of a humanist education at home, the most famous of these sisters was Sofonisba (ca. 1532–1625), who enjoyed a great degree of fame in her own lifetime. As a young woman, she traveled with her father to Rome, where she most likely met Michelangelo. Anguissola also spent time in Milan and, in 1560, traveled to Spain on the invitation of King Philip II to serve as a court portraitist. She remained in Spain for most of the next decade, moving back to Italy after her marriage to a Sicilian nobleman. She died in Palermo in 1625.

Anguissola was enormously successful. Most of her large body of work reflects the regional, realistic style of Cremona rather than the Mannerist stylizations that were popular elsewhere in Italy. Her taste for meticulous detail was certainly influenced by Flemish portrait painters, including Anthony van Dyck, who painted Anguissola's portrait. *A Game of Chess* (**Fig. 13.27**), painted in 1555 when the artist was only 23, is a group portrait of three of the artist's sisters playing chess while a nanny-servant looks on. The brocade fabric of their elaborate dresses and the patterned tablecloth attest to the family's affluence and gentility, although the girls are anything but stilted in their behavior. The oldest, Lucia, looks up from

13.27 Sofonisba Anguissola, *A Game of Chess*, 1555. Oil on canvas, 28 ¼" × 38 ¼" (72 × 97 cm). National Museum in Poznan, Poland. Anguissola was one of the earliest women artists to be internationally renowned. Her father was influenced by Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* and saw to it that Anguissola attained a proper education.



▲ **13.28 Tintoretto, *The Last Supper*, 1592–1594. Oil on canvas, 12' × 18'8" (366 × 569 cm). Chancel, San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, Italy.** Tintoretto's impassioned application of pigment lends energy to the painting. Although Tintoretto was a student of Titian, he constructed his forms in a more linear fashion, foregoing layer upon layer of glazing. A comparison with Leonardo's *Last Supper* quickly reveals Tintoretto's creation of a sense of motion and his dramatic use of light—both characteristics of the Baroque era to come.

the game to meet our gaze, self-assured and poised. Her sister Minerva seems to try to catch her attention, her hand raised and her lips slightly parted as if about to speak. The youngest looks on, her face brimming with joy, it seems, that Minerva appears to be losing the game. Animated gestures and facial expressions combine to create a work that is less a formal portrait than an absolutely natural and believable scene. Anguissola pushes beyond mere representation to suggest the personalities of her sisters and the relationships among them. This easy, conversational quality will become a familiar characteristic of group portraiture in the 17th century, particularly in the north.

TINTORETTO The last of the giants of 16th-century Venetian painting was Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto (1518–1594)—"little dyer," after his father's trade. His style combined the color of Titian, the drawing of Michelangelo, and the devices of Mannerism. His dynamic compositional structure and arrested momentary action, along with dramatic use of light and darkness, though, set the stage for the Italian Baroque style of the 17th century.

A comparison between Tintoretto's *Last Supper* (**Fig. 13.28**) and Leonardo's *Last Supper* (see Fig. 13.3) will illustrate the dramatic changes that had taken place in both the concept and style of art over almost a century. The depiction of time and motion are added to that of space, light has a drama all its own, and theatricality is the dominant aspect. In Tintoretto's painting, everything and everyone is set into motion. The space, sliced by a sharp, rushing diagonal that goes from lower left to upper right, seems barely able to contain all of the commotion, but this cluttered effect enhances the energy of the event.

Leonardo's obsession with symmetry, along with his balance between emotion and restraint, yields a composition that appears static in comparison to the asymmetry and overpowering emotion in Tintoretto's canvas. Leonardo's apostles seem posed for the occasion when seen side by side with Tintoretto's spontaneously gesturing figures. A particular moment is captured; we feel that if we were to look away for a fraction of a second, the figures would have changed position by the time we looked back.

The moment that Tintoretto has chosen to depict—when Jesus shares bread and wine with His apostles and charges them to repeat this in memory of Him—also differs from Leonardo's—the moment when Jesus announces that one among them will betray Him. Leonardo chose a moment signifying death, Tintoretto a moment signifying life, depicted within an atmosphere that is teeming with life.

GIOVANNI DA BOLOGNA Mannerist elements are not exclusive to painting; we detect them in sculpture and architecture as well. Giovanni da Bologna (1529–1608) was born Jean de Boulogne in Flanders, under Spanish rule at the time, and moved to Italy, where he assumed the Italian form of his name. He settled in Florence in 1552 where he attracted the attention of Francesco de' Medici. He became one of the most significant court sculptors of the Medici family, who kept him in their employ for life, fearful that another royal family would recruit him.

His *Abduction of the Sabine Women* (**Fig. 13.29**), assigned this title only after the work had been exhibited, has a complex spiral composition that encourages the viewer to walk around the statue and take it in all from all angles. This movement reveals different combinations of line and shape, solid and void so that no single perspective is the same as another. It is the viewer who constructs the entirety of the action by virtue of his or her "participation" in the piece.

MICHELANGELO'S VESTIBULE FOR THE LAURETIAN LIBRARY Aspects of the mannerist style show up in some of Michelangelo's later art, specifically in his *Last Judgment*. They can also be seen in his design for the vestibule and staircase for the Laurentian Library (**Figure 13.30**) connected to the church of San Lorenzo in Florence and built by the Medici pope, Clement VII. The contrast of creamy white stucco and pietra serena has become familiar to us in Florentine architecture, but that Renaissance stylistic tradition is about the only one that Michelangelo adhered to in his design. If we see the Mannerist artist as one who subverts, one by one, established conventions, then Michelangelo is here a Mannerist artist. The vestibule is an eclectic adaptation of familiar architectural elements that serve the overall form rather than function in the literal sense of the word: columns and corbels support nothing; pilasters taper toward the base, inverting their visual weight; windows appear to be boarded up; the frames of pediments are broken. The result is a more active, spirited iteration of the at times pedantic classical references in Renaissance architecture.

◀ **13.29 Giovanni da Bologna, *Abduction of the Sabine Women*, ca. 1581–1583. Marble, 13' 5" (409 cm) high. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence, Italy.** The work was sculpted in the *figura serpentina* style—an upward spiral movement intended to be viewed from all sides.

◀ **13.30 Michelangelo Buonarroti, vestibule of the Laurentian Library, Florence, Italy, 1525–1534; staircase, 1558–1559.** With this architectural endeavor, Michelangelo broke tradition with established conventions and any notion that form need be connected with function.

The show-stopping part of the design, however, is the staircase that connects the vestibule to the reading library. Here, Michelangelo breaks stride from the geometry of the vestibule walls and switches, unpredictably, to curving lines and organic shapes for the central part of the staircase. The steps seem to ripple like wavelets from the doorway of the reading room to the foot of the staircase, as if to suggest that the knowledge contained therein must flow out into the world.

It is fitting to open and close our discussion of the High Renaissance and Mannerism in Italy with Michelangelo. His life was long and his legacy was never ending.

MUSIC

Much of the painting, sculpture, and architecture we see during the Renaissance was intended for the service of Roman Catholic worship. Fine music was also subsidized and nurtured in Rome at the papal court.

Music at the Papal Court

The patronage of the popes for the creation and the performance of music dates back to the earliest centuries of the papacy. Gregorian chant, after all, is considered a product of the interest of Pope Gregory and the school of Roman chant. In 1473, Pope Sixtus IV established a permanent choir for his private chapel, which came to be the most important center of Roman music. Sixtus's nephew Julius II endowed the choir for Saint Peter's, the Julian Choir.

The Sistine Choir used only male voices. Preadolescent boys sang the soprano parts, while older men—chosen by competition—sang the alto, tenor, and bass parts. The number of voices varied then from 16 to 24 (the choir eventually became, and still is, much larger). The Sistine Choir sang a cappella (without accompaniment), although we know that the popes enjoyed instrumental music outside the confines of the church. Benvenuto Cellini, for example, mentions that he played instrumental motets for Pope Clement VII.

JOSQUIN DES PREZ While Botticelli and Perugino were decorating the walls of the Sistine Chapel, the greatest composer of the age, Josquin des Prez (ca. 1450–1521), was in the service of the Sistine Choir, composing and directing music for its members from 1486 to 1494. From his music, we can get some sense of the quality and style of the music of the time.

Josquin, who was Flemish, spent only those eight years in Rome, but his influence was widely felt in musical circles. He has been called the bridge figure between the music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Although he wrote **madrigals** and many masses in his career, it was in the motet for four voices—a form not held to traditional usage in the way masses were—that he showed his true genius for creative musical composition. Josquin has been most praised for homogeneous musical structure, a sense of balance and order, and a feel for the quality of the lyrics. These are all characteristics common to the aspirations of the 16th-century Italian humanists. In that sense, Josquin combined the considerable musical tradition of Northern Europe with the new intellectual currents of the Italian south.

The Renaissance motet uses a sacred text sung by four voices in **polyphony**. Josquin split his texts into clear divisions

but disguised them by using overlapping voices, so that one does not sense any break in his music. He also took considerable pains to marry his music to the obvious grammatical sense of the words while still expressing their emotional import by the use of the musical phrase.

PALESTRINA The 16th-century composer most identified with Rome and the Vatican is Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–1594). He came from the Roman hill town of Palestrina as a youth and spent the rest of his life in the capital city. At various times in his career, he was the choirmaster of the choir of Saint Peter's (the Julian Choir), a singer in the Sistine Choir, and choirmaster of two other Roman basilicas (Saint John Lateran and Saint Mary Major). Finally, from 1571 until his death, he directed all music for the Vatican.

Palestrina flourished during the rather reactionary period in which the Catholic Church, in response to the Protestant Reformation, tried to reform itself by returning to the simpler ways of the past. It should not surprise us, then, that the more than 100 masses he wrote were conservative. His polyphony, while a model of order, proportion, and clarity, is closely tied to the musical tradition of the ecclesiastical past. Rarely does Palestrina move from the Gregorian roots of church music. For example, amid the polyphony of his Missa Papae Marcelli (Mass in Honor of Pope Marcellus), one can detect the traditional melodies of the Gregorian Kyrie, Agnus Dei, and so on. Despite that conservatism, he was an extremely influential composer whose work is still regularly heard in the Roman basilicas. His music was consciously imitated by the Spanish composer Vittoria (or Victoria, ca. 1548–1611), whose motet "O Vos Omnes" is almost traditional at Holy Week services in Rome, and by William Byrd (ca. 1539/40–1623), who brought Palestrina's style to England.

GO LISTEN!
PALESTRINA
Missa Papae Marcelli, Credo

In this listening selection, we hear Palestrina's successful return to earlier traditions of church music, a return that satisfies the Counter-Reformation requirement of keeping the text clearly audible. Indeed, he may have composed the mass to illustrate the musical seriousness and textual intelligibility laid down as requirements by the Council of Trent.

Nevertheless, for all Palestrina's conservatism, his work is clearly more complex and advanced than that of Machaut (see Chapter 11). The richness of harmony and the perfect balance of the voices produce a smoothness of texture and beauty and a variety of line that break new ground in the history of Western music. Note the entrance of one voice immediately after another, and the decorative ornamentation of many of the phrases that by the addition of shorter notes adds musical interest without blurring the text.

In the purity of his style, his return to the ideal values of the past, and the inventiveness of his own musical contributions, Palestrina is a perfect example of a Renaissance artist. His music has remained widely admired, and a 19th- and 20th-century composer, Hans Pfitzner (1869–1949), wrote the opera *Palestrina* to pay homage to the inner certainties of artistic genius.

Venetian Music

The essentially conservative character of Palestrina's music can be contrasted with the far more adventuresome situation in Venice, a city less touched by the ecclesiastical powers of Rome. In 1527, a Dutchman—Adriaan Willaert—became choirmaster of the Saint Mark's Basilica. He in turn trained Andrea Gabrieli and his more famous nephew, Giovanni Gabrieli, who became the most renowned Venetian composer of the 16th century.

The Venetians pioneered the use of multiple choirs for their church services. Saint Mark's regularly used two choirs, called split choirs, which permitted greater variation of musical composition in that the choirs could sing to and against each other in increasingly complex patterns. The Venetians were also more inclined to add instrumental music to their liturgical repertoire. They pioneered the use of the organ for liturgical music. The independent possibilities of the organ gave rise to innovative compositions that highlighted the organ. These innovations in time became standard organ pieces: the prelude, the music played before the services began (called in Italy the *intonazione*), and the virtuoso prelude called the toccata (from the Italian *toccare*, "to touch"). The toccata was designed to feature the range of the instrument and the dexterity of the performer.

Both Roman and Venetian music were deeply influenced by the musical traditions of the north. Josquin des Prez and Adriaan Willaert were, after all, both from the Low Countries. In Italy, their music came in contact with the intellectual tradition of Italian humanism. Without pushing the analogy too far, it could be said that Rome gave musicians the same Renaissance sensibility that it gave painters: a sense of proportion, Classicism, and balance. Venetian composers, much like Venetian painters of the time, were interested in color and emotion.

LITERATURE

The High Renaissance in Italy not only marked the achievement of some of the most refined artistic accomplishments, but, as in other times and in other places, it was also a period of great upheaval. The lives of Raphael and Leonardo ended at precisely the time Luther was struggling with the papacy. In 1527, Rome was sacked by Emperor Charles V's soldiers in an orgy of rape and violence the city had not seen since the days of the Vandals in the fifth century.

Writing continued. Some of it was in the form of notebooks, as we see with Leonardo da Vinci. Some was in the form of poetry, as we see in the sonnets of Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna. Some of it was philosophizing, as in Castiglione's fictionalized dialogues in *The Book of the Courtier*. And some of it was autobiography, as we find in the self-serving work of Cellini.

LEONARDO DA VINCI When we think of Leonardo da Vinci, paintings such as the *Mona Lisa* and *The Last Supper* may spring into mind. And they should. But so ought we to contemplate his 13,000 pages of notes, replete with well-known drawings. They were made throughout his travels and daily

undertakings, mostly written from right to left, as seen through a mirror. Leonardo was left-handed, and it has been speculated that it might have been easier for him to write "backwards."

Some of the notes were published, or intended for publication, during his lifetime: notes on mathematics with geometric drawings; treatises on anatomy, focusing on the skeleton, muscle, and sinews; observations on landscape and the nature of light. Many of his writings and illustrations seem as though they would be the science fiction of his day: fanciful inventions that presage our own times with just enough detail to suggest that they were, in fact, plausible. Included among these are helicopters and hang gliders, submarines, a 720-foot-long bridge, and war machines such as the tank, which would resist defensive measures and protect land forces following behind. (In 2006, the Turkish government decided to build the bridge.)

MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI If Leonardo had never held a paintbrush, we would know him today because of the richness of his written works. It is difficult to know whether we would know of Michelangelo's poetry if he had never held a brush or a chisel. The poems have received a mixed review, yet many of them show the vitality of an artist more than occasionally at odds with his patrons and society.

The following sonnet, written to his longtime (platonic) friend Vittoria Colonna, compares the artist's quest for forms residing in dumb blocks of stone to his search for certain properties in the woman—"Lady, divinely proud and fair." It is of interest that Michelangelo's poems to Tomasso de'Cavalieri, a male friend, are more erotically charged—one of the suggestions that Michelangelo might have been gay.

READING 13.2 MICHELANGELO

The master-craftsman hath no thought in mind
That one sole marble block may not contain
Within itself, but this we only find
When the hand serves the impulse of the brain;
The good I seek, the harm from which I fly,
Lady, divinely proud and fair, even so
Are hid in thee, and therefore I must die
Because my art is impotent to show
  My heart's desire; hence love I cannot blame,
Nor beauty in thee, nor thy scorn, nor ill
Fortune, nor good for this my pain, since life
Within thy heart thou bearest at the same
Moment as death, and yet my little skill
Revealeth death alone for all its strife.

VITTORIA COLONNA Colonna (1492–1547) was a member of an affluent Roman family that patronized Petrarch, so it is fitting that she wrote mainly in Petrarchan sonnets (see Chapter 11). She numbered Michelangelo and the epic poet Ludovico Ariosto among her friends. Her social life seems to have largely come to a halt when her husband died in battle in 1525. Nearly all of the more than 400 poems that have come down to us idealize her husband. They look back to love and the promise of a rich life; they look forward to emptiness and darkness. Although her writings became reasonably predictable, Michelangelo refers to them as composed in "sacred ink." Ariosto said of her poetry that it "rescued her triumphant spouse from the dark shore of the Styx." Her spouse was triumphant in seizing the poet's heart unto perpetuity, not on the battlefield.

READING 13.3 VITTORIA COLONNA

Sonnet IX

Once I lived here in you, my now blest Light,
  With your soul joined to mine, for you were kind;
  Each, to the dearer one, had life resigned,
  And dead to self, there only lived aright.
Now that, you being in that heavenly height,
  I am no longer graced such joy to find,
  Your aid deny not to a faithful mind,
  Against the World, which arms with us to fight.
Clear the thick mists, which all around me lie,
  That I may prove at flying freer wings,
  On your already travelled heavenward way.
The honour yours, if here, midst lying things,
  I shut my eyes to joys which soon pass by,
  To ope them there to true eternal day.

▲ **13.31 Raphael, *Baldassare Castiglione*, ca. 1514. Oil on panel, transferred to canvas, 32¼" × 26¼" (82 × 67 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.** Raphael would have known the famous humanist through family connections in his native Urbino.

BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) served in the diplomatic corps of Milan, Mantua, and Urbino. He was a versatile man—a person of profound learning, equipped with physical and martial skills, and possessed of a noble and refined demeanor. Raphael's portrait of Castiglione (**Fig. 13.31**) faithfully reflects Castiglione's aristocratic and intellectual qualities.

While serving at the court of Urbino from 1504 to 1516, Castiglione decided to write *The Book of the Courtier*, a task that occupied him for a dozen years. It was finally published by the Aldine Press in Venice in 1528, a year before the author's death. Castiglione's work was translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561. It exerted an immense influence on what the English upper classes thought an educated gentleman should be. We can detect echoes of Castiglione in some of the plays of Ben Jonson as well as in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

> Oh, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
> The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword:
> The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
> The observed of all observers…

The most common criticism of Castiglione's courtier is that he reflects a world that is overly refined, too aesthetically sensitive, and excessively preoccupied with the niceties of decorum and decoration. The courtier's world, in short, is the world of the wealthy, the aristocratic, and the most select of the elite.

In *The Book of the Courtier*, cast in the form of an extended dialogue, Castiglione has his learned friends discuss a range of topics: the ideals of chivalry, Classical virtues, the character of the true courtier. Castiglione insistently pleads that the true courtier should be a person of humanist learning, impeccable ethics, refined courtesy, physical and martial skills, and fascinating conversation. He should not possess any of these qualities to the detriment of any other. The *uomo universale* (well-rounded person) should do all things with *sprezzatura*, or effortless mastery. The courtier, unlike the pedant, wears learning lightly, while his mastery of sword and horse has none of the fierce clumsiness of the common soldier in the ranks. The courtier does everything equally well but with an air of unhurried and graceful effortlessness.

Book 3 deals with the position of women in the courtly life of Renaissance Italy. We find one strikingly modern note in this selection when the Magnifico argues that women imitate men not because of masculine superiority but because they desire to "gain their freedom and shake off the tyranny that men have imposed on them by their one-sided authority."

The Magnifico argues that women are as capable as men of understanding worldly affairs. Signor Gaspare counters with the "wisdom" of various philosophers and says that he is astonished that the Magnifico would allow that women are capable of understanding social and political issues as are men:

READING 13.4 BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE

From *The Book of the Courtier*, Book 3, "The Perfect Lady"

"Leaving aside, therefore, those virtues of the mind which she must have in common with the courtier, such as prudence, magnanimity, continence and many others besides, and also the qualities that are common to all kinds of women, such as goodness and discretion, the ability to take good care, if she is married, of her husband's belongings and house and children, and the virtues belonging to a good mother, I say that the lady who is at Court should properly have, before all else, a certain pleasing affability whereby she will know how to entertain graciously every kind of man with charming and honest conversation, suited to the time and the place and the rank of the person with whom she is talking. And her serene and modest behavior, and the candor that ought to inform all her actions, should be accompanied by a quick and vivacious spirit by which she shows her freedom from boorishness; but with such a virtuous manner that she makes herself thought no less chaste, prudent and benign than she is pleasing, witty and discreet. Thus she must observe a certain difficult mean, composed as it were of contrasting qualities, and take care not to stray beyond certain fixed limits."

. . .

The Magnifico laughed and said:

"You still cannot help displaying your ill-will towards women, signor Gaspare. But I was truly convinced that I had said enough, and especially to an audience such as this; for I hardly think there is anyone here who does not know, as far as recreation is concerned, that it is not becoming for women to handle weapons, ride, play the game of tennis, wrestle or take part in other sports that are suitable for men."

Then the Unico Aretino remarked: "Among the ancients women used to wrestle naked with men; but we have lost that excellent practice, along with many others."

Cesare Gonzaga added: "And in my time I have seen women play tennis, handle weapons, ride, hunt and take part in nearly all the sports that a knight can enjoy."

The Magnifico replied: "Since I may fashion this lady my own way, I do not want her to indulge in these robust and manly exertions, and, moreover, even those that are suited to a woman I should like her to practice very circumspectly and with the gentle delicacy we have said is appropriate to her. For example, when she is dancing I should not wish to see her use movements that are too forceful and energetic."

. . .

The Magnifico Giuliano…remarked:

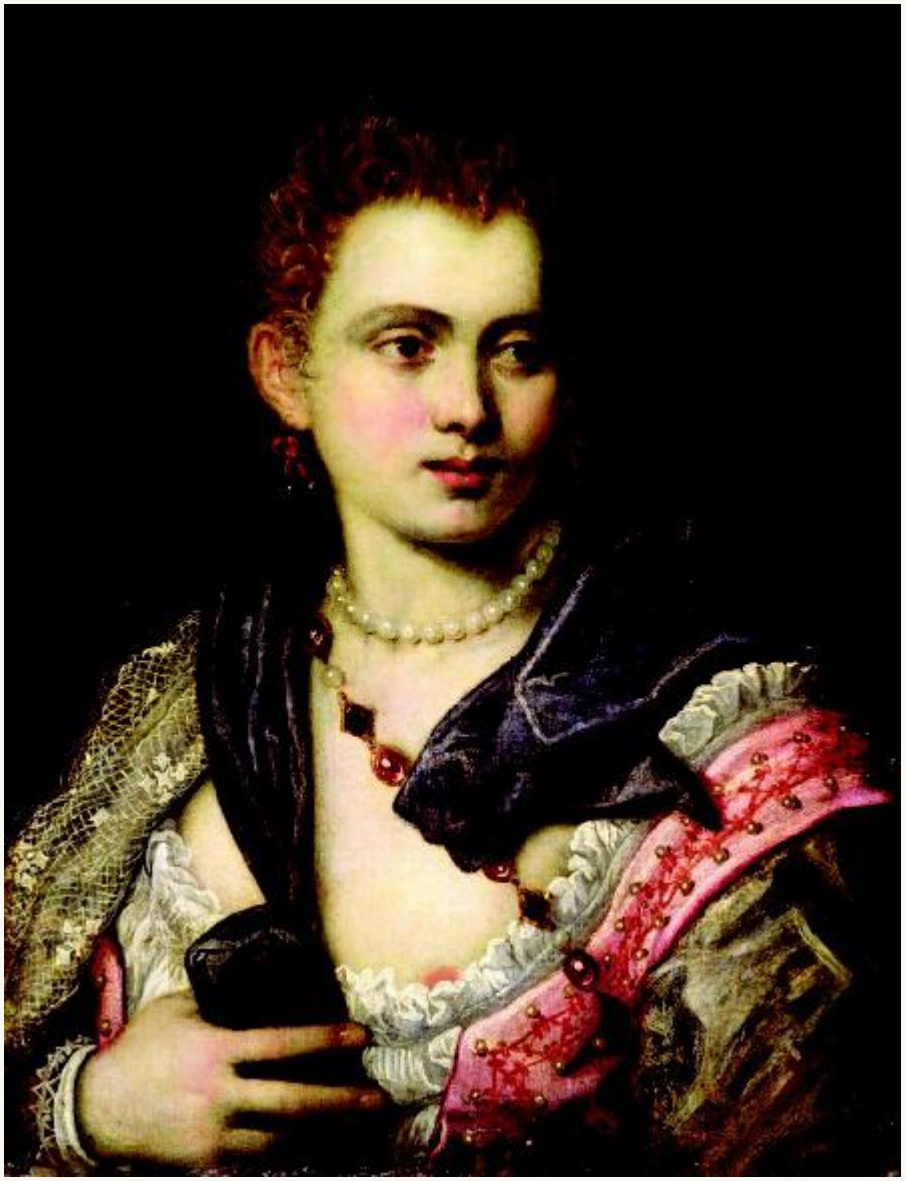
"It appears to me that you have advanced a very feeble argument for the imperfection of women. And, although this is not perhaps the right time to go into subtleties, my answer, based both on a reliable authority and on the simple truth, is that the substance of anything whatsoever cannot receive of itself either more or less; thus just as one stone cannot, as far as its essence is

(continued on p. 448)

COMPARE + CONTRAST

Courtesans, East and West

Baldassare Castiglione's most famous work, *The Book of the Courtier*, was written one year before he died, at age 50, from the plague. The funerary monument dedicated to him informs posterity that he was "endowed by nature with every gift and the knowledge of many disciplines" and that "he drew up *The Book of the Courtier* for the education of the nobility." Castiglione's book lays out the model for the perfect Renaissance gentleman—a virtuous, noble, and devoted public servant, educated in the classics, skilled in rhetoric, able to converse knowledgeably on all subjects including the humanities and history, and gifted in poetry, music, drawing, and dance. Above all, these wide-ranging talents ought to come naturally to the ideal courtier, or at least give the appearance of authenticity; this is the quality Castiglione calls *sprezzatura*—an apparent effortlessness, or "art that conceals art."



Although the setting that inspires *The Book of the Courtier* is the court of the duke of Urbino, the philosophical conversation "recorded" by Castiglione offers a good barometer of the social climate in early-16th-century Italy—including contemporary views on the role of women, their capabilities and gender disadvantages, and their contribution to the life and intellectual discourse of the court. In fact, Elisabetta Gonzaga, the duchess of Urbino, was the moderator of the four-day-long salon (a gathering meant to educate and inspire participants through conversation on subjects such as politics, art, literature, poetry, and scholarship) described by Castiglione in his book. Gonzaga was an educated noblewoman and was regarded as one of the most cultured and virtuous women (she remained loyal to her invalid husband) in Renaissance courtly circles.

The role of courtier was not, then, exclusive to males. On the contrary, in some places where less rigid and more tolerant views prevailed—like the Republic of Venice—female courtesans were an important part of the social fabric. The most renowned courtesan of Renaissance Venice was Veronica

◀ **13.32 Tintoretto, *Veronica Franco*, late 16th century. Oil on canvas, 18" × 24" (46 × 61 cm). Worcester Museum of Art, Worcester, Massachusetts.**

Franco (1546–1591), a complex woman of great prestige and many talents whose mantle as a public servant included the creation of a charitable institution for women involved in prostitution and their children.

Franco (**Fig. 13.32**) was the daughter of what Venetians called a *cortigiana onesta* (an honest, upstanding, virtuous courtesan), trained by her mother to be a proper consort of nobility and princes. She was well educated, a skilled musician, a poet, and a brilliant conversationalist. Courtesans like Franco were sought-after companions and entertainers who may or may not have engaged in sexual liaisons. In Venice, a lower class of courtesans—the *cortigiane di lume*—comprised women for whom prostitution was a means of financial survival or security. *Cortigiane oneste* could rise from modest backgrounds to the upper rungs of society, their profession providing one way to gain influence within a patriarchal oligarchy that otherwise suppressed the status of women.

Versions of courtesanship have existed in many cultures, including Japan (**Fig. 13.33**), China, and Turkey, but physical beauty is certainly a common denominator (it is also an important quality of the ideal woman in Castiglione's book). The history of Japanese courtesans, like their European counterparts, has run the gamut from poor young women selling sexual services and high-class prostitutes to *geisha*—erudite companion-entertainers (*geisha* means "entertainer" in Japanese) trained in classical music, dance, vocal performance, conversation, and traditional Japanese rituals such as serving tea.

Although the term *geisha girl* entered common parlance after World War II among American soldiers stationed in Japan to describe women working as prostitutes, these women were not geisha in the true definition of the term. In geisha society, which was highly structured and cloistered, authentic geisha were not associated with clients paying for sex; their business lives and love lives were entirely separate.

▲ **13.33** **Kitagawa Utamaro, *White make-up*, 1795–1796. Color woodblock print, 14½" × 8¾" (37.0 × 22.3 cm). Musée national des arts asiatiques Guimet, Paris, France.**

(continued from p. 445)

concerned, be more perfectly stone than another stone, nor one piece of wood more perfectly wood than another piece, so one man cannot be more perfectly man than another; and so, as far as their formal substance is concerned, the male cannot be more perfect than the female, since both the one and the other are included under the species man, and they differ in their accidents and not their essence. You may then say that man is more perfect than woman if not as regards essence then at least as regards accidents; and to this I reply that these accidents must be the properties either of the body or of the mind. Now if you mean the body, because man is more robust, more quick and agile, and more able to endure toil, I say that this is an argument of very little validity since among men themselves those who possess these qualities more than others are not more highly regarded on that account; and even in warfare, when for the most part the work to be done demands exertion and strength, the strongest are not the most highly esteemed. If you mean the mind, I say that everything men can understand, women can too; and where a man's intellect can penetrate, so along with it can a woman's."

There follows a discussion of what Nature "intended" with women and men, and how neither can be perfect in the absence of the other. The Magnifico jests that philosophers believe that those who are weak in body will be able in mind. Therefore, if women are in fact weaker than men, they should have greater intellectual capability. Signor Gaspare, intent on winning the argument that men are superior to women, finally responds "without exception every woman wants to be a man," which leads the Magnifico to reply with what we would now see as a feminist point of view:

READING 13.5 BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE

From *The Book of the Courtier*, Book 3, "The Perfect Lady," continued

The Magnifico Giuliano at once replied:

"The poor creatures do not wish to become men in order to make themselves more perfect but to gain their freedom and shake off the tyranny that men have imposed on them by their one-sided authority."

VERONICA FRANCO Veronica Franco (1546–1591), the most famous courtesan in Venice, was schooled in Classical literature, knew the ins and outs of politics, played various musical instruments, and was renowned for her learned and scintillating conversation. She wrote letters to the elite of Venice and Europe, letters that have survived because the recipients valued them. She also wrote poems in **terza rima**, the difficult verse used by Dante in his *Divine Comedy*. Franco's collected poems in terza rima include pieces that are seductive, poetic dialogues with her suitors, and many that challenge the patriarchal status quo in Venice:

READING 13.6 VERONICA FRANCO

From *Poems in Terza Rima*, chapter 2, lines 34–39 and 154–171

Since I will not believe that I am loved,
nor should I believe it or reward you
for the pledge you have made me up to now,
win my approval, sir, with deeds:
prove yourself through them, if I, too,
am expected to prove my love with deeds.

. . .

So sweet and delicious do I become,
when I am in bed with a man
who, I sense, loves and enjoys me,
that the pleasure I bring excels all delight,
so the knot of love, however tight
it seemed before, is tied tighter still.
Phoebus, who serves the goddess of love,
and obtains from her as a sweet reward
what blesses him far more than being a god,
comes from her to reveal to my mind
the positions that Venus assumes with him
when she holds him in sweet embraces;
so that I, well taught in such matters,
know how to perform so well in bed
that this art excels Apollo's by far,
and my singing and writing are both forgotten
by the man who experiences me in this way,
which Venus reveals to people who serve her.

Franco's efforts to help and protect Venetian women who were working as prostitutes through her charitable institution, Casa del Soccorso, acknowledged the dangers and indignities of life as a courtesan—particularly among the *cortigiane di lume*. Franco warns the mother of a young woman of the sordid side of courtesan life in a letter:

READING 13.7 VERONICA FRANCO

From letter 22, "A Warning to a Mother Considering Turning Her Daughter into a Courtesan"

Where once you made [your daughter] appear simply clothed and with her hair arranged in a style suitable for a chaste girl, with veils covering her breasts and other signs of modesty, suddenly you encouraged her to be vain, to bleach her hair and paint her face. And all at once, you let her show up with curls dangling around her brow and down her neck, with bare breasts spilling out of her dress, with a high, uncovered forehead, and every other embellishment people use to make their merchandise measure up to the competition.

. . .