

CONTENTS

PREFACE ix

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1
MOSES 7

CHAPTER 2
FRIENDS AT SEVENTY MATTER MORE 28

CHAPTER 3
A LONG-LIVED POPE 56

CHAPTER 4
ARCHITECT OF ST. PETER'S 75

CHAPTER 5
A NEW POPE: JULIUS III 112

CHAPTER 6
ROME 1555 154

CHAPTER 7
ARCHITECT OF ROME 184

CHAPTER 8
GOD'S ARCHITECT 215

EPILOGUE 239

NOTES 243

WORKS CITED 261

INDEX 271

PHOTO CREDITS 279

INTRODUCTION



For a half year in Rome, I looked from my window on the dome of St. Peter's, the dome that Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni (1475–1564) designed but never actually saw. The fact that Michelangelo remained committed to building this crowning feature of St. Peter's Basilica in Vatican City for seventeen years with no hope of finishing the task made writing this book seem simple by comparison.

In the fifteen years between writing a monograph, *Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Genius as Entrepreneur* (1994), and a biography, *Michelangelo: The Artist, the Man, and His Times* (2010), I became increasingly aware of how much the story of the artist's heroic rise to fame had deflected attention from his very different but no less enterprising later life. Resisting the attraction of that well-rehearsed narrative, this book examines the final two decades of Michelangelo's career, from the installation of the tomb of Pope Julius II in Rome's San Pietro in Vincoli in 1545 to his death in 1564—that is, from age seventy to a few weeks shy of his eighty-ninth birthday. Notably, while this period represents fully one-fifth of the artist's long life and constitutes nearly a quarter of his approximately seventy-five-year artistic career, it remains the least familiar segment of the artist's biography.

I examine Michelangelo's life and works from the perspective of his ever-advancing age—his seventies and eighties—with a focus on what the artist chose to accomplish in his final years. This study is not as

much an investigation of “late style” (in the manner of Titian, Rembrandt, Goya, or Beethoven) as it is a probing into a late life: how Michelangelo lived and worked in the face of recurring setbacks and personal loss, advancing age, and the constant expectation of his own death. The artist’s aspirations to future fame and glory, his concern with family status, and his interventions in shaping his biography and legacy are all informed by this ever-present specter of death. But Michelangelo did not retreat from the world in the medieval tradition of the *ars moriendi*, with its preoccupation with a “good death”; rather, he became more productive than ever. Most importantly, despite the repeated efforts of others to lure him back to Florence, Michelangelo never abandoned his commitment to St. Peter’s in Rome. Indeed, the artist firmly believed that he “was put there by God,” and he vowed never to abandon the project. Dutifully, he worked at St. Peter’s for a succession of five popes, but he toiled above all for God and for his own salvation. He accepted the burden of being God’s architect.

The Artist in His Seventies and Eighties

The overarching themes of Michelangelo’s late life are significantly different from those of his earlier career, which was characterized by the artist’s remarkable productivity and spectacular rise to fame, manifested in a series of astonishing creations: *Bacchus*, the *Rome Pietà*, and *David*, the Medici Chapel and the Laurentian Library in Florence, and the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. Michelangelo was no less active as he approached the end of his life, but he worked in a substantially different manner. With the elderly Michelangelo, we are no longer dealing with an artist who insisted on doing everything himself or who, as he did at the church of San Lorenzo in Florence, directed assistants with near-obsessive attention to detail.¹

In another contrast to his earlier career, there is a notable absence in his later work of paintings and sculptures made for the public sphere. After installing the tomb of Pope Julius II, in 1545, and still with nearly two decades to live, Michelangelo completed no more sculptures. He carved the Florentine *Pietà* as his own grave memorial,

but gave it away damaged and unfinished. He worked on the Rondanini *Pietà* until several days before his death, but the sculpture remained radically incomplete. He lived with these unfinished sculptures in his house—as he previously had lived with the *Moses*—for nearly two decades. There, they served as *memento mori*, perpetually reminding the artist of his impending death and, more poignantly, of a life littered with unfinished and abandoned work.

Michelangelo's final years were largely devoted to architecture. Between 1545 and his death, in 1564, he was associated with more than a dozen architectural projects and was principally responsible for half of them, including, all in Rome, the Capitoline Hill (or Campidoglio), the Farnese Palace, Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri, the Porta Pia, the Sforza Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, the never realized plan for a new church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and, most important of all, New St. Peter's. At the time of his death, however, not a single one of these projects was anywhere near completion. Strikingly, Michelangelo's two monumental frescoes in the Vatican's Pauline Chapel, completed in 1550, when he was seventy-five, were the last works the artist ever finished. We are faced with the seeming paradox of an aged artist who, despite a plethora of incomplete undertakings, never wavered in his devotion to work, whose power of expression never waned, and who continued to exercise a tremendous influence on the art and architecture of his time.

How do we assess Michelangelo's final accomplishments, given that they are substantially different from the achievements of his earlier career? How do we account for the artist's stature and prestige given the absence of completed work? Most importantly, how do we understand Michelangelo's art in light of his growing preoccupation with death, sin, and salvation?

Michelangelo's "late life" begins in 1545, when he turned seventy years of age. Although old, the artist had ample reason to be content. With the installation of the tomb of Pope Julius II, Michelangelo had just completed one of his most important commissions and his final work of public sculpture. He was already well beyond the age of normal life expectancy, yet he was about to embark on a wholly new, and

arguably the most significant, phase of his career. For the next seventeen years, Michelangelo devoted himself to God and St. Peter's.

The Materiality of Art

In a review of Herbert von Einem's monograph on Michelangelo, John Pope-Hennessy noted that "never, or scarcely ever, do modern scholars look at Michelangelo's works and ask themselves how they came into being and why."² One of the principal emphases of my writing about Michelangelo for more than thirty years has been to address this lacuna. I continue to be fascinated with the difficulty of making art, the arduousness of carving marble, the challenge of transporting and lifting heavy objects, the tedious necessity of erecting scaffolding, and the quotidian preoccupation with the mechanics, detail, and complexity of building. In the face of these difficulties, Renaissance artists, with Michelangelo chief among them, created some of the most sublime works the world has ever seen. There is enough evidence to suppose that Michelangelo mused on the evident incongruity of fashioning sublime works of art from mundane material and toilsome labor. This book is about a final paradox in Michelangelo's long life, when the aged artist desired spiritual salvation yet was mired in the incessant materiality and minutiae of his craft.

Art is first and foremost about stuff, the materials from which it is made and the means by which it is fabricated. Artists know materials, their nature, source, availability, quality, durability, beauty, and cost. Art is about obtaining materials, moving them, working them, and moving them again. In the Renaissance, and still today, lifting a five-ton sculpture is a difficult, costly, and dangerous task. Architecture in particular requires an inordinate amount of labor and time. But Michelangelo had little time, even as a young man and ever less as he advanced into old age. He was seventy-one when he took over as architect of St. Peter's. From the beginning, Michelangelo knew that a building of that scale would take much longer than the number of years he had remaining on this earth. As it turned out, Michelangelo was able to devote only seventeen years to the enormous project, which required 150

years to complete, from its beginning with Donato Bramante in 1505 to its acknowledged completion under Gianlorenzo Bernini in the mid-seventeenth century. While long predating Michelangelo's tenure and still under construction well after his death, St. Peter's is arguably the artist's greatest accomplishment. I wish to tell that story.

The reader might accuse me of resorting occasionally to a fictionalized voice or what the writer Michael Orlofsky has termed "historio-*grafiction*."³ This tendency is something of a current trend (dubbed "narrative truth"), even among serious scholars of history.⁴ Michelangelo is the best-documented artist of the entire Renaissance. Leonardo da Vinci may have left a greater number of drawn and written pages, but Michelangelo left much more information about his personal and professional life. Thanks to his extensive familial and professional correspondence, his voluminous business and financial records, and the masses of documentary notices by friends, associates, and contemporaries, not to mention three biographies written in his lifetime—two of which Michelangelo himself read and helped to shape—the artist is unmatched as a biographical subject. Certainly there is little reason to fictionalize when one can garner so much from the documents we have. Yet, one still needs to rationally glean much by reading between the lines and often to reconstruct what is missing. Given the immense quantity of primary and secondary documentation, I would argue that I am filling in some missing gaps rather than fictionalizing my subject. In part, I do this by reading both sides of Michelangelo's correspondence, even if one side is missing. And I read both central and peripheral source materials, since they so richly evoke the world and society of Renaissance Italy. In addition, by observing engineers, masons and carpenters, marble sculptors and quarry workers, the construction of scaffolding, the repair of old structures, and even the laying of paving stones, I have learned about continuities in the building industry from ancient to modern times. Even if there is more mechanization in our modern world, manual labor, tools, and construction sites remain similar, and builders still face challenges comparable to those of Renaissance architects. This is some of the "research" that informs my reading of the extensive documentary rec-

ord left by Michelangelo and his contemporaries. In the words of the historian John Elliott, the writing of good history is “the ability to enter imaginatively into the life of a society remote in time and place, and produce a plausible explanation of why its inhabitants thought and behaved as they did.”⁵ And further, I am in sympathy with the biographer Richard Holmes, who, faced with “an astonishing lack of solid evidence,” concluded his compelling portrait of Samuel Johnson and Richard Savage by writing, “I have given the evidence as I have found it, and allowed the story to create its own emotional and artistic logic.”⁶

There is one additional factor that possibly inflects my writing. I was born on July 30, which also is the birthday of Giorgio Vasari, Michelangelo’s greatest biographer and one who precedes me in creatively fashioning his subject’s life. And just as Michelangelo found much to correct in Vasari’s life of the artist, so too, I am certain, would he find much to criticize in my account. I anticipate that a few critics may accuse me of writing a Vasarian-style account of Michelangelo. Given that we increasingly recognize Vasari to be a great literary writer, I will be happy to be so accused and happier still to be as widely read.

Note to the reader:

We benefit from a long and distinguished tradition of translation of Michelangelo’s sometimes difficult Italian. In my discussion of the artist’s correspondence and poetry, I have utilized whichever translation I felt best captured the sense in that particular communication or cultural expression. Unacknowledged translations of the correspondence and poetry are my own.

INDEX

- Accademia del Disegno, 235
Ackerman, James, 188
Active Life. *See Rachel* (Michelangelo)
The Agony and the Ecstasy (film), 13
Alberti, Leon Battista, 62, 67
Aleotti, Pier Giovanni, 111
Alessandro of Canossa, 115
Alexander VI, Pope, 12, 102–3
Altoviti, Bindo, 31, 121
Alvarez, Fernando, 163
Amadori, Francesco di Bernardino “Urbino,”
93–94
Ammannati, Bartolomeo, 127
Angelini Bartolommeo. *See Michelangelo’s*
friends and personal assistants
Aniene River, 79, 178
anthracite, 81
Antoniana (Baths of Caracalla), 172–73
Antonio del Francese (Michelangelo’s household
servant), 169
apples. *See food* (Tuscan specialties)
Arberino, Giovanni, 85–86
Arcadelt, Jacques, 155
architecture: changes in the role and status of the
architect and, 125; defense of Rome and,
61–65; Julius tomb and, 16–18; Michelangelo
and, 3, 17–18, 57–58, 67, 130, 186, 195;
paired columns and, 206–10, 208–10,
256nn32–33; projects assigned to Michelan-
gelo by Paul III, 57–58, 70, 86; translating
design into structure and, 188–89, 191–94;
Villa Giulia and, 124–25; Vitruvius’s theory
of, 87–88. *See also* St. Peter’s Basilica (New
ars moriendi, 2
art, 4–5, 53, 143–47, 228. *See also* fresco painting

Bacchus (Michelangelo), 2, 132, 136, 230, 240
Bandini, Francesco, 142, 176, 227–28, 235
Basilica della Santa Casa (Loreto), 164
Bassi, Meo, 202
Basso, Bernardino, 202
Bastiano (Michelangelo’s servant), 98
Bastiano da San Gimignano. *See Michelangelo’s*
worksite foremen and assistants
Baths of Caracalla, 78, 172
Baths of Diocletian, 185
Battle of Cascina (Michelangelo), 12, 128
Beccadelli, Ludovico, 46–47, 61, 160–63, 177,
221, Plate 33
Belisarius, 61
Bembo, Pietro, 35, 43, 50, 160
Bene, Bartolomeo del, 200
Beneficio di Cristo (Benedetto of Mantua), 45–46,
175
Berni, Francesco, 41–42
Bernini, Gianlorenzo, 5, 129
Bettini, Cesare. *See Michelangelo’s* worksite
foremen and assistants
Bigio, Baccio, 86
Bigio, Nanni di Baccio, 66, 86–89, 156, 225
Bizzi, Giovanni Battista. *See Michelangelo’s*
worksite foremen and assistants
Bonasone, Giulio, 115, 116
Book of the Courtier (Castiglione), 34–35
Borgherini Chapel (Sebastiano del Piombo), 126
Borromini, Francesco, 18
braccio (an arm’s length), 82–83
Bramante, Donato, 5, 67–68, 71–74, 72, 73–75,
78, 84, 108, 126, 163, 190, 212–13
Brancusi, Constantin, 228
Bregno, Andrea, 16, 24, 227
brigata, 31, 171, 218
Brunelleschi, Filippo, 62, 77, 90, 204, 206, 213
Brutus (Michelangelo), 133, 201, 240, Plate 44
Bufalini, Leonardo, 63
Bugiardini, Giuliano, 41
Buonarroti, Buonarroto (Michelangelo’s brother),
114, 229
Buonarroti, Buonarroto (Michelangelo’s
grandnephew), 152, 177, 216
Buonarroti, Giovansimone (Michelangelo’s
brother), 50–51
Buonarroti, Gismondo (Michelangelo’s brother),
51–52, 149–50

- Buonarroti, Lionardo (Michelangelo's nephew):
 brass ruler and, 83–84; children and family
 and, 50–51, 149–53; concern for Michelangelo's
 health and, 217, 234, 236–38;
 Michelangelo's return to Florence and,
 218–21; real estate and, 30, 119; responsibility
 to carry on the family name and, 28, 30,
 114; Strozzi family and, 99–100; Tuscan
 products for Michelangelo and, 31, 59–60,
 119, 158, 176, 230, 234, 236; visit to Rome
 by, 216, 237–38
- Calcagni, Tiberio. *See* Michelangelo's worksite
 foremen and assistants
- Camera Apostolica, 110
- Campidoglio (Capitoline Hill), 3, 57, 116–17,
 195–97, 201, 231–34, 232, 234, Plate 57–
 Plate 58
- Capitoline Hill. *See* Campidoglio (Capitoline
 Hill)
- capomaestro/i*. *See* foremen
- Carafa, Giampietro. *See* Paul IV, Pope
- Carnesecchi, Pietro, 46–47
- Caro, Annibale, 61
- Carpi, Rodolfo Pio da, 185–86, 189–90, Plate
 38
- carvers (stone and marble), 81–82, 84, 133, 164,
 174, 178–79, 191–92
- Castiglione, Baldassare, 34–35
- Castro (town in Italy), 62–63
- Cavalieri, Tommaso de'. *See* Michelangelo's
 friends and personal assistants
- Cellini, Benvenuto, 147–48, 152, 218
- Cennini, Cennino, 96
- Cervini, Marcello. *See* Marcellus II, Pope
- Cesi, Federico, 29
- Cesi Juno*, 22–23, 23
- Charles V., 119
- Chimenti, Francesco di, 179
- Chimenti, Matteo di, 178
- Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (Venusti), 197
- Cicero, 223
- Ciola, 82, 174
- Colombo, Realdo, 159
- Colonelli, Cornelia (Urbino's wife), 148–49, 169,
 176–77, 224, 230
- Colonna, Vittoria, 32–41, 43–47, 49, 54, 138,
 160, 162, 197, Plate 7
- Condivi, Ascanio: Florentine *Pietà* and, 138;
 Gonzaga and, 35; Julius III and, 118–19, 121,
 125; Julius tomb and, 14–16, 127; *Leah* and,
 22–23; *Life of Michelangelo* and, 61, 114–17,
 130, 138, Plate 29
- Constantine the Great, 73
- Contarini, Gasparo, 46–47, 160
- Contemplative Life. *See* *Leah* (Michelangelo)
- Conversion of Saul* (Michelangelo), 95, 97, 106–9,
 Plate 22. *See also* Pauline Chapel
- Crucifixion* (Venusti), 197, Plate 8
- Crucifixion* drawings, 48–49, Plate 8, Plate 11
- Crucifixion of Peter* (Michelangelo), 97, 106–10,
 126, 138, Plate 23. *See also* Pauline Chapel
- Dante, 22–23, 29, 144–45, 223
- D'Avalos, Ferrante Francesco, 34
- David* (Michelangelo), 2, 12, 132, 141, 240, Plate
 31
- Della Porta, Giacomo, 110, 202, 213, 222, 233
- Della Rovere, Guidobaldo II, 15
- Della Rovere family, 24, 99, 103
- Del Monte Chapel, 126–27, 127
- Del Riccio, Luigi. *See* Michelangelo's friends and
 personal assistants
- De senectute* (Cicero), 223
- Diálogos em Roma* (Hollanda), 37–38
- Divine Comedy* (Dante), 23, 144
- Donatello, 19
- drawing. *See* *Crucifixion* drawings
- Duca, Antonio del. *See* Michelangelo's worksite
 foremen and assistants
- Duca, Jacopo del. *See* Michelangelo's worksite
 foremen and assistants
- Durante, Antonio (Michelangelo's household
 servant), 169, 237
- Dying Slave* (Michelangelo), 14, 99, 198, Plate 25
- Einem, Herbert von, 4
- Elliot, John, 6
- English Tea Room, 158
- Entombment* (Michelangelo), 138
- fabbrica*, 68–73, 84–86, 91–92, 94, 161, 164,
 174–75, 186, 189, 224–25
- Falcone, Silvio. *See* Michelangelo's friends and
 personal assistants
- Fancelli, Domenico di Giovanni, 41, 87
- Farnese, Alessandro. *See* Paul III, Pope
- Farnese, Alessandro (Paul III's grandson), 61,
 105
- Farnese, Pier Luigi, 62
- Farnese Bull*, 91
- Farnese family, 61, 91, 103

- Farnese Hercules*, 91
Farnese Palace, 57, 65, 86–91, Plate 19–Plate 21
Fattucci, Giovanfrancesco. *See* Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants
Ferratino, Bartolommeo, 71–72, 84, 89
Filarete, Antonio, 107
food (Tuscan specialties): apples, 59–60; cheese, 31, 59, 236; peaches, 60; pears, 59–60, 65, 75, 83, 231; ravioli, 59, 83. *See also* wine
foremen (*capomaestri* and *soprastanti*), 79, 86–87, 91–94, 174, 179, 182, 193, 196, 201–2, 224–25, 230–33
fortifications, 61–65, 86, Plate 14
Francis I, King of France, 50
fresco painting, 96–98
Freud, Sigmund, 19

Gaeta, Pier Luigi. *See* Michelangelo's worksite foremen and assistants
Gatto, Francesco, 92
Giannotti, Donato, 29, 32–33, 38, 42, 52, 142, 258n36
Giotto, 62, 107
Giovio, Paolo, 34
Giunto è già il corso della vita mia (Michelangelo), 143–47, 170, Plate 32
God. *See* religion
Gogol, Nikolai, 216
Gonzaga, Elisabetta, 34
Gonzaga, Ercole, 35, 57
Gregorius, Magister, 215

Harrison, Rex, 13
Henry II, 119, 198
heresy, 46–47
Heston, Charlton, 13
historiografiction, 5
A History of Italian Painting (Mather), 160
Hollanda, Francisco de', 37–38
Holmes, Richard, 6

Inferno (Dante), 29
the Inquisition, 46–48
intagliatori, 81–82. *See also* carvers (stone and marble)
Italian Wars of 1552–56, 119, 163–64, 168–69

Jesus Christ. *See* religion
Jews, 11
Johnson, Samuel, 6, 113
Juan de Valdés, 46

Julius II (Michelangelo), 20
Julius II, Pope, 20; election of, 12; relationship with Michelangelo, 13; tomb of, 1, 11
Julius III, Pope, Plate 27; assignment of projects to Michelangelo and, 113, 117–18, 120–21; conflict during his papacy and, 118–19; death of, 154; Del Monte Chapel and, 126–27; election of, 112; financial issues and, 129; Villa Giulia and, 124–25
Julius tomb, 17, 20, Plate 4; commission and contracts for, 13–15, 35, 57; Del Riccio and, 29–30; installation of, 1, 3, 23–27; Moses and, 14–15, 18–20, 57, 139–40; *Prophet* and, 126–27, 128; *Racheal* and *Leah* and, 14–15, 21–23, 139–40; redesign of, 16–18. *See also* Moses (Michelangelo)
Juvenal, 233

kidney stones, 7, 157–58, 175, 229
Last Judgment (Michelangelo), 15, 27, 36, 57, 91, 94–95, 98, 106
Laurentian Library, 2, 67, 86, 116, 207, 208, 240
Leah (Michelangelo), 15–16, 21–23, 133, 139–40, Plate 6. *See also* Julius tomb
Leonardo Da Vinci, ix, 5, 67
Leoni, Diomedes, 237–38
Leoni, Leone, 140
Leo X, Pope, 187
Life of Michelangelo (Condivi), 61, 118
Ligorio, Pirro, 129, 213–14
Lippi, Filippo, 167–68
Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors and Architects (Vasari), 108, 113–17, 122–24, 133–34, 143–47, 222, Plate 28
Loreto, 164, 166, 168–69

Macel de' Corvi, 8, Plate 2–Plate 3
Maderno, Carlo, 196, 213–14
maestro della camera, 111
Malenotti, Sebastiano. *See* Michelangelo's worksite foremen and assistants
marble: challenges of working with, 4, 131–32, 134; Florentine *Pietà* and, 133–35; Julius tomb and, 13; repurposing of, 16; San Lorenzo in Florence and, 194; San Pietro in Vincoli and, 25–26, 26
Marcellus II, Pope, 154–55
Mariottini, Lorenzo. *See* Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants
Martini, Luca, 52–53
Mary Magdalene, 138–40

- Massimi, Antonio de', 85–86
Mather, Frank Jewett, 160
Matilda of Canossa, 23
Medicean regime, 29, 50, 99, 101
Medici, Catherine de', 198–200, 218
Medici, Cosimo de', 119, 147, 164, 170, 172, 183–85, 201, 218–19, 222–23, 235
Medici, Giovanni Angelo de'. See Pius IV, Pope
Medici, Ippolito de', 29
Medici, Lorenzo de' (Duke of Urbino), 198
Medici, Lorenzo de' (The Magnificent), 12, 52, 56, 58, 167, 229, 237
Medici, Ottaviano de', 50
Medici Chapel, 2, 18, 39, 67, 90, 116, 126, 134, 198, 207, 240
Medici family, 29, 61, 103, 166, 199, 218, 228–29
Medici Madonna, 117, 132
medicine, 28, 102, 150, 157, 237
Medici Palace, 209, 228
Melegghino, Jacopo. See Michelangelo's worksite foremen and assistants
memento mori, 3
Menighella (Domenico da Terranuova), 42
Michelangelo: Accademia del Disegno and, 235; architecture and, 3, 17–18, 57–58, 67, 87–88, 125, 130, 186, 195; on art, 53, 143–47; art and, 228; awareness of incomplete projects and, 116–17; brass ruler and, 83–84; and his *brigata* (friends), 29–33, 41–43, 171; campaign to get him to return to Florence, 147, 164, 170–71, 183, 218, 235; Capitoline Hill and, 231–34; contracts and, 195; Crucifixion drawings and, 48–49; death of, 234–38, 249n18; defense of Rome and, 62–63; delegation skills and, 128–30; Del Monte Chapel and, 126–27, 127; difficulty writing and, 216–17, 235–36; familial relationships and, 50–52, 149–50; family lineage and, 114–16; Farnese Palace and, 86–91; fresco painting and, 96–98; God and, 219–22; as a godfather, 50, 149, 176–77, 198; and his horse, 8, 28, 98, 175, 229, 235; home life of, 7–8, 148–49, 160, 169, 230, 243n1; honorary Roman citizenship and, 28; impact of his association and, 194–202; Julius tomb and, 13–18; kidney stones and, 7, 157–59, 175, 229; late life of, 1–4, 240–41; Monastery of Montelucio and, 164–68; *Moses* and, 9, 18–20; paired columns and, 206–10, 208–10, 256n32–256n33; personality of, 31, 83–84; poetry and, 32–33, 33, 36–44, 44, 47, 49, 54–55, 141, 143–47, 161–62, 246n54, 252n67; politics and, 98–101, 103, 119, 166, 228; portrait of, 115, 199; projects assigned by Julius III and, 120–21; projects assigned by Pius IV and, 184–85; publication of his biographies and, 113–17; *Rachel* and *Leah* and, 21–23; relationship with Giorgio Vasari and, 121–24; relationship with Julius II and, 12–13; relationship with Julius III and, 113, 118–19; relationship with Ludovico Beccadelli, 160–63; relationship with Paul III, 35, 56–61, 90–91, 102–5; relationship with Urbino, 93–94, 147–53, 158, 176; relationship with Vittoria Colonna, 32–41, 43–47, 49, 54; reliance on worksite foreman and assistants, 86–87, 91–94, 156–57, 225–26; religion and, 45–48, 51, 56, 221; self portrait of, 140–41; significant disruptions to his career, 166; and the Spirituals, 46–47, 160–63, 246n64; uncertainty about his position as papal architect and, 155; unconscious gestures in art and, 19; unfinished sculptures and, 2–3, 21, 250n15; Varchi letters and, 52–55; Vatican bureaucracy and, 110–11; a week in the life of, 171–83; wooden models and, 185–90. See also architecture; Buonarroti, Lionardo (Michelangelo's nephew); Julius tomb; Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants; Michelangelo's worksite foremen and assistants; *Moses* (Michelangelo); Pauline Chapel; *Pietà*; Rome; St. Peter's Basilica (New)
Michelangelo at San Lorenzo: The Genius as Entrepreneur (Wallace), 1
Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants: Angelini, Bartolommeo, 29, 42; Calcagni, Tiberio, 135, 140–43, 197, 200–201, 217, 224–25, 234–38; Cavalieri, Tommaso de', 35–36, 41, 196, 234, 237–38, 246n52; Del Riccio, Luigi, 29–32, 41–43, 49, 54, 98–101, 155; Falcone, Silvio, 93; Fattucci, Giovanfrancesco, 29, 42, 54–55, 123, 218; Malenotti, Sebastiano, 92, 151, 155–58, 164–65, 168–70, 172–73, 179, 181, 196, 217–18, 224; Mariottini, Lorenzo, 217–18, 234; Mini, Antonio, 93; Sellaio, Lionardo, 218; Urbano, Pietro, 93; Urbino, 93–94, 147–53, 155, 157–58, 176; Volterra, Daniele da, 197–200, 200, 230, 234, 237–38

- Michelangelo's worksite foremen and assistants: Bastiano da San Gimignano, 92; Bettini, Cesare, 92, 179–80, 196, 224–25; Bizzi, Giovanni Battista, 92, 181–82; Calcagni, Tiberio, 135, 140–43, 197, 200–201, 217, 224–25, 234–38; Della Porta, Giacomo, 110, 202, 213, 222, 233; Duca, Antonio del, 201–2; Duca, Jacopo del, 191, 202; Gaeta, Pier Luigi, 92, 196, 224–25, 230, 234; Malenotti, Sebastiano, 92, 151, 155–58, 164–65, 168–70, 172–73, 179, 181, 196, 217–18, 224; Meleghino, Jacopo, 58, 66, 91, 94, 196; Rocchetti, Jacopo, 202; Salvestro, 92; Schela, Benedetto, 90, 201, 233
- Michelangelo: The Artist, the Man, and His Times* (Wallace), 1
- Michele di Piero Pippo, 41, 80, 86–87
- military strategy, 61–65
- mineral water, 7, 157–58
- Mini, Antonio. *See* Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants
- Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della, 52
- "Missa Papae Marcelli" (Palestrina), 155
- Modersohn-Becker, Paula, 40
- Monastery of Montelucio, 164–68, Plate 34
- Monte, Giovanni Maria Cocchi del. *See* Julius III, Pope
- Montefeltro, Federico da, 34
- Montelucio. *See* Monastery of Montelucio
- Montelupo, Raffaele da, 126–27, 128
- Morelli, Giovanni, 101
- Morone, Giovanni, 46–47, 160
- Moses (Michelangelo), Plate 1; design of, 18–20; Gonzaga and, 35, 57; moving of, 7, 9–12; new plinth and, 16; *Rachel* and *Leah* and, 139–40. *See also* Julius tomb
- motu proprio*, 58, 117–18
- Nero, 106–7
- New Testament, 45. *See also* religion
- Nicholas of Cusa, 24
- Nicodemus, 137–38
- Night* (Michelangelo), 134
- Nims, Frederick, 145
- Notable Men and Women of Our Time* (Giovio), 34
- Ochino, Bernadino, 46–47, 160
- Old Testament, 21, 45. *See also* religion
- Orlofsky, Michael, 5
- Palestrina, Giovanni, 155
- Paradiso* (Dante), 223
- parva* chapel, 95
- Paul III, Pope, 28, 35, Plate 12; assignment of Michelangelo to design St. Peter's Basilica (New), 57–58, 65–70; death of, 104–5; Meleghino, Jacopo and, 91; oversight of St. Peter's construction and, 85–86; Pauline Chapel and, 15, 95–98, 104–10; relationship with Michelangelo, 35, 56–61, 90–91, 102–5
- Paul IV, Pope, 159, 159, 160, 163, 168, 184
- Pauline Chapel, 96; completion of, 27, 38, 52, 70, 91, 106–10, 240; conclaves and, 112, 154; *Conversion of Saul* and, 95, 97, 106–9, Plate 22; *Crucifixion of Peter* and, 106–10, 126, 138, Plate 23; fire and water damage and, 30, 104; frescoes, 95–98; Michelangelo's concern with completing, 67; Michelangelo's last completed work, 3; Paul III and, 15, 57, 66, 102–4, 107; potential destruction of, 71
- Pavolo da Borgo, 82, 174
- peaches. *See* food (Tuscan specialties)
- pears. *See* food (Tuscan specialties)
- Petrarch, 28, 36, 113, 144, 170, 250n4
- Philip II, King of Spain, 163
- Pietà* (Venusti), 197, Plate 42
- Pietà*, Florentine (Michelangelo), Plate 31; abandonment of, 141–43, 201; challenges with, 133–35; figure selection of, 137–41; as a four-figure group, 132–33; in Michelangelo's biographies, 116–17; Michelangelo's reluctance to share it, 130–31
- Pietà*, Rondanini (Michelangelo), 3, 227–29, 236, Plate 55–Plate 56
- Pietà*, St. Peter's (Michelangelo), 2–3, 135–37, 136
- Pietra Santa, 82, 174
- Pius III, Pope, 12
- Pius IV, Pope, 184–85, 185, 218
- poetry. *See under* Michelangelo
- Pole, Reginald, 46–47, 160
- Poliziano, Angelo, 52
- Pollaiuolo, Antonio, 24, 25
- Pollaiuolo, Piero, 24, 25
- Pontesieve, Antonio da, 16, 17
- Pontormo (*Noli me Tangere*), 138–39
- Pope Hennessy, John, 4
- Popes. *See* Alexander VI, Pope; Julius II, Pope; Julius III, Pope; Marcellus II, Pope; Paul III, Pope; Paul IV, Pope; Pius III, Pope; Pius IV, Pope; Sixtus IV, Pope

- Porta Pia, 185, 201, Plate 37
prisoners (Accademia), 14, 21, 116
Prophet (Montelupo), 126–27, 128
- Rachel* (Michelangelo), 15–16, 21–23, 139–40, Plate 5. *See also* Julius tomb
- Raphael, 13, 107, 213
ravioli. *See* food (Tuscan specialties)
- Rebellious Slave* (Michelangelo), 14, 99, 134, Plate 24
- religion: Crucifixion drawings and, 48–49; death of Giovansimone and, 51; Peter and Paul and, 107–9; religious reform and, 45–48, 159–60. *See also* the Church
- Riario, Raffaello, 102, 136, 230
- Ridolfi, Niccolò, 29
- Risen Christ* (Michelangelo), 134, 172, 173, 226
- Rocchetti, Jacopo, 202
- Romano, Giulio, 65
- Rome, 231; building of late Renaissance, 129; Capitoline Hill and, 231–34, 232, 234; city of sin and, 230; defense of, 61–65, 86; Florentines following Michelangelo to, 179; Italian War of 1551–59, 119, 163–64, 168–69; layout of, 8, 101–2; Michelangelo's honorary citizenship, 28; Michelangelo's introduction to, 12; San Giovanni dei Fiorentini and, 185, 201; travertine stone and, 79; urban renewal under Pius IV, 184–85
- Rome* (Gogol), 216
- rope, 78–81, 174, 180
- Sacred College of Cardinals, 154
- Sadoleto, Jacopo, 43
- Saint Augustine, 45
- Saint Paul, 45
- Saint Peter, 73
- Sala Regia, 91, 103, 111
- Salvestro. *See* Michelangelo's worksite foremen and assistants
- Salviati, Alamanno, 12
- Salviati, Francesco, 186
- Salviati, Giovanni, 29
- Sangallo, Antonio da, 61–73, 75–76, 84–88, 91, 95, 110, 163, 188, 191, 213
- Sangallo, Giuliano da, 12, 61–66, 69–76, 84–85, 95, 163
- San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, 185, 201, 207, Plate 45
- San Lorenzo in Florence, 2, 25–26, 67, 77, 187–88, 194
- San Pietro in Montorio, 126–27, 127
- San Pietro in Vaticano, 24
- San Pietro in Vincoli, 1, 23–27, 26
- Santa Costanza, 207, 209
- Santa Maria degli Angeli, 185, Plate 36
- Santa Maria del Fiore, 12, 187, 204, 204
- Santa Maria di Loreto, 7, 190–91, 202, Plate 40
- Santa Maria Maggiore, 185
- Santa Maria Nova, 78
- Santa Maria sopra Minerva, 226–28
- Sant'Ivo della Sapienza, 18
- Savage, Richard, 6
- Savonarola, Girolamo, 175
- Saxon Gate, 64–65, Plate 15
- Schela, Benedetto. *See* Michelangelo's worksite foremen and assistants
- Schela, Francesco, 202
- Sebastiano del Piombo, 41, 50, 56, 59, 126, 199, 235
- segatori*, 81
- Sellaio, Lionardo. *See* Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants
- setta sangallesc*a, 75–76
- Sforza, Ascanio, 61, 185
- Sforza Chapel, 3, 18, 185, 186, 195, 201, 207, 233, 241
- Shakespeare, 147, 209
- Shearman, John, 197
- Sistine Chapel, 71, 107, 142
- Sixtus IV, Pope, 24, 25
- soprastante/i*. *See* foremen
- Spirituali, 46–47, 160
- standard measures, 82–83
- St. Peter in Chains. *See* San Pietro in Vincoli
- St. Peter's Basilica (New), 72, 214; animals and, 76–77, 79, 81, 178–79; Bigio, Nanni di Baccio and, 86–87; carving templates and, 82; changes to Michelangelo's design of, 196, 202, 212–14, 222–23, 239; city of domes and, 215–16; death of Cesare Bettini and, 224–25; model of dome and, 185–90, Plate 39; dome and drum of, 1, 48–51, 75–76, 185–90, 202–12, 215–16, Plates 39, 48–51; engineering of, 75–77, 163, 180–83, 191–94, 213; *fabbrica* and, 68–73, 84–86, 91, 94, 164, 186, 224; hiring of Pier Luigi Gaeta and, 224–25; hoisting mechanisms, 79–80, 80, 179–80; Italian Wars of 1552–56, 164, 169; lantern of, 210–12, Plate 52; Malenotti and, 156–57; marble carvers (*scarpellini*) and, 81–82, 84, 179;

- Michelangelo's assignment to design, 58–59, 65–70, 117; Michelangelo's assistants and, 91–94; Michelangelo's biographies and, 117; Michelangelo's commitment to, 2, 4–5, 183, 219–22; Michelangelo's death and, 89; as Michelangelo's greatest achievement, 239–40; Michelangelo's return to original design of, 71–74, 77, 84, 190, 239; paired columns and, 49–51, 206–10, 208–10, 256nn32–33, Plates 49–51; Paul's funerary monument and, 110; pay rates and, 174; reuse of columns for, 78, 173; rope and, 80–81, 180; Sangallo's model for, 69–74, 84, 188–89, Plate 16; *setta sangallesc*a and, 75–76; standard measures and, 82–84; transept vaults and, 174, 180–83; travertine stone and, 79, 81, 178; water and, 76–78, 81; work site organization of, 77–79, 81, 173–74
- St. Peter's Basilica (Old), 73–74, 78, 135–36
- Strozzi, Roberto, 29, 98–100, 198, 200
- Strozzi family, 98–101, 103, 160, 229
- Strozzi Palace (Florence), 187–88
- Strozzi Palace (Rome), 98–101, 187–89
- Strozzi Villa (Lunghezza), 31, 43
- Tempietto (Bramante), 108, Plate 26
- terribilità*, 13, 21
- Tiber River, 8, 81
- Titian, 56, 161
- Tivoli, 79
- Topolino. *See* Fancelli, Domenico di Giovanni
- Trajan's Column, 9–10
- travertine stone, 79, 81, 178
- Trebbiano wine. *See* wine
- Twelve Apostles* (Michelangelo), 12
- Urbano, Pietro. *See* Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants
- Urbino. *See* Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants
- Varchi, Benedetto, 52–55
- Vasari, Giorgio: campaign to get Michelangelo to return to Florence and, 170, 235; *Crucifixion of Peter* and, 108; Florentine *Pietà* and, 133–34, 142; fresco painting and, 106; *Giunto è già'l corso della vita mia*, 143–47; Gonzaga and, 35; *Lives* and, 6, 113–17; Michelangelo's death and, 238; Monastery of Montelucio and, 165, 168; Paul III and Michelangelo, 57–58; relationship with Michelangelo and, 121–24; St. Peter's Basilica (New) and, 71, 182–83, 222; Urbino's death and, 151–52
- Vatican City: Belvedere Courtyard and, 129; bureaucracy of, 110–11, 163, 186; Pauline Chapel and, 3; St. Peter's and, 1. *See also* Pauline Chapel
- Venetians, 80
- Venusti, Marcello, 197–99, 240
- Vermigli, Peter, 47
- Vigènère, Blaise de, 133
- Vignola, Giacomo, 92, 124–25
- Villa Giulia, 18, 120, 124–25, Plate 30
- Vincenza (Michelangelo's household servant), 8, 57
- Volterra, Daniele da. *See* Michelangelo's friends and personal assistants
- wine, 59–60, 158, 217–18, 230. *See also* food (Tuscan specialties)
- Zuccone* (Donatello), 19