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LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL BOOKS

RELATING TO THE

LIFE AND WORKS OF MICHEL ANGELO.

*WITH NOTES.*

By CHARLES ELIOT NORTON,

PROFESSOR OF THE HISTORY OF ART IN THE UNIVERSITY.

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2. JUSTIN WINSOR. Shakespeare's Poems: a Bibliography of the Earlier Editions.
3. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. Principal books relating to the Life and Works of Michel Angelo, with Notes.
4. JUSTIN WINSOR. Pietas et Gratulatio. An Inquiry into the authorship of the several pieces.

# LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL BOOKS RELATING TO THE LIFE AND WORKS OF MICHELANGELO;

(WITH NOTES).

By CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

## I.

### *Original authorities concerning the Life of Michelangelo.*

1. **Vasari, Giorgio.** *Le Vite de più eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*: descritte in lingua Toscana, da Giorgio Vasari Pittore Aretino. Con una sua utile & necessaria introduzione a le arti loro. In Firenze. MDL.

In three parts. 8vo. pp. 692, and forty unnumbered pages of index, and registration. Part III. has a separate title-page, and Froemio. At the end, — Stampato in Firenze appresso Lorenzo Torrentino impressor Ducale del mese di Marzo l'anno MDL. Con privilegio di Papa Giulio III. Carlo V. Imperad. Cosimo de Med. Duca di Fiorenza. In regard to the composition and publication of this book, see Vasari's account in his *Descrizione delle Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, §§ 28, 30, 36, in the second and subsequent editions of his "Lives."

The last life in this first edition of Vasari's "Lives," and the only one of an artist living at the time of its publication, is that of Michelangelo (pp. 917-993). The exceptional fame of Michelangelo among his contemporaries, and the importance of his good-will toward a comparatively young and ambitious artist desirous of commissions, account for Vasari's performance. In the Proemio of Part III. is a passage of the most extravagant and high-flown laudation of Michelangelo and his works. The life itself is highly eulogistic as a narrative of facts, it is imperfect, and does not indicate that Vasari had had any special information concerning Michelangelo. His acquaintance with the great master had, up to this time, been very slight (see *Desc. delle Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, §§ 3, 7). In the year of the publication of his book, Vasari was at Rome, and saw much of Michelangelo. Their acquaintance henceforth was somewhat intimate.

Michelangelo acknowledged the receipt of a copy of the *Lives*, in a letter dated at Rome, Aug. 1, 1550; printed by Vasari in the second edition of his book; also in Milanesi's *Lettere di M. B.* Firenze, 1875. Let. CDLXVIII. p. 573. Michelangelo further repaid Vasari's eulogies by a sonnet of fulsome flattery, in the laudatory style of the age. It begins

Se con lo stile o coi colori avrete  
Alta natura pareggiato l'arte.

2. **Condivi Ascanio.** *Vita di Michelangiolo Buonarroti raccolta per Ascanio Condivi de la Ripa Transone.* In Roma appresso Antonio Blado, Stampatore Camerale. Nel M.D.LIII. alli XVII. di Luglio

4<sup>o</sup>. Pp. 50, and dedication to Pope Julius III. and address to the reader unpagged. Condivi was a pupil and intimate of Michelangelo, and this *Life* was, doubtless, written with his master's sanction, and from material that must in part have been supplied by him for the purpose. It is consequently the most authoritative source of information, though paraking of the defect of an official biography. In the address to the Reader, Condivi, speaking of others who have written "di questo raro uomo," referring apparently to Vasari, says, "on the one hand they have told things that never happened, and, on the other, omitted much that was most deserving of record." The literary spirit of the period was rhetorical: extravagance in abuse and laudation was common. Michelangelo was accustomed to the extreme flattery, and was not averse to the notoriety indicated and increased by two contemporaneous biographies. Condivi's eulogy has the merit of sincerity; the book is that of an honest admirer, and it is of the first importance as giving us what Michelangelo wished, or was willing to have known of himself. The best edition of Condivi's *Life* is that published at Florence

in 1746, fo. pp. xxx. 160; with a continuation to the death of Michelangelo; by Girolamo Ticcianti, a Florentine sculptor and architect, and with very valuable annotations by Gori, Manni, and Mariette. This edition was reprinted at Pisa, 1823, 8vo. Pp. 199.

Condivi's *Life* was reprinted, at Rome, in 1831, edited by Francesco Gasparoni; and again, with the poetry and some of the letters of Michelangelo, at Florence, 1858, 6mo. pp. 457. The notes and introduction in this edition are of no importance.

In the series of *Quellen-kritiken für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, herausgegeben von R. Eitelberger v. Edelberg*, No. VI. is *Das Leben des Michelangelo Buonarroti* geschrieben von seinem Schüler Ascanio Condivi. Zum ersten Male in deutsche Sprache übersetzt durch Rudolph Valdek. Wien, 1874. 8vo, Pp. 162.

The notes to this translation are excellent. The volume also contains a translation, by Albert Ilg, of Ticcianti's continuation of the *Life*; and, by the same accomplished critic, a minute and very serviceable comparison of the first and second forms of Vasari's *Life* of Michelangelo, exhibiting Vasari's obligations in his second edition to Condivi.

3. **Vasari, Giorgio.** *Le Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, et Architettori, Scritte, & di nuovo Ampliate da M. Giorgio Vasari Pitt. et Archit. Aretino. Co' Ritratti loro et con le nuove vite dal 1550 insino al 1567.* Con tauole copiosissime De' nomi, Dell' opere, e de luoghi ou' elle sono. In Fiorenza Appresso i Giunti, 1568. Con Licenza, e Privilegio.

In three parts. 4to. The first and second parts form one volume, with continuous pagination. The third part occupies two volumes, with independent title-pages, but continuous pagination. See note on p. 12 of this List.

In this second and final edition of his *Lives*, published four years after Michelangelo's death, Vasari gave a very much extended life of the great master. He shows self-feeling toward Condivi; but embodies, without acknowledgment, the greater part of Condivi's work in his own narrative.

The portrait prefixed to the *Life*, is one of the best likenesses of Michelangelo. The drawing was probably made from life by Vasari himself, and the wood cut was executed by "Maestro Cristiano" ["Cristofano"? See Le Monnier's *Vasari*, ix. 298. *Vita di Marcantonio*].

The best edition of Vasari's *Lives* is that published by Le Monnier, Florence, 1846-1850. 14 vols. 12mo.; well edited by G. and C. Milanesi, and C. Fini. The notes and other literary illustrations of the life of Michelangelo are of great value. A new edition of the Works of Vasari, edited by Gaetano Milanesi, is now in course of publication at Florence, in 8vo.

4. **Giovio, Paolo.** *Fragmentum trium Dialogorum Pauli Jovii Episcopi Nucerni quos in insula Anaria a clade Urbis receptus conscripsit. Dialogus de Viris Litteris Illustribus, cui in calce sunt additæ Vincii, Michaelis Angeli, Raphaelis Urbinatei Vitæ.*

Published, from the manuscript, by Tiraboschi in the last volume of his *Storia della Letteratura italiana*, ed. Modena, 1781, Tom. ix. app. p. 291, and frequently reprinted. These dialogues purport to have been written in the island of Ischia, shortly after the sack of Rome in 1527. The three *Lives* were probably written about the same time. That of Michelangelo occupies less than a page. It is of little importance save as indicating the esteem in which Michelangelo was held by his contemporaries.

Giovio died in 1552. It was at his suggestion that Vasari undertook to write his *Lives* of the Artists. See *Descr. delle Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, § 28. Ed. Le Monnier, i. p. 30.

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5. **Varchi, Benedetto.** Orazione Funerale di M. Benedetto Varchi, fatta e recitata da Lui pubblicamente nell' essequio di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, in Firenze, nella Chiesa di San Lorenzo. Indiritta al molto Mag. & Reverendo Monsignore M. Vincenzo Borghini Priore degli Innocenti. Con Privilegio. In Firenze, appresso i Giunti. MDLXIII.

Sm. 4to, pp. 64. Varchi had long been a friend and admirer of Michelangelo, and though the facts contained in this oration are mainly drawn from Vasari and Condivi, yet there is some original information in it, and much that is interesting as the expression of personal feeling and of popular opinion. The narrative of Michelangelo's life, and the sketch of his works, show the hand of an accomplished writer; but the style of the more rhetorical passages is inflated and artificial.

A translation into German of this Oration, with some useful notes, by Herr Ilg, is printed with Valde's translation of Condivi's Life, mentioned above under No. 2.

6. **Esequio del divin Michelagnolo Buonarroti** celebrate in Firenze dall' Accademia de Pittori, Scultori, & Architettori. Nella Chiesa di San Lorenzo il dì 14 Luglio MDLXIII. In Firenze. Appresso i Giunti. 1564. Con privilegio.

Sm. 4to. This account of the funeral solemnities was compiled, as appears by the dedication, by Jacopo Giunti, with the aid of a friend, probably Vasari, who embodied the greater part of it verbally in the final edition of his Life of Michelangelo. It is of interest not merely as an account of the extraordinary honors paid to the dead Master, but as an illustration of the active artistic sentiment and varied resources of Florence at this time. The greater part of this little work was reprinted by Moreni, in *Pompe Funerarie celebrate nella basilica di San Lorenzo, Firenze*, 1873, 8vo., pp. 79-124. A complete reprint, Florence, 1875.

7. **Salviati Lionardo.** Orazione in lode della Pittura, fatta nell' occasione della Morte di Michelagnolo Buonarroti. Firenze, Figliuoli di Lor. Torrentino. 1564. [Ma in fine per errore 1554.]

Sm. 4to, pp. 42. Reprinted with changes in *Il Primo Libro delle Orazioni del Cavalier Lionardo Salviati Nuovamente raccolte*, Firenze, 1575.

Of no importance, though Vasari calls it "una bellissima orazione fatta dal nobilissimo e dottissimo M. Lionardo Salviati, giovane allora di circa ventidue anni."

8. **Tarsia, Giovan-Maria.** Oratione o vero Discorso di M. Giovan Maria Tarsia. Fatto nell' essequio del divino Michelagnolo Buonarroti. Con alcuni Sonetti, e prose latine e volgari di diversi, circa il dispartire occorso tra gli Scultori e Pittori. In Fiorenza. Appresso Bartolomeo Sermatelli. MDLXIII.

Sm. 4to [pp. 37]. The oration of Tarsia is followed by the Discorso di M. Benvenuto's (see, read Cellini) Cittadino Fiorentino scultore eccellenze. Sopra la differenza nata tra gli Scultori e Pittori, circa il luogo dritto stato dato alla Pittura; nelle l' essequio del gran Michelagnolo Buonarroti.

This Discorso occupies three pages, and sets forth the pre-eminence of Sculpture. It is reprinted in *I Trattati dell' Oreficeria e della Scultura* di Benvenuto Cellini, novamente messi alle stampe . . . per cura di Carlo Milanese. Firenze. Le Monnier, 1855, pp. 229-233.

The Oration of Tarsia is a curious specimen of the worst literary taste of the time, abounding in extravagance and euphuism. The author makes puns through page after page on the name Buonarroti, playing on *Buona rota*,—"Questa ruota ora mi passa ad ato, hora mi abbassa in terra." "Le ruote ferve della Buona ruota hanno schiato i termini dell' otio e d' ogni visio." and this not sufficing he rings the changes on *Il Buono arato* and *Il Buoni arato*.

The relative excellence of painting and of sculpture had long been a subject of dispute among the Florentine artists and critics. Michelangelo himself had taken part in it, and the position assigned to the statue of painting, on the right hand of the bier in the temporary monument in San Lorenzo, revived the old quarrel, so that it broke out in sudden fire. Although Tarsia had printed Benvenuto Cellini's discourse, he had printed also with other verses, at the end of his little volume, a sneering sonnet in reply to it by Lasca, the academic designation of the well-known writer of comedies and tales, Antonio Francesco Grazzini, asserting the pre-eminence of Painting. Benvenuto's hot

temper was ablaze, and he retorted in a series of animated sonnets abusive of il Lasca and Tarsia, setting forth the pre-eminence of sculpture. The following quatrain, ridiculing Tarsia's puns, is from the second of them:—

"Ma questa Lasca ha forma di figura  
Che gira intorno al Carro di Hoote,  
Dove quel di Tarsia sente le ruote  
Ruotar pel ciel senz' ordine o misura.

These sonnets may be found in the volume of Cellini's writings cited above, pp. 121-122, on p. 395, eight lines directed "contro al pedante di Tarsia."

9. **Legati, Domenico.** Poésie di diversi autori latini e volgari fatte nella morte di Michelagnolo Buonarroti. Firenze, Sermatelli. 1564.

"Libro rarissimo." I have not seen it. "La mattina seguente (the morning after the body of Michelangelo had been laid in Sta. Croce, before the funeral ceremonies) si cominciò per certi bell'i ingegni appocato in sulla sepoltura versi latini & volgari, & per molti giorni poi si seguì, & si seguì ancora." *Esequie*, p. 16. "Intanto che quelli componimenti, che allora furono stampati furono piccola parte, a rispetto de molti che furono fatti." Vasari, *Vita di Michelagnolo*.

10. **Giannotti, Donato.** De' Giorni che Dante consumò nel cercare l' Inferno e l' Purgatorio. Dialogi di Messer Donato Giannotti. In per la prima volta pubblicati. Firenze. 1859.

In 8vo, pp. ix., 66. Printed at the cost of the eminent Baldassarre Boncompagni, and edited by Filippo-Luigi Polidori, from a manuscript in the Vatican. The edition is said to have been only of 100 copies. A considerable part of the Dialogues is reprinted in the "Discorso" prefixed by Cesare Guasti to his edition of *Le Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1863.

Giannotti was one of the Florentine republicans of high character who, after the surrender of the city to the forces of Clement VII. in 1530, and the establishment of the Medicean despotism, found safety in flight and exile. At Rome, where he spent a considerable time, he was intimate with Michelangelo, who occasionally sent him his verses for amendment and polish. See Madrigali 79, and 85, in Guasti's edition of *Le Rime di M. B.* Michelangelo is the chief interlocutor in these interesting dialogues, which have the character of imaginary conversations with a large basis of fact. They are full of local color, and represent vividly the way of life and thought of Michelangelo. "Par di sentire la voce stessa di Michelangelo, che ragioni d' Amore, e d' Arte, di Religione e di Patria." (Guasti, *Discorso*, p. xxvi.) The Dialogues have a further interest as exhibiting Michelangelo's love for the Italian Comedy, and study of it; and as an intelligent discussion of some of the difficulties of the poem.

The year of the Dialogues was 1515.

11. **Raczynski, Les Arts en Portugal.** Lettres adressées à la Société Artistique et Scientifique de Berlin, et accompagnées de Documents. Par Le Comte A. [Athanas] Raczynski. Paris. 1846.

8vo, pp. 548. This book has a value not indicated by its title. It contains (pp. 5-54) the translation into French of a part of a manuscript treated of *De la Littérature Ancienne* by Francisco Holanda (or Frasco Holand), dated 1549, in which the author professes to report, under the name of "Dialogues," four conversations in which he had taken part at Rome, in the year 1530, in three of which the chief interlocutors had been Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna. The chief subject of these conversations is the nature and excellence of the art of painting, and the character of the works of some of the chief masters of the art in Italy. They contain much that would be of very great interest if it could be taken for granted that the conversations were correct reports of the sayings of the personages who are represented as taking part in them. But there is, unfortunately, reason to doubt whether this be the case. Francisco Holanda was a youth of twenty-one at the date assigned to these conversations. He was born in Portugal, the son of an artist, an illuminator. He showed talent for painting as a youth, and was sent in 1535 by the king, John III., to study his art in Italy. He remained there nine years, and it was in the first year of his stay that these conversations are said to have taken place. The steady intimacy of such a youth with Michelangelo, and with Vittoria Colonna, appears questionable; but it is not necessary to suppose his "dialogues" to be a pure invention. During his long stay in Rome he undoubtedly learned something, it may have been much, of the opinions and judgments of Michelangelo, and may have thrown his knowledge of them into the form of these Dialogues, mingling more or less of his own with the words ascribed to the great master.

Count Kaczynski states that the translation was made by a M. Roquemont, in 1841, from the manuscript then in the library of Jesus at Lisbon. Since then the original seems to have disappeared (see Grimm, *Leben Michelangelo's*, Baud., 2. App. note III.). This is the more to be regretted, because the translation is obviously incorrect, and cannot be relied upon as a trustworthy rendering of the original.

A single letter of Francisco Holanda to Michelangelo is preserved among the MSS. of the Casa Buonarroti at Florence.

The facts concerning the life and works of Francesco Holanda are collected by Count Kaczynski in his *Dictionnaire Historico-Artistique de Portugal pour faire suite à l'ouvrage ayant pour titre: Les Arts en Portugal*. Paris. 1847. 8vo.

The preceding list contains the titles of the books that are the chief sources of the biography of Michelangelo. But in regard to special incidents in his life there are other contemporary authorities, and he acquired fame so early that many incidental notices of him occur in the literature of his time. Thus in the

*Storia Fiorentina*, of his friend Benedetto Varchi, and written during his lifetime, there is mention of his being made "governor or procurator general of the forts and defences of Florence" in 1523 (Lib. viii. § 14); an account of the works undertaken by him while holding this office (Lib. x. § 41); of his flight from Florence in the same year (Lib. x. § 31); and of his return by Clement VII. in 1520, and of the works he thereupon undertook (Lib. xii. § 19); his reported advice concerning the palace of the Medici is narrated (Lib. vi. § 25); the sacrifice of San Lorenzo is referred to (Lib. xiv. § 74, and Lib. xv. § 34).

So in the *Storia della Città di Firenze*, of Jacopo Nardi (b. 1576, d. 1557), an account of the death of Michelangelo is spoken of (Lib. viii. § 34); and his flight and return mentioned (Lib. § 48).

Scipione Ammirato (b. 1531, d. 1601) in his *Storia Fiorentina* refers to the setting up of Michelangelo's statue of David in 1504, with a warm eulogy of the artist (Lib. xxviii., Anno 1504); to Michelangelo's employment on the fortifications (Lib. xxx., Anno 1520); and to the ceremony of his funeral (Lib. xxxv., Anno 1504).

In speaking of his character, Ammirato says: "Essendo il Buonarroti vissuto per lo spazio di novant'anni, non si trovò mai chi in tanta lunghezza di tempo, e licenza di peccare, gli potesse meritamente asportare macchia o bruttura alcuna di costumi." Coudry's testimony to the purity of Michelangelo's life confirms the truth of these words. In the dissolute society of Florence and of the Papal Court, such virtue in conspicuous personages was so rare as to impress the imaginations of men as a wonder, and a subject of record. The fact is a curious comment on the Italian Renaissance.

See, for a mention of Michelangelo, Giov. Batt. Adriani (b. 1513, d. 1579), *Storia de' suoi tempi, dall'anno 1530 all'anno 1574*. Lib. xviii.

More interesting notices of Michelangelo's concern with public affairs in Florence in 1529, his flight from the city, the ill-feeling of the nobility at seeing him in office, etc., etc., are to be found in *Lettere di Giambattista Busini a Benedetto Varchi sopra l'Assedio di Firenze*, of which the best edition is that edited by Gaetano Milanesi, and published by Le Monnier, Florence, 1861. Busini was one of the many republican exiles from Florence, a man of high character, and of much acquisition. He wrote these letters, which contain his recollections of the eventful period of the siege of Florence, from June in 1528-49. Here he sets up an old acquaintance with Michelangelo. In Letter X. he says, "Ho domandato Michelangelo quasi la ragione della sua partita. Dice così," etc. p. 104. Varchi made great use of these letters of his friend in writing his history.

In regard to Michelangelo's flight, see especially Gaye, *Corteggio inedito d'Artisti*, II. 214.

The celebrated de Thou (b. 1533, d. 1607), in his *Historia sui temporis*, under the year 1504 (Lib. xxiv.), records the death and funeral of Michelangelo, with words of admiration for him, "monstræ ætatis, atque adeo præ se ferens Græcos, Pæcures, Statuariae, & Architecturae præstantissimum Artificem."

Leaving the contemporary historians we find an early instance of reference to Michelangelo in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, written in 1524, published in 1528, in which he is three times referred to as among the most eminent artists. A more striking testimony to his reputation is that given by the well-known verse of Ariosto:—

"Michel, più che mortale, angel divino,"

in the *Orlando Furioso* (Canto xxxii. St. 2.) of which the first edition was published in 1516. Berni, in a *Capitolo*, addressed to Sebastian del Piombo, of uncertain date, but probably written as early as 1530, eulogizes Michelangelo in a style of excessive and somewhat cosmopolitan flattery, but manages to get one vigorous line there, comparing him with other artists, he says:

"Ei dice cose, e voi dite parole."

A *capitolo* in reply, nominally by Sebastian, possibly by Michelangelo himself, is usually printed in connection with Berni's verses. See *Le Rime di Michelangelo*, Firenze, 1803, pp. 287-293.

In many of the treatises of art published in Italy during the

sixteenth century, reference is made to Michelangelo; e. g., in Michelangelo's Biando's little book, entitled *Della nobilità della Pittura et della sua Arte, del modo, et della dottrina di conseguirla agevolmente et presto*. Venezia. 1540. sm. 4to; the eighteenth chapter 16.—"Di Michel Angelo Buonarroti fiorentino pittore, et del suo glorioso arteficio." See also a brief chapter exalts Michelangelo as the first of painters, and speaks of his Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel as being, in the judgment of many painters of Italy and from beyond the mountains, the most glorious picture the world has ever seen. A translation into German of this curious little treatise, by Herr Ifig, with excellent introduction and notes, forms No. 5 of the *Quellenforschungen für Kunstgeschichte*. Wien. 1873. Biando was born in Venice in 1497; he was a surgeon by profession, and a writer of many forgotten books.

Another voluminous writer, of more note, but of little worth, Ludovico Dolce of Venice (b. 1508, d. 1578), in his *Dialogo della Pittura, intitolato L'Aretno*, first printed at Venice in 1557, puts into Aretno's mouth the popular objections to the nudity of the figures in the Last Judgment; objections which Aretno had had the audacity to make in an impudent letter to Michelangelo himself. (See, for Aretno's correspondence with Michelangelo, on this and other matters, his *Lettere, libri VI.*, Parigi, 1609, Lib. i., p. 153; lib. ii. p. 11; lib. xii. p. 122; iv. p. 37. Bottari, in Vol. III. of his *Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura et Architettura*, Milano, 1822, repeats the same objections, equally offensive in their good or ill words. The toleration of so infamous a creature as Aretno by Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, and other respectable persons, is another most significant illustration of the moral sense of the time. Dolce makes Aretno compare the works of Raphael and Michelangelo to the disadvantage of the latter; in some of his criticisms are acute and just. In sculpture "è Michel Angelo unico, divino, e pari a' gli antichi," p. 273 (ed. 1735). The conclusion of the Dialogue is that, among painters, "questi tre ottengono il Principato; cioè Michel' Angelo, Raffaello, e Titiano." The chief value of the book lies in its notices of Titiano, of whom Dolce was a familiar.

In *I Trattati dell'Orfeicoria e della Scultura* of Iuvenuto Celini, first published in Florence in 1568, as well as in his other writings, there are numerous interesting references to Michelangelo, especially as to his work at Carrara and his methods in sculpture. (*Trattato della Scultura*, cap. vi.) his methods in drawing (*Sopra l'Arte del Disegno*, p. 217 in Milanesi's edition of *I Trattati*, etc., Firenze, 1857); his excellence in architecture, "questo è stato il maggiore architetto che fussi mai, so' o jerchè egli è stato il maggiore scultore et il maggiore pittore." (*Della Architettura*, p. 232.) In his Autobiography Celini speaks of Michelangelo's Cartoon of Pisa, judging it one of his best works,—"Sebbene il divino Michelagnolo fece la gran capella di papa Iulio da poi, non arrivò mai a questo pezzo alla metà; la sua virtù non aggualeva mai da posai allora di quei primi studi." § 11. His reports with disgust the sculptor Piero Torrigiani's story of breaking Michelangelo's nose, § xlii., and he tells of the Venetian sculptor Jacopo Sansovino's depreciation of Michelangelo. § lxxviii.

Use of Celini's sonnets is addressed to Michelangelo, and he refers to him with admiration in several of them.

But not only in treatises on art, or books by artists published during his lifetime, but in works on other topics and by other writers, may reference to Michelangelo be found. For instance, the Florentine tailor, academician, and excellent writer, Giovanni Battista Gelli (b. 1428, d. 1533), in his *Ragionamento sopra le difficoltà del mettere in regola la lingua che si parla in Firenze*, which accompanies the treatise by Pier Francesco Giambullari, entitled *De la lingua che si parla e si scrive in Firenze, con un Dialogo*, etc. Firenze, 1551, 8vo, reports the following memorable saying of Michelangelo, "Soleva dire Michelagnolo. Innonarotti que le sole figure esser buone, delle quali era cavata la fatca, cioè condotte con sì grande arte, che elle parevano cose naturali e non di artificio." p. 29.

The treatise by Carlo Lenzi, *In Difesa della Lingua Fiorentina e di Dante*, Firenze, 1555, sm. 4to, pp. 220, is dedicated by its editor, Pierfrancesco Giambullari, to Michelangelo. Lenzi died before the publication of his book; it was written in the name of Giambullari, and he also dying, it was finally published by Cosimo Bartoli. All of these men were eminent in the band of men of letters in Florence in the middle of the sixteenth century. Giambullari says that, in dedicating the treatise to Michelangelo, he is carrying out Lenzi's intention; he refers to Michelangelo with a well-known love for Dante and thorough acquaintance with his works, and proceeds to draw a parallel between him and Dante.

On p. 10 of the treatise is a comparison of Michelangelo and Rafael,—"Il suo e l'altro è maestro perfetto; et sono di così diversa maniera, come il Petrarca & Dante. Et così come il Petrarca imparò da Dante, & non lo superò se ben fece divinamente, così Rafael non ha superato M.chelangelo se bene parso fatte in Paradiso le sue pitture." See in Milanesi's edition of Michelangelo's Letters, Lett. CIII. XXIX., to Vasari, enclosing a letter that thanks to Michelangelo for his kind words. See in *Ragionamento Accademico di Cosimo Bartoli Gentiluomo et Accademico Fiorentino*, in Venezia, 1577, sm. 4to,

there are many references to Michelangelo: as an architect, and his use of the ancient orders, in which "non osservò le misure degli Antichi" p. 2; as a sculptor, "ha passato gli Antichi;" "è soprannaturale e divino," p. 10; "ha aperti gli occhi a questa età," p. 20 (also pp. 10, 16), "un mostro della natura nel Architettura, Pittura & Scultura" ed "in queste arti è solo & senza compagno," pp. 15, 16.

Andrea Camo, the Venetian playwright, and one of the most extravagant and affected writers of the Renaissance, published, in 1572, a volume of letters addressed to distinguished persons, under the title of *Cherubbini, ne quali si contengono variis de ingenio discorsi, & fantastiche fantasie Filosofiche*, the second book of which contains a foolish letter addressed "Alla eterna semenza de le gran matraue, M. Michiel Agnolo Buonaroti Fiorentin." It occupies four pages with one long sentence. Michelangelo is "pare, patrono, dominator e Imperador de la scultura"; he is "in suma sumarus leon poeta, minor architecto, perfetto deponor, e in superatio sculor," and much more of the same sort. It is worth notice only as an indication of Michelangelo's repute with his contemporaries.

In a rare little volume entitled *Peplus Italiae*, published at Paris in 1578 by Giann Matteo Toscano, of Milan (reprinted by Fabricius, in his *Conspectus Theatri Literarii Italiae*, 1730), celebrating the famous Italians of the last three centuries, each with a Latin epigram and a brief eulogy in prose, there is an epigram on Michelangelo, which has rather more than the usual spirit of such performances. It begins:

"Et dubium adhuc prisca præterere sæcula  
Hoc adeo laudator temporis acti  
Lvor erit, metus fraudans præsentia laude?  
Non sinit hoc Michael."

This list of contemporary notices of Michelangelo and of references to him might be extended; but enough have been given to show their character. The absence of any critical discrimination in the judgments of him as an artist is an illustration of a marked characteristic deficiency in the general culture of the period.

## II.

### The Poems and Letters of Michelangelo.

1. **Benedetto Varchi.** Due Lezzioni di M. Benedetto Varchi, nella prima delle quali si dichiara vn Sonetto di M. MICHELAGNOLO BUONARROTI. Nella seconda si disputa quale sia piu nobile arte la Scultura, o la Pittura, con vna lettera d' esso Michelagnolo, & piu altri Excellentiss. Pittori et Scultori, sopra la Quistione sopradetta. In Fiorenza. Appresso Lorenzo Torrentino. *Impressor Ducale.* MDXLIX.

Sm. 4to, pp. 155. Before the publication of this volume, none of the poems of Michelangelo seem to have been printed, but many of them had circulated in manuscript among his friends, and some of his madrigals were set to music by Arcadente, or Arcadelti, one of the most eminent musicians of the century, as well as by Costanzo Festa and others. [For notices of these and other famous musicians at Rome and Florence in the sixteenth century, see Cosimo Bartoli's *Ragionamenti Accademici*, Venice, 1575, pp. 35 seqq.] See in Milanesi's edition of *Le Lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Lett. CDXXVIII and CXXXIX. The repute of his poetry was great, as appears from other evidence besides the discourse of Varchi. This discourse was read at a public session of the Florentine Academy, on the second Sunday of Lent, 1546, Vittoria Colonna, to whom, it is believed, the sonnet was addressed, was alive at the time of the delivery, but died before the publication of the discourse. The sonnet which Varchi interprets and comments upon, is one of Michelangelo's best. It is that beginning

"Non ha f'otino artista alcun concetto"

In his discourse Varchi refers to many other of the poems of Michelangelo, citing at length several of his madrigals and three of his sonnets, besides the one which is the special theme of comment. The discourse is a formal scholastic performance, of little critical worth. Varchi bestows the most exalted eulogy on the poet, "dico Michelagnolo senza altro titolo, o sopra nome alcuno perche che non so trovare nessuno epiteto il quale non mi para, o che si contenga in quel nome solo, o che non sia di lui minore; il qual sonetto ho preso hoggi a dovere interpretare per la grandissima dotrina & incredibile utilità, che in esso si racchiude," etc.

This Lecture has been frequently reprinted, in various editions of Michelangelo's poems.

The second Discourse of Varchi treats of the order in emi-

nence of the arts, "qual sia la piu degna di tutte l'arti"; secondly, which is the nobler, painting, or sculpture; lastly, how far poets and painters are alike or unlike. The discussion of such questions is an indication of the decline of the artistic spirit and life in Florence; of the frigid, academic temper which succeeded the productive energy of the Renaissance. Varchi fails, moreover, to make the necessary distinctions. He gives the first place among the arts to medicine; the next to architecture. In regard to the comparative nobility of painting and sculpture, he says he has asked and received the written opinions of almost all the most excellent sculptors and painters in Florence, that he will give his own opinion, and will "remit the judgement to him who is perfect in both arts, namely Michelangelo." After stating the arguments on one side and the other, Varchi declares his opinion to be that "substantially sculpture and painting are a single art," since the end of both is the imitation of nature, and the beginning of both its design; consequently one is as noble as the other. The third question, which is much the same as that which Lessing discusses in his *Laocoon*, Varchi does not satisfactorily resolve, but he points out one main distinction: that the poets principally represent the internal conditions of the soul, while the painters have more to do with the external appearance of persons and things. His discourse is followed by the letters he had received in regard to his second question from Vasari, Ieronimo, Jacopo da Pontormo, Maestro Tassi (a sculptor of little note), Francesco Santo Gallo, T. Tiloio, and Benvenuto Cellini. The volume ends with a letter of Michelangelo, written after he had read the discourse, as the judge in the dispute, in which he says that he had been accustomed to regard sculpture as the lauders of painting, so that the difference between them was such as that between the sun and moon; but that Varchi's discourse had led him to change his opinion, and he now holds that, as they both have the same end, they are of equal honor, and he advises that peace be made between them, for the dispute takes more time than the making of figures. He excuses himself from entering at length upon the question, "perche non solo son vecchio, ma quasi nel numero dei morti."

It will be remembered that the puerile dispute broke out afresh at the time of the funeral obsequies of Michelangelo.

A summary of the controversy is to be found in Carlo Milanesi's preface to his edition of Cellini's *Trattati*, Firenze, 1857.

In a letter to Luca Martini, probably written in 1547 (Let. CDLXIII., in Milanesi's edition of Michelangelo's Letters, wrongly dated 1540), Michelangelo acknowledges the receipt of Varchi's Discourse on his Sonnet. "The sonnet is indeed mine; but the comment comes from heaven," and he bids Martini commend him duly to Varchi.

At the close of his *Life of Michelangelo*, Condivi says: "I hope in a short time to publish some of his sonnets and madrigals, which for a long time I have gathered from himself and from others." This hope was not fulfilled, and when Vasari published the second edition of his *Life of the great artist*, he inserted in it two sonnets, one of compliment to himself, the other sent him in 1554, — one of the most impressive sonnets of old age: —

"Giunto è già 'l corso della mia vita."

A few other of Michelangelo's poems may have got into print in the course of the century, but there was no published collection of them.

2. **Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroti.** Raccolte da Michelagnolo suo Nipote. In Firenze appresso i Giunti con licenza de' Superiori. M.DC.XXIII.

Sm. 4to. Six leaves unpagged, pp. 88. The editor of this first edition of Michelangelo's poems was the son of his nephew Leonardo, and was born four years after the death of his great-uncle. Named for him, and endowed with good natural gifts, he sedulously devoted himself to do honor to Michelangelo's memory, carefully gathering together his scattered writings, and such other works by him or memoria s of him as were still possessed in his family, or could be obtained from his friends. To the editing of Michelangelo's poems, he gave great pains. His address to the reader is as follows: —

"Since various rhymes of Michelangelo circulate in manuscript and in print, deficient in correctness, the reader is informed that the text of his compositions preserved in the Vatican library, which is in great part in the author's handwriting, having been compared with those of his compositions in the possession of his heirs or other persons in Florence, the best and most judicious readings have been chosen; there being many indetermined and not very clear, but, as it were, unsatisfactory rough drafts. Fragments cited by other writers, especially Varchi, from works not found complete have been omitted, with the desire that they may be published should they at any time be found perfect." This address is misleading, may, essentially disingenuous. Hardly a poem in the volume was printed as Michelangelo wrote it, the verses were refashioned by the editor to suit the enfeebled literary taste of the time. The rough vigor of the original was polished away, sentiments of dubious



orthodoxy were reduced to propriety, obscurities were cleared away, and when thus furnished the poems wore a very different aspect from that which their author had given them. They were Michelangelo's work skilfully conformed to the style of the seventeenth century. They were, moreover, by an arbitrary selection from the mass of originals, and printed without chronological or other natural order, and without notes or comment.

Thus transformed, the *Rime* were received by the public as the genuine productions of Michelangelo, and they have passed for such up to a very recent time. Some of Michelangelo's poems were cited in the first edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, 1612, and so set among the *testi di lingua*. In later editions of the Vocabulary, the text of the edition of 1623 was followed. For two hundred years the poems according to this text were read, translated and annotated apparently without a suspicion that they did not represent the true mind of Michelangelo. One critic, indeed, the eminent scholar Karl Witte, almost at the outset of his fruitless studies in Italian literature, in 1819, upon examination of the original manuscripts in Rome and Florence, discovered the real character of the printed *Rime*; and he gave information concerning it in two articles in the *Deutsche Blätter*, February, 1824, Nos. 26 and 27. These articles appear to have passed unnoticed.

In the preceding note it is said that "a few other of Michelangelo's poems [beside those printed by Varchi and Vasari] may have got into print in the course of the [seventeenth] century." Since that note was printed I have met with the following statement in Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia* [Fo. Brescia, 1753] Vol. II, Part. iv, p. 233. "Two of his sonnets are included in the *Riscolta di Rime di diversi*, published by Atanagi [Venice, 1765] Part II, p. 38. [Some of his verses are found among the *Rime spirituali di diversi*, etc., raccolte da Giambattista Vitali. Naples, 1774."

3. Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroti il vecchio con una Lezione di Benedetto Varchi e due di Mario Guiducci sopra di esse. In Firenze, Appresso Domenico Maria Manni. MDCCXXVI. Con Licenza de' Superiori.

8vo, pp. xxx, 171. This second edition is, so far as the text is concerned, a reprint of the first; but it contains a judicious preface by Manni, and, besides a reprint of Varchi's first *Lezione*, two *Lezioni* by Mario Guiducci, read in 1623 in the Florentine Academy on occasion of the publication of Michelangelo's poems. They are empty discourses in that style of sonorous verbiage which became characteristic of the decrepitude of Italian literature; but they have been praised and often reprinted. Their main object is the nature of *Love*, as created by Michelangelo. A considerable part of the second *Lezione* is taken up with an account of the magnet "in order to explain the loquacity and generosity of the love of Michelangelo Buonarroti, signified by his comparison of his lady to the magnet, of himself to the iron."

Manni, in his preface, refers to the fact that differences exist between the manuscript and printed texts of the poems; but, accepting the younger Buonarroti's statement that the Vatican manuscript had been collated with the other manuscripts and the best reading selected, he follows the text of the edition of 1623, without apparent suspicion of the remodeling which the poems had undergone.

4. Le Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, pittore, scultore, architetto fiorentino, e le Lettere del medesimo. Roma Desideri. 1808.

8vo. This title is given by Guasti in the *Catálogo dell'Edizioni* in his edition of Michelangelo's poems, Florence, 1863, but he states that he has been unable to find a copy of the volume.

5. Le Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, pittore, scultore, architetto e poeta fiorentino. Testo di Lingua italiana. 1817. [Roma.]

Sm. 4to, pp. 4 not numbered, xvi, 364, and 3 not numbered. The anonymous editor is named by Gamba, *Serie dei Testi di Lingua*, No. 250, to have been Alessandro Maggiori, but Witte was in Rome (about 1810) in Rome, that the editor was a Cavaliere Nicolini, teacher of astronomy at Bologna; see his article *Zu Michelagnolo Buonarroti's Gedichten*, in Boehmer, *Renascença de Estudos*, 1879, Heft I, p. 20. That the Cavaliere Giuseppe Cicolini (not C. Codini) was in fact the editor is confirmed by a note in his handwriting in a copy of the edition in my possession in which he styles himself, *unico possessore di questa Opera*, and in which he points out the fact that this edition is more complete than that of Baglioni, which appeared four years later. This volume is a reprint of Manni's edition of the poems; see *nota* 24, p. 200; with the addition of *Rime scritte da vari eccellenti autori a Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, among the writers of which are Varchi, Angelo di Costanzo, Marini, Zappi, and Chiabrera; nineteen letters of Michelangelo; and fifty pages of servizicæ and notes on the preliminary matter, on the

poems, and on the letters. To these succeed six sonnets and eighteen madrigals by Michelangelo, never before printed, and finally an index of the first verses of the poems.

The letters printed in this volume had all been published previously, some of them more than once; Vasari had first printed them addressed to himself in his life of Michelangelo, Varchi had printed one addressed to himself at the end of his *Due Lesioni*, and Bottari, besides reprinting those to Vasari and Varchi, had printed the rest in his *Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura*. Roma: 1754-73. 7 vols. 4to.

The poems previously unpublished were taken from the volume of Michelangelo's original manuscripts in the Vatican; but the editor does not explain why he selects these few from the mass of unpublished originals. He gives in his notes a large section from the manuscript of various readings, and the complete text of many of the previously printed poems. He remarks that the manuscript *assai diversifica* from the published text, but does not suggest a doubt of the genuineness of the latter. The importance of this first publication of some of the poems as originally written was not understood by the editor or discovered by the public.

6. Rime e Prose di Michelagnolo Buonarroti Pittore, Scultore, Architetto, e Poeta Fiorentino. Milano. Per Giovanni Silvestri. M.DCCC.XXI.

8vo, pp. xxxvi, 352. With portrait of Michelangelo, engraved by Gio. Boggi. This edition forms vol. CII of the *Biblioteca scelta di Opere Italiane antiche e moderne*. It is a reprint of the preceding edition, with the life of Michelangelo by Mazzuchelli, from his *Scrittori d'Italia* prefixed, and with an *Indice di tutto quello che si contiene in questo volume*, at the end.

7. Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroti il vecchio, col commento di G. Baglioni. Parigi, presso l'Editore in via Rameau No. 8. MDCCCXXI.

8vo. Half title, title-page, dedication to the Duchesse de Berry, occupy 8 pp. not numbered. From p. 1 to xli a discourse of the editor on Michelagnolo Buonarroti, Poeta. Avviso, p. xliii. Abbreviazioni, p. xlv. Rime, pp. 1-151, each poem preceded by a brief argument. Comento Storico e Letterario pp. 151-202. Lezione di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, nell'Accademia della Crusca detto l'Impastato, sopra il Sonetto del Petrarca che comincia *A mio che nel pensiero mio vive e regna*, pp. 202-217. Lezione del Varchi, pp. 218-234. Indice, pp. 235-302. Liste des souscripteurs, pp. 302-402.

The text and order of the poems follow the edition of 1623. The poems in the edition of 1817 taken from the Vatican manuscript are not given.

Baglioni's essay on Michelangelo as poet is high-flown and of no critical value. It is amusing to read, "uomo transumanato, anzi indiato, come fu Dante, il Petrarca, e il Buonarroti, egli è pur tuttavia uomo." Foscolo condemns Baglioni's comment as "too minute and pedantic," but Michelangelo's verse is so obscure that the minuteness may be pardoned, and Baglioni's frequent illustrations from Dante, showing how Michelangelo's diction was affected by him, makes the pedantry endurable.

The *Lezione* on the Sonnet of Petrarca, — a discourse which Baglioni, attributing it to the great Michelangelo, speaks of as "tesoro inestimabile, degnoissimo che si scriveva in lettere d'oro" p. xxxi, — was, in reality, the production of Michelangelo the younger, and is a thoroughly academic performance, with few and feeble thoughts to a multitude of words. If internal evidence were for nothing, the fact that this discourse was read before the Accademici della Crusca ought to have saved Baglioni from this error, for the della Crusca was not founded till 1582, eighteen years after Michelangelo's death. The *Lezione* was originally published in *Prose Fiorentine*. 1710-1745. Part II, Vol. III, p. 37, 8qq.

Baglioni, however, having tumbled into this pitfall, has been followed by a flock of other writers: e. g., by Varcollier (M. A.), *Poésies de Michel-Ange Buonarroti traduites*. Paris, 1826, 8vo, p. ii.

Quatremaire de Quincy *Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Michel-Ange Buonarroti*. Paris, 1835, 8vo. p. 135. Taylor (John Edward) *Michael Angelo considered as philosopher poet. With translations*. London, 1840, 2d ed. 1852, 8vo, pp. 3, 68 n.

Harford (J. S.), *The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti*. Two vols. 8vo. London, 1847, Vol. II, p. 123.

Larreau-Rolland (A.), *Michel-Ange poète. Première traduction complète de ses poésies*, etc. Paris 1850, 8vo.

Breton (E.), Article on Michel-Ange in the *Biographie Générale*. Paris, 1861.

Clemen (Charles), *Michel-Ange, Lionard de Vinci, Raphaël*. Paris, 1861, 120.

Black (Charles Christopher), *Michael Angelo Buonarroti, . . . History of his Life and Labours*. London, 1875, 8vo, p. 177.

Other writers whose works are of less consequence have fallen into the same error.

8. *Rime e Lettere di Michelagnolo Buonarroti precedute dalla Vita dell'Autore scritta da Ascanio Condivi.* Firenze, Barbèra, Bianchi e comp. 1858. Corrected re-issuc, 1860.

320. pp. xvii. 460. Portrait engraved by Ferd. Miniati. Edited by G. E. Salvini. A reprint from the preceding editions. Besides the *Life* by Condivi, the title volume contains the Supplement to the *Life* by Ticiati, and the description of the funeral obsequies by Vasari. To the poems are supplied arguments based on those of Biagioli.

9. *Le Rime di Michelangelo Buonarroti Pittore, Scultore e Architetto cavate dagli Autografi e pubblicate da Cesare Guasti Accademico della Crusca.* In Firenze, Per Felice Le Monnier. M.DCCC.LXIII.

460. pp. xxxvi 368. With two fac-similes of manuscript. The contents of this superb edition are as follows: Half-title; Title; Discourse concerning Michelangelo as Poet, and of this edition of his Verses, pp. v-xix; Description of the codices that have been made use of for the present edition, etc., pp. li-lxvi; Some codices that have not been made use of for the present edition, pp. lix-lxxi; Catalogue of the editions of the Verses of Michelangelo, pp. lxxii-lxxx; Translations, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiv; *Lezione* of Benedetto Varchi, pp. lxxxv-cxvii; *Lezione prima e seconda* of Mario Guiducci, pp. cxviii-cxxxv.

Epigrams and Epitaphs [I-LIII], pp. 1-21.

Madrigals [I-XCVIII], pp. 21-141.

Imperfect Madrigals [XCVIII-CII], pp. 145-149.

Sonnets [I-LXXVII], pp. 151-245.

Imperfect Sonnets [LXXVII-CVII], pp. 247-275.

Fragments apparently of other Sonnets [I-23], pp. 276-281.

Fragments of lost Madrigals and Sonnets from the *Lezione* of Varchi [23-27], pp. 282-285.

Canzoni, including imperfect [I-VI], pp. 285-313.

Stanzas " " [I-IV], pp. 315-319.

Canzoni " " [I-IV], pp. 341-350.

Indexes of poems, pp. 351-353.

Index of the volume, p. 365.

Corrections and additions, p. 367 (no page number).

In this edition the poetry of Michelangelo appears for the first time as it was written. In 1858 the Counsellor of State Costino Buonarroti—the last of the name—died, bequeathing to the city of Florence the family house and the rich collection made by his ancestors of the works and manuscripts of Michelangelo. A commission was given by the conservators of this legacy to Signor Guasti, the second Director of the Archives of State, to prepare an edition of the poems to be printed from the manuscript originals wherever they were to be found. The manuscripts afforded not merely a large number of poems that had never been printed, but also the original versions of those reworked by the younger Michelangelo. They presented also several different versions of many poems, as well as a great quantity of various readings of most of them, for Michelangelo not only used his pen like a sculptor, chiselling his verses stroke by stroke; but he was wont to shape and re-shape even a trifling thought in various forms, so that the different readings of some of his poems are more numerous than the lines. Signor Guasti has, when it seemed desirable, given several versions of the same poem; for the rest he has given the various readings, and he has also printed beneath the original text the version of the younger Michelangelo whenever it existed. He has further illustrated each of the poems with an excellent prose interpretation, and with such biographical and critical notices as seemed to be required. The whole apparatus of his edition is thorough and sufficient.

The new poems, and the original forms of those hitherto known as corrupt versions, not only give opportunity for a correct estimate of Michelangelo as a poet, but throw much light upon traits of personal character and experience. Some of them afford important biographical material in regard to the social relations of the poet, and the whole collection is of the highest interest for its illustration of his inner life.

It is remarkable that of Michelangelo's poetic compositions previous to the time of his fixing his residence in Rome, in 1514, when he was near sixty years old, very few have been preserved, and of these the date is doubtful. Yet Condivi, who probably had his information directly from Michelangelo, speaking of his life about the year 1509, says, "For some time he did almost nothing in his art, occupying himself in reading the poets, and the prose writers in the vulgar tongue (*oratori volgari*) and in composing sonnets for his pleasure." *Vita*, § xxiii. cl. § lxiv.

The preservation of a great part of his verses as we now have them is due to the friendship of Luigi da Riccio, a Florentine, a man of culture and of means, who held a responsible position in the banking house of the exiled Strozzi at Rome. Many of Michelangelo's verses were written at his solicitation, and in

return for favors done by him, or attentions shown by him to the poet. The notes sent to him with verses by Michelangelo have been printed by Guasti, and exhibit a curious intermingling of delicacies and verses,—trouts and truffles, wild pigeons and fish, wine and melons, against epigrams, madrigals, and sonnets. Riccio preserved with care every scrap of the master's writing. Finally, some difference arose between them,—see *Sonnets 7*, beginning, *Mi dolce è un melone*, and *Sonnets 10*, beginning, *Milanesi*.) *Le Lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 1876. This letter was written in 1547, and their intimacy seems to have ceased at this time. Riccio's collection of Michelangelo's manuscript compositions came into the possession of the poet's heirs; and, having been carefully preserved, was one of the chief sources of the present edition.

The other chief source was the volume of the poet's manuscripts in the Vatican, of which a copy exists at Florence. This contains, beside poems, the rough drafts of some letters, and some receipts for remedies for weakness of the eyes, in Michelangelo's handwriting. Many of the poems themselves, in this as well as in Riccio's collection, have the character of rough drafts, exhibiting not merely multitudes of corrections and various readings, but written out in varying text, three, four, five, or more, in one case even nine times. The Vatican manuscript contains copies of some of the poems included in the Riccio manuscript collection; but its most important contents are mainly poems of deep religious sentiment, including those addressed to Vittoria Colonna, none of which are in the Riccio codex. Most of them belong to Michelangelo's later years. The Vatican manuscript belonged to the learned and assiduous collector and antiquary Fulvius Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini), and was probably obtained by him soon after Michelangelo's death. Orsini died in 1600, and left his valuable library to the Vatican.

In regard to him see Turaboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Roma, 1784, Tom. 211, Part. 2, p. 210. The copy of this manuscript in the Buonarroti collection, in the handwriting of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger, although generally correct, exhibits some omissions and errors. It is to be regretted that Signor Guasti, depending too confidently upon its accuracy, failed to collate so thoroughly with the original, so that, in some instances of no very great importance, his text requires correction.

Other manuscript sources are of inferior importance, and in regard to all of them see the description in the present edition.

The difficulties of editing such a mass of manuscript material as that with which Signor Guasti had to deal were great. They have been discussed, with conclusions in general favorable to his work, by Karl Witte, in an important and interesting paper, *Zu Michelagnolo Buonarroti's Gedichten in Romanische Studien herausgegeben von Eduard Boehmer*. Halle's Z. 1871, Heft 1, pp. 1-60.

During the present century many translations, or attempts at translation, of Michelangelo's poems have been made; all, till the publication of the original in 1861, from the spurious text of 1632. In English the more important of these translations are the following: In 1807 Wordsworth published versions of three of the sonnets, and later two more; the versions are excellent, and are to be found in their place in his works. In a letter he says: "Michael Angelo's poetry is the most difficult to construe I ever met with, but just what you would expect from such a man, showing abundantly how conversant his soul was with great things. . . . So much meaning has been put by Michael Angelo into so little room, and that meaning sometimes so excellent in itself, that I found the difficulty of translating him insurmountable. I attempted, at least, fifteen of the sonnets, but could not anywhere succeed. I have sent you the only one I was able to finish; it is far from being the best, or most characteristic, but the others were too much for me." Others who have attempted the work of translating this poet have met with difficulty. A few of the poems were translated by S. Wesley, met by John Edward Taylor in his *Michael Angelo considered as a philosophic poet With Translations*. London, 1840. His versions are unrhymed, and generally correct. The treatise is intended to exhibit the Platonic character of the poetry of Michelangelo's art and, in his *Life of Michael Angelo*. London, 1857, vol. ii. ch. 7, gives a number of translations of little merit. A complete translation of the poems in English is still wanting, but the most important are now to be found in *The Sonnets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti and Tommaso Campanella's Sonnets for the same time, translated into Rhymed English*. By John Addington Symonds. London, 1878. Mr. Symonds's versions are the work of an accomplished student; they are fluent, elegant, and generally faithful. But the difficulty of rendering the true text, which Mr. Symonds has followed, is even greater than that which Wordsworth experienced in dealing with the *rafacimento*. The condensed and rugged style of the original, the frequent obscurity of expression, and even of thought, the uncertainty of the poet himself as to the form to be given to his work, present most serious obstacles to translation. The *German and other versions*, by J. Platen, 1878. Mr. Ongheloff has given translations of seven sonnets and a canzone from the text as revised by Michelangelo the younger. They are exquisitely felicitous and complete renderings.

## II. — 2.

10. Le Lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti pubblicate coi Ricordi ed i Contratti Artistici per cura di Gaetano Milanesi. In Firenze, coi tipi dei Successori Le Monnier. M.DCCC.LXXV.

On page facing title, *Fedilione* ordinata dal Comitato Fiorentino per le Feste del IV Centenario dalla nascita di Michelangelo.

410, pp. ix 720, two without page number.

The contents of this volume, which corresponds in size and style with Guasti's edition of *Le Rime di Michelangelo*, 1867 (No. 9), are:—

Preface of the editor, pp. v.-ix.

Letters of Michelangelo to his Family:—

To his father Ludovico, from 1497 to 1523, Letters 1 to 45, pp. 3 to 47.

To his brother Buonarrotto, from 1497 to 1527, Letters 46 to 123, pp. 53 to 145.

To his brother Giovan Simone, from 1507 to 1547, Letters 124 to 133, pp. 147 to 157.

To his brother Gismondo, from 1540 to 1542, Letters 134, 135, pp. 159, 160.

To his nephew Lionardo, from 1540 to 1563, Letters 136 to 341, pp. 161 to 372.

Letters to various persons:—

from 1496 to 1561. Letters 342 to 495, pp. 375 to 570.

Memoranda from note-books, and loose leaves (Ricordi):—

from 1505 to 1563, pp. 563 to 609.

Artistic contracts (and other documents), 1 to 66, from

1498 to 1548, pp. 613 to 720.

Index.

Date of publication of volume.

The Index is very meagre, not containing the names of the various persons outside his family to whom the letters of Michelangelo are addressed, or the subjects of the artistic contracts and other documents which form the last division of the book. The following lists may consequently be of service to students who have occasion to use the volume.

*Chronological List of Letters of Michelangelo addressed to his Family.*

1497.	To his father	2
"	brother Buonarrotto	2
1506.	"	1
1507.	"	75
"	brother Giovan Simone	2
"	father	2
1508.	"	1
"	brother Buonarrotto	6
"	brother Giovan Simone	1
1509.	"	2
"	brother Buonarrotto	2
1510.	"	7
"	brother Buonarrotto	2
1511.	"	3
"	brother Buonarrotto	13
1512.	"	3
1513.	"	19
1515.	"	1
1516.	"	2
1517.	"	1
1518.	"	8
1519.	"	3
1520.	"	2
1521.	"	2
1522.	"	2
1523.	"	2
1524.	"	2
1525.	"	2
1526.	"	1
1527.	"	1
1528.	"	1
1529.	"	1
1530.	"	1
1531.	"	1
1532.	"	1
1533.	"	1
1534.	"	1
1535.	"	1
1536.	"	1
1537.	"	1
1538.	"	1
1539.	"	1
1540.	"	1
1541.	"	1
1542.	"	1
1543.	"	1
1544.	"	1
1545.	"	1
1546.	"	1
1547.	"	1
1548.	"	1
1549.	"	1
1550.	"	1
1551.	"	1
1552.	"	1
1553.	"	1
1554.	"	1

1555.	To his nephew Lionardo	13
1556.	"	16
1557.	"	8
1558.	"	5
1559.	"	3
1560.	"	9
1561.	"	2
1562.	"	5
1563.	"	4
1564.	"	—

341

*Chronological List of Letters of Michelangelo addressed to persons not members of his Family.*

1497.	Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici.
1506.	Giuliano da Sangallo.
1508.	Frate Jacopo.
1512.	Badassare di Cagnone.
1517.	Domenico Buoninsegni, 1.
1518.	Pietro Vettori, 1.
	Domenico Buoninsegni.
	Tomato Benti, 1.
	Niccolò Quaratesi.
	Il Castellano di Londra.
	Cardinale Giulio de' Medici, 2.
	Piero da Pittagora.
	Lionardo di Cosmango.
	Francesco Peri.
1519.	Domenico Buoninsegni, 2.
	Pietro Vettori, 4.
	o
	Girolamo del Bardella.
	Meo delle Corte, 2.
	Pietro di Michelagnolo.
1520.	Capitano Bernardino Doyai.
	Sebastiano del Piombo.
1521.	Giusto di Mattia.
1522.	Gherardo Perini.
	Giovan Francesco Fattucci.
1523.	Bartolomeo Angelini.
	Luzian, Francesco Fattucci.
	Domenico Fanzulli.
1524.	Papa Clemente VII.
	Giovanni Sina, 6.
	Giovan Francesco Fattucci, 6.
	Luca Gualini.
1525.	Giovanni Sina.
	Giovan Francesco Fattucci, 4.
	Sebastiano del Piombo, 2.
1526.	Giovan Francesco Fattucci, 2.
	Giovanni Sina.
1529.	Marcantonio del Cardolano.
	Barista della Pala.
1531.	Sebastiano del Piombo, 2.
1532.	Sebastiano del Piombo.
	Andrea Quaratesi.
1533.	Tommaso de' Cavalieri, 2.
	Francesco (Ghiuzza).
	Sebastiano del Piombo.
	Bartolomeo Angiolini.
	Giovambattista Pignovanni.
	Pietro (di Poggio).
1537.	Pietro Armano.
1542.	Niccolò Martelli.
	Luigi del Riccio, 11.
	Papa Paolo III.
	Manigione.
	Monsignor — datario.
1543.	Luigi del Riccio.
1544.	Il Castellano di Sant' Angelo.
	Papa Paolo III.
1545.	Luigi del Riccio, 12.
	Salvestro di Montasento, 2.
	Vittoria Colonna, 2.
	Luigi del Riccio, 2.
	Francesco I., Re di Francia.
1549.	Benvenuto Ulivieri.
	Benedetto Varchi.
	Luca Martini.
	Giovan Francesco Fattucci, 1.
	Giovan Francesco Fattucci.
1550.	Giovan Vasari, 1.
1552.	Bravencio Ghilli.
1554.	Giorgio Vasari, 2.
1555.	Bartolomeo Ammanati.
	Giorgio Vasari, 2.
1556.	Giorgio Vasari, 1.
1557.	Lucrezia, vedova dell' Urbino.
	Cosimo de' Medici, duca di Firenze.
	Giorgio Vasari, 1.
1558.	Giorgio Vasari.
1559.	Bartolomeo Ammanati.
	Duca Cosimo de' Medici, 2.
1560.	Duca Cosimo de' Medici, 2.

1506. Cardinale Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, 2.  
I Sopraintanti della Fabbrica di San Pietro.  
Pier Filippo Vandinì.  
1501. I Deputati della Fabbrica di San Pietro.

*Alphabetical List of persons not members of his family to whom letters of Michelangelo are addressed.*

[The numbers are those of the letters as they stand in the volume; the dates, printed in antique, belong in each case to all the letters which immediately precede them.]

- Ammanati, Bartolomeo, 424, 1555; 486, 1559.  
Angelini or Angiolini, Bartolomeo, 378, 1523; 418, 1533.

- Anonimo, Monsignore —, 435, 1542.  
Monsignor Datarò, 435, 1542.

- Aretino, Pietro, 421, 1537.

- Bardella, Girolamo del, 367, 1519.

- Benti, Donato, 352, 361, 362, 1518.

- Buoninsegni Domenico, 346, 347, 348, 1517; 350, 1518; 363, 371, 1519.

- Cagione, Baldassare di, 345, 1512.

- Carpi, Cardinale Rodolfo Pio da, 400, 403, 1500.

- Cavaleri, Tommaso de', 411, 412, 413, 416, 417, 1533.

- Cellini, Benvenuto, 471, 1552.

- Clemente VII., Papa, 381, 1524.

- Colonna, Vittoria, 454, 455, 1545.

- Compagno, Lionardo di, 350, 1518.

- Cornelia, vedova di Urbino, 480, 1557.

- Corte, Meo delle, 360, 370, 1519.

- Cortona, Il Capitano di, 354, 1518.

- Dovizi da Bibbiena, Bernardo, Cardinale, 373, 1519.

- Fancelli, Domenico, 380, 1523.

- Fattucci, Giovan Francesco, 377, 1522; 379, 1523; 383, 384, 385, 386, 393, 1524; 395, 398, 399, 400, 401, 1525; 402, 403, 1526; 404, 405, 406, 1540; 407, 1550.

- Felso (di Poggio?) 420, 1533.

- Figiiovanni, Giovanbattista, 419, 1533.

- Filicaja, Berto da, 366, 1518.

- Francesco I., Re di Francia, 409, 1546.

- Galozzi, Francesco, 414, 1535.

- Giusto di Matteo, 378, 1521.

- Gondi, Piero, 387, 1524.

- Jacopo, Frate, 344, 1508.

- Marcantonio del Litolini, 405, 1520.

- Martelli, Niccolò, 422, 1528.

- Martini, Luca, 461, 1549.

- Medici, Cosimo de', Duca di Firenze, 481, 1557; 487, 1559; 488, 489, 1560.

- Medici, Giulio de', Cardinale, 355, 358, 1518. (V. Clemente VII.)

- Medici, Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de', 342, 1490.

- Monteauto, Salvestro da, 441, 445, 452, 1545.

- Palla, Battista della, 406, 1520.

- Paolo III., Papa, 433, 1542; 441, 1544.

- Peri, Francesco, 360, 1518.

- Perini, Gherardo, 376, 1522.

- Pietro di Michelagnolo, 372, 1519.

- Piombo, Sebastiano del, 374; 1520; 376, 397, 1525; 407, 408, 1531; 409, 1532; 415, 1533.

- Quaratesi, Andrea, 410, 1532.

- " " Niccolò, 353, 1518.

- Riccio, Luigi del, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 434, 436, 437, 1542; 430, 1543; 447, 448, 449, 445, 448, 449, 450, 451, 453, 456, 457, 1545; 458; 460, 1546.

- Savaglio, Giuliano da, 342, 1506.

- Sant' Angelo, Il Castellano di, 440, 1544.

- San Pietro, I Deputati della Fabbrica di, 404, 1501.

- San Pietro, I Sopraintanti della Fabbrica di, 401, 1500.

- Spina, Giovanni, 384, 405, 388, 390, 391, 392, 1524; 394, 1525; 404, 1526.

- Urbino, Benvenuto, 461, 1549.

- Urbano, Pietro, 349, 351, 357, 1518; 364, 365, 366, 368, 1519.

- Vandinì, Pier Filippo, 402, 1500.

- Varchi, Benedetto, 460, 1549.

- Vasari, Giorgio, 408, 409, 470, 1550; 472, 473, 1554; 475, 476, 1555; 477, 478, 479, 1556; 484, 483, 484, 1557; 485, 1558.

*Abridged Chronological List of the Artistic Contracts of Michelangelo, and other Documents relating to him.*

[The Roman numerals are those of the contracts and documents in their order in the volume of *Le Lettere*, &c.]

1498. L. Contract with the Cardinal of St. Denis, for the marble group of the *Pietà* in Rome.

1501. II., 1504, III., VII. Contract for and agreements relating to Statues for the Piccolomini Chapel in the Duomo of Siena.

1501. IV. Commission of the Consuls of the Art of Wool and the Board of Works of the Duomo for a marble figure of David.

1502. V. Commission of the Signory of Florence for a figure of David in bronze, as a gift to the Marchese di Cid.

1503. VI. Commission for Statues of the Twelve Apostles for the Duomo of Florence.

1505. VIII., IX., 1511. X.; 1516. XVIII., XIX.; 1517. XX. to XXXII.; 1518. XXXIV. to XLIII.; 1519. XLIV., XLV., XLVI.; 1500. XLVII.; 1521. XLVIII.; XLIX.; 1522. L.; 1523. LI.; 1533. LVII. Contracts with quarry-men, and marble cutters at Carrara, Pietra Santa, Serravezza and Settignano, for the quarrying, finishing, and transport of blocks of marble for the making of columns, &c., intended for various buildings. — Receipts for payment, &c.

1513. XI., XII., XIII.; 1516. XVI., XVII.; 1525. LI.; 1532. LV., LVI.; 1542. LIX. to LXIV.; 1543. LXV.; 1548. LXVI. Contracts and other papers relating to the Tomb of Pope Julius II.

1514. XIV. Contract for the Statue of Christ in the church of *la Minerva* at Rome.

1515. XV. Vote of the men of the Commune of Serravezza giving to Florence two mountains for marble quarries.

1518. XXIII. Contract with Pope Leo X. for the construction of the façade of San Lorenzo at Florence.

1528. LIII. Commission from the Signore of Florence for a group in marble of Hercules and Cacus.

1529. LIV. Vote of the Ten electing Michelagnolo governor-general of the fortifications of Florence.

1535. LVIII. Brief of Pope Paul III. appointing Michelagnolo supreme architect, sculptor and painter of the Vatican.

Before the publication of this volume, a comparatively small number of Michelangelo's letters had been printed. Varchi (see *ante*, p. 166) had printed one in 1549 (reprinted at Venice 1564); Vasari (see *ante*, p. 123), in the second edition of his "Lives," had printed several addressed to himself; a letter to Aretino (which one could wish had never been written) was printed in *Nuova Scelta di Lettere di diversi nobilitissimi ingegni, fatta da Messer Bernardino Pinì*, Venezia, 1574; a fragment of a letter to himself was inserted by Benvenuto Cellini in his Autobiography, which was first printed in 1730. But it was not till Bazzani published his well-known *Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura*, Roma, 1754-1773, that any considerable number of Michelangelo's letters appeared. In this collection, there were twenty of his letters, including those previously printed. During the present century, several letters before unprinted appeared in various publications, — the most important of which was one relating to the tomb of Julius II., addressed to an anonymous Monsignore, published by Ciampi, Firenze, 1834; and several printed by Gaye in his *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti*, Firenze, 1800. But all these separate publications made but a scanty addition to the stock, until Hermann Grimm, in the second edition of his *Leben Michelangelo's*, Berlin, 1862, published, in whole or in part, about forty letters of Michelangelo to various members of his family, selected from the autograph manuscripts which some time before had been sold to the British Museum by one of the Buonarroti. Other letters from the British Museum and the archives of the Buonarroti family were published by Eugène Piot in *Le Cabinet de l'Amateur*, Paris, 1863. These selections added much to the knowledge of Michelangelo's life, and it made evident the importance of the publication of all his letters existing in manuscript. This was undertaken by the Florentine committee having in charge the celebration of the fourth century of Michelangelo, and the editing of them was intrusted to Gaetano Milanesi.

The collection, as published by him includes all the letters previously published, as well as all those unpublished existing in the Buonarroti archives at Florence and in the British Museum, together with a few in private hands, — altogether numbering four hundred and ninety-five.

The collection is of the highest interest, as affording for the first time the means of forming an adequate judgment of Michelangelo's character, as well as giving much information, previously wanting, in regard to many of the most important events of his life. It is only since this publication of his letters that it has been possible to write a proper biography of him. It will however be observed, on reference to the preceding chronological lists that but five letters remain written before Michelangelo's thirtieth year, that of many subsequent years there are very few; and that of the important years from 1524 to 1533 inclusive, from his 50th to his 65th year, but five letters to any member of his family exist, and that there are none written to other persons in 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1534, 1535, 1536, and 1538 to 1541. Many of the so-called letters in other years are very brief, and of little importance. Large gaps in our knowledge of the intimate life of Michelangelo remain, and probably will always remain unfilled. Still it is perhaps true, that the record of his life in written and of his time is more full and complete than that of any other man.

Although the number of the printed Letters by the list is 495, the real number is considerably less, for of many letters more than one draft is printed and each draft is separately numbered. Thus, in 1533, it would appear from the list that five letters were addressed to Tommaso de' Cavalieri; in fact there were but two, of which one appears in three drafts, and the other in two. These letters to Cavalieri now printed for the first time, taken in connection with Sonnetti 30 and 31, and with the letter of the same year to Sebastiano del Piombo, and the fragment addressed to Bartolommeo Angelini, offer a personal enigma for which no satisfactory solution is apparent.

This shaping and reshaping, this chiselling and hammering of trivial compositions, is an illustration rather of the cold rhetorical element in Michelangelo's genius than of a controlling desire for artistic perfection.

The editing of this volume is perfunctory and unsatisfactory. The deficiency of indices has already been noticed. There is also a lack of notes to explain the circumstances under which letters were written, to give account of the persons to whom they were addressed, etc.

The *Ricordi* which follow the Letters are drawn from manuscripts in the Buonarroti archives, and the British Museum. They are memoranda of receipts and expenses, of engagements and contracts, of hiring of servants, of salaries, and other such matters running irregularly through many years from 1505 to 1563. The *ricordi* relating to payments and expenses for his works—the Sistine chapel, the tomb of Pope Julius, the various buildings for the Medici—are of importance in determining dates and settling other facts. The *ricordi* concerning household affairs illustrate vividly the private life and personal circumstances of Michelangelo.

To complete so far as is possible our knowledge of Michelangelo's life, the letters addressed to him, of which a large number exist in the Buonarroti Archives, must be printed. In the Academy, London, April 20, 1878, is a communication from Mr. C. Heath Wilson containing an Index to these Letters and other documents. According to his statement there are 667 letters mostly unpublished, and it is plain, from the names of the writers, that many of them must be of great interest; for instance, there are five letters of Vittoria Colonna, twenty-one of Cornelia, the widow of Michelangelo's faithful attendant Urbino, forty-one of Sebastiano del Piombo, five of Jacopo Sansovino, etc. Good use has been made of these letters by Gotti in his *Vita di Michelangelo*, see below. Several have appeared in facsimile in Carlo Pini's work, *La Scrittura di Artisti Italiani*, Firenze, 1872, and following years.

### III.

#### *Recent Biographies of Michelangelo.*

The publication of the complete edition of Michelangelo's Poems in 1861, and of his Letters in 1875, has greatly diminished the value of all the Lives of him compiled previously, by supplying a large amount of authentic information inaccessible to their authors. Those among them which, owing to their containing critical remarks of worth, or to their illustrations, deserve attention, are—

1. **Duppa, Richard.** *The Life of Michel Angelo Buonarroti, with his Poetry and Letters, and outlines of Sculpture, Paintings, and Designs.* London. 1806, 4to. 1807, 8vo.

Reprinted in Bohn's Illustrated Library.

A respectable compilation. The illustrations are not well drawn, but show the main lines of the compositions.

2. **Beyle, Henry (Stendhal).** *Histoire de la Peinture en Italie.* Paris. 1817.

8vo. Frequently reprinted.

Book vii., of more than a hundred pages, is devoted to a desultory Life of Michelangelo, full of brilliant, and sometimes profound remarks, and of acute criticism.

3. **Quatremère de Quincy.** *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Michel-Ange Buonarroti.* Paris. 1835. 8vo.

4. **Harford, John S.** *The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti; with translations of many of his Poems and Letters. Also Memoirs of Savonarola, Raphael, and Vittoria Colonna.* London. 1857. 2 vols.

8vo. A well-intentioned, but ill-written book, with numerous interesting illustrations.

5. **Grimm, Hermann.** *Leben Michelangelo's.* Hannover. 1860. 2 vols. 8vo. 4th edition, 1873. Translated into English by Fanny Elizabeth Bunnett. London. 1865. Reprinted, Boston, 1865.

A laborious work, in which the life of Michelangelo is treated in connection with the history of his times. It is written in a heavy style, and lacks sufficient references to the authorities from which it is drawn. The English translation is not free from errors.

6. **Clément, Charles.** *Michel-Ange, Léonard da Vinci, Raphaël, avec une étude sur l'art en Italie avant le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, et des Catalogues raisonnés historiques et bibliographiques.* Paris. 1861. 2<sup>e</sup> édition 1867.

12mo. A convenient and generally trustworthy compilation from well-known sources.

7. **Black, Charles Christopher.** *Michael Angelo Buonarroti, Sculptor, Painter, Architect. The Story of his Life and Labours.* London. 1875.

8vo. A good record of the usually accepted facts of the artist's life as hitherto known, with judicious comments on his chief works; illustrated by nineteen valuable autotype illustrations, several of them of great interest from original drawings.

Other biographies and biographical sketches, besides those to be found in Biographical Dictionaries, general histories of the Arts, etc. are—

Milizia, Francesco, in his *Vite dei più celebri architetti d'ogni tempo, precedute da un saggio sopra l'architettura.* Roma, 1768, 4to, and later editions; a depreciatory study, not without acute and critical remarks; compare a so list dell'arte di vedere nelle Belle Arti del disegno. Venezia. 1792.

Hauchecorne, l'Abbé. *Vie de Michel Ange Buonarroti,* Paris, 1783, 12mo, said to be a work of no value.

Ker, Henry Belenden. *The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti.* London. 1824. 4to.

Roscoe, J. *Life of Michel Angelo Buonarroti, in Lives of Eminent Persons, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.* London. 1833.

Dumas, Alexandre. *Michelange, suivi par Titien Vecellio.* Paris. 1844. 12mo. Frequently reprinted. Superficial and light.

The list of essays biographical and critical, and of books in which notices of Michelangelo and his work may be found, might be drawn out to great length. The most important criticisms on Michelangelo as an artist are those of Sir Joshua Reynolds in his Discourses, and of Mr. Ruskin in "Modern Painters" and in "The Relation between Michael Angelo and Titoret. Seventh in the Course of Lectures upon Sculpture, delivered at Oxford, 1870-71."

Of the biographical works on Michelangelo since the publication of his Poems and Letters the following are the most important:—

1. **Gotti, Aurelio.** *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti narrata con l'aiuto di nuovi Documenti.* Firenze. 1875. 2 vols.

8vo. Vol. I. pp. xiv., 384; Vol. II. pp. 298. Signor Gotti, having had free access to the Buonarroti archives, has made excellent use of the papers preserved in them in this the first Life of Michelangelo for which his own letters, and the letters addressed to him, and other original documents, serve as the foundation of the narrative. Until the letters addressed to Michelangelo are published in full, this book, which contains extracts from many of them, must serve as a prime authority in respect to many particulars. The Life is thorough and exact, and supersedes all previous biographies of the artist, except, on their own ground, those of Condiri and Vasari.

The second volume is made up of an Appendix of illustrative material, and contains many letters and other documents of importance printed for the first time.

Each of the twenty chapters of the first volume has a woodcut headpiece, most of which are remarkable for the absurdity of their design, and as indications of the depth to which the arts of Florence have sunk. The catalogue of the works and drawings of Michelangelo at the end of the second volume is not satisfactory as regards either completeness or arrangement.

2. **Wilson, Charles Heath.** *Life and Works of Michelangelo Buonarroti.* The Life partly compiled from that by the Commend. Aurelio Gotti,

Director of the Royal Galleries of Florence. London (printed in Florence) 1876.

8vo. pp. xlv. 568, with folding plate of Genealogy at end. The greater part of this volume is not only a compilation from but a translation of the pages of Gotti. Mr. Heath has added, however, some valuable and interesting matter, especially in regard to the technical execution and present condition of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, which he was enabled to inspect in part with great minuteness, by means of a movable scaffold erected by permission for the purpose, see Preface, p. ix., and chapters vi., vii., viii., and xvii.

It is matter of regret that Mr. Wilson does not write his own language well, and that his knowledge of Italian is insufficient to enable him to make correct translations. He often misunderstands and misinterprets his original, and almost every page derived from Gotti is disfigured by serious blunders.

Some of Mr. Wilson's critical remarks on Michelangelo's painting are judicious; but his general estimate of his work and character is too indiscriminately laudatory. The illustrations, showing the daily work on some of the figures in the Sistine Chapel, are interesting and novel.

3. **Perkins, Charles C.** Raphael and Michelangelo: a critical and biographical essay. Boston. 1878.

8vo. pp. xi., 294. In treating of Raphael and Michelangelo conjointly, the accomplished author of this volume takes occasion "to bring out the distinctive peculiarities of each by force of contrast." His work shows wide acquaintance with the best authorities; and his critical judgments indicate the breadth of his sympathies.

4. **Springer, Anton.** Raffael und Michelangelo. Sonderabdruck aus: Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, herausgegeben von Robert Dohme. Mit Illustrationen. Leipzig. 1878.

4to. pp. xii. 524. The most important work upon the artists; the result of twenty-five years' studies, written in the modern spirit of historical investigation, with abundant and accurate knowledge, and with critical acumen. The illustrations are numerous (40 are given to Michelangelo and 51 to Raffael), well selected, and for the most part well executed. Some of them, taken from original drawings and sketches are of great value.

In 1875, on occasion of the celebration of the fourth centennial anniversary of Michelangelo's birth, the following work was published.

**Passerini, Luigi.** La Bibliografia di Michelangelo Buonarroti e gli Incisori delle sue Opere. Firenze. 1875.

8vo. pp. ix. 332. This bibliography is arranged alphabetically, in two parts, the first of works by Michelangelo or relating to him, the second of engravings from his works. An arrangement under separate heads, according to topics, would have greatly conduced to the usefulness of the work. Extensive as it is, it lacks completeness, and it is not free from errors. But the student may be referred to it for information in regard to the multitude of works of secondary importance relating to Michelangelo.

Since the printing of the preceding pages, I have noticed that the title-page of the edition of Vasari's Lives of 1568 varies in different copies. Those apparently first issued bear the title as given on p. 3, arranged within a woodcut border in the Renaissance style of ornament, in which the arms of the Medici are conspicuous. A design occupies the centre of the page, representing the three Arts seated on a bank, above them a winged figure of Fame, blowing a three-mouthed trumpet, held in the left hand, and with a flaming torch in her right, while beneath are naked figures rising from their tombs. On the sides of this design are the verses.

Hac sospite nunquam hos perisse  
Virus, victos aut morte latebor.

In the apparently later issue, the design is transferred to the back of the title-page, where it appears surrounded with a new border. Its space on the title-page is filled with the text of an enlarged title as follows:—

"Le Vite de' piu eccellenti Pittori, Scultori, e Architettori Scritte da M. Giorgio Vasari Pittore et Architetto Aremano, di Nuovo dal Medesimo Riviste et Ampliate. Con i Ritratti loro et con l'aggiunta delle Vite de' vives, & de' morti dall'anno 1550, insino al 1597. Prima, e Seconda Parte. Con le Taole in ciascun Volume, Delle cose piu Notabili, De' Ritratti, Delle Vite degli Artefici, Et de' Luochi doue sono l'opere loro. Con licenza e Privilegio di N. S. Pio V. et del Duca di Fiorenza e Siena. In Fiorenza, Appresso i Giunti 1568."

In both issues, the title-pages of the first and second volumes of the third part are alike. That of the first volume bears the fleur de lis of Florence in the centre; that of the second, after the name of the author, runs as follows: "Secondo, et ultimo Volume della Terza Parte. Nel quale si comprendano le nuove Vite, Dall'anno 1550 al 1597. Con vna breue memoria di tutti i piu ingegnosi Artefici che fioriscano al presente nell'Academia del Disegno in Fiorenza, et per tutta Italia, et Europa & delle piu importanti Opere loro. Et con vna Descrizione de' Artefici Antichi Greci & Latini, & delle piu notabili memorie di quella età, tratta da i piu famosi Scrittori. Con Licenza e Privilegio."



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