

Contents

| | |
|----------------------------------------|-----|
| Preface and Acknowledgments | vi |
| I PREAMBLE 1 | |
| 1 <i>Imitatio</i> and <i>Renovatio</i> | 3 |
| 2 Agon | 25 |
| 3 <i>Paragoni</i> | 31 |
| II PROTAGONIST 67 | |
| 4 Michelangelo | 69 |
| III ANTAGONISTS 141 | |
| 5 Leonardo | 143 |
| 6 Raphael | 171 |
| 7 Titian | 265 |
| IV CODA 339 | |
| 8 Bandinelli and Cellini | 341 |
| Notes | 386 |
| Select Bibliography | 478 |
| Photograph Credits | 497 |
| Index | 498 |

Index

Note Page references in bold indicate illustrations.

- Adam, 156
Adorno, Girolamo, 288
Aeneas, and Anchises, as image of *pietà*, 104
Aginensis, Cardinal: *see* Rovere, Leonardo Grosso della
agon, 3, 23, 26, 60, 119, 149, 197, 273,
399n74
agones: *see* agon; contests; competition;
competitions; *paragone*; rivalry
Agostino di Duccio, 135, 344, 416n169.
WORKS: *Hercules*, 119; *Prophet* (terracotta),
123
Alberti, Leon Battista, 57, 63, 63, 178, 324
Albertini, Francesco: *Memoriale*, 92
Alciati, Andrea, 104
Aldovrandi, Gianfrancesco, 93, 97
Alexander VI Borgia, Pope, 23, 118, 128, 214,
447n220
Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, 13, 19, 20, 270,
271, 272, 274, 275, 278, 284, 285, 288, 289,
304, 306, 308, 312, 317, 324; Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* commissioned by, 274; cartoons
by Raphael given to, 274; correspondence
with Tebaldi about works by Titian, 284, 286,
288, 289; letter to Michelangelo, 307;
Michelangelo and, 270–71, 285, 306–09, 320;
Raphael and, 19, 217, 271, 274; Titian and,
272, 277–78, 294, 301; *see also* Camerino
d'Alabastro
Altoviti, Bindo: portrait bust by Cellini, 28, 369;
portrait by Raphael, 190, 191–92, 369
Alzano Lombardo, church of San Pietro Martire:
Palma il Vecchio, Death of Saint Peter Martyr,
299
Ammannati, Bartolomeo, 370, 476n139. WORK:
Neptune, 423n244
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum-stichting: Cornelis Bos,
Leda and the Swan (engraving after
Michelangelo), 309, 310, 310–11
Ancona, Pinacoteca Communale: Titian, Gozzi
altarpiece, 280–81, 282
Ancona, San Francesco ad Alto, 280
androgyny, 97–99; *see also* men, feminized
depictions of; nudes, female; nudes, male;
women, masculinized
Angelico, Fra, as New Apelles, 28
Anghiari, battle of, 152; *see also* Leonardo da
Vinci, works: *Battle of Anghiari*
anima (word), 33, 94, 97, 216, 352
Anna Metterza (theme), 47, 164, 166
Anne, Saint: *see* Anna Metterza; Leonardo da
Vinci, works: *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne*
Anonimo Gaddiano, 314
Anonimo Magliabechiano, 148, 425n14
Anonymous Roman: *Antinous as Apollo*, 98, 99;
Crouching Venus, 208, 210, 438n81; *Dancing Faun*, 289; *Death of Meleager*, 211; *Hercules of the Forum Boarium*, 89; *Leda*, 309; *Sleeping Cupid*, 96; *Venus and a Tortoise*, 438n81
Antaeus: *see* Hercules
Antinous: *see* Anonymous Roman, *Antinous as Apollo*
Apelles, 28, 48, 60, 214, 316, 323; agon with
Protogenes, 60, 211, 212; New, 28, 48;
signatures, 114
Arasse, Daniel, 57
Aretino, Pietro, 29, 30, 228–29, 267, 304, 342,
352, 394n24, 463n199; letter criticizing
Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, 335; letter to
Michelangelo asking for drawings, 334–35;
letter praising Michelangelo's *Venus and Cupid*
and *Leda and the Swan*, 332–33; letters
praising Titian, 300–01, 305; Michelangelo
and, 97–98, 394n27, 448n6; Titian and, 29,
274, 305, 456n111; Vasari and, 332, 462n191,
463n198
Ariosto, Lodovico: *Orlando furioso*, 27, 120
Arno, 152, 154, 155
Arnolfo di Cambio, 160
artefici (word), 70, 300
artisti (word), 70

- Avalos, Alfonso d', Marchese del Vasto, 316, 317, 460n165
- Averoldi, Altobello, Bishop of Brescia, 285, 289; commissions altarpiece by Titian, 285, 294
- Avignon Pietà (attr. Enguerrand Quarton), 105, 106
- Bacchus, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 169; *see also* Bellini, Giovanni; Michelangelo; Sansovino, Jacopo
- Baccio d'Agnolo: collaboration with Michelangelo on façade of San Lorenzo, 238, 239, 241; correspondence with Michelangelo, 239–40, 241; discourses in his shop, 183; enmity with Raphael, 243; and Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio, installation of *Hercules and Cacus* by Bandinelli, 364
- Baccio di Giovanni, 423n250
- Baglioni, Atalanta, 206
- Baldassarre del Milanese, 96
- Baldinucci, Filippo, on Raphael's paintings for Taddei, 200
- Bambach, Carmen C., 137
- Bandinelli, Baccio, vii, 30, 124, 256, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 349, 351, 353, 354–56, 361–62, 364, 365, 366, 367, 381, 383, 464n199, 466n5, 468n25; accused of destroying Michelangelo's *Cascina* cartoon, 342, 344, 345; *ex uno lapide* (paradigm), 381; funerary chapel of, 371, 476n139; Knight of Saint James, 353, 362; Knight of Saint Peter, 353; Medici connections, 342, 345, 364, 366; *Memoriale*, 342, 354, 362, 466–67n5; signatures, 350, 353, 366, 382–83; works made in pieces, 360; Leonardo and, 137, 343, 344, 355, 364–65; Michelangelo and, 341, 342, 344, 347, 356, 357, 360, 367, 371, 377, 381, 382, 426n26. WORKS: *Academy of Baccio Bandinelli*, engraved by Vico, 354, 355; *Colossi* (stucco), 346–47, 348, 349, 360; *Cosimo I* (bronze), vii, 368, 371; *Cosimo I* (marble), 368, 369, 371; *Crucifixion* (bronze relief), 361–62; *David and Goliath* (model), 349, 359; *Deposition* (bronze relief, lost), 361–62; *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* (statue) and *Giovanni delle Bande Nere Receiving Tribute* (relief), 367; *Hercules* (stucco), 346, 347, 349, 350, 360, 371; *Hercules and Cacus* (lost work), 343, 344, 346; *Hercules and Cacus* (marble), vii, 136–37, 139, 215, 341, 343, 347, 360, 363, 364–66, 371; *Hercules and Cacus* (models), 356, 359, 360; *Laocoön*, 351, 352, 353, 354, 382; *Leda and the Swan* (cartoon), 344; *Marforio* (snowman, melted), 343; *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (drawing and engraving), 353; *Massacre of the Innocents*, engraved by Marco Dente and Agostino Veneziano, 359; *Orpheus and Cerberus*, 350–51; *Pietà* (Dead Christ Supported) by Nicodemus), 377, 379, 381–83; *Saint Jerome* (wax), 345; *Saint John the Baptist* (lost painting), 354; *Saint John the Baptist* (lost sculpture), 382; *Saint Peter* (marble), 345, 347, 360; *Self-Portrait* (painting), 362, 362; tombs of Pope Leo x and Clement VII (with assistance), 366
- Bandinelli, Clemente, 382, 383
- Bandinelli, noble family of Siena, 362
- Bandini, Francesco: acquires Florence Pietà by Michelangelo, 372
- Bandini, Michelangelo di Viviani de', 124, 342, 343, 345, 346, 353; master of Cellini, 367
- Bandini di Viviani de', Baccio: *see* Bandinelli, Baccio
- Bartolomeo, Fra, 271, 275–76, 277; letter to Alfonso d'Este, 275–76; Titian and, 450n39. WORKS: *Head of Christ*, 276, 277; *Madonna*, 276, 277; *Worship of Venus* (drawing), 275, 277, 278
- Bayezid II, Sultan: solicits works by Michelangelo, 296
- Bayonne, Musée Bonnat: Michelangelo, drawing for *Raising of Lazarus* by Sebastiano del Piombo, 247
- Beatrice d'Este, Duchess of Milan, 50, 397n48
- beholder: petrifaction of, 370; reader of inscriptions, 113, 114; response to portraits, 52, 57–58, 64–65, 192, 194; response to sacred images, 169; sexual response to image, 169, 323; illusionistic ceilings and, 329; multiple views and, 63–64; *see also* Dolce, letter to Contarini; Pliny, *Natural History*; Praxiteles, *Venus*
- Bellini, family of Venice, *cittadini originari*, 53
- Bellini, Giovanni, vii, 12–13, 14, 15, 16, 18–19, 22, 32, 33, 57, 84, 93, 102, 112, 159, 180, 212, 231, 234, 254, 265, 291, 292, 325, 375, 385, 449n16; New Apelles, 28, 48; *paragone* (word), 41; portraiture, 48, 52–59; signatures, 284, 291, 292, 413n123; Bembo and, 16, 17, 285; Dürer and, 60, 399n78; Isabella d'Este and, 11–19, 274, 275; Leonardo and, 50, 60, 66; Mantegna and, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 275; Michelangelo and, 102, 108; Solari and, 60, 399n78, 416n166; Titian and, 385. WORKS: *Bacchus and a Soldier*, 102, 103; *Coronation of the Virgin*, 180, 181; *Continence of Scipio*, 19; *Death of Saint Peter Martyr*, 301; *Doge Leonardo Loredan and His Counsellors*, 57; *Feast of the Gods*, 102, 272, 274, 275, 278, 279, 284; Frari triptych, 294, 385; *Madonna and Child with Two Female Saints*, 55, 56; *Nude with a Mirror*, 291, 292; *Pietà* (Milan), 375; *Pietà* (Rimini), 105, 106, 376; *Pietà* (Venice), 53, 55; *Portrait of Cornaro's Gazelle* (lost), 284; *Portrait of a Man ("Pietro Bembo")*, 52–53, 54; *Portrait of Bembo's Beloved* (lost), 54, 55, 56; *Presepio*

- (*Nativity*), 13, 14, 15, 16; *Saint Dominic*, 13; San Giobbe altarpiece, 84; San Zaccaria altarpiece, 234
- Bellini, Jacopo: asymmetrical compositions, 301; portrait contest with Pisanello, 48
- Bembo, Bonifacio, 10
- Bembo, Pietro, 16, 17, 18, 27, 54, 285; *Carteggio d'amore*, 54; imitation discussed by, 27; Petrarch, edition of, 54; *Rime*, 54; sonnets on portrait of his beloved by Bellini, 54–56; Isabella d'Este and, 16, 17, 18; Pico della Mirandola and, 27; Raphael and, 254, 437n67
- Benvenuto da Imola, 147
- Berlin, Gemäldegalerie: Raphael, *Terranuova Madonna*, 197, 198, 199, 200
- Berlin, Staatliche Museen: Bandinelli, *Hercules and Cacus* (wax model), 360; Bellini, *Doge Leonardo Loredan and His Counsellors*, 57
- Berruguete, Alfonso, 352
- Bertoldo di Giovanni, 74. WORK: *Battle*, 77, 78, 152
- Bettini, Bartolomeo: commissions *Venus and Cupid* by Michelangelo, 320, 322; decorates room with theme of love, 320–21
- Bibbiena: see Dovizi da Bibbiena, Bernardo, Cardinal
- Bicciolini, Giovanni di Lapo, prior of Santo Spirito, 93
- Bilhères Lagrulas, Jean de, Cardinal, 103–04, 105, 118; see also Michelangelo, works: *Vatican Piétà*
- Billi, Antonio, 116
- Binche, Palace of, 327
- biographies, of artists, 147, 148; see also Condivi; Facio; Giovio; Vasari
- Biondo, Flavio, 25
- block (trope), 86, 406n59; see also cube; *ex uno lapide*; Michelangelo; Stone of Unction
- blocks, colossal: quarrying of, 138, 423n244; for *David*, 119; for second Giant, 138, 215, 354; suicide attempted by, 356; see also Carrara; Soderini
- Boccaccio, Giovanni, 25, 77, 93, 147; portrait by Bronzino, 321
- boletta: see *cartellino*
- Bologna: fortifications, 306; Michelangelo, *Julius II* (destroyed), 242; Church of San Domenico: Michelangelo, *Angel* (tomb of Saint Dominic), 93–95, 95, 97; Niccolò dell'Arca, *Angel*, 93, 94
- Bona of Savoy, Duchess of Milan, 16, 17, 391n64
- Bonanus of Pisa, 7
- Bordone, Paris, 297
- Borgherini, Pierfrancesco, 260, 261
- Borgia, Cesare, 410n86, 458–59n150
- Borgia, Lucrezia, 276, 277, 398n60
- Bos, Cornelis: engraving of *Leda and the Swan* by Michelangelo, 309, 310, 310–11, 315
- Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum: Bandinelli, *Self-Portrait*, 362
- Botticelli, Sandro, 20, 22, 23, 31, 113, 124, 125, 135, 160, 316; Michelangelo and, 409n83.
- WORKS: *Madonna of the Pomegranate*, 160; *Pièta* (*Lamentation*), 105, 106; *Punishment of Korah*, 22
- braccio (measurement), 88, 343, 386, 412n120
- Bramante, Donato, vi, 171, 214, 216, 217, 227, 235; competition of *Laocoön* copies staged by, 352; portrait in Raphael's *School of Athens*, 221–22; Michelangelo and, 214, 216; Raphael and, 214, 216, 220, 434n27. WORKS: *Tempietto*, 178, 214; New Saint Peter's, 215
- Brandt, Kathleen Weil-Garris, 116, 366
- Bregno, Andrea, 10
- Brescia: Church of Santi Nazaro e Celso, high altar and Titian's Brescia altarpiece, 285–94, 287, 291; Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Raphael's *Angel*, 172
- bronze, 130, 131, 132, 134, 148, 158, 242, 351, 368; Michelangelo's use of, 421nn213, 214, 445n171
- Bronzino, Agnolo, 66, 69, 128, 205, 322, 464n116; collaboration with Bandinelli, 469n42; poetry, 29, 464n116; and *paragone*, 66, 137. WORKS: *Cosimo I as Orpheus*, 351; *Noli me tangere* after Michelangelo, 461n171; *Portrait of the Dwarf Morgante*, 137; portraits of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, 320, 321; *Venus and Cupid* after Michelangelo, 321
- broth, 10
- Bruciollo, Antonio, 296
- Bruges, Onze Lieve Vrouwkerk (Notre Dame): Michelangelo, Bruges *Madonna*, 111, 156
- Brunelleschi, Filippo, 4, 8, 150, 300; Baptistry doors competition, 122; Donatello, competition with, 91, 300; see also Manetti, Antonio, *Vita di Brunelleschi*. WORKS: Crucifix (wood), 91, 91–92, 377, 378, 379; *Sacrifice of Isaac* (bronze), 6, 7
- Bruni, Leonardo, 254
- Buda, Girolamo del, 343
- Buonarroti, Buonarroti, 149; correspondence with brother Michelangelo, 217, 243
- Buonarroti, Casa, 76, 77, 79; see also Florence, museums: Casa Buonarroti
- Buonarroti, family of Florence, 82; kinship ties with the Rucellai, Del Sera, and counts of Canossa, 82
- Buonarroti, Leonardo, 148, 414n150; gives *Madonna of the Stairs* to Duke Cosimo, 82
- Buonarroti, Lodovico, 173; contract with the Ghirlandaio, 71; correspondence with son Michelangelo, 82, 120, 149, 218, 427n29
- Buonarroti, Michelangelo di Lodovico: see Michelangelo

Buoninsegni, Domenico, 238, 247, 250, 251, 252; letter to Baccio d'Agnolo, 239; letters to Michelangelo, 240, 241; spurs Clement VII to award commission of second Giant to Bandinelli, 356
Burning Bush, 227

Cadore, 265, 284

Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts: Perugino, *Sposalizio (Betrothal of the Virgin)*, 173, 175, 176, 178, 179

Calcagni, Tiberio, 138, 267, 296, 372, 405n43, 426n27; Michelangelo's *postille* dictated to, 79; *Pieta* by Michelangelo restored by, 372

Calepino, Ambrogio, *Dictionarium*, 50

Calimala, Arte dei Mercanti di (Merchants' Guild), 4, 7, 9

Callistratus, *Descriptions*, 102

Cambi, Giovanni, 122

Cambio, Arte del (Bankers' Guild), 9

Camerino d'Alabastro, 19, 20, 217, 271, 275, 279, 284; concept of competition in, 275, 276, 278–79, 285; Fra Bartolommeo and, 271; Michelangelo and, 271; Raphael and, 19, 274, 278, 279, 289; *see also* Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara; studies; Titian

campanilismo, 6–7, 27, 380

cangiante, 165, 183, 205

cannon "Julius," 271

Canon, 40

Canossa, 82, 362; castle in, 261; Count Alessandro of, 82

Canova, Antonio, 452n53

cantorie, 11

Carolo, Jafredo, Bishop of Paris, 155

Carpaccio, Vittore, 294

Carrara, 138, 139, 239, 240, 241; block for pendant of *David* quarried, 138, 215, 343; block shipped to Florence, 354

carta azzurra, 280

cartellino, 63, 281, 284, 400n88

cartoons, 32, 108, 143; Bandinelli, *Saint John the Baptist*, 354; Leonardo, *Battle of Anghiari*, 47, 151, 152, 154, 394n7; Leonardo, *Isabella d'Este*, 47, 50, 51, 52–53, 56–57, 58, 59, 60; Leonardo, *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne*, 46, 47, 108, 120, 152, 153, 161, 163, 164–65, 166, 197; Michelangelo, *Battle of Cascina*, 135, 143, 147, 150–51, 152, 154, 156, 160, 162, 164, 171–72, 184, 196, 205, 212, 208, 225, 258, 270, 301, 325, 342, 344, 345, 359; Michelangelo, *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, 461n176; Michelangelo, *Epiphany*, 426n27, 461n176; Michelangelo, *Leda and the Swan*, 331; Michelangelo, *Madonna and Child*, 461n176; Michelangelo, *Noli me tangere*, 316, 317–18, 319, 461n171; Raphael, *Agony in the Garden* (predella), 436n57; Raphael, *Heraclitus*

(*School of Athens*), 441n116; Raphael and Giulio Romano, *Isabel of Naples*, 278; Raphael, *Madonna of the Goldfinch*, 437n69; Raphael, *Madonna of the Meadow*, 437n69; Raphael, *Roxana and Alexander*, 462n183; Raphael, Sistine tapestries, 279; Sebastiano, Borgherini Chapel, 246, 397n39; *see also* Leonardo da Vinci, works: *Battle of Anghiari*; Michelangelo, works: *Battle of Cascina*; *spolvero*

Casa, Giovanni della, and *paragone*, 422n238

Cascina, battle of, 152; *see also* Michelangelo, works: *Battle of Cascina*

Castagno, Andrea del, 29

Castiglione, Baldassare, 190, 234; *Book of the Courtier*, 47, 166, 401n99; letter on Idea of beauty written in Raphael's voice, 234, 348

Cavalcanti, Giovanni, 353

Cavalieri, Tommaso de', 323, 324, 330; his portrait drawing by Michelangelo, 184; his presentation drawings by Michelangelo, 429n54

ceiling painting, 327, 329

Cellini, Benvenuto, vii, 28, 30, 124, 154, 295, 341, 342, 362, 370, 377, 380, 382; apprenticed to Bandini, 367; *Autobiography*, vii, 4, 28, 29, 341, 342, 379; fees, 476n136; France, works in, 473n110; funerary monument planned by, 377–81, 475n130; influenced by Sansovino's *Bacchus*, 101; *paragone* conversation (imaginary) with Tribolo, 301; *paragone* of media by, 379; *paragone* text drafted by, 466n3; signatures, 370, 80; testaments, 379, 381; writings by, 466n3. Bandinelli and, 26, 341, 342, 367, 381; Michelangelo and, 28, 101, 143, 370, 381. WORKS: *Bindo Altoviti* (bronze), 28, 369; *Cosimo I* (bronze), vii, 368, 368–69, 371; *Cosimo I* (marble), 368, 369, 371; Crucifix (marble), 377–80, 378; *Ganymede* (marble), 476n136; *Perseus and Medusa* (bronze), 128, 369–70, 370, 371

Cellini, Giovanni, 124

Cesare da Sesto, copy of *Standing Leda* by Leonardo, 315

Charles v, Emperor, 265, 316; Aretino and, 334; Bandinelli and, 353, 362; Michelangelo and, 454n90; Titian and, 265, 305, 306, 324; *see also* Sack of Rome

Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire: Leonardo, *Kneeling Leda* (drawing), 312, 314

chiaroscuro, 36, 165, 183, 213

Chigi, Agostino, 229; Aretino employed by, 229; patron of Raphael, 229, 230, 251, 443n144; patron of Sebastiano del Piombo, 235, 443n141; *see also* Rome, Villa Farnesina

Christ Child, anticipates Passion, 156; asleep, 85; his back turned, 85

- Christ Crucified, 91, 92, 378; Feast of the Savior (9 November), 143; patron of Florentine Republic, 143
- Cicerone, 96; literary exemplar, 27
- Cimabue, 10, 20
- Città di Castello, churches: Sant'Agostino, *see* Raphael, works: *Angel* (altarpiece of San Niccolò Tolentino); San Francesco, *see* Raphael, works: *Sposalizio*
- Ciuffagni, Bernardo, 8
- Claudia, Queen of France, 274
- Clement VII de' Medici, Pope, vii, 30, 228, 264, 357, 359; alliance with Francis I, 360; competition among artists encouraged by, 356–57; portrait by Sebastiano, 192; Bandinelli and, 353, 354, 356, 359, 364; Michelangelo and, 309, 324, 354, 357, 359; *see also* Medici, Giulio de', Cardinal; Raphael, works: *Transfiguration*; Sebastiano, works: *Raising of Lazarus*
- Clytemnestra, 309, 315
- coitus, 299, 456n108
- Cole, Jonathan, 369
- Colleoni, Bartolomeo: competition for his equestrian monument, 43, 44; testament, 43
- Colombo, Realdo, 93
- Colonna, Giovanni, Cardinal, 132
- Colonna, Vittoria, 316; devotion to Saint Mary Magdalene, 317; "masculine" virtues praised by Michelangelo, 166, 431n80; her presentation drawings by Michelangelo, 156, 429n54
- color, feminine, 316
- colorire, 61
- colorito, 27, 29, 227, 235, 243, 244, 268, 288, 309, 317, 326, 327, 336, 337, 338; gendered as feminine, 316, 338
- colossi, 88, 90, 122; colossus commission offered to Michelangelo by Clement VII, 357
- Colossus of Rhodes, 138; Michelangelo's dreams of, 215
- column, symbolism of, 131, 132
- competition, among artists, 3, 6, 7, 8, 22, 23, 91–92, 228, 299, 300, 304, 305, 455–56n107; *see also* agon; competition, vocabulary of; competitions; concorrenza; contests; paragone; rivalry
- competition, vocabulary of: 228, 299, 388n17; *see also* concorrenza
- competition, works in decorative cycles seen in, 22, 29, 150, 230, 237, 247, 272, 275, 324, 345, 410n86; *see also* Camerino d'Alabastro; studioli
- competitions, for private commissions by: Bramante, among copies of *Laocoön*, 352; Cosimo I, between his portraits by Bandinelli and Cellini, 368; Lionello d'Este, between his portraits by Jacopo Bellini and Pisanello, 48
- competitions, for public monuments commissioned by: Cosimo I, for Neptune fountain, 370; Giulio de' Medici, Cardinal, between altarpieces by Raphael and Sebastiano for Narbonne cathedral, 356–57; Leo X, for façade of San Lorenzo, 238; Lodovico il Moro, for Sforza equestrian monument, 44; Operai of Florence cathedral, for Baptistery doors, 122, 150, 387n14; Operai of Florence cathedral, for cupola, 387n14, 387–88n16; Operai of Florence cathedral, for Giant (*David*), 120, 122; Republic of Florence, among works by Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Andrea Sansovino in the Sala del Gran Consiglio, 143, 149–50, 156; Republic of Venice, for Colleoni monument, 43, 44; Scuola di San Pietro Martire, for altarpiece, 297–300; Scuola Grande della Carità, for Albergo mural painting, 457n17
- composition, pyramidal, 38, 108, 118, 158, 165, 194, 205, 213, 278, 376
- compositions, asymmetrical, 280, 301, 329
- concorrenza (word), 299, 304, 305, 354, 356, 468n26
- Condivi, Ascanio, 227, 321, 426n27; *Life of Michelangelo*, 28, 29, 30, 69–70, 71, 72, 74–75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 88, 92–93, 94, 101, 102, 105, 116, 117, 120, 134, 138, 148, 171, 214, 215, 216, 217, 220, 225, 226, 220, 235, 238, 240, 267, 272, 295, 296, 306–07, 324, 344, 346, 356, 372; Michelangelo's cartoon of *Epiphany* made for, 426n27
- contaminatio, 293
- Contarini, Alessandro, 323
- contests, arts, 60; poetry, 59
- Conti, Sigismondo, 280, 281
- contracts and commissions, artists', 8–9, 10, 176, 242; Agostino di Duccio, for Giant, 119, 416n169; Bandinelli, for funerary chapel in Santissima Annunziata, 476n139; Leonardo, for *Battle of Anghiari*, 423–24n2, 427n38; Perugino, for *Assumption* for Santa Maria in Corciano, 433n18; Pordenone, for Scuola Grande della Carità mural painting, 304, 457n117; Raphael, for *Coronation of the Virgin*, 176; Raphael, for San Niccolò Tolentino altarpiece, 432n4; Andrea Sansovino, for *Christ*, 424n5; Sebastiano, for Chigi chapels in Santa Maria della Pace and Santa Maria del Popolo, 262; *see also* contracts, Michelangelo's contracts, Michelangelo's: Bruges *Madonna*, 429n52; *David*, 122, 416n168; *Noli me tangere*, 316–17; pendant of *David*, 360–61; Piccolomini altar, 10; Vatican Pietà, 103–04; tomb of Julius II, 215, 439n94; Twelve Apostles, 421n228; and Baccio d'Agnolo, San Lorenzo façade, 241, 242
- contrapposto, 88, 100, 127, 194, 196, 230, 301, 315, 347, 365
- copies: *Laocoön*, 279, 280, 351, 352, 353, 354, 382; reversed, 267, 268, 270, 285; of works by

- Leonardo, 315, 416n165, 417n180, 427n33, 435n43; of works by Michelangelo, 321, 326, 331, 332, 417n180, 462nn183, 191; of Titian, *Saint Sebastian*, 453n68; *see also* forgeries; Michelangelo; Raphael; Vasari copying, learning from, 70, 71, 72
Cornaro: *see* Corner
Corner, Francesco: and Giovanni Bellini, 18–19, 284; and Mantegna, cycle of Scipio Africanus, 18–19
Correggio (Antonio Allegri), *Leda and the Swan*, 314, 458n147
Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence, vii, 28, 82, 130, 341, 342, 351, 352, 360, 366, 367–69, 371, 380, 465n213; *see also* Bandinelli, Baccio; Bronzino; Cellini, Benvenuto
Credi, Lorenzo di, 31, 113
Crivelli, Lucrezia, 48
Cronaca, il, 124; and Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio, design pedestal of *David* by Michelangelo, 365
crucifixes, 91–92
cube, symbolism of, 86
Cupid, 95–96, 101, 322; *Sleeping Cupid*, 96; *see also* Michelangelo; Praxiteles
cycles, 9, 20; historical, 25; by individuals, 9–10; by different artists, 8–9, 10, 18–20, 22–23, 150, 272, 345; of Moses and Christ, 20
- Daddi, Bernardo, *Madonna and Child Enthroned*, 8
Daniele da Volterra, 147, 454–55n91, 475n128
Dante Alighieri, 10, 20, 25, 93, 104, 135, 147, 148, 401n102, 402n103; portrait by Bronzino, 321
Danti, Vincenzo, 371, 405n47
David, 130, 131; in Florentine imagery, 135, 364; and Hercules, 135, 136, 344; and Judith, 125; and Orpheus, 350
death, symbols of, 310; and love, 310; and sleep, 311
debates, of *paragone*, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64
Del Sera, family of Florence, and the Buonarroti, 82
Delphi, Museum: Anonymous Roman, *Antinous as Apollo*, 98, 99
Dente, Marco, and Agostino Veneziano, engraving of *Massacre of the Innocents* by Bandinelli, 359
description: *see* ekphrasis
Desiderio da Settignano, 164; influence on Leonardo, 33. WORK (attr.): *Madonna and Child (Dudley Madonna)*, 37, 83, 86
Diomedes, 170
Dionysus: *see* Bacchus
Dioscuri, 309, 315
Dirce, punishment of: *see* *Toro Farnese*
disegno, 27, 29, 61, 227, 243, 268, 288, 300, 309, 316, 317, 326, 327, 336, 337, 338; form and, 316; foundation of art, 316; gendered masculine, 316, 338; Michelangelo the embodiment of, 228
dissections, 93
“divine,” artists described as, 46, 447n211; Leonardo, 46, 120; Michelangelo, 120, 394n27; Raphael, “the God of Art,” 446n208; Titian, 456n111
Doidalsas: *see* Anonymous Roman, *Crouching Venus*
Dolce, Lodovico, 3, 28, 267; *Dialogue on Painting (the Aretino)*, 26, 29, 31, 98–99, 228, 265, 304, 323, 324, 326, 335–36; letter to Contarini, 323
Domenico da Terranuova, letter to Michelangelo, 251
Domenico Veneziano, 29; letter to Piero de' Medici, 41
Dominicans, 297, 343, 377
Donatello, 8, 11, 74, 83, 135; competition with Brunelleschi, 91, 300; *rilievo schiacciato*, 79; signatures, 113, 114, 115, 380; block (trope) and, 383, 406n59; Michelangelo and, 83, 134. WORKS: Crucifix (wood), 91, 91, 92, 377, 378, 379; *David* (bronze), 125, 130, 131, 134, 350; *David* (marble), 135, 418n191; *Gattamelata* (bronze), 46; *Joshua* (terracotta), 418n191; *Judith* (bronze), 125, 128, 134, 135, 365; *Pazzi Madonna* (marble), 80, 82, 83; Pecci tomb (marble), 115; Prophets (terracotta), 123; *Saint George* (marble), 365; *Saint John the Baptist* (wood), 113; *Saint Mark* (marble), 134, 346; *Santo Madonna and Child* (bronze), 158, 325
Donati, Manno, 152
Doni, Agnolo, 156, 162, 213–14; Michelangelo and, 161, 185, 203, 306; Raphael and, 183, 184, 203
Doni, Jacoba, wife of Baccio Bandinelli, 383
Dossi, Battista, 27
Dossi, Dosso, 27; reworks *Feast of the Gods* by Bellini, 284. WORK: *Bacchanal of Men*, 272
Dovizi da Bibbiena, Bernardo, Cardinal; Michelangelo's letter to, 255, 256; Raphael and, 256
draperies: drawings of, 108, 109; in Leonardo, 108, 109, 118, 164; in Michelangelo, 108–09, 112
drawings, 108; front/back views, 137; fictive, in paintings, 362
drill, running (*trapano*), 131, 132
Drumlanrig Castle, Scotland, Duke of Buccleuch: Leonardo (attr.), *Madonna of the Yarnwinder*, 198, 199
Duccio di Buoninsegna, signature of *Maestà*, 113
Dürer, Albrecht, 27, 270, 442n125; Bellini, friendship with, 60, 399n78; criticized by Michelangelo, 225; Raphael, friendship with, 225. WORK: *Melencolia I* (engraving), 225

- Ebu, Giovanni, Bishop of Crotone, 144
 Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland:
 Raphael, Bridgewater *Madonna*, 203, 204
 eggs: dropped, 91; hatching, 309, 314, 315
 ekphrasis, 26, 101, 102, 393n9
 Elba, Cellini's *Cosimo* sent to, 368, 369, 380
 Eleonora of Toledo, Duchess of Florence, 370,
 381, 422n239, 470n59
 emblems, 104
 envy, 4, 71, 94, 117, 171, 215, 216, 217, 226,
 235, 388n20; aroused by Michelangelo,
 403nn10, 17, 404n22; conquered by
 Michelangelo, 341
 Equicola, Mario: program for Camerino
 d'Alabastro, 271, 274, 275; Isabella d'Este and,
 271
 ermine, symbolism of, 50; *see also* Leonardo da
 Vinci, works: *Cecilia Gallerani*
 eroticism, and morality, 311–12
 Escorial, Monastery of San Lorenzo el Real:
 Cellini, Crucifix, 377–80, 378
 Este: *see* Alfonso d'Este; Beatrice d'Este; Isabella
 d'Este Gonzaga; Lionello d'Este
 Euclid, 221
ex uno lapide (paradigm and praxis), 104, 105,
 119, 120, 351, 357, 360, 371, 372, 380,
 381, 412n120; ideal extolled by Pliny, 360;
 Michelangelo's commitment to, 351, 357, 360
 expressions, facial, 127; Leonardo's studies of,
 128; *see also* Gauricus; physiognomy
 ex-voto, 290, 385
 eyebrows, 112, 160
 eyes: fishy, 74; windows of soul, 64
- Fabian tactics, 13
 Fabrini, Giovan Francesco, interlocutor in Dolce's
 Aretino, 228, 394n24, 448n3
faciebat (word), in signatures, 114, 115, 116,
 291, 292, 350, 366, 383
 Facio, Bartolomeo: *De viris illustribus*, 148
fantasia (word), 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 357,
 389n31
 Farago, Claire, 59
 Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 335
 Farnese, Ottaviano, 335
 Fattucci, Giovan Francesco: letters from
 Michelangelo, 357–58; letters to Michelangelo,
 357, 358, 359
favole (word), 389n31
fecit (word), in signatures, 114, 115
 Federico da Montefeltro, 182
 fees, artists', 11, 13, 104, 156, 161; Cellini's,
 476n136; Michelangelo's, 242, 306, 308,
 429n52, 454n86; Raphael's, 444–45n168,
 446n200; Titian's, 286, 288, 289, 305, 306,
 453n70; Pordenone's, 306; Vasari's, 334;
 Zeuxis declines, 324
 Feltria della Rovere, Giovanna, 182, 188, 214
 Ferdinand, King of Spain, 214
- Ferrara: *see* Alfonso d'Este; Camerino
 d'Alabastro; Michelangelo; Titian
 Ferrucci, Andrea, 345
 Ficino, Marsilio, vi, 310
 Figiovanni, Giovan Battista, letter to
 Michelangelo, 317
figura serpentinata, 165, 361
 Filarete (Antonio Averlino): *Leda* (doors of Saint
 Peter's), 314
 Filarete, Francesco (First Herald of Florence),
 125, 126, 135
 Florence, 182, 196; guilds, 4, 7, 8, 32, 387n9;
 Republic, 125, 126, 130, 150, 295, 306, 307,
 360, 361; Loggia dei Lanzi, 125, 126, 346;
 Signoria, 8, 123, 125, 138, 154; Venice,
 influenced by, 135–36, 150; Virgin Mary and,
 130
 Florence, Academy, 32, 145; uses Michelangelo's
 River God as teaching model, 464n119; Varchi,
 Due lezioni, and, 323
 Florence, Baptistry, 4, 5, 123; competition for
 Baptistry doors, 4, 5, 6, 7
 Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana: Michelangelo,
 sonnet with drawing of the artist painting the
 Sistine ceiling, 218, 219, 220
 Florence, churches:
 cathedral (Santa Maria del Fiore), 7, 123;
 Bandinelli, *Saint Peter*, 345, 347, 360;
 Hercules buttress, 344; *see also* Operai
 Ognissanti: Cellini negotiates for tomb in, 380
 Orsanmichele, 8, 9, 150; Donatello, *Saint
 George*, 365; Donatello, *Saint Mark*, 134,
 346; Ghiberti, *Saint John the Baptist*, 9;
 Ghiberti, *Saint Matthew*, 9
 San Lorenzo, 228, 237, 353; Laurentian
 Library, 354
 San Lorenzo, Medici Chapel (New Sacristy) by
 Michelangelo, 306, 317, 323, 354; tomb of
 Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, 307,
 309, 310–11, 311 (*Night*), 323, 326 (*Duke
 Giuliano de' Medici*), 335, 356, 367,
 421n214; tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke
 of Urbino, 323, 326, 356, 421n214
 San Paolino, 105
 Santa Chiara (Franciscans), 207
 Santa Croce (Franciscans): Donatello, Crucifix,
 91, 377; Rossellino, Bruni tomb, 254
 Santa Maria del Carmine (Carmelites):
 Masaccio and Masolino, Brancacci Chapel,
 152
 Santa Maria Novella (Dominicans), 377;
 Brunelleschi, Crucifix, 91; Cellini negotiates
 for tomb in, 377, 379; Sala del Papa, 151,
 154; Tornabuoni Chapel, 72
 Santissima Annunziata (Servites), 176, 377;
 Bandinelli, *Pietà (Dead Christ Supported
 by Nicodemus)*, 377, 379, 381–83; Cellini
 tomb in, 379, 380, 381; Perugino, altarpiece
 commission to, 433n17

- Sant'Onofrio, Sala Grande of hospital, 154
 Santo Spirito: Michelangelo, Crucifix, 90,
 90–93, 112, 377–78
 Florence, Medici Palace: Bandinelli, *Orpheus and Cerberus*, 350–51
 Florence, museums:
 Casa Buonarroti: Michelangelo, *Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths*, 76, 76–79, 80, 87,
 88, 101, 152, 154, 171, 242, 323; (?)
 Michelangelo, *Male Nude* (wax model), 88,
 89, 407n65, 420n210; Michelangelo, model
 (wood) for façade of San Lorenzo, 243;
 Michelangelo, study for the façade of San
 Lorenzo, 240
 Galleria degli Uffizi: Anonymous Roman,
 Sleeping Cupid, 96; Anonymous Roman,
 Satyr, 101; Bandinelli, *Laocoön*, 351, 352,
 353, 354, 382; Botticelli, *Madonna of the Pomegranate*, 160; Gentile da Fabriano,
 Strozzi Adoration, 115; Ghirlandaio,
 Adoration of the Magi, 86, 87; Leonardo,
 Adoration of the Magi, 32, 33–34, 36–38,
 38, 40, 46, 86, 108, 165, 171, 194, 197;
 Michelangelo, Doni Tondo (*Holy Family*),
 154, 156, 161–64, 163, 164–66, 169, 183,
 196, 200, 203, 205, 208, 210, 213, 262,
 315, 376; Parmigianino, *Madonna of the Long Neck*, 115; Raphael, *Lady with a Unicorn*, 188; Raphael, *Madonna of the Goldfinch*, 200, 437n69; Titian, *Portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere*, 188
 Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe: Fra Bartolommeo, *Worship of Venus* (drawing), 275, 275, 277, 278; Pordenone, *Death of Saint Peter Martyr* (modello), 298, 299
 Galleria dell'Accademia: Michelangelo, *David*, vii, 14, 69, 88, 90, 99, 119–20, 122–30, 126, 132, 135, 139, 144, 150, 154, 156, 158, 183, 196, 203, 205, 210, 215, 344, 346, 350, 364–66, 371, 416n168; *Saint Matthew*, 156, 196, 205, 206, 210, 211, 225–26; Pontormo (attr.), 97–98, 320, 322, 325, 332, 462n183
 Museo dell'Opera del Duomo: Michelangelo, *Florence Pietà*, 371, 372, 373, 374, 374–76
 Museo Nazionale del Bargello: Bandinelli, *Cosimo de' Medici* (marble), 368, 369, 371; Brunelleschi, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, 6, 7; Cellini, *Cosimo de' Medici* (bronze), 368, 368–69, 371; Ghiberti, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, 6, 7;
 Michelangelo, Pitti Tondo, 156, 158, 159, 160, 166, 200, 212; Jacopo Sansovino, *Laocoön* (bronze), 352; Verrocchio, *Lady with a Bouquet of Flowers*, 52, 53
 Palazzo Pitti: chapel of Cosimo I, 380;
 Perugino, *Lamentation*, 207, 209; Raphael, *La Gravida*, 188–89; Raphael, *La Velata*, 186, 187, 190; Raphael, *Portrait of Agnolo Doni*, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189, 203, 213;
 Raphael, *Portrait of Maddalena Strozzi Doni*, 183, 185, 188, 189, 203, 213; Raphael, *Portrait of Tommaso Inghirami*, 190; Titian, *Saint Mary Magdalene*, 317, 318
 Florence, Palazzo della Signoria, 128, 129, 130, 135, 160; Sala del Gran Consiglio, vi, 5, 135, 136, 139, 143, 150, 155, 182, 230, 424nn3; competition between Leonardo and Michelangelo in, 149–50
 Florence, Palazzo Vecchio: *see* Florence, Palazzo della Signoria
 Florence, Piazza della Signoria, 122; competitive arena, 341, 365, 371; *see also* Bandinelli, Baccio, works: *Hercules and Cacus*; Donatello, works: *Judith*; Michelangelo, works: *David*
 Florence, Piazza di San Lorenzo: Bandinelli, *Giovanni delle Bande Nere* (statue) and *Giovanni delle Bande Nere Receiving Tribute* (relief), 367
 Foppa, Vincenzo, 10
 forgeries, by Michelangelo, 74, 82, 95–96, 97, 323; *see also* Michelangelo, works: *Sleeping Cupid*
 Fortitude, 131
 Francesco di Giorgio, 178; Leonardo and, 46
 Francesco I, Grand Duke of Florence, gives Cellini's Crucifix to King Philip II of Spain, 380
 Francia, Francesco: portrait of Averoldi, 452n63
 Francis I, King of France, vii, 28, 296; alliance with Clement VII, 360; Aretino and, 463n199; Leonardo and, 295; letter to Michelangelo soliciting works, 295; Medici gifts of paintings by Raphael to, 274, 295; Michelangelo's *Hercules and Leda and the Swan* acquired by, 295
 Franco, Battista, *Noli me tangere* based on Michelangelo's cartoon, 461n171
 French, Florence occupied by, 130; Leonardo's *Horse* destroyed by, 46; Milan occupied by, 46, 52
 frittata, 118
 Gaddiano, Anonimo: *see* Anonimo Gaddiano *gagliardia*, 166
 gall, 225
 Gallerani, Cecilia, 48, 50, 60; letter to Isabella d'Este, 60; portrait by Leonardo, 32, 35, 48, 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 314
 Galli (Gallo), Jacopo, 96, 118; Michelangelo's *Bacchus* acquired by, 97, 102; Michelangelo's *Cupid* commissioned by, 102; Michelangelo's Vatican *Pietà* contract negotiated by, 103, 104, 105
 gallstones, 426n25
 Ganymede, 99, 330
 garzoni, Raphael's, 235, 254, 255, 256, 278; in Sala di Costantino, 256, 257, 258, 352; in Stanza dell'Incendio, 355

- Gauricus, Pomponius: *De sculptura*, 122, 419n203; on physiognomy, 127
- gaze, dangers of, 128
- gazelle, Corner's, 284
- Gelli, Giovanni Battista, 70
- gender: and architectural orders, 178; and portraiture, 192; and style, 309, 316, 338; *see also colore; colorito; disegno*
- gender, "mixed": *Bacchus* by Michelangelo and, 97; morality and, 100; *Venus* by Michelangelo and, 97–98; *see also androgyny; gagliardia; leggiadria*; masquerade; men; Michelangelo, characterization of the Virgin Mary; style; women
- Gentile da Fabriano: Strozzi *Adoration*, 115
- Gherardini, Lisa: *see Leonardo da Vinci, works: La Gioconda*
- Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 4, 7, 8, 60, 150; Baptistry doors competition, 122; *Commentarii*, 7; signatures, 113, 114, 380, 414n142. WORKS: *Adoration of the Magi*, 113; Gates of Paradise, 9; *Nativity*, 113; *Sacrifice of Isaac*, 6, 7; *Saint John the Baptist*, 9; *Saint Matthew*, 9; shrine of Saint Zenobius, 7
- Ghirlandaio, Davide, 71, 124
- Ghirlandaio, Domenico, 20, 22, 31, 74, 79, 124, 143; his Leonardo drapery study, 109; Michelangelo and, 71, 72, 73, 75, 86. WORKS: *Adoration of the Magi*, 86, 87; *Coronation of the Virgin*, 176; Tornabuoni Chapel, 72
- Ghirlandaio, Ridolfo, and Raphael, 435n40
- Giambologna, 370; *Rape of the Sabines made ex uno lapide*, 471n83
- Giant, 119, 344, 416nn169, 173; *see also Agostino di Duccio; Michelangelo, works: David*
- Ginori, Pier Francesco, 137
- Giocondo, Fra, 235
- Giocondo, Francesco del, 186, 187
- Giorgione, vii, 30, 32, 231, 234, 294; Leonardo and, 60, 66; *paragone* debate, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64. WORKS: Allendale *Nativity*, 15; *Boy with a Flute*, 234; Castelfranco altarpiece, 292–93; *Saint George in Armor* (lost), 61; *Tempesta*, 293
- Giotto, 6, 9, 10, 20, 25, 27, 72, 108, 147–48, 160, 297; fourteenth-century sources for, 426n21; influence on Michelangelo, 70, 108; praised by Petrarch, 415n156. WORKS: Arena (Scrovegni) Chapel, 325; Bardi and Peruzzi Chapels (Santa Croce), 70
- Giovanni da Pistoia, 218, 222
- Giovio, Paolo: *Elogia*, 148; Alfonso d'Este and, 288; Leonardo described by, 46, 145–46, 148, 176, 196; Michelangelo described by, 146–47, 148, 149, 176, 227, 196; Perugino criticized by, 176; portrait collection, 148; Raphael described by, 173, 176, 196–97, 227, 288; recognition of master's hand, 117; Titian and, 288
- Giulio Romano, 19, 32, 258, 433n19; and Penni, as Raphael's heirs, 253. WORKS: *Cupid and Psyche*, 322; *Sala dei Giganti*, 329, 330; (with Raphael), *Isabel of Naples*, 191, 192, 194
- Gobbo: *see Solari, Cristoforo*
- goldfinch, 156, 200; *see also Michelangelo, works: Taddei Tondo; Raphael, works: Madonna of the Goldfinch*
- gonfaloniere, 130, 136, 150
- Gonzaga, Federigo, Marchese of Mantua, 270, 449n19; given Jacopo Sansovino's stucco *Laocoön* by Aretino, 352; Mantegna and, 16, 17; *see also Isabella d'Este*
- Gonzaga, Marchese Francesco II, 29; Bellini and, 12, 13
- Gonzaga, ruling family of Mantua, 11
- Gozzi, Alvise, 280, 281, 284
- Granacci, Francesco, 71, 72, 73, 74, 124, 403n14, 440n108
- Grassa, la (Francesco di Giovanni), 241
- Grassis, Paris de, 215; on first unveiling of Sistine ceiling, 220–21
- grazia, 146, 173; Christian meaning, 432n10; of Raphael, 226
- Grazzini, Antonfrancesco, il Lasca, 364
- Greene, Thomas, 3, 327
- Grimani, Domenico, Cardinal; Raphael's *Conversion of Saul* cartoon (lost) acquired by, 279; Jacopo Sansovino's bronze *Laocoön* acquired by, 352
- Grimani, Giovanni, Patriarch of Aquileia, 464n199
- Gritti, Andrea, Doge, vii, 302, 454n90
- G-string, 228
- guardaroba: Alfonso d'Este's, 271; Clement VII's, 354; Cosimo I's, 360
- Guicciardini, Francesco, 214
- Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, 182, 188, 199
- Hadrian, 99, 177
- Hadrian VI, Pope, 353
- hair: beloved's, 55, 56; Christ Child's, 164; Michelangelo's treatment of, 99, 100, 127, 158, 200, 419n203; Virgin Mary's, 112
- haloes, 33
- hand: artist's, individuality of, 10, 19–20, 117, 278, 279, 389n28; sitter's, in portraits, 52, 57
- Heemskerck, Maerten van: drawing of Bandinelli, *Colossus*, 347; drawing of Michelangelo's *Bacchus*, 97
- Helen of Troy, 309, 315
- Hellespontine Sibyl: in Titian's *Pietà*, 385; *see also Michelangelo, works: Sistine ceiling*
- Henri II, King of France, equestrian monument of, proposed to Michelangelo, 296
- Henry VIII, King of England, funerary monument of, designed by Bandinelli, 353
- Heraclitus, 222, 227

- Hercules, 88, 99, 135; depictions of, 137–38; in Florentine imagery, 135, 344, 364; in Venetian imagery, 135; Antaeus and, 139; Cacus and, 360; David and, 135, 136, 344; *see also* Anonymous Roman, *Hercules of the Forum Boarium*; Bandinelli, Baccio, works: *Hercules and Cacus*
hermaphrodites, 99
Hermaphroditus, 99
Hermes, 99
Hesiod, 60
Hesperides, apples of, 88
istoria: *see istoria*
Hollanda, Francisco de, quotes Michelangelo on *disegno*, 316
Holy Family (theme), 162, 165, 166
Homer, 77
honor, and rivalry, 246
Hulse, Clark, 234
hygiene, Michelangelo's, 146, 147, 149
Idea, of beauty, 234, 238; *see also* Castiglione; Raphael
images: devotional, 156, 164; inappropriate response to, 169; miraculous, 40
Imagines: *see* Philostratus the Elder
Imhotep, 254
imitatio, 3, 50, 172, 197, 393n12, 451n49; appreciation of copies and, 352; eclectic or heterogeneous, 293; reproductive or sacramental, 293; *see also* imitation
imitation, 4, 66; as *aemulatio*, 393n12; as *imitatio*, 393n12; eristic, 387n6; humanist distinctions among degrees of, 451n49; parodic, 292
Incarnation, symbolized by Byzantine *Platytera*, 158
ingegno (word), 12
Innocent VIII Cibo, Pope, tomb of, 116
Innocents, 86, 156
insegna (insignia), 359, 420n210
invenzione, 61, 316
Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, Marchesa of Mantua, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 29, 47, 50, 58, 120; letter to Alfonso, 171; Leonardo's portrait of Gallerani borrowed by, 50; Leonardo's portraits of, 47, 50, 51, 52–53, 56–57, 59; letter to Gallerani, 48, 50; Liburnio's *Le selvette* dedicated to, 48; Michelangelo's *Sleeping Cupid* obtained by, 101, 410n86; *paragone* of portraits by Bellini and Leonardo planned by, 41, 48, 50, 54, 60, 66; Philostratus, her copy of, 20; Romano, portrait medal, 56; Santi, portrait of, 59; Titian, fictional portrait of, 59; Bellini and, 11–19, 47, 274; Bembo and, 16, 17, 18; Leonardo and, 29–30, 47, 50, 58; Mantegna and, 11, 16, 29, 30, 59; Perugino and, 16, 391n63
Isabella, Empress, 305; Titian's *Annunciation* presented to, 324
istoria, 11, 13
Jacobello del Fiore: altarpiece of Scuola di San Pietro Martire, 299
James the Less (James Minor), Saint, 198
John the Baptist, Saint: depictions of, 169, 200; infant, 156, 158, 164, 194, 198; patron saint of Florence, 123, 382
Joseph, Saint, 162, 164, 166, 173
Joseph of Arimathaea, Saint, 211, 212, 372, 375, 381
joust (*giostrare*), 324, 325
Judith: Florentine loss of Pisa, 125, 126; David and, 125; *see also* Donatello, works: *Judith*
Julius II della Rovere, Pope, 23, 30, 116, 182, 192, 194, 214, 217, 228, 235, 268, 270; and Michelangelo, 214, 215, 217, 220, 229, 442n137; portrait by Raphael, 192, 193, 194; tomb, 44, 127, 133, 137, 139, 215, 216, 217, 226, 238, 239, 240, 242, 261, 264, 306, 353, 354, 356, 439n94
kiss of death (*morte di bacio*), 309, 310, 312
Kraków, Czartoryski Collection: Leonardo da Vinci, *Cecilia Gallerani* (*Lady with the Ermine*), 32, 35, 48, 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 314
Krautheimer, Richard, 7
Lagraulas: *see* Bilhères Lagraulas, Cardinal Jean de
Lamberti, Niccolò di Pietro, 8
Lana, Arte della (Wool Manufacturers' Guild), 7, 122, 139; Consuls of, 123, 124, 418n190
Landino, Cristoforo: *Apologia di Dante*, 10–11; *Disputationes camaldulenses*, definition of imitation in, 279–80; Pliny, *Natural History*, edition of, 26, 75; tutor of Lorenzo il Magnifico, 75
landscape, 15, 16, 213; in Titian, 284, 301, 325
Landucci, Luca, 129–30, 346
Laocoön, 119, 270, 279, 280, 351, 352, 371, 382, 469n46; *ex uno lapide* paradigm and, 382; *see also* Bandinelli, Baccio, works: *Laocoön*; Bramante, competition of *Laocoön* copies
Latini, Brunetto, *pietà* defined by, 104
laurel: crowns of, 25, 227; Medicean associations of, 351; Petrarchan imagery of, 131–32
Lavin, Irving, 131, 218
Leda, 271; children of, 309, 314; *see also* Bandinelli, Baccio; Correggio; Filarete (Antonio Averlino); Leonardo da Vinci; Michelangelo leggiadria, 166
leggings, Michelangelo's, 149, 222
Leo x de' Medici, Pope, 30, 228, 243, 256, 257–58, 285, 349; *Entrata*, 346, 371, 428n46; Michelangelo and, 235, 242; Michelangelo, opinion of, 257; Raphael's debts to

- Michelangelo recognized by, 235, 260; Raphael's *garzoni* in Sala di Costantino, his opinion of, 256; Sala di Costantino cycle, plans for, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260; San Lorenzo façade, commissioned by, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242; Raphael, 235, 237, 274
- LEONARDO DA VINCI, vi, vii, 3, 11, 17, 19, 22, 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 52, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64, 66, 82, 93, 103, 108, 120, 128, 131, 137, 144, 145–46, 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158, 164, 169, 171, 172, 173, 186, 196, 205, 251, 265, 295, 314, 315, 341, 343, 395n12, 433n17; chiaroscuro and *sfumatura* in, 36, 165, 183, 213; Codex Atlanticus, 40; Codex Vaticanus Urbinas Latinus, *Parte prima, Libro di pittura* (MS A, "Paragone"), 64, 169, 401n92; David placement committee, member of, 124, 125, 126; death, 254; *disegno*, primacy of, 316; "divine," 46, 120; fame, 46–48, 69, 120, 144, 396n34; France, residence in, 170, 295; letter to Lodovico il Moro, 40–41, 44, 48, 59, 66; Michelangelo, competition with, in Sala del Gran Consiglio, 143, 149–50, 156, 230; Michelangelo, influenced by, 164, 170; open-door policy, 47, 120; *paragone*, word used by, 31, 41, 48, 59, 64, 149; *paragone* of painting and poetry, 64–65; *paragone* of painting and sculpture, 33–34, 65–66, 149; pendant for Michelangelo's *David*, 136, 137, 137, 138; portraiture, 48, 50, 52–53, 57–58, 64–65, 203; presentation drawing, 422n235; *rilievo*, concept of, 34, 36, 112; Rome, sojourn in, 169, 170; sculptor, 31, 41, 42, 144; sodomy, 32; Venice, sojourn in, 52, 60, 66; Virgin Mary, characterization of, 33, 37, 48, 50, 60, 66, 85, 87, 105, 108, 112, 113, 161, 166, 169, 200; Bandinelli and, 341, 343; Bellini and, 50, 60, 66; Isabella d'Este and, 29–30; Lorenzo il Magnifico and, 40; Michelangelo and, 86, 87, 105, 108, 120, 129, 138, 143, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 156–57, 158, 161, 162, 163, 166, 169, 170, 200, 341, 343, 365; Verrocchio and, 31, 32, 33, 34, 52, 72, 108, 109, 120. WORKS: *Adoration of the Magi* (underpainting), 32, 33–34, 36–38, 38, 40, 46, 86, 108, 165, 171, 194, 197; angel in Verrocchio's *Baptism of Christ* (painting), 33, 72; *Annunciation* (painting), 86; *Bacchus/Baptist* (painting), 169, 170, 170; *Battle of Anghiari* (drawings and lost cartoon), 46, 143, 150–51, 152, 154–55, 156, 163, 164, 182, 184, 186, 205, 269, 279, 314, 359, 423–24n1, 427n38; Benois *Madonna* (painting), 33, 36, 37, 112; *Cecilia Gallerani* or *Lady with the Ermine* (painting), 32, 35, 48, 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 314; *David* (drawing after Michelangelo), 128, 129, 137, 138; drapery studies, 108, 109, 110, 112; *Ginevra de' Benci* (painting), 32, 34, 48, 52, 57, 87; *Hercules* (drawing), 137; *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* (drawing), 136; Horse (clay model for Sforza monument), 46, 69, 120, 129; *Isabella d'Este* (cartoon), 47, 50, 51, 52–53, 56–57, 58, 59, 60; *Isabella d'Este* (lost drawing), 57; *Kneeling Leda* (drawings), 208, 312, 313, 324–25, 344, 376; *La Belle Ferronnière* (painting), 48, 49, 57, 60, 142; *La Gioconda* (painting), 46, 47, 48, 183, 186, 186–87, 188, 189, 190, 194; *Last Supper* (mural), 46, 69, 105, 108, 109, 416n165, 417n180; *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne* (cartoon), 46, 47, 108, 120, 152, 153, 161, 163, 164–65, 166, 197, 198; *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne* (painting), 108, 161, 165, 167, 376; *Madonna Litta* (painting), 85; *Madonna of the Carnation* or *Madonna with a Vase of Flowers* (painting), 32, 37, 39, 86, 112, 113; *Madonna of the Rocks* (painting), 46, 105, 108, 109; *Madonna of the Yarnwinder* (painting), 198, 199; *Medusa* (lost painting), 73; *Neptune* (drawing), 128, 137; *Portrait of a Musician* (painting), 48; *Saint John the Baptist* (painting), 168, 169; Sforza monument (drawings), 42, 43, 44, 45, 44, 45, 46, 60; *Standing Leda* (painting and drawings), 196, 313, 314–15, 344; Trivulzio monument (drawings), 44, 45
- Leoni, Francesco: copies of Michelangelo's *Leda and the Swan* and *Venus and Cupid*, 332
- Leoni, Leone: Michelangelo's wax model of *Hercules and Antaeus* given to, 356
- Levine, Saul, 123
- Liburnio, Nicolò: *Le selvette* dedicated to Isabella d'Este, 48; sonnets in praise of Bellini, 28, 48
- Lionello d'Este, Marchese of Ferrara, 48
- Lippi, Filippino, 126, 394n4, 433n17. WORKS: Carafa Chapel, 297; tomb of Filippo Lippi, 475n125
- Lippi, Filippo, 343, 475n125
- Lodovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, 40, 41, 43, 48, 50, 52
- Loggia dei Lanzi, 126, 128
- Lombardo, Tullio, 418n184; influence on Michelangelo, 108. WORKS: *Adam*, 98, 99–100; *Last Supper* (relief after Leonardo), 417n180; *Warrior*, 127
- Lombards, 117, 118, 119
- London, British Museum: Anonymous Roman, *Crouching Venus*, 208, 210; Michelangelo, studies for *Cascina* and *Bruges Madonna* (drawing), 160; Michelangelo, two drawings for Sebastiano's *Raising of Lazarus*, 247; Raphael, drawing after Michelangelo, *David*, 197; Raphael, drawing after Michelangelo, *Saint Matthew*, 205, 206; Schongauer, *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (engraving), 73

- London, Burlington House, Royal Academy of Arts: Michelangelo, *Taddei Tondo*, 156–58, 157, 196, 197, 200, 203, 205, 210, 212
- London, National Gallery: Bellini, *Portrait of a Man* ("Pietro Bembo"); on loan from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 52–53, 54; Leonardo, *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne* (cartoon), 46, 47, 108, 120, 152, 153, 161, 163, 164–65, 166, 197; Mantegna, *Cult of Cybele*, 18; Michelangelo, *Entombment*, 144, 146, 208, 210, 262, 376; Raphael, *Portrait of Pope Julius II*, 192, 193, 194; Sebastiano, *Raising of Lazarus*, 234, 248, 250, 251, 252, 252, 254, 255, 260; Titian, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 272, 276, 279, 280, 286, 463n196
- London, Victoria and Albert Museum: Desiderio da Settignano (attr.), *Madonna and Child* (*Dudley Madonna*), 37, 83, 86
- Lorenzi, Giovanni, 114, 115
- Lorenzo da Pavia, 13, 14, 15, 16, 47, 60
- Lorenzo il Magnifico de' Medici, 22, 29, 41, 45, 134, 228, 343; antique *Sleeping Cupid* owned by, 96; death, 88; poetry, 310; vase collection, 357; villa at Spedaletto, 22, 150; Landino and, 75; Leonardo and, 40; Michelangelo and, 74, 75, 132
- Loth, Carlo, copy of *Death of Saint Peter Martyr* by Titian, 300, 301
- Lotto, Lorenzo, in Rome, 434n31, 442n139
- Louis XII, King of France, 270
- Lovati, Lovato dei, 25
- love, 59; spiritual, 322; death and, 310; interior decoration and, 320–21, 322
- Luciani, Sebastiano: see Sebastiano del Piombo
- Luke, Saint, 3; paintings of Virgin Mary by, 40
- Lysippos, 114; see also Anonymous Roman
- Macchiavelli, Niccolò, 427n38
- Madonna: see Virgin Mary
- Madonna and Child and Saint Anne (theme): see *Anna Metterza*
- Madonna of Humility: see Virgin Mary, characterizations of
- Madrid, Museo del Prado: Raphael, *Cardinal*, 190; Raphael, *Spasimo di Sicilia*, 251, 253; Sebastiano, *Christ in Limbo*, 264; Titian, *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, 272, 277, 284, 285, 325; Titian, *Tityus (Damned)*, 330, 333; Titian, *Worship of Venus*, 272, 273, 277, 278, 279
- Magdalene, Saint Mary, images of, 211, 212, 311, 317
- Magliabechiano, Anonimo: see Anonimo Magliabechiano
- Malaspina, Alberigo, Marchese of Massa, 138
- Malchiostro, Broccardo, 297
- Manetti, Antonio (attr.): *Vita di Brunelleschi*, 387n16
- maniera (word), 28, 31, 71, 144
- Mannerists, 205
- Mantegazza, Cristoforo and Antonio, 42, 44
- Mantegna, Andrea, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 50, 270, 404n31; ceiling painting, 329; "miniaturist" commission rejected by, 16, 17; tomb, 475n125; Bellini and, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19; Federigo Gonzaga and, 16, 17. WORKS: *Camera Picta* (fresco), 329, 330; *Cult of Cybele*, 18; *Parnassus*, 11; *Portrait of Isabella d'Este* (lost), 59
- Mantua, Ducal Palace: Mantegna, *Camera Picta*, 329, 330; Studiolo of Isabella d'Este, 11, 16, 17, 20, 66, 274, 390n39; see also Isabella d'Este
- Mantua, Palazzo Te: Giulio Romano, *Sala dei Giganti*, 329, 330; Giulio Romano, *Cupid and Psyche*, 322
- Manutius, Aldus, Bembo's edition of Petrarch's poems published by, 54
- Marcello, Alvise, 14
- Marcus Aurelius, equestrian monument of, 45
- Maréchal de Gié: see Rohan, Pierre de
- Margaret of Valois, 274
- marmorarii*, 109
- Martini, Luca, 402n103
- Martini, Simone: see Simone Martini
- Mary, Queen of Hungary, 327
- Masaccio, 184; characterization of Virgin Mary, 161; Masolino and, 9. WORKS: Brancacci Chapel (fresco; with Masolino), 9, 70–71, 72; *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne* (panel; with Masolino), 164; *Tribute Money* (Brancacci Chapel), 152
- masquerade, 166
- Massa: see Malaspina, Alberigo
- master, surpassed by pupil (trope), 72
- Matthias, King of Hungary, 65
- Maximilian I, emperor: marriage to Bianca Maria Sforza, 46
- medals, portrait, 58; see also Romano, Gian Cristoforo
- Medici, Alessandro, Duke of Florence, 361, 472n89; enmity with Michelangelo, 364; *Hercules and Cacus* by Bandinelli supported by, 364, 366; *Venus and Cupid* by Michelangelo and Pontormo acquired by, 321
- Medici, Catherine de', Queen of France, 472n89; solicits equestrian monument of Henri II by Michelangelo, 296
- Medici, Cosimo I: see Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence
- Medici, family of Florence, 101, 134, 237, 306; bastards, 446n193; collections, 83, 343; expulsion from and return to Florence, 306, 307; kinship with Strozzi, 407n67; kinship with Michelangelo, 404n24; Orphic imagery, 350–51; palace, 78; sculpture garden, 40, 74, 75; see also Clement VII de' Medici, Pope; Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence; Leo X de' Medici, Pope

- Medici, Giovanni de', Cardinal: *see* Leo x de'
 Medici, Pope
 Medici, Giuliano de', Duke of Nemours, 345,
 407n67; Bandinelli's *Saint Peter* sponsored by,
 345; tomb by Michelangelo, 307, 309, 310–11,
 311 (*Night*), 323, 326 (*Duke Giuliano de'
 Medici*), 335, 356, 367, 421n214
 Medici, Giulio de', Cardinal: commissions
 Bandinelli to replace missing right arm of
Laocoön, 351; commission of San Lorenzo
 façade, 238, 239, 240, 242; commissions
 competing altarpieces by Raphael
(*Transfiguration*) and Sebastiano (*Raising of
Lazarus*), 246, 247, 250–51, 252, 255, 261,
357; coronation as Clement VII, 353; patron of
Bandinelli's *Colossi*, 347; patron of Bandinelli's
Laocoön, 352, 353; patron of Bandinelli's
Orpheus and Cerberus, 350; Raphael's debts to
Michelangelo perceived by, 235; *see also*
Clement VII de' Medici, Pope
Medici, Lorenzo de', Duke of Urbino, 472n89;
 portrait by Raphael (lost), 274; tomb by
 Michelangelo, 323, 326, 356, 421n214
 Medici, Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de',
 Michelangelo and, 96
 Medici, Lorenzo il Magnifico de': *see* Lorenzo il
 Magnifico de' Medici
 Medici, Ottaviano de', copies by Vasari of
 Michelangelo's *Venus and Cupid* and *Leda and
the Swan* owned by, 331–32
 Medici, Piero de', 41, 93, 128; patron of
 Michelangelo's *Hercules*, 88, 296, 346
 melancholia, 225, 299
 men, feminized depictions of, 99, 100, 169;
gagliardria appropriate to, 166; *see also*
 androgyny; nudes, male
 Mendoza, Don Diego Hurtado de, 333, 334
 MICHELANGELO DI LODOVICO BUONARROTI, vi,
 vii, 3, 17, 18, 19, 25, 29, 30, 32, 33, 70, 72,
 79–80, 83, 93, 94, 96–97, 101, 119, 127, 144,
 147, 148, 149, 171, 183, 197, 203, 225–26,
 238, 245, 262, 271, 301, 307, 309, 316, 341,
 356, 376, 404n24, 454n90; addressed by name,
 not as "the sculptor," 148; Alfonso d'Este and,
 270–71, 306–09, 320; anatomical treatise
 planned by, 93, 225; antique motifs and
 antiquity in, 28, 70, 75, 76, 79, 82, 83, 97,
 101, 208, 210, 323; Aretino and, 332–33, 334,
 335, 448n6; assistants, 240, 356, 440n108;
 Baccio d'Agnolo, collaboration with, 238, 239,
 241, 243; Bandinelli, rivalry with, 356, 357,
 358, 466n6; block as paradigm and motif in,
 158, 165, 222, 289, 292, 360, 365, 376, 383;
 Bologna, sojourn in, 93, 306, 346; Bramante,
 rivalry with, 216, 217, 227; Bramante praised
 by, 214; bronze, 130, 131, 134, 445n171;
cangianti, 165, 183, 205, 213; Carrara,
 sojourns in, 138, 239, 240, 241; colorism
 criticized by contemporaries, 243, 245, 317,
 318; colossi, 122, 138, 215, 346; contracts, 10,
 416n168, 429n52; contracts for tomb of Julius
 II, 264, 439n94; copies after other masters, 70,
 71, 72–74, 75; Dante read by, 93; *David's*
 pendant commission sought by, 135, 138, 139,
 215, 217, 226, 342, 356, 357, 360–61;
 described by Vasari, 372; devotional images
 by, 155–56, 164; *disegno* privileged by, 243,
 244, 316, 317, 338; dissections done by, 93;
 "divine," 120, 394n27; draperies, 108, 109,
 112; dress, 149, 427n31; epigraphy, 115; facial
 expression in works by, 127, 128, 200; fame,
 74, 88, 93, 116, 118, 122, 135, 144, 162, 229;
 fees, 154, 156, 161, 242, 306, 308, 429n52,
 454n86; Ferrara, sojourns in, 306–07, 308,
 325; *figura serpentinata*, 361; finish, 116, 123,
 203; Florence, final departure from, 364;
 forgeries by, 95–96, 101, 102, 323; friends,
 147, 409n83; funeral, 145, 149, 427n31;
gagliardia in works by, 166; Ghirlandaio,
 association with, 27–28, 31, 71, 72, 74, 75,
 109, 113, 143; Giotto, influenced by, 70, 71,
 108, 205; Giovio's description of, 196; hygiene,
 146, 147, 149, 173, 355; Golden Horn, model
 for bridge over, 295; Julius II and, 23, 229;
 landscape in, 164, 301; *Last Judgment*
 criticized by Aretino, 335; *Leda and the Swan*
 given to Mini, 295; Leonardo, influenced by,
 156–57, 197; letters quoted, 82, 96, 97, 120,
 148, 215, 217, 218, 221, 241, 242–43, 255–56,
 258, 295, 295–96, 357–58, 358–59; Masaccio
 studied by, 70, 71, 152, 205; media of his panel
 paintings, 262, 437n61; Medici palace, living
 in, 75, 88, 101, 114, 228; Medici sculpture
 garden, studies in, 40, 74, 75; models, male,
 78, 112, 158, 160, 165, 322–23; narrative in,
 312–13, 315; Nature, observation of, 71, 74,
 75, 82, 315; *non-finito*, 134; nose broken by
 Torrigiani, 71, 173; nudes, female, 315–16,
 323, 324, 338; nudes, male, 102, 122, 152,
 324, 338; oil, opinion and use of, 165, 196,
 262, 437n61; painting, reluctance toward, 215,
 216, 217, 218; palette, 165; *paragone* letter to
 Varchi, 79–80; patrons, 118, 158, 296;
 personality, 145, 146–47, 149, 172–73, 220,
 228, 229; Perugino called a clod by, 176;
 Petrarch, knowledge of, 93, 131, 132, 134;
 Pliny, knowledge of, 101, 114; poetry by, 28,
 29, 82, 131, 132, 267, 322; Pontormo,
 collaboration with, 97–98, 147, 149, 267, 316,
 317, 318, 319, 320, 321; portrait of, in
 Raphael's *Parnassus*, 227; portrait of, in
 Raphael's *School of Athens*, 222, 223, 225–26,
 227, 268; portraiture disdained by, 183–84,
 308, 335; *postille* dictated by, 267; presentation
 drawings, 156, 323–24, 429n54; pun by, 9;
 pyramidal composition in, 38, 165; reassured
 by friends, 258; Rome, final move to, 324;
 secretiveness, 82, 120, 147, 183, 220, 288, 356;

self-fashioning, 27, 28, 69, 72, 87, 131, 132, 134, 149, 212, 215, 309, 372, 381; self-portrait as Nicodemus in Florence Pietà, 371, 372, 373, 374, 374–76; settings, minimalist, 78–79, 152, 213; signatures, 113–18, 117, 119, 132, 133, 134, 144, 177, 291, 292, 309, 366, 370, 380; slung-leg motif, 158; sonnet on *Night*, 310–11; sonnet complaining about painting Sistine ceiling, 218, 219, 220; tomb, plans for, 371, 372; Titian, influenced by, 457n130; Twelve Apostles, commission for, 135, 139, 226, 229, 345, 421n228; Venice, sojourns in, 84, 93, 102, 267, 295, 307, 308, 361; Virgin Mary, characterizations of, 83–84, 87, 102, 105, 108, 112, 117, 119, 156, 158, 159–61, 165, 166, 169, 200, 203, 315, 316; wetnurse, 82; women, masculinized, 99, 322–23, 332, 333; works alone, ostensibly, 28, 220, 356; Bellini and, 84, 93, 102, 108, 159, 375; Cavalieri and, 184, 330; Colonna and, 156, 166, 316; Condivi and, 28, 149, 267, 324; Donatello and, 70, 71, 79, 80, 82, 83, 131, 134, 158, 205; father, Lodovico, and, 144, 172, 173, 343; Leonardo and, 86, 87, 93, 105, 108, 109, 113, 143, 145, 146, 148, 149–50, 155, 156, 158, 161, 162, 166, 183, 213, 235, 313–14, 376; Lorenzo il Magnifico and, 74, 75, 88, 132, 134, 228, 310; Poliziano and, 101, 114, 115; Raphael and, 69, 171, 173, 182, 183, 200, 205, 213, 214, 227, 243; Republic and, 139, 143, 264, 306; Sebastiano and, 145, 149, 243, 245, 235, 246, 247, 250, 256, 257–58, 262, 267, 308, 316, 356–57, 397n39; Soderini and, 155, 182; Titian and, vii, 267, 270, 307, 308, 309, 317, 325, 334, 335, 336–38. WORKS: *Archers* (presentation drawing), 324; *Ascension of Saint John* (drawing after Giotto), 68; *Bacchus* (marble), 97–102, 99, 122, 158, 169, 258, 323, 346; *Battle of Cascina* (drawings and lost cartoon), 135, 143, 147, 150–51, 152, 154, 156, 160, 162, 164, 171–72, 184, 196, 205, 208, 212, 225, 258, 270, 301, 325, 342, 344, 345, 359; *Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths* (marble relief), 76, 76–79, 80, 87, 88, 101, 152, 154, 171, 242, 323; *Battling Horsemen and Soldiers* (drawing), 151; *Bruges Madonna* (drawing), 160; *Bruges Madonna* (marble), 102, 111, 112, 120, 156, 158–59, 160, 200, 203, 296, 405n48, 429n52; *Brutus* (marble), 323, 405n43; crucifix (wood), 90, 90–93, 112, 377–78; *Cupid* (lost marble), 102–103; *David* (lost bronze after Donatello), 130, 131, 132, 134, 156, 242, 296, 420–21n213, 421n228, 437n63; *David* (marble), vii, 14, 69, 88, 90, 99, 119–20, 122–30, 126, 127, 128–30, 132, 135, 139, 144, 150, 154, 156, 158, 183, 196, 203, 205, 210, 215, 344, 346, 350, 364–66, 371, 416n168; *Doni Tondo (Holy Family)*; panel painting), 154, 156, 161–64, 163, 164–66, 169, 183, 196, 200, 203, 205, 208, 210, 213, 262, 315, 376; drawing for *Venus and Cupid* by Pontormo, 321; drawings for Sebastiano, 235, 246, 247, 262, 263, 264; *Dying Slave* (marble), 237, 289, 291, 292; *Entombment* (oil), 144, 146, 208, 210, 262, 376; *Epiphany* (cartoon), 426n27, 461n176; *Eve (Temptation of Adam and Eve, Sistine Ceiling)*, 127, 267; *Fall of Phaeton* (presentation drawing), 324; *Ganymede* (presentation drawing), 323, 330; *Head of a Faun* (lost marble), 74, 75, 88, 323, 343; *Hercules* (lost marble), 88, 90, 93, 122, 296, 323, 344, 346; *Julius II* (destroyed bronze), 242, 271, 421n213; *Last Judgment* (Sistine Chapel fresco), 70, 127, 323, 335; Laurentian Library, 354, 356; *Leda and the Swan* (lost panel painting), 210, 211, 271, 291, 292, 295, 296, 307–14, 315, 323, 324, 325, 332, 335, 344, 346, 371, 375, 376, 381; *Madonna and Child* (cartoon), 461n176; *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne* after Leonardo (drawing), 162, 163–64; *Madonna of the Stairs* (marble relief), 79–80, 80, 82, 83, 85–86, 87, 112, 156, 158, 160, 171, 200, 211, 242; *Male Nude* (wax model), 88, 89, 407n65, 420n210; *Male Nude, Head of the Madonna, and Other Heads* (drawing), 162; *Manchester Madonna* (panel painting), 144; *Medici Madonna and Child* (marble), 85; *Moses* (tomb of Pope Julius II; marble), 127, 237; *Noli me tangere* (lost cartoon for Pontormo), 317; *Pauline Chapel*, 127, 295; *Piccolomini altar* (marble), 10, 183, 425n7; *Pietà* (Florence; marble), 85, 212, 371, 372, 373, 374–76, 381, 382, 385, 475n128; *Pietà* (Vatican), 69, 85, 102, 103–04, 105, 107, 112, 113–18, 119, 123, 125, 132, 139, 154, 158, 165, 177, 203, 205, 351; *Pitti Tondo* (marble relief), 156, 158, 159, 160, 166, 200, 212; *Portrait of Andrea Quaratesi* (presentation drawing), 184; *Punishment of Tityus* (presentation drawing), 330, 332; *Rebellious Slave* (marble), 237, 289, 292; *Risen Christ* (marble), 92, 295, 347, 371, 408n71; *River God* (terracotta model), 464n119; *Rondanini Pietà* (marble), 376, 377; *Saint Matthew* (marble), 156, 196, 205, 206, 210, 211, 225–26; San Lorenzo façade (drawings), 237–43, 240; San Lorenzo façade (drawings and wood model), 228, 242, 243, 354, 356; Sistine ceiling (fresco), 23, 27, 69, 170 (*Ignudi*), 214, 215–18, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225 (*Jeremiah*), 226, 227, 229, 231 (*Ignudi*), 245, 267, 268, 270, 297, 301, 316, 440n108; *Slave* (drawing), 290, 292; *Sleeping Cupid* (lost marble), 95–96, 101–02, 285, 410n86; snowman (melted), 88, 93, 343; *Stigmatization of Saint Francis* (lost), 143–44; *Taddei Tondo* (marble relief), 156–58, 157, 196, 197, 200,

- 203, 205, 210, 212; studies for *David* and verse fragments (drawing), 131, 133; *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (lost painting after Schongauer), 72–74, 75, 88, 122, 143; tomb of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, 307, 309, 310–11, 311 (*Night*), 323, 326 (*Duke Giuliano de' Medici*), 335, 356, 367, 421n214; tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, 321 (*Dawn*), 323, 326, 356, 421n214; tomb of Pope Julius II, 44, 127, 133, 137, 139, 215, 216, 217, 226, 238, 239, 240, 242, 261, 264, 306, 353, 354, 356, 439n94; tomb of Saint Dominic (marble), 93–95, 97; *Angel*, 95, *Saint Petronius*, and *Saint Proclus*; *Two Combattants* (terracotta), 361; *Victory* (marble), 472n88
- Michiel, Marcantonio, 252
- Migliorotti, Atalante, 395n16, 397n47
- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana: Leonardo da Vinci, *Portrait of a Musician*, 48
- Milan, Castello Sforzesco: Michelangelo, *Rondanini Pietà*, 376, 377
- Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera: Bellini, *Pietà*, 375; Raphael, *Sposalizio (Betrothal of the Virgin)*, 174
- Milan, Private Collection: Pontormo and Michelangelo, *Noli me tangere*, 319
- Milan, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Refectory: Leonardo, *Last Supper*, 110, 417n180
- Millon, Henry, 243
- Mini, Antonio, and Michelangelo's *Leda and the Swan*, 295, 296, 426n27
- mirror, equivalent of painting, 64; reflections in, 61, 62, 63, 64
- Monciatto, Francesco, 125
- Morgante, Dwarf, 137
- Mouscron brothers, patrons of Bruges *Madonna* by Michelangelo, 156, 296
- Munich, Alte Pinakothek: Botticelli, *Pietà (Lamentation)*, 106; Leonardo, *Madonna of the Carnation*, 39; Perugino, *Vision of Saint Bernard*, 182
- Murano, Santa Maria degli Angeli, 305, 306
- Mussato, Albertino, 25
- Nanni di Banco, 8
- Naples, Capodimonte: Bronzino, copy of cartoon of *Venus and Cupid* by Michelangelo, 321; Titian, *Danae*, 335–37, 336; Titian, *Paul III Farnese and His Grandsons*, 335, 337
- Narbonne, Saint Juste, placement of altarpieces by Raphael and Sebastiano in, 246
- Narcissus, and invention of painting, 63
- Nardi, Jacopo: *I due felici rivali*, 350–51
- Nasi, Lorenzo, 200
- New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: Leonardo, *Hercules* (drawing), 137; Michelangelo, study for the tomb of Julius II (drawing), 238, 239; Pollaiuolo, Antonio da, study for the Sforza monument (drawing), 42;
- Raimondi, *Climbers* (engraving), 155; Raphael, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints Peter, Catherine, Paul, (?)Cecilia, and the Infant John the Baptist* (Colonna altarpiece), 194, 195; Titian, *Triumph of Faith* (woodcut), 269; Vico, *Academy of Baccio Bandinelli* (engraving), 354, 355
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 415n164
- Niccolini, Bernardo, 241
- Niccolò dell'Arca: tomb of Saint Dominic, 93, 94
- Nicodemus, 212, 372, 374, 381, 475n126; Michelangelo's self-portrait as, 371, 372, 374–76
- nocturnes, 235, 293
- nodus, 122
- Novellara, Fra' Pietro da, letters to Isabella d'Este, 47, 120, 163, 198
- nudes, female, 309, 315–16, 325
- nudes, male, 78, 102, 127, 359, 464n207
- Oddi, Leandra degli, 438n77
- oil, 165, 196, 256, 262, 263, 293, 352, 437n61; mixed with tempera, 403–04n17
- onions, 255
- Operai of Florence cathedral, 119, 122, 124, 139; commission Agostino di Duccio to make giant pendant of cathedral *Hercules*, 344; commission Bandinelli's *Saint Peter*, 345; commissions for Twelve Apostles, 135, 136, 139, 143, 345; and *David*, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124
- Orcagna, Andrea, 8
- Orpheus, 350–51
- Ovid, 77; story of Galatea and Polyphemus from *Metamorphoses*, 230, 234
- Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: after Leonardo, *Isabella d'Este* (drawing), 57; Michelangelo, *Battling Horsemen and Soldiers* (drawing), 151; Michelangelo, *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne* (drawing), 162, 164; Michelangelo, *Male Nude, Head of the Madonna, and Other Heads* (drawing), 162; Raphael, *Body of Christ* (drawing), 208; Raphael, *Entombment* (drawing), 210
- Pacioli, Luca, 52
- Padua, Arena (Scrovegni) Chapel by Giotto, 297, 325
- Padua, Basilica del Santo, high altar: Donatello, *Madonna and Child*, 160
- Padua, Scuola del Santo: Titian, *Miracle of the Jealous Husband*, 266
- painting, and poetry, 65, 393n9; see also *paragone*
- painting within painting, 290, 385
- Palla, Battista della, 295
- Palladio, Blosio, 229
- Palma il Giovane, Jacopo, and Titian's *Pietà*, 383–84, 385

- Palma il Vecchio, 56, 294, 299; competition with Titian, 298, 299. WORKS: *Death of Saint Peter Martyr* (Alzano Lombardo), 299; *Saint Barbara with Saints*, 286
- Panofsky, Erwin, 3, 4
- paragone, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 31, 41, 48, 50, 54, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 74, 228, 247, 273, 275, 276, 304, 305, 342, 358, 379, 395n11; among the arts, 26, 27, 29, 33–34, 55, 64; contractual stipulation, 262; debated in Milan, 59, 60; of painting and poetry, 230, 321, 323; of painting and sculpture, 64, 65–66, 79–80, 137, 149, 165, 196, 212, 301, 323, 385; text by Cellini, 466n3; treatise planned by Giovanni della Casa, 422n238; with antiquity, 97, 101–02, 122, 323, 410n86; *see also* Castiglione; Giorgione; Leonardo da Vinci; Pino; Varchi
- parapet, in portraits, 56, 57
- Parenti, Pietro, 125
- Paris, Ecole National Supérieur des Beaux-Arts: Michelangelo, *Slave* (drawing), 290
- Paris, Musée du Louvre: Dürer, *Melencolia I*, 225; Leonardo, *Bacchus* (*Baptist*), 169, 170; Leonardo, *La Belle Ferronnière*, 48, 49, 57, 60, 142; Leonardo, drapery study for *Madonna of the Rocks*, 110; Leonardo, *La Gioconda*, 46, 47, 48, 183, 186, 186–87, 188, 189, 190, 194; Leonardo, *Isabella d'Este* (cartoon), 47, 50, 51, 52–53, 56–57, 58, 59, 60; Leonardo, *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne* (painting), 108, 161, 165, 167, 376; Leonardo, *Madonna of the Rocks*, 46, 105, 108, 109; Leonardo, *Saint John the Baptist*, 168, 169; Michelangelo, *Ascension of Saint John* (drawing after Giotto), 68; Michelangelo, drawing with studies for David and verse fragments, 131, 133; Michelangelo, *Dying Slave*, 237, 289, 291, 292; Michelangelo, *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne* (drawing), 162, 163–64; Quarto (attr.), Avignon *Pietà*, 105, 106; Raphael, *Archangel Michael*, 250; Raphael, drawing after Michelangelo, Taddei Tondo, 200, 202, 203, 305; Raphael, *Lamentation* (drawing), 209; Raphael, *Madonna of Francis I*, 250, 274; Raphael, *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, 190; Raphael, *Portrait of Raphael and His Fencing Master*, 191; Raphael and Giulio Romano, *Isabel of Naples*, 191, 192, 194; Savoldo, *Man in Armor*, 63
- Parks, N. Randolph, 123
- parody, of antiquity, 100, 102
- patriciate, Venetian, 53
- patrons, 8, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 29, 272, 273, 306
- Paul, Saint: depictions of, 194, 195; Sistine tapestry cycle of, 237, 238
- Paul III Farnese, Pope, 335
- Pavia: San Giacomo, 10; *Regisole*, 46
- pelican, pious, 104
- Pellegrino da San Daniele, painting after *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* drawing by Raphael, 274, 278, 279
- Penni, Gianfrancesco (Giovanni Francesco), 19, 238, 253, 433n19
- Perugia, Cambio: Perugino, *God the Father with Angels, Prophets, and Sibyls*, 181
- Perugia, churches: cathedral, Chapel of the Holy Ring (Chapel of Saint Joseph), 173
- San Francesco al Prato: Baglioni Chapel, 206; Oddi Chapel, 182
- Perugino, Pietro (Pietro Vannucci), 20, 22, 31, 46, 113, 172, 176, 178, 179, 181, 199, 206, 222, 419n197; contract for Santa Maria in Corciano *Assumption*, 433n18; Isabella and, 16, 391n63; Raphael and, 171, 173, 176, 178; signature, 438n79. WORKS: *Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter*, 23, 176, 179; *God the Father with Angels, Prophets, and Sibyls*, 181; *Lamentation*, 207, 209; *Sposalizio (Betrothal of the Virgin)*, 173, 175, 176, 178, 179; *Triumph of Chastity*, 16; *Vision of Saint Bernard*, 182
- Peruzzi, Baldassare, 234; copies of *Standing Leda* by Leonardo, 315
- Pesaro, Museo Civico: Bellini, *Coronation of the Virgin*, 181
- Peter, Saint, 105; depictions of, 194, 195; Sistine tapestry cycle of, 237
- Peter Martyr, Saint, first Dominican martyr, 300; *see also* Titian, *Death of Saint Peter Martyr*
- Petrarch, Francesco, 6, 54, 55–56, 93, 128, 134, 147, 279; *De remediis*, 86; Giotto's *Madonna* praised by, 415n156; imitation explained by, 267; laurel, 25, 131–32; portrait by Bronzino, 321; quoted by Michelangelo, 131, 132; rebirth, concept of, 25; sonnet 269, 131, 132; sonnets on Simone's portrait of Laura, 54
- Philip II, King of Spain, Cellini's crucifix given to, 380; Titian and, 17, 324, 383
- Philostratus the Elder, 20; *Imagines*, 271, 272, 443n142
- physiognomy, theories of, 365
- Piccolomini, Sienese family, 10, 20; *see also* Todeschini-Piccolomini
- Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni: imitation explained by, 27; kiss of death described by, 309, 310; letter to Isabella about Raphael's death, 446n208
- pieces, sculpture made in, 357, 358; and Bandinelli, technique of, 360; *see also ex uno lapide*
- Pierino da Vinci: *Ugolino and His Sons*, 66
- Piero di Cosimo, 126
- Piero di Jacopo, 7
- Pietà* (theme), 371, 375, 376; *see also* Aeneas; pelican
- pietà* (word), 103, 104, 105
- Pietrasanta, quarries of, 240

- Pietro da Novellara, Fra: *see* Novellara, Fra Pietro da
- Pietro d'Ancona, 246
- pingebat* (word), in signatures, 413n123, 450n31
- Pino, Paolo, 62, 63, 267, 300; behavioral recommendations to artist, 299–300; competition for Saint Peter Martyr altarpiece described by, 299, 300; *Dialogo di pittura*, 28; Giorgione's paragonistic *Saint George* described by, 61, 62, 63, 64; parts of painting named, 316; signatures defended by, 415n164
- Pinturicchio, Bernardino, 20, 22; and Raphael, 182, 221
- Piombo: *see* Sebastiano del Piombo
- Pisa, 125, 126, 128, 152; Camposanto battle sarcophagus, 78; cathedral doors, 7
- Pisanello: portrait contest with Jacopo Bellini, 48
- Pisano, Andrea, 9; signature, 113, 114. WORKS: Florence Baptistry doors, 6, 7
- Pisano, Giovanni: signatures, 4, 113
- Pisano, Nicola: *Fortitude*, 418n186; tomb of Saint Dominic, 93, 94
- Pitti, Bartolommeo, 156
- pittore (word), 300
- Plato, *Symposium*, 464n207
- Platytera, 158
- Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 26, 60, 75, 95, 96, 101, 114, 115, 119, 134, 212; Apelles in, 211, 214; competition among artists in, 455–56n107; editions of, 26; *ex uno lapide*, paradigm of, 382; *faciebat*, use in signatures recommended, 114, 117, 366; *Laocoön* described, 351; Polykleitos in, 114; Protogenes in, 114, 211; *Toro Farnese* described, 371; Venus of Knidos by Praxiteles, aroused worshiper of, described, 169, 323; Zeuxis's use of multiple models explained, 234, 348
- poems, as art criticism, 176, 341, 356, 364, 366
- poesia (word), 270, 389n31
- poetry, and painting, 65, 393n9; *see also paragone*
- Poliziano, Angelo, 105, 114, 115, 230, 234, 406n58; *faciebat*, use of, 114–15; *Liber miscellaneorum*, 114; Michelangelo and, 76, 77, 78, 79, 101, 114, 115
- Pollaiuolo, Antonio del, 31–32, 475n125; signatures, 414–15n152. WORKS: *Battle of Ten Nude Men* (engraving), 78, 359; study for the Sforza monument, 42, 43, 44, 46; tomb of Sixtus IV, 116
- Pollaiuolo, Simone del: *see* Cronaca, il
- Polycitus: *see* Polykleitos
- Polygnotos, 75
- Polykleitos, 40, 114, 401n102
- polyptych (format), 285–86, 293–94
- Pontormo, Jacopo, 147; *colorito*, 317; Michelangelo and, 149, 267, 316, 317, 318, 321. WORKS: *Noli me tangere*, 316, 317–18, 319, 461n171; *Venus and Cupid*, 97–98, 320, 322, 325, 332, 462n183
- pony-tail, 56
- Pope-Hennessy, Sir John, 343
- Pordenone (Giovanni Antonio Sacchis), vii, 297, 302, 304–05, 306; fees, 306; influenced by Michelangelo, 297, 302; influenced by Titian, 302, 306; rivalry with Titian, 298, 299, 302, 304, 305, 306. WORKS: *Annunciation*, 305, 306; *Curtius on Horseback*, 304–05; *Death of Saint Peter Martyr (modello)*, 298, 299; *God the Father with Putti*, Malchiostro Chapel, cupola, 297; San Giovanni Elemosinario, cupola, 302, 303, 305; San Rocco armadio doors (*Saints Martin and Christopher*), 301–02, 302 (*Saint Christopher*); San Rocco, choir, frescoes, 301
- portraits and portraiture, 20, 52, 58, 87, 192, 194, 235, 369; animal, 284, 450n30;
- competitions of, by Este, 48, 50, 52; likeness, 50, 64–65; narrative conception of, 52, 57–58; papal, 20, 192, 194; profile, 58, 59, 192; relation of subject to beholder, 52, 58; state, 192
- postilla, on Bramante, 214; on colossus, 138; on Donatello, 134; on Sultan Bayezid, commissions of, 296
- postille, 79, 93, 267
- Praxiteles: Cupid, statues of, 95–96, 101; Dionysus, 102; Venus Pudica, 40, 96, 323
- presentation drawings: by Leonardo, 422n235; by Michelangelo, 323, 324, 330, 332
- pricking, 57; *see also spolvero*
- Primaticcio, Francesco, 295
- prints, and self-promotion, 353, 354, 393n8
- Protogenes, 114; and Apelles, 60, 212
- puns, 9, 69, 415n164; laurel, 131–32; Malatesta, 428n39; Michelangelo's name, 120, 402n2
- Michelangelo's signature, 115; Saint Peter's name, 105, 178, 413n121; Vinci, 399n67; visual, 132
- Quaratesi, Andrea, portrait drawing by Michelangelo, 184
- quarries, marble: *see* block, colossal; Carrara; Pietrasanta
- Quarton, Enguerrand: *see* Avignon Pietà
- Quintillian, 148
- Raimondi, Marcantonio, 154, 270. WORKS: *Climbers*, engraving after *Battle of Cascina* by Michelangelo, 155; *Martyrdom of Saint Laurence*, engraving after Bandinelli, 353
- RAPHAEL, vi, vii, 10, 19, 25, 29, 30, 46, 146, 171, 172–73, 178, 182, 183, 191–92, 220, 235, 238, 243, 246, 254, 255, 265, 270, 280, 338; Bramante's *Laocoön* competition judged by, 352; colorism, 183, 213, 227, 243; competition in Camerino cycle perceived by, 275; contract

for San Niccolò Tolentino altarpiece, 432n4; family, 171, 172, 432n6; fees, 274, 444–45n168, 446n200; Florence, residence in, 182, 183, 184, 194, 196, 200, 208; funeral, 254; *garzoni*, work delegated to, 235, 355; Idea of beauty, 234, 348; Leonardo's *La Gioconda*, influenced by, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 194; Leonardo's works copied by, 196, 315, 435n43; letter to Uncle Simon, 199; Medici commissions for France, 250, 274, 295; Michelangelo, his debts to, recognized by Leo X, 260; Michelangelo, his portraits of, 222, 223, 227, 268, 437n69, 441n116; *paragone* of painting and sculpture in, 196, 212; patrons of, 183, 438n77; Perugia, sojourn in, 196; Pinturicchio, possible portrait of, 221, 222; Rome, sojourns in, 173, 196, 208; self-portrait in *School of Athens*, 221, 222; Siena, sojourn in, 182, 183; signatures, 176–78, 212, 221–22, 415n158, 433n20, 450n31; stylistic evolution of, 171, 184, 194, 196–97, 199, 260, 325; thanks God for living in Michelangelo's time, 226; Alfonso d'Este and, 19, 271; antique motifs in, 208, 210, 211; Aretino and, 229; Bellini and, 189, 212, 434n311; Bembo and, 437n67; Bramante and, 178, 214, 216, 221–22, 434n27; Dürer and, 225, 442n125; Leonardo and, 26, 47, 182, 183, 184, 194, 196, 197, 198, 203, 205, 212, 279; Michelangelo and, 145, 145, 171–72, 177, 182, 183, 184, 194, 196, 200, 203, 205, 207, 208, 210–13, 214, 217, 218, 220, 222, 226, 227, 231, 234, 235, 243–44, 245, 268, 442n139; Perugino and, 31, 171, 173, 176, 178, 181–82, 194, 199, 206, 207, 208, 213, 222; Sebastiano and, 234, 243–44, 245, 247, 250, 252; Taddei and, 183, 199, 200, 203. WORKS: *Agony in the Garden* (predella cartoon), 436n57; *Angel* (altarpiece of San Nicolò Tolentino), 172; *Ansidei Madonna*, 176, 208; *Archangel Michael*, 250; Benois *Madonna* (painting after Leonardo), 435n43; *Body of Christ* (drawing), 208; *Bridgewater Madonna*, 203, 204; *Charity*, 212–13, 213; Colonna altarpiece, 194; *Conversion of Saul* (lost cartoon), 279, 280; *Conversion of Saul* (tapestry), 238, 450n47; *Coronation of the Virgin* (Oddi altarpiece), 182, 252, 253, 433n18; *Cupid* (sculpture), 246; *David* (drawing after Michelangelo), 196, 197; *Disputa* (fresco), 180, 280; *Entombment*, 205–08, 207, 210–13, 268; *Entombment* (drawings for), 205, 206, 207, 208, 209; *Fire in the Borgo* (fresco), 104; *Galatea* (fresco), 229, 233; *God the Father Appearing to Moses* (fresco), 226, 226, 227; *God the Father Blessing with Two Angels* (Colonna altarpiece lunette), 194; *Hunt of Meleager* (lost drawing), 19, 274, 278; *Indian Triumph of Bacchus* (lost drawing), 274; *Isabel of Naples* (lost cartoon),

278; *Isaiah* (fresco), 220; *La Fornarina*, 177; *La Gravida*, 188–89; *La Muta*, 188–89, 189; *La Velata*, 186, 187, 190; *Lady with a Unicorn*, 188; *Lamentation* (drawing), 209; *Liberation of Saint Peter* (fresco), 235, 237, 293; *Loggia di Psiche* (fresco), 230, 251; *Madonna and Child with Saint John*, 200; *Madonna and Child with Saints Peter, Catherine, Paul, (?)Cecilia, and the Infant John the Baptist* (Colonna altarpiece), 194, 195; *Madonna of Foligno*, 280, 281, 283; *Madonna of Francis I*, 250, 274; *Madonna of the Goldfinch*, 200; *Madonna of the Meadow*, 200, 201; *Parnassus* (fresco), 227; *Portrait of a Cardinal*, 190; *Portrait of Agnolo Doni*, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189, 203, 213; *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, 190; *Portrait of Bindo Altoviti*, 190, 191–92, 369; *Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici*, 274; *Portrait of Maddalena Strozzi Doni*, 183, 185, 188, 189, 203, 213; *Portrait of Navagero and Beazzano*, 191; *Portrait of Pope Julius II*, 192, 193, 194; *Portrait of Pope Leo X with Cardinal Lorenzo de' Rossi and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici*, 250; *Portrait of Raphael and His Fencing Master*, 191; *Portrait of the Elephant Hanno* (lost), 450n30; *Portrait of Tommaso Inghirami*, 190; *Roxana and Alexander* (lost cartoon), 462n183; *Saint Margaret*, 274; *Saint Matthew* (drawing after Michelangelo), 196, 205, 206; *Saint Michael*, 274; *Saint Michael* (lost cartoon), 274; *San Niccolò Tolentino altarpiece*, 171, 432n4; *School of Athens* (fresco), 221, 221–22, 222, 268, 441n116; *Sibyls and Angels* (fresco), 220, 244, 245, 262–63, 268; *Sistine tapestries*, 235, 237, 238, 252, 279, 289, 450n47; *Small Couper Madonna*, 202, 203; *Spasimò di Sicilia*, 251, 253; *Sposalizio (Betrothal of the Virgin)*, 173, 174, 176–82, 178, 213, 214, 222, 292; *Taddei Tondo* (drawings after Michelangelo), 200, 202, 203, 305; *Terranova Madonna*, 198, 199, 200; *Transfiguration*, 234, 246, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 262, 280, 293; *Vatican Logge* (fresco), 252; *Young Man with an Apple* (attr.), 187–88, 188; and Giulio Romano, *Isabel of Naples*, 191, 192, 194; see also Stanza d'Eliodoro; Stanza della Segnatura; Stanza dell'Incendio

Rebhorn, Wayne, 4
reflections, and *paragone*, 61, 62, 63
Renaissance, concept of, vi, 4, 25
renovatio, 3
Rialto, news on, 64
Riario, Cardinal Raffaello, 96, 97, 102, 118, 143, 285, 346, 409n83, 425n7
Riccio, Andrea il, 128
right, superior to left, 179
rilievo, 34, 36, 112
rilievo schiacciato, 79, 80

- Sansovino, Andrea, 417n175, 418n184, 419n197; contract for Council Hall *Christ*, 242n5; rivalry with Michelangelo, 120, 122. WORKS: *Christ*, 143, 424n5; *Porsenna* (terracotta), 473n100; *Saint John Baptizing Christ*, 467n14
- Sansovino, Francesco, 352, 393–94n21
- Sansovino, Jacopo, 147, 238, 345; letter to Michelangelo, 242; rivalry with Michelangelo, 411n98. WORKS: *Bacchus*, 101; *Laoçoōn*, copies in various media, 352
- Santi (Sanzio), Giovanni, 46, 120, 178, 180, 182, 211, 212, 432n6, 434n30; *Disputa de la pictura*, 172, 180, 396n34; as Raphael's first teacher, 171. WORK: *Portrait of Isabella d'Este* (lost), 59
- Santi (Sanzio), Raphael: *see* Raphael
- Sanudo, Marin (Sanuto, Marino), 254
- Sapientia, 86
- sarcophagi: Adonis, 385; battle, 78, 205, 268; Leda, 309, 315; Meleager, 211; Orestes, 463n196; Phaeton, 152
- Savonarola, Girolamo: *Triumph of the Cross*, 270
- Savorgnan, Maria, 54
- Schapiro, Meyer, 38
- Schiavone, Andrea, 294
- Schomberg, Nicholas, Archbishop of Capua, 316–17
- Schongauer, Martin: *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (engraving), 72, 73, 75, 122, 143, 154
- Sebastian, Saint: *see* Titian, works: *Saint Sebastian*
- Sebastiano del Piombo (Sebastiano Licinio), vi, vii, 27, 30, 228, 229, 231, 234, 235, 254, 255, 261, 262, 277, 294; *colorito* in, 227, 244; correspondence with Michelangelo, 171, 242, 250, 252, 255, 256, 257–58, 258–60, 261, 262, 264, 293, 352–53, 408n71, 441n119; drawings by Michelangelo for, 235, 246, 247, 262, 263, 264; *paragone* with Raphael stipulated in contracts for Chigi chapels, 262; Piombo (Papal Seal), obtains office of, 228; quotes Leo X on Raphael's debts to Michelangelo and Michelangelo's *terribilità*, 260; Raphael, rivalry with, 171, 228, 235, 243, 245, 250, 251, 258, 261; Michelangelo and, 145, 149, 227, 235, 243, 245, 247, 250, 255, 257–58, 264, 267, 308, 316; Titian and, 267, 289, 308, 338; Vasari and, 338, 426n20. WORKS: *Christ in Limbo*, 264; *Death of Adonis*, 148, 443n141, 452n57; *Flagellation* (mural), 246, 247, 260; *Nativity* (mural), 262, 264; *Pietà*, 235, 236, 245, 247, 255, 260; *Polypheus* (fresco), 140, 229–31, 232; *Portrait of Clement VII*, 192; *Raising of Lazarus*, 234, 246, 247, 248, 250, 251–52, 254, 255, 260; Sala di Galatea lunettes (fresco), 229; San Giovanni Crisostomo altarpiece, 231, 234; *Transfiguration* (fresco), 261, 293; *Two Prophets* (fresco), 245, 246
- self-portraits, 62, 372; disguised, 372, 381, 382, 383, 385; as Nicodemus, 381, 382, 475n126
- Sellaio, Leonardo, 250; correspondence with Michelangelo, 228, 246, 247, 250, 251, 255, 258, 262, 351, 353
- Sergardi, Filippo, 262
- sexuality, dual, 99; *see also* gender, nudes
- Sforza, Bianca Maria, marriage to Emperor Maximilian I, 46
- Sforza, Francesco, Duke of Milan, 46; equestrian monument, 43; *see also* Leonardo; Pollaiuolo
- Sforza, Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan, 10, 20, 42
- Sforza: *see also* Lodovico il Moro
- sfumatura*, 165
- Shearman, John, 279
- shoulder, pronated, 311
- Sibyls: Eritrean (Perugino), 181; Hellenistic (Titian), 385; *see also* Michelangelo, 245, 263, 301, 316, 429n59
- Siena, cathedral, 7; Donatello, Pecci Tomb, 115; Piccolomini altar, 10, 183; Piccolomini Library, 182, 183
- signatures, artists', 4, 63, 113–18, 221–22, 281, 284, 380; Bandinelli's, 350, 353, 366, 382–83; Bellini's, 291, 292, 413n123; Cellini's, 370, 380; Donatello's, 380; Ghiberti's, 380, 414n142; Michelangelo's, 292, 309, 350, 366, 370, 380; Palma's, 384; Perugino's, 438n79; Pollaiuolo's, 414–15n152; Raphael's, 176–78, 212, 415n158, 433n20, 450n31; Savoldo's, 400n88; Titian's, 278, 289–92, 326, 380, 385; Tullio Lombardo's, 411n97
- Silenus, 102
- Simone Martini, 6; lost portrait of Laura, 54, 58
- Sistine ceiling: *see* Michelangelo
- Sistine Chapel, vi, 20, 21, 22, 23, 150, 215–18, 220; Botticelli, *Punishment of Korah*, 22; Perugino, *Christ Giving the Keys to Saint Peter*, 23, 176, 178; Raphael, tapestries, 235, 237, 238; *see also* Michelangelo, works: *Last Judgment*
- Sisyphus, 330
- Sixtus IV della Rovere, Pope, 20, 22, 22, 31, 88, 116, 214
- slate, painting on, 137, 402n107
- sleep, and death, 85, 86, 311
- slung-leg motif, 158
- Soderini, Piero, 130, 134, 135, 136, 182, 346; competition between Michelangelo and Leonardo fostered by, 143; correspondence with Malaspina, 138, 139; *gonfaloniere*, 130; Leonardo, complaints about, 155; Michelangelo, letter about, 229; Michelangelo, praise of, 155; nose of marble *David* criticized by, 134; pendant for *David*, plans for, 138, 139, 359; Raphael and, 182

- Sodoma (Giovanni Antonio Bazzi), 221
sodomty, 32
Solarì, Cristoforo, 117–18; friendship with Bellini, 60, 118, 399n78, 416n166; Michelangelo and, 118. WORK: *Bust of the Redeemer*, 416n165
Soranzo, Jacopo, 305
soul, windows of, 64; movements of, 57; lacked by painting, 65
Spedaleto, Lorenzo il Magnifico's villa at, 22, 150
Spinario, 170
spirit (*anima*), 94, 97, 216, 352
spolvero, 32, 394n6, 437n69, 441n116
Stanza d'Eliodoro, 171, 171, 231, 235; *God the Father Appearing to Moses*, 226, 227; *Liberation of Saint Peter*, 235, 237
Stanza della Segnatura, vi, 171, 221, 229, 268; *Disputa*, 180; *Parnassus*, 229; *School of Athens*, 24, 221, 222, 223; *Virtues*, 229
Stanza dell'Incendio, 355
star, evil, 125
Stone of Unction, 86, 158, 212, 376
Strozzi Doni, Maddalena, 156, 162, 183; portrait by Raphael, 183, 185, 188, 189, 203, 213
Strozzi, family of Florence: arms, 162; kinship ties with Medici, 407n67; Michelangelo's *Hercules* acquired by, 88, 93, 296
studies (*studioli*), 19, 20, 272
style, and gender, 27, 309, 316, 338; *see also colore, colorito, disegno*
style, and rivalry, 27, 29, 117
Suetonius, 148
symmetry, 125, 135, 150
- Taddei, Taddeo, his tondo by Michelangelo, 156–58, 157, 196, 197, 200, 203, 205, 210, 212; Raphael and, 183, 199, 200, 203, 214
tavola ansata, 281, 292
Tebaldi, Giacomo (Jacopo), 278; correspondence with Alfonso d'Este, 284, 286, 287–88; description of *Saint Sebastian* by Titian, 288, 289
teeth, missing, 75
tempera, 144, 196, 262; mixed with oil, 403–04n17
terracotta (medium), 119, 123, 129, 137; Donatello, *Joshua*, 418n191; Michelangelo, *Two Combattants*, 361; Andrea Sansovino, *Porsenna*, 473n100
terribilità, 146, 173, 194, 226, 260, 261, 425n15, 436n55, 445n173
Thaddeus Jude, Saint, 199
Tintoretto, Jacopo, vii, 327; copies after Michelangelo, 196, 326; Michelangelo's forged *Cupid* possibly depicted by, 410n86. WORK: *Paradiso*, 427n32
TITIAN (TIZIANO VECCELLIO), vi, vii, 10, 19, 25, 29, 30, 32, 56, 120, 270, 294, 305, 324, 332, 376, 465n213; agon with Michelangelo visualized in *Saint Sebastian*, 285–92; ancient sources in, 267–68, 280, 385, 463n196; *Annunciation* given to Empress Isabella, 305, 324; Augsburg, sojourn in, 265; autobiographical allusions in, 292, 293; Bologna, sojourn in, 305; *colorito*, 268, 338; death, 383; fees, 286, 288, 289, 305, 306, 453n70; Ferrara, sojourns in, 278, 279, 284, 285; Florence, sojourn in, 465n213; imperial knighthood and gold chain, 324; landscape in works by, 284, 301, 325; *Laocoön* in works by, 279, 280; letter to Alfonso, 272–73; meeting with Michelangelo described by Dolce, 335–36; meeting with Michelangelo described by Vasari, 336–37; open shop, 288; Palma il Vecchio, competition with, 298, 299; *paragone* of painting and sculpture in, 385; patrons, 265, 294–95, 296, 324, 332, 334; *Saint Peter Martyr* as masterpiece of, 300–01; petitions Doge and Council of Ten for commission in Sala del Maggor Consiglio, 269; *poesie*, 270, 272, 307, 308, 380; Pordenone, rivalry with, 298, 299, 302, 304, 305, 306; Roman citizenship granted to, 465n213; Rome, sojourn in, 265, 267, 335, 383; self-portrait as Saint Jerome, 385; signatures, 278, 281, 284, 289–92, 326, 380, 385; son Orazio, 385; son Pomponio, 334; spin master, 304; Vesalius anatomical illustrations and, 93; Alfonso d'Este and, 294, 296, 308; Aretino and, 29; (Fra) Bartolomeo and, 278, 450n39; Bellini and, 284, 291, 385; Bembo and, 285; Charles v and, 265, 305, 306, 324; Giorgione and, 292–93; Michelangelo and, 26, 265, 267, 268, 288, 289, 301, 308, 325, 326, 327, 330, 334, 335–36, 268, 270, 284–85, 383, 385; Philip II and, 17, 324; Raphael and, 279, 280, 281, 293; Sebastiano and, 267, 289, 308; Vasari and, 304, 327, 331, 336–37. WORKS: *Annunciation* (Malchiostro altarpiece), 297; *Annunciation* for Santa Maria degli Angeli, 305, 306; *Assunta* (*Assumption of the Virgin*), 280, 281, 292, 297, 301, 308; *Bacchana* of the Andrians, 272, 277, 284, 285, 325; *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 272, 276, 279, 280, 286, 463n196; Brescia altarpiece, 285–94; 287; *Damned*, 327, 330; *Danae*, 335–37, 336, 338; *Death of Saint Peter Martyr* (copy by Loth), 300, 301, 308; *Gentleman in Blue*, 281; Gozzi altarpiece, 280–81, 282, 284, 290; *La Schiavona*, 281; *Marsyas*, 293; *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, 325; *Miracle of the Jealous Husband*, 266, 267, 268, 279, 298, 325; *Noli me tangere*, 460n169; Pesaro altarpiece, 301, 308; *Pietà*, 290, 291, 293, 325, 383–85, 384, 385; *Pope Paul III Farnese and His Grandsons*, 335, 337; *Portrait of Alfonso d'Este*, 308; *Portrait of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese*, 335; *Portrait of Girolamo*

- Adorno, 288; *Portrait of Isabella d'Este*, 59; *Portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere*, 188; *Presentation of the Virgin*, 304; *Saint Christopher* (fresco), 302; *Saint George*, 62, 293; *Saint John the Almsgiver* (*San Giovanni Elemosinario*), 302, 303; *Saint John the Baptist*, 325, 326, 326–27; *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos*, 331; *Saint Mark* altarpiece, 234, 462n195; *Saint Mary Magdalene*, 317, 318; *Saint Roch* (woodcut), 302; *Saint Sebastian* (from Brescia altarpiece), 285–92, 291, 453n68; *San Niccolò ai Frari* altarpiece, 291–92; *Santo Spirito* in Isola ceiling (*Doctors of the Church, Evangelists, Cain and Abel, Sacrifice of Isaac, David and Goliath*), 327, 328; *Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista* ceiling, 327; *Sisyphus (Damned)*, 330; *Submersion of Pharaoh's Army in the Red Sea* (woodcut), 269; *Tityus (Damned)*, 330, 333; *Tribute Money*, 278, 279; *Triumph of Faith* (woodcut), 269, 270; *Venus and Adonis*, 323; *Vision of Saint John the Evangelist*, 327; *Worship of Venus*, 272, 273, 277, 278, 279
titulus, 177
Todeschini-Piccolomini, Francesco, 425n7
tombs: effigies in, 372; artists', 28, 372; self-portraits in, 372; *see also* Bandinelli, Baccio; Cellini, Benvenuto; Michelangelo; Titian
Toro Farnese (Farnese Bull), 371–72
Torrigiani, Pietro, 10, 74, 403n10; breaks Michelangelo's nose, 71
Traini, Francesco: *Madonna and Child and Saint Anne*, 164
Treviso, cathedral: Malchiostro Chapel of the Annunciation (Titian and Pordenone), 297
Tribolo, il (Niccolò dei Pericoli), imaginary *paragone* conversation with Cellini, 301
Trivulzio, Cesare, 351
Trivulzio, Gian Giacomo, equestrian monument of, 44
Turin, Biblioteca Reale: Leonardo, *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* (drawing), 136
Urbano, Pietro, 147, 180, 182, 196, 199, 214, 242, 440n108; works on *Risen Christ* by Michelangelo, 408n71
Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche: Raphael, *La Muta*, 188–89, 189
Valois, François: *see* Francis I, King of France
Varchi, Benedetto, 79, 267, 403n12; Academy and, 145, 323; *Due lezioni*, 28–29, 66, 79, 145, 323, 402n103; Leo X's opinion of Raphael's debts to Michelangelo quoted by, 260; *Orazione funerale*, 71, 72, 131, 143, 144, 145, 162, 226, 402nn2, 3, 454n90; Sansovino's *Bacchus* admired by, 101; sonnet in praise of Cellini's *Perseus*, 464n116; Michelangelo and, 79, 145, 225, 341
Vasari, Giorgio, 70, 71, 147, 327, 331, 370, 426n20; copies of Michelangelo's *Venus and Cupid* and *Leda and the Swan*, 331, 332, 333; copies of Michelangelo's *Venus and Cupid* sold to Mendoza, 333; Michelangelo drawings owned by, 71, 147; *ex uno lapide*, paradigm of, 372; fees, 334; "Letter to Craftsmen and Readers," 70; model of *Giuliano de' Medici* by Michelangelo sent to Aretino by, 462n191; personalities of Michelangelo and Raphael contrasted by, 172–73; recognizability of master's hand asserted by, 117; *Santo Spirito* in Isola ceiling commissioned to, 327; Venice, sojourn in, 327, 332, 463n198; Aretino and, 332, 463n198. WORKS: *Entry of Leo X* (fresco), 346, 347; *Leda and the Swan* (after Michelangelo), 331, 332; *Venus and Cupid* (after Michelangelo), 331, 332
Vasto, Marchese del: *see* Avalos
Vatican City, Old Saint Peter's: Santa Petronilla, 103
Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana: Raphael, *Charity*, 212–13, 213; Raphael, *Madonna of Foligno*, 280, 281, 283; Raphael, *Transfiguration*, 234, 246, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 262, 280, 293; Titian, altarpiece of San Niccolò ai Frari, 291–92
Vatican City, Saint Peter's, 215, 235; Filarete, doors, 314; Michelangelo, *Pietà*, 69, 85, 102, 103–04, 105, 107, 112, 113–18, 119, 123, 125, 132, 139, 154, 158, 165, 177, 203, 205, 351
Vatican City, Vatican Palace, 23, 214; Sala di Costantino, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258–59, 262, 447n220; *see also* Julius II; Michelangelo; Raphael; Sistine ceiling; Sistine Chapel; Stanza d'Eliodoro; Stanza della Segnatura, Stanza dell'Incendio
vendettas, 171, 258
Veneziano, Agostino: engraving of *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia* by Raphael, 446n196; *see also* Dente, Marco
Veneziano, Sebastiano: *see* Sebastiano del Piombo
Veneziano: *see also* Domenico Veneziano
Venice: as exemplary state, 136; doge of, 136; and Hercules, 135; painters' guild, xenophobia of, 297; Republic solicits Michelangelo, 296
Venice, Campo di Santi Giovanni e Paolo: Andrea del Verrocchio, *Colleoni*, 43
Venice, churches:
Gesuiti: Titian, *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, 325
San Giovanni Crisostomo: Sebastiano, altarpiece, 231, 234
San Giovanni Elemosinario: Pordenone, cupola, 302, 303; Titian, *Saint John the Almsgiver*; *see* Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia
San Marco, 46, 135
San Niccolò ai Frari: Titian, altarpiece: *see* Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

- San Rocco: Pordenone, *Saint Christopher*, 301–02, 302
- Santa Maria della Salute: Titian, Santo Spirito in Isola ceiling paintings (*Cain and Abel*, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, *David and Goliath*), 328
- Santa Maria Formosa: Palma il Vecchio, *Saint Barbara with Saints*, 285
- Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari: Donatello, *Saint John the Baptist*, 113; Bellini, triptych, 294, 385; Titian, *Assunta (Assumption of the Virgin)*, 280, 281, 292, 297, 301, 308; Titian, Pesaro altarpiece, 301, 308
- Santa Maria Maggiore: Titian, *Saint John the Baptist*: see Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, 326
- Santi Giovanni e Paolo, 297; Loth, copy of *Death of Saint Peter Martyr* by Titian, 300, 301; Tullio Lombardo, Vendramin tomb (*Warrior*), 127
- Santo Spirito in Isola: Titian, ceiling cycle: see Venice, Santa Maria della Salute
- Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia: Bellini, *Madonna and Child with Two Female Saints*, 55, 56; Bellini, *Bacchus and a Soldier*, 102, 103; Bellini, San Giobbe altarpiece, 84; Bellini, *Pietà*, 53, 55; Titian, *Saint John the Almsgiver (San Giovanni Elemosinario)*, 302, 303; Titian, *Saint John the Baptist*, 325, 326, 326–27; Titian, *Pietà*, 290, 291, 293, 325, 383–85, 384, 385
- Venice, Palazzo Ducale (Doge's Palace): Sala del Maggior Consiglio, 11, 22, 136, 143, 150, 304, 427n32; Titian, *Saint Christopher* (fresco), 302
- Venice, Scuola di San Pietro Martire, 298, 299
- Venice Scuola di San Vincenzo e Santa Catterina da Siena, 298, 299
- Venice, Scuola Grande della Carità, 304; Titian, *Presentation of the Virgin*, 304
- Venice, Scuola Grande di San Giovanni Evangelista: Titian, *Saint John on Patmos*: see Washington, National Gallery of Art
- Venus: celestial, 309; *Crouching Venus*, 438n81; in Adonis sarcophagi, 385; kneeling, 314; masculinized by Michelangelo, 322; two Venuses, 464n207; *Venus and a Tortoise (Venus Doidalsas)*, 438n81, 458–59n150; Venus of Knidos, stained, 169; *Venus Pudica*, 40, 177
- venustas*, 227
- Venusti, Marcello, 426n27
- Verdon, Timothy, 165
- Veronese, Paolo, 327
- Veronica, 40
- Verrocchio, Andrea del, 22, 108, 109; shop, 31, 60, 61, 62, 343; Virgin Mary, characterizations of, 112, 113, 164; Leonardo and, 31, 32, 33, 72. WORKS: *Baptism of Christ* (painting), 33, 72; *Christ and Saint Thomas* (marble), 415n158; *Lady with a Bouquet of Flowers* (marble), 52, 53; *Colleoni* (bronze), 60, 61, 62, 419n203
- Vesalius, Andreas, *De fabrica*, 93
- Vianello, Michele, 11, 16; correspondence with Isabella d'Este, 11–12
- Vico, Enea: *Academy of Baccio Bandinelli* (engraving), 354, 355; *Conversion of Saint Paul*, engraving after Salviati, 463–64n199
- Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Raphael, *Madonna of the Meadow*, 200, 201, 203
- viewer: see beholder
- Vinci, Leonardo da: see Leonardo da Vinci
- Virgin Mary: characterizations of, 112, 113, 117, 119, 159–61, 166, 169; Assumption (15 August), 220; ideal of feminine beauty and, 166, 168; Madonna of Humility, 158, 164, 165; masculinized, 165, 166, 169, 235, 315, 316; Nativity (8 September), 130; nursing, 82, 84–85; patron of Florence, 130; *Platytera*, 158; ring, engagement, 173; as *Scala coeli*, 86; as *Sedes Sapientiae*, 86; *super petram*, 104; Temple and, 178, 180; see also under individual artists
- Virtues, Theological, 212
virtù, 166, 253
- Viterbo, Museo Civico: Sebastiano del Piombo, *Pietà*, 235, 236
- Vitruvius, 178
- Vivarini, Alvise, 22, 294
- Volterra, Daniele da: *David Slaying Goliath*, 137
- Wallace, William E., 356
- Wang, Aileen June, 414n151
- warts, 148
- Washington, National Gallery of Art: Bellini and assistants, *Countenance of Scipio*, 19; Giorgione, *Allendale Nativity*, 15; Leonardo, *Ginevra de' Benci*, 32, 34, 48, 52, 57, 87; Raphael, *Small Couper Madonna*, 202, 203; Titian, *Saint John on Patmos*, 331
- wax (medium): Bandinelli, *Laocoön* model, 352; Bandinelli model of *Hercules and Cacus*, 360; Bandinelli, right arm of *Laocoön*, 351; Bandinelli, *Saint Jerome*, 345; Cellini, crucifix model, 475n130; Michelangelo, *David* model, 420n210; Michelangelo model of (?)*Hercules and Antaeus*, 356; Michelangelo, model of male nude, 407n65; Andrea Pisano, model for Baptistry doors, 414n141
- Weil-Garris Brandt, Kathleen: see Brandt, Kathleen Weil-Garris
- wetnurses, 82, 172
- Wilde, Johannes, 156, 157, 164, 315
- Wind, Edgar, 310
- Windsor, Royal Library, Her Majesty the Queen: Leonardo, *Neptune*, 128; Leonardo, studies for the Sforza monument, 44, 45; Michelangelo,

- Resurrected Christ* (drawing), 263;
Michelangelo, *Tityus* (presentation drawing),
332
Wisdom, Throne of, 86
Wittkower, Rudolf, 86; and Margot, 149
woman, beautiful: image of beautiful art, 177;
leggiadria appropriate to, 166; multiple models
combined for, 234; Petrarchan ideal of, 55–56,
58–59; subject of Venetian art, 192
- women: beholder's gaze and, 192; masculinized,
99, 158, 165, 322–23, 332, 333; praised for
“masculine” qualities of mind, 166
wood (sculpture), 91; crucifixes by Brunelleschi,
Donatello, and Michelangelo, 377–78
- Zaynario, Jacomino, 10
Zeuxis, 48, 234, 324, 348
Ziliotto, Baccio, compares Bellini and Apelles, 48