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BROWNING AND
ITALIAN ART AND ARTISTS

BY

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TO G. A. L.
WHO MADE POSSIBLE MY
COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY TRAINING

PREFACE

This paper has been prepared with the understanding that while much has been printed concerning a few individual art poems of Browning, such as *Abt Vogler*, *Andrea del Sarto* and *Fra Lippo Lippi*, no complete, systematic survey of the place of Italian art in Browning's text has appeared; and in the belief that such a survey might be worth while.

Much of Browning's treatment of art is of course omitted in the discussion; for he introduces art data from other countries than Italy, and has much to say of the nature and purpose of art in general.

Within the limits chosen, the purpose has been to make a practically complete survey for each of the five fine arts, sculpture, music, poetry, architecture and painting, in the order here given. The attempt has also been made, based on data from letters and biographies, to trace to some extent the chronological perspective of Browning's interest in the individual arts, and to indicate the apparent sources of that interest. Chapter VII deals with "comparative aesthetics" (within the limits of our title), the poetic values Browning finds in the arts, the causes determining the relative emphasis upon each art, and the relations of these data to Browning's dominant concern as a poet—human personality.

That the study has been brought to its present form is due, in part, to help and encouragement given by Professor S. L. Whitcomb. The manuscript has been carefully read by Professor D. L. Patterson and Professor Margaret Lynn. The former has given valuable suggestions concerning the historical aspects of the paper, and the latter, helpful criticism based on her special knowledge of Browning's text. To these three instructors in the University of Kansas, and to all others who have given assistance, including fellow students, a grateful acknowledgement of indebtedness is here made.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

Browning's General Interest in Art.

I. Subject Matter of Browning's Poems.....	9
II. Interest in Music.....	10
III. Relation to Painting.....	10
IV. Relation to Sculpture.....	12
V. Significance of the Preceding Sections.....	12
VI. Time Spent in Italy.....	13
VII. English Knowledge of Italian Art in Browning's Time.....	13
VIII. Non-English Themes and Settings in General.....	14
IX. A Quantitative Statement.....	14

CHAPTER II

Italian Sculpture in the Poems of Browning.

I. General Statement.....	15
II. Historical Scope.....	16
III. Poetic Functions of the References to Sculpture.....	17
IV. Source of Browning's Knowledge.....	22

CHAPTER III

Italian Music in the Poems of Browning.

I. General Statement.....	23
II. Catholic Hymns.....	23
III. Poetic Functions of the References to Music.....	24
IV. Lack of Modern Italian References.....	26
V. Conformity to Facts.....	27
VI. Source of Browning's Knowledge.....	27

CHAPTER IV

Italian Poetry in the Poems of Browning.

I. General Statement.....	29
II. Predominance in Early Poems.....	29
III. Sordello.....	30
IV. The Imaginary Poets.....	30
V. The Italian as the Type of Failure.....	31
VI. Italian Men of Letters: Dante.....	32
VII. Other Real Writers.....	33

VIII.	Browning's Knowledge of Italian Literature	33
IX.	Browning's Interest in Italian Literature	34

CHAPTER V

Italian Architecture in the Poems of Browning.

I.	General Statement	35
II.	Source of Browning's Knowledge	36
III.	Importance of Architecture in the Poems	37
IV.	Comparison with Other Writers	38
V.	Architecture and Personality	39

CHAPTER VI

Italian Painting in the Poems of Browning.

I.	General Statement	40
II.	Extent of Browning's Knowledge	40
III.	Irregular Distribution of References	41
IV.	Sources of the Poems	42
V.	Poetic Functions of the References to Painting	44
VI.	Conformity to History	47

CHAPTER VII

General Comparisons: Browning and the Fine Arts of Italy.

I.	Poetic Function and Method	48
II.	Amount of Material Used from Each of the Fine Arts	49
III.	Personality and the Arts	52
IV.	Browning as the Poet of Humanity	54

APPENDIX

I.	Poems Containing Reference to Italian Art	55
II.	Tabulation of References to Individual Arts:	
	Sculpture	56
	Music	58
	Poetry	60
	Architecture	61
	Painting	66

Index	75
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CHAPTER I

BROWNING'S GENERAL INTEREST IN ART.

I. SUBJECT MATTER OF BROWNING'S POEMS.—Three prominent facts concerning the subjects of Browning's poetry are: the comparative insignificance of nature, the extensive treatment of art, and the predominance of the human soul. Only a few poems contain any extended reference to nature; and where such reference is found, nature is usually treated, as in *By the Fireside*, for its effect on human beings, and the soul still remains the dominant subject. Nature for its own sake is never a supreme concern. It is never considered as a primary moral force, akin to a personality, as in Wordsworth. The loveliness of nature is never personified for the sake of its own sensuous beauty, as in Keats or Shelley. *Pauline*, a youthful effort of which Browning later became ashamed, was written under the influence of Shelley, and approaches the style of that poet in the prominence and beauty of its nature descriptions; but no such examples of pure nature descriptions are found in Browning's mature work. Several of the well-known longer poems—*Pippa Passes*, *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*, *The Flight of the Duchess*, for example—as well as other shorter lyrical poems, contain the nature element; but it is comparatively slight, and usually introduced for harmony, for contrast, or to give a mere unshaded background for the characters.

Concerning the predominance of the soul in Browning, every critic of the poet has written. It does not seem necessary to repeat any of this familiar criticism here. However, the emphasis placed upon personality and the soul does have a bearing on the discussion of Italian arts and artists as found in Browning. For personality is the dominant factor behind Browning's selection and treatment of the Italian arts. Those arts in which personality is strongest

he uses most. The poems having some one of the arts as a main theme usually had their origin in an interest aroused by some unique personality. Some further discussions of the relations of art and personality will be found in each of the five following chapters devoted to the individual arts; and more extended discussion is given in the general summary of Chapter VII.

Concerning Browning's treatment of art, numerous articles have been written; but they are limited for the most part to consideration of one art or one poem. Browning, however, is the poet not of any one art but of art in general and of all the arts. Throughout life he was interested in more than one art and in spite of the seeming improbability of his ever having had serious doubts on the subject, it is stated¹ that he was long undecided whether to become a poet, a musician, or a painter. He might, says his biographer, have become an artist and perhaps a great one, because of his brilliant general ability and his special gifts.

II. INTEREST IN MUSIC.—As a child, Browning received a musical education and became a pianist of some ability. His appreciation of music was further cultivated, during his young manhood, by attendance at the best concerts and operas which London afforded. Beethoven seems to be the composer mentioned most frequently in biographical sketches and in his letters, a fact which may indicate his preference in music. During the latter years of his married life, according to letters by Mrs. Browning, he took charge of the musical education given to their son, Wiedemann. So far as appreciation of Italian music and attendance at concerts in Italy are concerned, he seems to have been little interested. But again in the years following 1873, while Browning was in London, he was in frequent attendance at musical concerts. His interest in music, then, was no intermittent fancy. It was constant and above the average. If any further proof of his interest in music were needed, it is found in the influence of that interest upon his poems; for they show a finer appreciation of music and a greater knowledge of its technique than those of any other writer.

III. RELATION TO PAINTING.—A knowledge of painting and a liking for it as well, were cultivated in Browning's earliest years, through the medium of the Dulwich Gallery. Though it is probably impossible to trace the exact influence of this gallery on his

1. Mrs. Sutherland Orr's *Life of Browning*, revised by Frederick G. Kenyon.

writings, it may be suggested as the source of references to Italian art before his visits to Italy, and as the original stimulus of his interest in the subject. At least, the Dulwich Gallery was only a pleasant walk from his home, and there his father constantly took him.² There "he became familiar with the names of the great painters and learned something about their works. Later he became a familiar figure in one or two London studios."

Whatever the cause of a certain decline of interest in painting previous to 1841 may have been, that decline was of short duration. Probably it was due to the increasing attention he was giving to poetry as a serious occupation. When he began to feel himself better established in his poetical career, he returned to his interest in the sister art. A letter which he wrote to Miss Haworth (probably in 1841) says that he is coming to love painting again as he did once in earlier years. In the same letter he speaks of his early efforts at the age of two years and three months, and characterizes himself as a wonderful painter in his childhood; but he adds, "as eleven out of every twelve of us are." Such a remark, while it shows an early interest in art, and indicates that his fond relatives may have considered him a youthful prodigy in art, as fond relatives have a habit of doing on slight premises, implies that he himself did not consider his artistic ability seriously.

Browning's interest in painting, as well as in sculpture, was retained throughout his life. On September 19, 1846, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Browning set sail for Italy; and from that time on, the wife's letters are full of references to her husband's interest in art. In a letter from Pisa dated November 5, 1846, she says she means to know something of pictures; for Robert does, and he will open her eyes for her. Here at Pisa, she continues, the first steps in art, for her, are to be taken. A letter dated October 1, 1847, mentions their friend, Mr. Powers, the American sculptor. Mr. Story, another sculptor; Mr. Kirkup, the art connoisseur; Fredrick Leighton; a French sculptress named Mme. de Fauveau; Gibson; Page; a Mr. Fisher, who was painting the portraits of Mr. Browning and Wiedemann; Mr. Wilde, an American artist; and Harriet Hosmer—all these artists are named as acquaintances of the literary Brownings who were stay-at-home people in Florence. Many letters also mention trips to certain places where individual pic-

2. Mrs. Orr: *op. cit.*

tures were seen, such as "a divine picture of Guercino" (August 1848), Domenichino's "David" at Fano (August, 1848), and the works of Guido Reni, Da Vinci, the Carracci, and Correggio.

Although Browning never had a course of thorough instruction in art, he gave some attention to drawing during the reaction from literary work that followed the publication of *Men and Women*, in 1855. A letter from Mrs. Browning to her old friend, Mrs. Jameson, dated May 2, 1856, gives the story. After thirteen days application on the part of her husband, she tells us, he produced some really astonishingly good copies of heads, though his purpose was only to fill in the pause in his literary career. Then Mrs. Browning adds: "And really, with all his feeling and knowledge of art, some of the mechanical trick of it can not be out of place."

IV. RELATION TO SCULPTURE.—A similar though less conspicuous interest in sculpture³ was maintained through Browning's entire career. The first mention of it in either letters or poems is found in a letter of 1838, to Miss Haworth, in which the statement concerning Canova implies disappointment and previous expectation. *Sordello*, 1840, contains the first reference found in a poem; and from that time on, some references are found with a considerable degree of regularity in both poems and letters. While the interest was not great compared with that taken in painting, it was fairly continuous. No mention of Italian sculpture is found in the poems of Browning after the publication of *The Ring and the Book*, in 1868-9; though references to the art of Greece, the great home of sculpture, occur frequently.

In 1860, a letter from Mrs. Browning says that her husband has begun modeling under the direction of Mr. Story at his studio. She speaks of his progress, of his turning his studies in anatomy to account, and of the fact that he had already copied two busts—those of young Augustus, and of Psyche. At this time he was working six hours a day at modeling. "His habit," says Mrs. Browning, "was to work by fits and starts"; and as in the case of drawing, he had undertaken work in sculpture until his mind should be ready again for poetical work.

V. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRECEDING SECTIONS.—Many other statements showing an appreciation of the arts are found in the

³ For the sources and nature of this interest, see below, Chapter II and p. 50.

biographies and letters of the Brownings. Of these, some details will be mentioned later, in connection with the treatment of each separate art. Only such facts have been noted here as tend to establish the basis on which our discussion is built—namely, that Browning had a great and continuous interest in the fine arts and that it is only reasonable to expect a considerable amount of knowledge and appreciation of them to appear in his writings. Our final conclusions will concern *personality* as the source of Browning's interest in the arts.

VI. TIME SPENT IN ITALY.—The amount of time spent by Robert Browning in Italy is a further reason for expecting Italian art themes in his writings. In 1838, at the age of twenty-six, he made his first trip to Italy; and in 1844 he was again there, from August or September until December. In 1846, Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning went to Italy to live, and excepting intervals for trips to France and England, were there until the death of the latter in 1861. For several years after this, Browning spent most of his time in England. In 1878, however, he returned to Northern Italy; and of his eleven remaining years, seven autumns were spent in Venice, until his death there in 1889.

VII. ENGLISH KNOWLEDGE OF ITALIAN ART IN BROWNING'S TIME.—In spite of the fact that Browning spent so much time in Italy, the space given to Italian art in his poems is remarkable because so little was known of that subject in England at that time. Vasari's rambling, gossipy, and sometimes inaccurate biographies may have been known in England at this time. Even if so, Browning, at least, seems not to have become acquainted with them until the years of his residence in Italy; for a letter written in 1847 by Mrs. Browning to Horne, says that they are engaged in reading Vasari.

During the nineteenth century, the history of art began to assume a more important place as a distinct branch of general history. The century was well advanced, however, when the first complete work in this subject appeared—Kugler's *Handbook of the History of Art*. It was not translated from the German until 1855, when the part referring to Italy was published in an English translation by Sir Charles Eastlake. (Many of Browning's best art poems were published in 1855, and some of them previous to that time.) Taking this work as the beginning of modern treatment of art history, and noting the fact that the next

work of importance referring to Italian art alone and treating it from the historical standpoint was published by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in 1876, it is evident that nothing like the present general knowledge of it could have existed in England in Browning's time. Certainly this makes his treatment of art history, particularly the facility with which he presents the tendencies of different periods, more remarkable than similar attainment would be in more recent times. Even with the added knowledge resulting from recent investigations, no other writer has been able to produce such perfect poems of the musician or the painter as Browning has built about Fra Lippo Lippi, or the Italian by adoption, Abt Vogler.⁴

VIII. NON-ENGLISH THEMES AND SETTINGS IN GENERAL.—The Italian element is only one result, though a very significant result, of a general tendency on the part of Browning to choose poetic subjects of non-English character. From the Orient,⁵ from Greece,⁶ from France,⁷ from any region, in fact, which pleased his fancy, however remote, he levied his contributions. With this general non-English tendency, it is not surprising that in Italy, where he spent so much time, he found material for every sort of poem from *Fra Lippo Lippi* to *Luria* and *The Ring and the Book*, and that he should shape his material into poems with much of the atmosphere of Italy, the home of the arts.

IX. A QUANTITATIVE STATEMENT.—As a matter of fact, the supposition that Browning's poetry embodies a large amount of Italian art reference is correct. Forty-nine poems out of two hundred and twenty-two, or more than one-fifth of the entire number, have some mention of one or more of the arts or artists of Italy, while other poems deal with the arts of other nations or with a general comparison of the arts.

4. Bavarian by birth, Abt Vogler was ordained a priest at Rome, and played in that city for years. His significance in musical history seems associated with Italy rather than Bavaria.

5. See *An Epistle of Karshish; Ferishtah's Fancies*.

6. See *Pheidippides; Aristophanes' Apology; Herakles; Agamemnon*.

7. See *Gold Hair, A Story of Pornic; The Two Poets of Croisic*.

CHAPTER II

ITALIAN SCULPTURE IN THE POEMS OF BROWNING.

I. GENERAL STATEMENT.—While forty-nine out of a total of two hundred twenty-two poems by Robert Browning refer to some one of the five fine arts—sculpture, music, poetry, architecture, and painting—only eight mention sculpture; and the references in these poems are comparatively insignificant. No one poem deals with sculpture as a theme, nor does any sculptor express his views of the art in dramatic monologue, as Abt Vogler does for music, and Fra Lippo Lippi for painting. Reasons for the preponderance of the other arts will be discussed later, in connection with further suggestions concerning personality and its relations to art in Browning's poetry.

It is often difficult to estimate separately Browning's treatment of sculpture and painting, since he discusses the two arts together in several of his poems (for example, *Old Pictures in Florence*) and since many important Italian artists were both painters and sculptors. However, the predominant art of the man in question, or the art which Browning emphasizes most in connection with him, has been taken as a basis for classification. Estimating in this manner, one finds that the poet refers, in the eight poems, to seven artists—Niccolo Pisano and Giovanni Pisano, Canova, Ghiberti, Giovanni da Bologna, Baccio Bandinelli and Bernini—all of historical interest. Claus of Innsbruck (in *My Last Duchess*), and Jules (in *Pippa Passes*) with his companion art students, are purely imaginary. Reference is made to seven historical works of sculpture: the *Psiche-fanciulla* and *Pietà* of Canova, the statue of Duke Ferdinand, John of the Black Bands, Pasquin's statue, the Fountain of the Tritons, and the *Bocca-dell'Verità*. Three fictitious pieces of sculpture which are named are also introduced, besides a number of imaginary unnamed works.

Such references to sculpture as exist in the poems seem to conform entirely to the facts of history, where there is any pretense of historical accuracy. Sculpture is so unimportant a feature of most of the poems that there was certainly very little temptation to enlarge on the facts for dramatic purposes, or for any other reason.

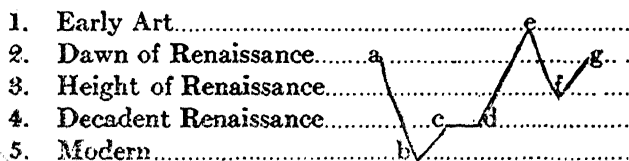
II. HISTORICAL SCOPE.—It is improbable that Browning consciously, or unconsciously either, for that matter, decided to treat different periods of sculpture until he had covered the historical field, or that he ever selected any one phase of this art with so general a purpose in mind. In certain cases he chose some event or characteristic feature of a period, and before he had finished the poem referred to a sculptor, or to the condition of the art at that time, as one of the details in a realistic background for his picture of the times. Nevertheless he has accomplished, without any definite purpose, a result similar to a brief historical survey of sculpture in Italy; his references showing relation to practically every important period of the art.

The first reference to sculpture is in *Sordello* (1840), where the lines concerning the Pisani (Book I, l. 574) characterize the art of Sordello's time as just dawning into the Renaissance. In *Pippa Passes* (1841) the poet, passing over something like five hundred years' development, brings before the reader a picture of nineteenth century art life among students in Italy. *My Last Duchess* (1842) deals with the decadent Renaissance, while *The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church* (1845) presents a faithful picture of the same period. In *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day* (1850), the pendulum swings backward to the early days of Christianity, when the church Fathers abhorred the physical beauty of their art inheritance from Greece. *The Statue and the Bust* (1855) relates events of the sixteenth century also; but they are such as have no historical significance in a chronological way, and could just as readily have happened in the thirteenth or the nineteenth century. *Old Pictures in Florence* (1855) has the early masters as its theme, with another reference to Niccolò Pisano, the first Renaissance sculptor, though the poem concerns itself mainly with architecture and painters. *The Ring and the Book* (1868-69) can hardly be said to deal with any particular period in art history.

Chronological order is not followed, nor is there any reason in

the logic or emotion of poetry why such order should obtain. Whether one denies or affirms on the question of poetical inspiration, one is compelled to admit that the practice in the past has not been to follow set formulas of time or place. No poet, unless it be a pedantic one whose work would fail utterly in spontaneity, would read history and write a poem on each period as he read.

The diagram below indicates that Browning's work was no exception to the normal procedure.



- a. *Sordello*—1840;
- b. *Pippa Passes*—1841.
- c. *My Last Duchess*—1842.
- d. *The Bishop orders his Tomb*—1845.
- e. *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*—1850.
- f. *The Statue and the Bust*—1855.
- g. *Old Pictures in Florence*—1855.

III. POETIC FUNCTIONS OF THE REFERENCES TO SCULPTURE.—

Of the function of portraying the times, *Sordello* gives an example. Browning became interested in the thirteenth-century troubadour, and then in his historical surroundings. In working out the social medium in which *Sordello* was to live and move, Browning named the Pisan Brothers to illustrate the sculptural conditions at the time—one of those numerous small details of which the ordinary reader is scarcely conscious, which are yet extremely important in making a perfect word picture. He spoke of *Sordello* as—

. . . “Born just now,
 With the new century, beside the glow
 And efflorescence out of barbarism;
 Witness a Greek or two from the abysm
 That stray through Florence-town with studious air,
 Calming the chisel of that Pisan pair:
 If Nicolo should carve a Christ us yet!”

While the entire passage is carefully subordinated to the main purpose of studying *Sordello*, it also clearly pictures the dawn of the Renaissance light upon sculpture.

The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church, and *My Last Duchess*, deal with characteristics of their times; but in neither case is sculpture used as a mere detail in the picture. Because of the extensive art treatment in each, the two will be discussed together under the head of Renaissance decadence.⁸

Besides being important enough in itself to deserve somewhat extensive treatment, the art element in *Pippa Passes* is notable because it marks the only instance in which Browning concerns himself with the life of modern art students. He certainly did not begin the poem with the intention of making the artists a theme, nor did he attain any such unexpected result. Instead he began with the thematic idea of the power in unconscious influence, and through four sections of this dramatic poem developed this idea by recording the effects of the song of Pippa, upon murderers, an art student, a fanatical patriot and a scheming bishop. About one-fourth of the poem deals directly with the student life of artists. Canova, who is frequently mentioned, represents the ideal of sculpture; and Jules, the young student who is seeking to attain. In contrast to Jules, the idealist, is the group of evil-minded students who induce him to marry a model, under the impression that she is a cultured Greek woman. It is Browning's best example of the "other side," as illustrated by the group of plotting would-be artists. This is the only example in all of Browning's poetry (with the exception of *A Soul's Tragedy*) in which the poet descends to the level of prose as a medium of speech, and here it is used by knaves and villains. All the crude reality of life among low-minded students, their jealousy of one with higher ideals than their own, the poet gives us in detail by means of their prose speeches; returning to blank verse, however, for the ideals of Jules and the aspirations of Phene's awakening soul. Love of personality, that great guide to the appreciation of Browning from whatever position we approach him, and the possibilities of human development, are written large throughout his works. Nowhere are these ideas in relation to art more clearly expressed than in the words of Jules. An artist of the highest ideals, he has just realized through the singing of Pippa, that a woman's soul is in his keeping. He meditates:

8. See the next page.

“Shall to produce form out of unshaped stuff
 Be Art—and further, to evoke a soul
 From form be nothing? This new soul is mine!”

Then, since art is the expression of personality, and Jules has met with so great a change in ideals, he resolves to break his ‘paltry models up To begin Art afresh.’ His change in personality, it should be noticed, is due to the fact that he realizes the soul has greater significance than art—an idea exactly expressing Browning’s view.

My Last Duchess (1842) is entirely imaginary, but it sums up, in a short poem, the entire decadent Renaissance attitude toward art so fully that no historical names could improve it. Its one mention of sculpture is in the closing lines:

“Notice Neptune, though,
 Taming a sea-horse, thought a rarity,
 Which Claus of Innsbruck cast in bronze for me!”

In two and one-half lines it gives a powerful suggestion of admiration for art because it was fashionable, of emphasis on technique rather than content, of the classical subject matter and bronze material that were in vogue at the time, and of the character expressed in the intellectual but heartless Duke’s purpose of taming the Duchess.

The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed’s Church (1845) is imaginary in its narrative, and probably in all the sculpture named, though the church of Santa Prassede, in Rome, by its richness of decoration, and by a tomb similar to the one the Bishop is represented as desiring, gave the suggestion for the poem. Probably in all literature there is no more skilful summary of a corrupt churchman’s attitude toward his church, his fellow churchmen, the future, earthly love, and art. The characterization is both fearless and powerful. This poem and *My Last Duchess* are companion studies. Both the Duke and the Bishop are fond of power and prestige, both are jealous and envious, each displays his attitude toward woman and toward art. The Bishop has more feeling, though it is largely feeling for himself; and the Duke possesses more icy pride. Each values art, particularly sculpture, as something for display, something luxurious and (contrary to the highest ideas of art) something beyond the power of common people to appreciate. The poems deal with the same period, but *My Last Duchess* is a summary of the secular attitude, *The Bishop orders his Tomb* presents the view of an official of the church.

Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day (1850), in a section devoted to the reverie of the seeker for religious truth after his inspection of Catholicism at Rome, censures the attitude of the early church toward the physical beauty of the statuary Italy had inherited from Greece. While the subject of the poem is religion, not art, incidentally it contains one of Browning's best defences of the nude. He viewed the nude as a fitting expression of the beauty God has placed in the world, and rejoiced in the "noble daring, steadfast duty, The heroic in action or in passion," or even the merely beautiful physique—all as presented in sculpture. In Chapter VI will be found further mention of the nude, in connection with *Francis Furini* (1887).⁹ *The Lady and the Painter*, a non-Italianate poem, published in the Asolando group (1889), also throws further light on Browning's attitude toward the nude. These two poems are of interest in the present discussion, however, only because they prove the attitude expressed in 1850 to have been a permanent one.

In *The Statue and the Bust*, the art references were not introduced for their own sake, but because they suggested a situation with dramatic possibilities. The statue of Duke Ferdinand exists as Browning pictured it. The bust seems to be an addition for poetic purposes, but it conforms to the spirit of the palace decorations, in that it was made of Robbia ware, for traces of that material still adorned the palace when the poem was written.

In *Sordello* (1840), the first poem containing any reference to Italian sculpture, the castle of Goito, the early home of Sordello, is rich in sculpturesque effects. "Those slim pillars, . . . Cut like a company of palms—Some knot of bacchanals, flushed cheek combined With straining forehead, shoulders purpled—A dullish grey-streaked cumbrous font . . . shrinking Caryatides, Of just-tinged marble—" all present a physical setting. They do more, however, than merely locate. Their lonely magnificence harmonizes with the tone of the story, and they exercise an influence on the nature of the dreaming, beauty-loving Sordello.

The best examples of sculpture used purely for setting are found in *The Ring and the Book*. Containing only its few references to pieces of sculpture in Florence and Rome, it is the one of the list of poems in which this art is least prominent. It presents no picture of a period, no discussion of an attitude toward art, no

9. See below, pp. 44, 46.

poetical background of the times aided by art references. Each instance tells us that at such-and-such a place in Rome, in sight of the statue named, a certain event occurred. "Toward Baccio's Marble" (Part I, l. 44) is used to help locate the Florentine book-stall where Browning found the 'old yellow book' that became the basis of the poem. Part I, l. 889, quotes an example of the current gossip in Rome, as taking place "i' the market-place O' the Barberini by the Capucins; Where the old Triton . . . Puffs up steel sleet." This instance serves as setting, and further, in a continuation of the description—"out o' the way O' the motley merchandising multitude"—contrasts the quiet, regular play of the fountain to the turmoil of the characters. Part VI refers to Pasquin's statue in a double comparison which emphasizes Pompilia's innocence in contrast to the bestiality of the squibs that were formerly posted on the statue. In Part XI Guido says his first sight of an instrument for beheading was 'At the Mouth-of-Truth o' the river-side you know, Retiring out of noisy crowded Rome'—a reference which serves as a definite means of location.

Yet all instances from *The Ring and the Book* prove little concerning Browning's interest in art, or his specialized attention to sculpture. The fact that pieces of statuary serve a man as landmarks in Florence or Rome implies little beyond an effort at clearness in location. *The Ring and the Book*, then, in sculpture, is interesting rather for absence than for presence of such references. In fact sculpture is not prominent in the Italian art references of Browning. Not only is it a lesser art quantitatively in Browning's poetry, but it seems to be placed on a distinctly lower plane. Reasons for these facts, are, in part, the predominance of the other arts over sculpture in Italy, and the particular quality of sculpture as an art which makes it tend toward the expression of physical beauty instead of the soul.

Though Browning himself did some work in modeling,¹⁰ he used very few technical terms connected with that art. Since he never put a sculptor speaker on the stage of his poet-world, one does not expect to hear the language of that art spoken. The Duke and the Bishop, it is true, express considerable interest in art, though it is rather in the dilettante spirit than that of serious criticism. "Caryatides," used in *Sordello*, and "caritellas," evid-

10. See above, p. 12.

ently used for cartellas¹¹ seem to be almost the only instances of technical—or semi-technical—terms connected with sculpture.

IV. SOURCE OF BROWNING'S KNOWLEDGE.—Proof has already been given of the statement that Browning had a strong, lasting interest in the arts, even before he went to Italy. The remark in the letter to Miss Haworth (1838) concerning disappointment in Canova, implying previous knowledge, was written during his first visit to Italy. It is certain, then, that he had formed an opinion of one Italian sculptor before going to that country. Probably some of his knowledge of sculpture was gained from reading, also. In every case in which he described a particular piece of work, he had previously visited the place where it was located. *Sordello*, while it refers to artists rather than particular works, and exhibits an art knowledge that was probably gained from reading, was published two years after Browning's first Italian visit in 1838. *Pippa Passes* (1841) was one of the direct results of the same trip, when Venice and delicious Asolo were visited. *My Last Duchess* contains none but imaginary works. *The Bishop orders his Tomb* (1845) has its architectural setting at Rome, one of the points included in Browning's second visit in 1844. *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day* (1850) also mentions Rome. *The Statue and the Bust* (1855) refers to Florence, *Old Pictures in Florence* (1855) has the same setting; and *The Ring and the Book* (1868-9) refers to Rome and Florence, visited in 1844 and 1847. These data all tend to support the foregoing statement that the poet had seen the things of which he wrote.

11. See *Ring and the Book*, I.

CHAPTER III

ITALIAN MUSIC IN THE POEMS OF BROWNING.

I. GENERAL STATEMENT.—Only ten poems refer to Italian music or musicians—seemingly a small number for a writer who is known as the musician's poet. Thirteen Italian musicians—Bellini, Galuppi, Palestrina, Verdi, Rossini, Abt Vogler, Grisi, Corelli, Guarnerius, Stradivarius, Paganini, Buononcini, and Geminiani—constitute the group of performers whom he mentions. Four of these were famous violinists; one was a vocalist. Only two, Galuppi and Abt Vogler, received any extended treatment, though an entire poem is also devoted to Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha, an imaginary composer. There are many references to musicians of other nationalities in Browning; but every poem having this art as its main theme, unless it be *Saul*, in which the influence of music is prominent, is included among the ten referring to Italy.

Thus while Browning is known, even to the general mind, as a poet who writes about musicians, his fame in this particular field is founded on a very few well-known poems. Suppose it were possible to eliminate *Abt Vogler* from the text of Browning's poetry and from the consciousness of the world. Would the cursory student then know him as the celebrator of music? Or at least, if one could filch from the human race both *Abt Vogler* and *A Toccata of Galuppi's*, their author might still be known in the popular mind as an admirer of the arts, but hardly as a devotee of music. Quality rather than quantity, then, is the measure of the element of music in the poems of Robert Browning.

II. CATHOLIC HYMNS.—A by no means unusual introduction of music, nor one peculiar to Browning (see Byron and others) is found in the mention of Catholic hymns. However, they are not employed in any of the poems whose principal theme is music,

nor are they introduced because he deliberately wished to write about that art. They form a part of the Italian consciousness; they are stages in daily life; and they mark the passing of time in a highly poetic way, and in a method characteristic of the Italian nation.

The Ring and the Book, in five of the twelve sections, includes the names of Catholic hymns. In Part IV the *Magnificat* signifies the triumphant spirit of Violante Comparini, the old woman who has completed the bargain by means of which she is to trick her husband into the belief that he is to have an heir. The same section gives an account of the plan of Pietro and Violante Comparini to find a titled husband for their so-called daughter, and illustrates the situation in these words—"And when such paragon was found and fixed, Why, they might chant their '*Nunc dimittis*' straight." Both of these passages, then, mark psychological states, in one or both of the parents of Pompilia. Section VI, the defense of Caponsacchi, contains two references which mark the time of day. The first, in a quotation from one of the forged letters purporting to be from Pompilia to Caponsacchi, suggests that he come to her window at the time of the *Ave*. The second, in the account of the flight of Pompilia and Caponsacchi to Rome, is phrased "At eve we heard the *angelus*," indicating time and suggesting, also, a certain regret for the past on the part of Pompilia. In Section VII, Pompilia, yielding at last to her own desires for rescue and to the importunities of her treacherous maid, names the *Ave Maria* to indicate the time when she will be standing on the terrace to talk with Caponsacchi. The Pope, in Section X, gives his opinion of what will be said of his leniency to the church, should he free Caponsacchi, and sarcastically observes "in the choir *Sanctus et Benedictus*, with a brush Of soft guitar strings that obey the thumb." Section XII, in describing the death of Guido, the wife-murderer, gives his last words as a request for a *Pater*, an *Ave*, with the hymn *Salve Regina Cæli*. This completes the list of Catholic hymns mentioned by Browning—six in all.

III. POETIC FUNCTIONS OF THE REFERENCES TO MUSIC.—Six different poems contain the names of Italian musicians for purposes of comparison. *The Englishman in Italy*, in an implied comparison, contrasts the fiddlers, fifers, and drummers, at the Feast of the Rosary's Virgin, to Bellini. So courageous and confident do they become on this day that (implying their inferiority)

they play boldly on, says the poem, not caring even for the great Bellini.

Bishop Blougram's Apology presents that politic churchman's defense of his fidelity to established doctrines on the ground of expediency—ease in this life and a possible reward in the next. He admits that wise men look beneath his pretense of a belief in the winking Virgin and class him as either knave or fool. In this respect the Bishop likens himself to Verdi at the close of his worst opera. Though the populace applauded, the composer looked beyond them for the judgment of Rossini, the master.

In *Youth and Art*, the struggling girl with aspirations for operatic honors, who misses a possibility for happiness in her futile quest for fame, compares herself with Grisi in her hopes of success. To surpass that prima donna, which, by the way, she never succeeds in doing, constitutes the height of her dream of happiness. *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*, with its fantastic symbolism of night-caps, mentions the many varieties of that article and compares them to the various kinds of violins on exhibition at Kensington when the poem was composed, with special reference to those of Italy:

“I doubt not there be duly catalogued
Achievements all, and some of Italy,
Guarnerius, Straduarius,—old and new.”

“Over this sample would Corelli croon,
Grieving by minors, like the cushat-dove,
Most dulcet Giga, dreamiest Saraband.
From this did Paganini comb the fierce
Electric sparks”

Parleyings with Charles Avison, the only poem which has comparative estimates of different musicians, names the Italians Buononcini and Geminiani as having been appreciated along with Wagner, Dvorak, Liszt and Handel. It is worthy of note that Rossini, Bellini, and Verdi, of the modern Italian school, are not mentioned in any such connection.

Abt Vogler, A Toccata of Galuppi's, Master Hughes of Saxe-Gotha, and *Charles Avison*, are all concerned with music as the principal subject. Each has minor references to Italy, and in the first two, the musician is an Italian one. *Abt Vogler* is probably the finest poem on music in the English language. It contains a perfect idealized expression of the aims of the musician

and a thorough knowledge of his technique. Like *A Toccata of Galuppi's* it is based on extemporization and the transitory quality of music; but it is unlike that poem in emphasizing the permanence of good. *Abt Vogler* voices the musician's own musings on the stately but vanishing castle he has built. *A Toccata* probably refers to an improvisation on the harpsichord, a frequent occurrence at the time concerned, and presents the poet as speaker, questioning the musician concerning the effect of his performance on the audience. Very different psychological states produced these two poems. *Abt Vogler* was written in a mood of reverent optimism; *A Toccata*, in a mood of half careless, half earnest pessimism. Where *A Toccata* closes with "dust and ashes" the other poem passes on to the "ineffable name," and a belief in the future existence of "All we have willed, or hoped, or dreamed, of good." The one closes hope in the grave; the other poem opens heaven. The transitory quality of human life in *A Toccata of Galuppi's* accords with the music being played, and many terms, such as "lesser thirds," "sixths diminished," "suspensions," "solutions," "commiserating sevenths," express the different phases of the listener's mood.

No attempt will be made in this paper to consider Browning's musical terms; for with the exception of "toccata", meaning a light touch piece, an overture, they seem mostly non-Italianate. *Abt Vogler*, *A Toccata of Galuppi's*, *Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha*, and *Parleyings with Charles Avison*, all contain a considerable number of musical terms; but beside the fact that they are non-Italianate, those in at least part of the poems have already been discussed somewhat extensively in various articles among the Browning Society papers.

IV. LACK OF MODERN ITALIAN REFERENCES.—The number of references to Italian musicians is comparatively small, even though the treatment of music in a few poems is unexcelled. Especially when one considers that the great modern group of Italian opera composers was so near Browning in both time and place, his mention of them seems curiously insignificant. Verdi, the greatest of them, appears in the poems only once, and then in connection with his worst opera. That the Brownings heard at least one of Verdi's operas produced, is established by a letter by Mrs. Browning dated in 1853. She speaks of their having heard *Il Trovatore* a few nights previous, at the Pergola in Florence, and concludes

with the peculiarly suggestive remark, "Very passionate and dramatic, surely."

Probably there are several reasons for this neglect of Italian opera composers. Few poets, least of all Browning, are prone to bestow unmitigated praise on contemporaries. In the poems of Browning there are few extended references to any artists who were living at the time. He particularly loved to choose an obscure Galuppi, or an Andrea del Sarto, instead of a Michael Angelo or a Raphael, as a personality about whom to weave a poem. A more potent reason for the indifference to modern Italian music, however, lies in the diverging values of the Italian school and that of northern Europe. A musician who had been trained in the German music of London concerts could hardly be expected to welcome the operas of Verdi and Rossini with anything approaching ecstatic admiration. At the most he might venture a half-conciliatory remark, such as Mrs. Browning's concerning *Il Trovatore*.

V. CONFORMITY TO FACTS.—Browning seldom took occasion to depart from the facts of history in his presentation of Italian music. One exception is found, going beyond all allowances for poetic idealization. It is the Verdi reference in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*.¹² The statement concerns a Verdi composition, and mentions it as having been given in Florence with Rossini present. As a matter of fact *Un Giorno di Regno*, conceded to be Verdi's worst opera, and the only one which was a complete failure, was not given in Florence on its first production and was probably never repeated. *Macbeth* alone was given at Florence first, and it met with a moderate degree of success.

VI. SOURCE OF BROWNING'S KNOWLEDGE.—Browning's life in Italy probably had less influence on his poetic use of music than on his use of any other art, as the data he gives might easily have become known to him without any such experience. Six of the thirteen musicians whom he named performed in London, and three of them, Grisi, Bellini, and Paganini, in Browning's youth. It is even possible that he attended some or all of their concerts. Rossini was living in Florence from 1847 to 1855, while the Brownings were also making that city their home. But while letter after letter written to friends at home refers to such painters or sculptors

12. Line 382.

as Story, Powers, and Leighton, there is absolute silence concerning Rossini. As compared with remarks on sculpture, architecture, or painting, the letters from Italy, as a whole, show an almost absolute indifference to Italian music as a historical development, or as a national achievement. With his fondness for out-of-the-way investigations and obscure characters from any nation, however, Browning has taken some characters from Italian music and has woven their personalities into a few of the best poems on music ever written.

CHAPTER IV.

ITALIAN POETRY IN THE POEMS OF BROWNING.

I. GENERAL STATEMENT.—Of the two hundred and twenty-two of Browning's poems, ten contain the name of an Italian poet or of his writings. Five imaginary writers—Aprile, Plara, Bocafoli, Eglamor, Stiatta—and eleven who belong to the history of Italian literature—Sordello, Nina, Alcamo, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Tasso, Sacchetti, Marino, Aretino, and Tommaseo—compose the list. Of the historical poets, Dante is given the most important place; for besides the direct tribute that is paid him, his name or the name of his great work occurs in seven poems out of the ten. Sordello, a most insignificant poet from the historical standpoint, receives more extended treatment than any other literary figure in Browning's works. Of the entire list of poems, three deal with the life and aspirations of a poet as the main theme—*Pauline*, which, by the way, is really non-Italianate, *Paracelsus*, in which the poet Aprile is contrasted with the scholar, and *Sordello*.

II. PREDOMINANCE IN EARLY POEMS.—Within the first eight years of Browning's career, he published four long poems—*Pauline*, *Paracelsus*, *Strafford*, and *Sordello*. Three of them deal in some way with the life of a poet. After this first period, with the possible exception of *One Word More*, which is essentially a study in comparative art, there is no extended discussion of this sort in any poem, either Italianate or non-Italianate. *How it Strikes a Contemporary* deals with the attitude of the general public toward the life and purposes of a poet, but not, as did the early group, with the poet's solution of his own problem concerning his relation toward his work and humanity. It was written much later, when Browning was more fully settled in his poetical career.

Pauline is an autobiographical sketch of a poet's early doubts and aspirations, largely devoted to appreciation of Shelley, and without Italianate quality; *Paracelsus* and *Sordello* deal with Italian writers of verse. Since these all belong in the same period and that the early one, it is clear that Browning was endeavoring to establish his own ideas of a poet, and these poems were the expression of that effort. But he chose to express his conclusions by giving the negative side, not the positive; for *Aprile*, *Sordello*, *Eglamor*, *Plara*, *Bocafoli*, and in a lesser degree *Nina* and *Alcamo*, are all failures. Not all of them absolute and hopeless, for *Sordello* dies with a moral victory won, *Aprile* is successful in part, and *Nina* and *Alcamo* have their strength and grace; but still none of these poets has fully attained.

III. *SORDELLO*.—In *Sordello*, the character of that name has a shadowy existence in history as one of the most famous of the Italian troubadours. He seems to have been confused with another *Sordello* who was a politician and man of action. Since such scant facts as can be gathered speak of scandals, and tavern brawls, Browning's portrait of him is clearly an idealization, and he probably chose *Sordello* instead of some better known figure that the facts might not interfere with the imaginative picture with which he wished to surround him. The thirty books which Browning read on the history of the period were not read to add to his knowledge of the troubadour, but since even the idealized *Sordello* had to be represented as having lived at some time and place, to give the correct background for his life and actions.

Browning shows that *Sordello* failed because he loved the applause he received rather than the poetry itself, because the aspirations of the man and the poet were at war within him, because he lacked feeling for humanity, and because he was not decisive enough to succeed when he attempted action. The moral victory at the close is for dramatic purposes, and the dominant theme of the poem as a whole is the failure of a poet.

IV. THE IMAGINARY POETS.—*Eglamor*, a purely fictitious poet in *Sordello*, has made verse his only ambition. Lacking all perception of his life as a man, when he is vanquished in verse-making, he dies. *Plara*, in the same poem, stands for the poet without depth or genius, unable to write anything of thought value, polishing his poems until they were merely pretty words, lacking utterly in any interpretation of human life. *Bocafoli*, with his

“stark-naked” psalms, represents the sensualist. While Nina and Alcamo belong to history, they have such shadowy existence so far as present knowledge is concerned, that they will be considered here. They stand respectively for strength and for grace, and Browning represents the low voice as saying to Sordello:

“Nina’s strength, but Alcamo’s the grace,
Each neutralises each then! Search your fill;
You get no whole and perfect Poet—still
New Ninas, Alcamos, till time’s midnight
Shrouds all—or better say, the shutting light
Of a forgotten yesterday.”

Aprile, in the poem fashioned about Paracelsus, the wandering scholar, typifies love as the latter represents knowledge. Through Aprile, the foil to Paracelsus, the latter comes to see in part the mistakes in his attitude toward life, and declares

“I too have sought to KNOW as thou to LOVE—
Excluding love as thou refusedst knowledge.

Are we not halves of one dissevered world,
Whom this strange chance unites once more?”

And Aprile exclaims:

“Yes, I see now. God is the perfect poet,
Who in his person acts his own creations.”

V. THE ITALIAN AS THE TYPE OF FAILURE.—Browning used seven poets to typify failure, three historical and four imaginary ones. All these were Italians, and all suggest the conclusion—“You get no whole and perfect Poet.” This, then, must have been Browning’s conclusion. Naturally enough he does not picture for us a poet representing that for which he himself, after considering different kinds of failure, has decided to strive. By the very values the failures do not represent, however, Browning gave us a vision of his own ideals. Lack of knowledge, lack of strength, of grace, sensuality, superficiality, lack of purpose, and of interest in humanity—these are the causes of failure as represented by Aprile, Alcamo, Nina, Bocafoli, Plara, and Sordello.

It would be unfair to say that these unsuccessful poets are typical of the Italian nation; but it can be safely stated that they are fairly representative of Italian weaknesses. A predominance of ill controlled feeling is the most inclusive characteristic of the group

—a trait which is perhaps marked in Italians of the least desirable class. It is also significant, in contrast to Browning's own nature, that no poet of his group of failures represents an intelligent, unselfish interest in human life.

VI. ITALIAN MEN OF LETTERS: DANTE.—Of the great Italian men of letters, Dante is the only one who is mentioned in *Sordello*, and with the exception of the Shelley references in *Memorabilia* and *Pauline*, Browning pays him the most perfect tribute he ever gave a writer, in the last two lines of the following passage:

“Dante, pacer of the shore
Where glutton hell disgorgeth filthiest gloom,
Unbitten by its whirring sulphur-spume,
Or whence the grieved and obscure waters slope,
Into a darkness quieted by hope;
Plucker of amaranths grown beneath God's eye,
In gracious twilights where his chosen lie.”

Referring to the fact that Dante's *Divina Commedia* includes *Sordello* as a character, and that *De Vulgari Eloquentia* praises him because he had first attempted to establish an Italian vernacular, Browning names *Sordello* as the forerunner of Dante. Again in the same poem, Dante is mentioned as having called the “Palma” of Browning's poem “Cunizza,” and as having taken advantage of *Sordello*'s lost chance to establish a vernacular.

In most of the other poems, the references to Dante are merely incidental. *Up at a Villa* refers to the great literary triumvirate of Italy, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, as standing in the popular mind for all that is great in Italian letters. In *Time's Revenges* Dante appears as being, in the mind of a poor, starving poet, the highest possible standard of fame.

The only other Dante reference of any importance is in *One Word More*. In this poem, Browning's most beautiful tribute to his wife, he represents every artist as wishing once, in his life, to honor his Margarita or his Beatrice. Dante, he says in speaking of that poet, once prepared to paint an angel, laying aside his own art of poetry. A historical basis for this statement is found in the *Vita Nuova*. But Browning, either intentionally or unintentionally, probably the former, for the purpose of making this basis accord with his poetical conception, departs from the facts in two important particulars. Dante plainly states that his attempt at the drawing grew out of his meditations on the anniversary of

the death of Beatrice; and the people who broke in upon him were those of his own town, to whom he apologized for his delayed salutation, by "Another was with me." Browning assumes that the picture was drawn to please Beatrice and that the people who interrupted symbolized Dante's own thoughts about the characters of his *Inferno*.

VII. OTHER REAL WRITERS.—Aretino and Boccaccio are both presented throughout *The Ring and the Book* as examples of questionable morality in literature, or at least of tendencies in that direction.

In Part III, the gossipers speak of the case of Guido and his wife as "this last best of the Hundred Merry Tales." In Part V, Guido, in his complaint against the parents of Pompilia, appeals to Boccaccio's "Book" and "Ser Franco's [Sacchetti's] Merry Tales," as proofs of the greed and wrong-doing of the parents in contrast to his own innocence. Caponsacchi, in Part VI, refers to the forged letters claimed to have been passed between himself and Pompilia, as worthy of the profligate Aretine. In Part X, the Pope makes the same comparison, declaring that the letters are "False to body and soul they figure forth—As though the man had cut out shape and shape From fancies of that other Aretine." In Part XI, Guido attempts to prove that the Pope, in former times, was very human, since he used to "chirrup o'er the Merry Tales." Later in the same section, he asserts his right to enjoy "When Master Pietro [Aretino] rhymes a pleasantry."

VIII. BROWNING'S KNOWLEDGE OF ITALIAN LITERATURE.—Browning's poems display no remarkable knowledge of Italian literature. In comparison with that of the average American or English citizen, it is above the ordinary, but not more than any student of literature might very readily acquire without visiting Italy or residing there. However, the average English student of literature, if he were a poet, would probably embody less of that knowledge of Italy in his verse than Browning has done. Except for the idea of failure as typified by lesser Italian poets, the references are mainly of secondary importance, introduced because he had chosen an Italian theme and wished to give it reality of detail. The stimulus of Italian residence on Browning, then, probably led to the embodiment in his poems of the literary knowledge he already possessed. He seems to have made no particular study of Italian letters, even after going to that country. Some scattered

references to readings in Italian literature (for example in the novels of Sacchetti¹³) exist in the records of the Brownings in Italy; but these references are few in comparison to those concerning sculpture and painting.

IX. BROWNING'S INTEREST IN ITALIAN LITERATURE.—While all the historical references, except the one to Dante noted above as a probably intentional departure from history, are substantially correct in both fact and spirit, Browning did not have any great interest in Italian literature as it existed in his day. Much more space is given to the treatment of imaginary poets, or to the idealization of a historical one, for the sake of personality, as in the case of Sordello. As for the other arts, then, personality is the keynote of Browning's appreciation of Italian literature, and of its place in his poetry.

Browning gives very little space to any formal praise of Italian poetry or poets, either of the past, or contemporary with himself. In this respect his treatment of them is very similar to that he gives to English poets. *Memorabilia*, in praise of Shelley, is his only poem which has for its theme the unmodified praise of another poet. As this poem and the Shelley references in *Pauline* are Browning's only tributes to writers of his own country, so the praise of Dante, in *Sordello*, is the only instance of an expressed appreciation of Italian literature. The only Italian poet contemporary with himself whom he mentions is Tommaseo; and he is noticed only as the author of the inscription on the tablet erected by the city of Florence to the memory of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

13. Letter by Mrs. Browning, December, 1847.

CHAPTER V.

ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE POEMS OF BROWNING.

I. GENERAL STATEMENT.—Twenty-five poems of Robert Browning make some reference, brief or extended, to an Italian work of architecture. Two architects, as such, are mentioned in *Old Pictures in Florence*. They are Giotto (1267-1337), the original designer of the Florentine Campanile, and Taddeo Gaddi (c. 1300-c. 1366), his successor. In the twenty-five poems, about fifty-eight Italian buildings are named, not all of them important architecturally. Of these, almost exactly one-third are in Florence, and one or two less than another third are in Rome. Venice and Asolo claim mention of five and six respectively; but all the remaining towns must content themselves with a mention of one, two, or three buildings. The entire number of works of architecture is divided between twelve towns: Venice, Verona, Bassano, Rome, Florence, Passagno, Asolo, Padua, Fano, Bagni di Lucca, Arezzo and Siena.

There are two apparent reasons why the number of buildings named at Rome and Florence is exceptionally large: first, the former city has been the historical and political center of Italy ever since the beginning, and the latter is the art center of the world; second, Browning spent a considerable amount of time in Rome, both in 1844, during his second trip to Italy, and in his visits of 1853 and 1854, while Florence was his home for fifteen years.

The number of ecclesiastical buildings is something more than one-half of the entire list; while the remaining ones are about equally divided between those for state use and private buildings of a secular character. Considering the large number of beautiful churches and cathedrals in Italy, the result so far as these are

concerned is in entire accordance with one's expectations. St. Mark's, St. Peter's, the Vatican, and the Florentine Duomo, all buildings of world interest, lead in the number of times they receive mention.

II. SOURCE OF BROWNING'S KNOWLEDGE.—Browning had seen almost all if not every one of the Italian buildings he introduces in his poems. He knew whereof he wrote. *Sordello*, published in 1840, is concerned with the cities of Venice, Bassano, Verona, Rome, and Florence; but the references to the last two are very slight. The first three cities he had visited in his trip of 1838, along with his "delicious Asolo", which became the scene of *Pippa Passes*, in 1841. Ferrara formed a very large part of the setting in *Sordello*, also; but no particular buildings in it are described. *A Toccata of Galuppi's*, 1855, refers to St. Mark's in Venice. *Old Pictures in Florence*, with its distinct Florentine setting, was given to the world after Browning had lived in that city for nine years. Doubtless its Campanile, which he mentions in the poem, was at that time as familiar to him as any building of his native land. *By the Fireside* (with reference to the chapel in the gorge) was written either during the visit of the Brownings to Bagni di Lucca in 1853, or shortly after it, and was published in 1855. Near Bagni di Lucca is the scene of the story. There is the same relation between architectural subject and personal observation in *The Boy and the Angel* (Rome), 1842; *The Italian in England* (Padua), 1845; *In a Gondola* (Venice), 1842; *The Statue and the Bust* (Florence), 1855; *Luria* (Florence), 1846; *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day* (Rome), 1850; *Fra Lippo Lippi* (Florence), 1855; *The Bishop orders his Tomb* (Rome), 1845; *Bishop Blougram's Apology* (Rome), 1855; *One Word More* (Florence), 1855; *Abt Vogler* (Rome), 1864; *Pacchiarotto* (Siena), 1876. Padua and Venice were visited in 1838, Rome in 1844, Florence in 1846, if not sooner, and Siena in 1850.

The Ring and the Book is an interesting example of Browning's procedure in the case of an architectural work he wished to introduce. Florence and Rome, more particularly the latter, are concerned with the whole action of the poem, while Arezzo is utilized in a minor way. By this time (1864-68) Browning had long been familiar with Florence and Rome. However, the poem was written in England; and a letter to Frederick Leighton, October 17, 1864, asks him if he will go into the Church of San Lorenzo, in the Corso, look at it carefully, and describe it to Browning. Browning

asks particularly about the arrangement of the building, nave, pillars, the number of altars, and the 'Crucifixion' over the altar, by Guido, and adds that he does not care for the outside. This church Browning uses more than any other in *The Ring and the Book*, making it the scene of the baptism and the marriage of Pompilia, as well as the place to which the dead bodies were taken. Mr. Kenyon tells us that the poet was always accustomed to visualize a scene completely and to keep it constantly before him mentally as he wrote. It was his general rule to use only buildings which he had seen, even when he refers to them very slightly; and in this case, he wrote to inquire about one which he had seen, but of which he did not have a perfectly clear mental image. The only possible exception to the personal observation of a building to be poetically described is in the case of the Pieve, at Arezzo. The Pieve is described in considerable detail; and so far as can be learned, the poet probably did not visit it. The Brownings had planned to visit it in September, 1847, on their way to Rome. But this trip, in connection with which Arezzo is mentioned, was abandoned. Later trips were made to Rome, however, and it is very possible that Arezzo was made a stopping place on one of them, and the Pieve, after all, was not an exception to the general rule.

III. IMPORTANCE OF ARCHITECTURE IN THE POEMS.—When the amount of architecture Browning introduces is first considered, it seems remarkably large. But such conclusion could be reached only by failing to take into consideration the manner in which the references are employed. About ten of the buildings he names, including those at Asolo and a few others, are of no importance whatever, from either an architectural or a historical standpoint. Most of the remaining ones are discussed in histories of architecture or mentioned in guide books, and a considerable number of them are of importance architecturally. But with very few exceptions, Browning does not employ them for the sake of their architecture; and cared very little whether they were architecturally good or bad. He usually had a story to tell; and for that story a location was necessary. Often he used such buildings as had been significant in the original events on which he based his poem.

There are, to be sure, numerous instances in which the particular church or castle he names suits the tone of the story just a trifle better than anything else he could have found. In *Sordello*, for

example, he constructed an imaginary castle, Goito, which both harmonized with the character of Sordello and influenced his life, since it was the home of his youth. An excellent example of a building chosen to illustrate the theme of the story is *The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church*. Perhaps no such tomb as the Bishop's ever existed, exactly as described in the poem; but if it had, St. Praxed (Santa Prassede) with its ornate beauty was exactly suited to be its location.

The Ring and the Book and *The Statue and the Bust* are both excellent examples of poems in which the buildings were already selected for Browning by the stories on which he based his poems.

Examples of buildings chosen for harmony, such as those in *Sordello* and *The Bishop orders his Tomb*, are rather exceptional cases. Browning's poetic architecture, for the most part, may be grouped in three divisions—(1) buildings already chosen for him by the story which he wished to embody in a poem, (2) buildings chosen by himself, to harmonize with the tone of the story, (3) buildings used for setting with no regard whatever for architectural qualities. The last division is by far the largest. Or, to classify more broadly, there are two ways in which he uses architecture—(1) for the sake of an emotional value, of which there is one example, and (2) for the sake of background effects, to which practically all the other instances belong.

IV. COMPARISON WITH OTHER WRITERS.—Wordsworth has several poems—for example, *Old Abbeys*, *In the Cathedral at Cologne*, *Inside of King's College Chapel*—that within a short space and in a lyrical fashion deal with architecture in a highly appreciative manner. Somewhat similar examples from Byron are the *Elegy on Newstead Abbey* and the familiar *Sonnet on Chillon*. But Browning, whose writings contain few poems of lyric or descriptive subjectivity, did not devote himself to any such effusions over inanimate objects. His only description of architecture as something appealing to the emotion and imagination of man is contained in a few lines of a very long poem, *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*. The speaker is searching for religious truth and finds himself, in his visit to the homeland of Catholicism, viewing St. Peter's at Rome. Then follows that wonderfully comprehensive description—

“And what is this that rises propped,
With pillars of prodigious girth?
Is it really on the earth,

This miraculous Dome of God?
 Has the angel's measuring-rod
 Which numbered cubits, gem from gem,
 'Twixt the gates of the New Jerusalem,
 Meted it out,—and what he meted,
 Have the sons of men completed?
 —Binding, ever as he bade,
 Columns in the colonnade,
 With arms wide open to embrace
 The entry of the human race . . . ”

But even in this instance, Browning, before his description is finished, cannot content himself with mere abstract statements of beauty divorced from human life. He turns to the builders—the people, and to the purpose—service to humanity.

In the only poem of Browning which deals with an architect at all, (*Old Pictures in Florence*, in which Giotto is considered at some length), the discussion is from the standpoint of the architect's aim, his partial achievement, and the relation his work, when it is finally finished, will have to the people of his city; not from the standpoint of any technical interest in the art.

V. ARCHITECTURE AND PERSONALITY.—With all his mention of Italian works of architecture, then, Browning's primary object was never the abstract beauty of that art itself. He has far less treatment of it, from an abstract standpoint, than many another English writer who has scarcely gone outside his native land for material. A building, as a building! What was there in it related to personality as that expressed itself in the struggles of the soul? And, therefore, what could there be in it to concern Robert Browning?

CHAPTER VI

ITALIAN PAINTING IN THE POEMS OF BROWNING.

I. GENERAL STATEMENT.—Twenty-nine poems contain the names of Italian painters, and fifty-one Italian painters are mentioned by name; while several of the great artists are mentioned in many poems. Michael Angelo is referred to in ten different poems; Raphael in seven, besides the duplicate mention in three sections of *The Ring and the Book*; Correggio, and Titian, each in six poems, and Da Vinci in five different poems. These are all great masters of the High Renaissance in Italy; and therefore, they are the greatest artists the world has known: the repeated introduction of their names is perfectly natural. But among Browning's fifty-one painters, some of so little importance are named that references to them are rare in histories of art. Even with the most insignificant, some telling phrase is often used to express with admirable precision the artist's relation to the history of art. The best example of this is found in *Old Pictures in Florence*, where the poet capriciously calls the roll of the past Florentine artists, chiding them because none of their works have come into his possession. In the one poem seventeen men who have been classified as painters, besides some who are sculptors and architects primarily, find a place. Only two or three of the artists are given more than a line or two; but many of even the most insignificant are summed up in some phrase like the following: "Da Vincis derive in good time from Dellos;" "Stefano . . . called Nature's Ape and the world's despair;" "the wronged Lippino," or "my Pollajolo, the twice a craftsman."

II. EXTENT OF BROWNING'S KNOWLEDGE.—To cover the entire field as he does, from Cimabue through the Renaissance and down to modern times (for he omits almost no artist of importance in

the whole history of painting, besides including many surprises in the way of insignificant ones), Browning must have had a wonderful amount of historical knowledge. This familiarity with the development of the art was gained in three ways—by some study of the subject before he went to Italy, by reading histories of the painters after going there, and by visiting galleries and churches in Italy and studying the pictures found therein.

The fact that Browning had an interest in studying the London galleries before he went to Italy, and indeed, was a student of pictures from his childhood, has already been noted in the introductory remarks.¹⁴ Just how great the poet's knowledge of Italian art was at this period, is hard to determine. But his first poem, *Pauline*, contains a reference to *Andromeda*, a picture by Caravaggio, who was a Renaissance artist. Mrs. Orr¹⁵ tells us that the picture was always before him as a boy and that he loved the story of the divine deliverer and the innocent victim which it represented. In one of his early letters to Elizabeth Barrett, Browning gives the following account of his fondness for *Andromeda*: "How some people use their pictures, for instance, is a mystery to me. My Polidore's perfect *Andromeda* along with 'Boors Carousing' where I found her—my own father's doing, or I would say more."

These statements prove that a fondness for *some* Italian art, at least, had been a part of his life from a very early age; and in addition, they suggest that a person who had so keen an appreciation for a picture by an artist so little known as Caravaggio, must have known a great deal more about Italian art than is implied in this one statement. Browning was in his twenty-first year when *Pauline*, the poem referring to *Andromeda*, was published. This was five years before his first visit to Italy, but even at this time, his appreciation of the picture was so complete that he compared the ever-beautiful and unchanging *Andromeda* to himself and seemed to feel that she had as real an existence.

III. IRREGULAR DISTRIBUTION OF REFERENCES.—While the influence of painting began so early in Browning's poetical career, and extended to its close, the last art poem being *Beatrice Signorini*, in the *Asolando* group, published just at the time of his death, the chronological distribution of the subject is by no means

14. See above, p. 10.

15. *Op. cit.*

regular. In *Paracelsus*, reference to painting is found; *Sordello* has some minor references; *Pippa Passes* contains some mention of painting and much concerning sculpture. *Pictor Ignotus*, the first poem devoted entirely to a painter, was published in 1845. All these items form a comparatively slender thread of references up to the publications of 1855. At that date Browning had lived in Italy nine years, had studied art histories, and seen pictures. Our chronicler, Mrs. Browning, we recall, furnishes us the information—in the previously mentioned letter of 1847 to Horne—that they were reading Vasari. This was the next year after the Brownings went to Italy to take up their residence there. Though Browning's early trips (in 1838 and 1844) seem to have had small influence on his poetic treatment of painting, the Italian residence bore fruit. Between 1847, the year when the residence began, and 1855, only one poem of Browning's was published, and some references to painting are found in it. The publications of 1855 include the following poems on painting: *Old Pictures in Florence*, *The Guardian Angel*, *Fra Lippo Lippi*, *Andrea del Sarto*, and *One Word More*. In this one year, all the finest and best known of his poems on painting were given to the world. Just why this is true is hard to prove but easy to conjecture. The time just previous to their publication marks the period of greatest, most intimate art study, since these poems were the product of the first nine years in Italy. There was a certain power, appreciation, and a fineness of feeling associated with these first years in the great art center of Florence that never returned again. For some time before this, Browning had been an interested student of art, and the Florentine residence brought his ideas to their full maturity. The best that he was capable of putting into verse on the subject of painting was both imagined and written during this first period in Italy, the home of painting.

IV. SOURCES OF THE POEMS.—An event recorded by Mrs. Browning, in a letter to Mrs. Jameson, dated May 4, 1850, throws light on the source of *Old Pictures in Florence*. She says that her husband had picked up at a few pails each some "hole and corner pictures" in a corn shop a mile from Florence. Mr. Kirkup (one of the best judges of pictures in Florence) threw out such names for them as "Cimabue, Ghirlandajo, Giotto, a Crucifixion painted on a banner, Giottoesque, if not Giotto, but unique or nearly so, on account of linen material—and a little Virgin by a Byzantine mas-

ter. Two angel pictures, bought last year, prove to have been sawed off of the Ghirlandajo, so-called."

Besides showing, as do many other statements of their life in Italy, that Browning was deeply interested in art, these words suggest both the title and the origin of *Old Pictures in Florence*, in which the poet reproaches the spirits of the early masters for failing to leave some of their works to one so appreciative as himself. What could be more natural in its development? A poet-artist finds the pictures, is told that they are genuine, and is very desirous of believing it. His interest in personality turns his mind to the painters themselves, his fancy runs with a loose rein—and we have the half-thoughtful whimsicality of *Old Pictures in Florence*. On the serious side it pleads for the following: (1) more attention to the early almost unknown masters, instead of praise for Angelo, Raphael, and such famous artists; (2) a greater appreciation of the development of Italian painting, because it was development, than of the dead perfection of Greek sculpture; (3) Italian freedom from Austria, and with it the return of art to Florence, resulting in the completed Campanile with the new flag upon it. The first two pleas are made on the ground of the noble development of the early Italian painting, in contrast with the later art of Italian painting and that of perfect Greek sculpture, which were at a standstill.

The Guardian Angel was the direct result of a visit by the Brownings to Fano; probably in 1848, for during that year Murray sent them there to find a summer residence. Mrs. Browning reports¹⁶ that it was unspeakable for such a purpose, but "the churches are very beautiful, and a divine picture of Guercino's is worth going all that way to see." The poem was published with the group of 1855, and in it mention is made of three trips to see the picture while the Brownings were at Fano.

While *The Guardian Angel* may be the only poem written as a direct result of seeing a picture, *Andrea del Sarto* was at least the result of the existence of a picture. Mr. Kenyon, an intimate friend of the Brownings, and a relative of Mrs. Browning, asked them to obtain for him, if possible, a copy of Andrea's picture of himself and wife. Since he was unable to secure it, Browning wrote the poem and sent it as a record of what the picture contained.

16. August, 1848.

Vasari was the source of much of the historical material which Browning used in his poems. His gossipy narrative was followed almost exactly in *Fra Lippo Lippi*, and partly in *Andrea del Sarto* and other poems. Baldinucci's histories of the Italian painters furnish material for *Beatrice Signorini*, and the first part of *Filippo Baldinucci*. Browning invented the last part of the latter, and makes his invention more real by Filippo's declaration, "Plague o' me if I record it in my book."

V. POETIC FUNCTIONS OF THE REFERENCES TO PAINTING.—Many references to painters or painting are used for comparisons, just as in the case of other arts. Such is the one in *Pauline*, in which the poet describes the Andromeda of Caravaggio, and contrasts her to his own changing soul; and also the comparison in *Sordello*, of the hero to the same picture. A third mention of Andromeda, in *Francis Furini*, illustrates the beauty of the nude art. The painter of Andromeda, Polidoro da Caravaggio, is introduced in *Waring*, in a far from serious comparison, in which Browning wonders if his long-silent friend is splashing in painting "as none splashed before, Since great Caldara Polidore."

In *Pippa Passes*, the Bishop compares one artist with another, by expressing the hope that Jules will found a school like that of Correggio. In *Three Days* includes a comparison of the lights and shades of a woman's hair to painting, with the line, "As early Art embrowns the gold." *Any Wife to Any Husband* compares the husband who greatly admires other beautiful women, with anyone who looks at Titian's Venus—"Once more what is there to chide?" Passages in *Bishop Blougram's Apology* name Correggio's works and the pictures of Giulio Romano as desirable things to own. The Bishop also states that he keeps his restless unbelief quiet, "like the snake 'neath Michael's foot," referring to the well-known painting by Raphael. In *James Lee's Wife*, the attitude toward an unbeautiful hand is illustrated by the line—"Would Da Vinci turn from you?"

One of the most striking examples of the comparison of a person with a picture is found in Part VI of *The Ring and the Book*, where Caponsacchi likens Pompilia to the Madonna of Raphael in innocence. In Part VII, Pompilia compares her deliverer, Caponsacchi, to the picture of St. George. In Part VIII, the speaker who defends Guido reads a description of a man moved by too much grief, and says it fits Guido's case just as exactly as Maratta's portraits

are like the life. The prosecutor, in Part IX, compares himself in his descriptions of the family of Pompilia, to a painter, carefully planning to paint a 'Holy Family'. In this connection he names Carlo Maratta, Luca Giordano, Angelo, Raphael, Pietro da Cortona, and Ferri. Four or five other comparisons are found in *The Ring and the Book*, but in general, they are very similar to the ones given above, and little would be gained by enumerating all of them.

About forty lines of *Fifine at the Fair* are concerned with an extended comparison of a man's treatment of his wife with his attitude toward an authentic Raphael which he has bought. In each case he makes much over the new treasure when it has first come into his possession, then seems neglectful, but in case of any danger, thinks first of his real object of affection, forgetting such light fancies as other women and Doré picture books. The comparison is further extended by likening the soul in its choice of another soul to finding satisfaction in art—poetry, music, and painting. The Italian artists, Bazzi, Raphael, and Michael Angelo, are named as examples in this connection.

Red Cotton Night-Cap Country contains a very Browningsque description of a soul, and pleads:

"Aspire, break bounds! I say,
Endeavor to be good and better still,
And best! Success is nought, endeavor's all."

. . . . "there the incomplete,
More than completion, matches the immense,—
Then Michael Angelo against the world."

With Charles Arison, Cenciája, and With Christopher Smart contain comparisons similar to those noted above.

Eleven poems in all deal with Italian painters or painting as the principal theme. They are: *Pictor Ignotus, Old Pictures in Florence, The Guardian Angel, Fra Lippo Lippi, Andrea del Sarto, One Word More, A Face, Pacchiarotto, Filippo Baldinucci, With Francis Furini, and Beatrice Signorini*. Eight of these center around the work, personality, or history of a single artist. Of the eight, *Pictor Ignotus, Andrea del Sarto, Fra Lippo Lippi, and With Francis Furini*, are serious poetic efforts, having as the theme a painter's endeavor, and dealing in each case with some short-coming or lack of acknowledged success. Each of the first three, as poetry, is excellent in conception and execution. *With Francis*

Furini, however, is rather didactic and heavy, lacking in lyricism and beauty.

The failure of *Pictor Ignotus* was due to his high conception of art—so high that he could not bear to submit pictures of real worth to the world. With his extremely sensitive disposition he could not endure the thought of ignorant criticism by people who had no comprehension of the aim or purpose of the artist. Lippi failed to gain approbation because he would not sacrifice his conception of painting things as God made them to the misguided saintliness of the monks. *Furini*, according to Browning's estimate, failed in part, because of his attitude toward the nude. *Andrea del Sarto*, the greatest failure in all Browning, possessed a masterly technique, but failed through his weakness of character.

Of the later art poems, published after 1855, *With Francis Furini* is the most serious effort. It contains an extended defense of the nude in art, the substance of which is summed up in the following quotations:

"No gift but in the very plentitude
Of its perfection, goes maimed, misconstrued,
By wickedness or weakness: still some few
Have grace to see thy purpose, strength to mar
Thy work with no admixture of their own."

. . . "Show beauty's May, ere June
Undo the bud's blush, leave a rose to cull
—No poppy neither! Yet less perfect-pure,
Divinely precious with life's dew besprent.
Show saintliness that's simply innocent
Of guessing sinnership exists."

Among the less serious works, *Pacchiarotto* tells the story of a reformer-painter, suffering at the hands of the people who opposed him. With a decidedly humorous treatment, rollicking verse, and impossible rhymes, Browning carried on the poem to its conclusion of a fling at the critics of his own verse. *Filippo Baldinucci* simply retells a rather amusing story, quite distinct from any serious consideration of the painter as an artist, with an added conclusion which Browning imagined for himself. In like manner, *Beatrice Signorini* consists of a poetized version of some very personal history, which Browning took from *Baldinucci*. The husband of *Beatrice*, who was the painter *Romanelli*, fell in love with *Artemisia Genteschi*, and having painted her portrait,

showed it to his wife. She immediately destroyed it, Romanelli approved her spirit, and ever after loved her more.

VI. CONFORMITY TO HISTORY.—A few instances of departure from historical facts are found in the poems on painting, though it is really remarkable that they were not less accurate, written as they were at a time when the history of painting had been so slightly investigated. Such errors as existed are usually the result of mistakes in the sources Browning followed, though these were the best in their day, rather than from carelessness on his part.

Some very recent investigators assert that Browning unduly exaggerated the character of Andrea's wife, in *Andrea del Sarto*. However, no less an authority than W. M. Rossetti insists that he was essentially true to the facts in representing her. Others insist that he was somewhat unfair in the general impression which he gives of Andrea. At least he has not changed the facts materially in this particular case; and if any liberty has been taken, from a poetic standpoint it is well taken. There are several slight errors in *Fra Lippo Lippi*. For example, Guidi (Masaccio) is now known to have been the master, not the pupil of Lippi, and the picture in Sant' Ambrogio was probably not the expiation of a prank.

The few changes in the facts, however, are comparatively slight, all told. Allowing for mistaken authorities whom Browning followed, variations are much more trivial than might be expected. By the old well-worn charity cloak of poetic license it is customary to allow for considerable idealization. But Browning, the artist of things as they really exist, held to the truth as he saw it, even in his treatment of art. This he did in spite of the fact that his purpose was not to give art history, but to present personality as it existed in relation to art. With his deep insight into human nature, as well as art history, he took the characters which he found in the world of art, the good or bad, and gave them to us as examples of the striving, often unsuccessful soul.

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL COMPARISONS: BROWNING AND THE FINE ARTS OF ITALY.

I. POETIC FUNCTION AND METHOD.—About fifteen poems from Browning deal with the arts or artists of Italy as primary subject matter. The remainder of the entire number of forty-nine which refer to art at all, treat it as a secondary consideration. Taking the subject art as a whole, as Browning introduces it in poetry, it appears in the following forms: (1) main theme; (2) comparison of two or more artists working in the same art; (3) comparison of artists in one art with those in another, as painters with musicians, or with poets; (4) illustrative material when the main theme of the poem has no immediate bearing on art. *Abt Vogler*, in music, or *Fra Lippo Lippi*, in painting, are examples of the first. *Andrea del Sarto*, besides exemplifying the first form, contains numerous comparisons of its main character with other painters. *With Charles Avison* has a musician as a theme, and he is compared with other artists, for example, Michael Angelo. *Fifine at the Fair*, whose main theme has no connection with art, names Raphael, Bazzi, and Angelo as illustrative material. Numerous instances of incidental art references, used in such ways as these, attest the fact that Browning had a large art consciousness, gained from past interest in the different fields, and of sufficient activity to cause almost constant references to the fine arts.

Where Wordsworth would have chosen English natural scenery for purposes of illustration, and Shelley nature in Italy, Browning chose art. Fifteen poems with nature as the main theme, besides numerous others with references to nature, would not seem unusual; but a group of fifteen poems, all moderately long, based on the fine arts, besides a very large number of comparisons

to the arts in other poems, seems an exceptional product for a nineteenth century English poet.

Browning's art monologue is of two kinds—the monologue of the artist who is the chief character in the poem, and the monologue of the poet addressing the artist directly. Nor are these forms confined entirely to Italian art poems. *My Last Duchess*, *The Bishop orders his Tomb*, *Pictor Ignotus*, *Fra Lippo Lippi*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *Abt Vogler*, are all in dramatic monologue, with either an artist or one interested in art, as the speaker. *A Toccata of Galuppi's*, *Master Hughes of Saxe-Gotha*, and *Old Pictures in Florence*, represent the poet addressing the artist. *Filippo Baldinucci* is presented in the first person, in monologue form. In *The Guardian Angel* the poet directly addressed the angel of the picture. *One Word More* and *A Face*, in which the art element is strong, are written in the first person, the former addressed directly to Mrs. Browning with the poet speaking, and the second addressed to no particular person. This review establishes the fact that the monologue is Browning's favorite form for poems about art, since the list just quoted includes all important poems of that kind. In every case he made some personality prominent, and in all serious poems on art, that personality is either speaking or spoken to, the very finest poems being of the former type.

II. AMOUNT OF MATERIAL USED FROM EACH OF THE FINE ARTS.

—In the foregoing discussion of the five branches of Italian art in Browning,—sculpture, music, poetry, architecture, and painting—the order has been determined largely by a quantitative standard. In the Appendix are systematic lists showing the number of poems and the exact references in connection with each art. No extensive comparison of the different arts regarding frequency of introduction, therefore, is needed here; but a few generalizations concerning some of the reasons for the variation in emphasis seem not amiss.

Architecture is the art of a concrete bodily form, absolutely separated from any representation of humanity, unless one looks beyond it to the architect, or to the people for whom it is constructed. In contradistinction to the other fine arts discussed here, it is characterized by usefulness. While it should, and does, in its highest forms, surmount mere utility, and give an impression of harmony, beauty, and grandeur, it never directly portrays the finest feelings of which humanity is capable and never inspires

one directly with a feeling of achievement or struggle in character. Utility is the chief interest guiding Browning's treatment of architecture—not architectural utility, but the service to the poet in fixing the setting of his poems. Such service is clear in nearly every instance in all of the twenty-five poems in which some Italian building is mentioned, and in the case of nearly all the fifty-eight edifices named. The description of St. Peter's in *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day* is practically the only exception, and there, as has already been stated, the poet passed from the grandeur of the structure itself to the builders. Lack of personality in architecture is, then, the reason for its very slight introduction as an actual art in Browning's verse.

Passing on from architecture to sculpture one finds that we have another art of concrete bodily form, with the added power of portraying the human form, face, and to a very slight degree, the soul. While the number of sculptors named is very small, then, Browning's appreciation of this art surpasses his appreciation of architecture. Examples of this are *Old Pictures in Florence*, in which sculpture is treated at considerable length, by comparing its merits with the aspirations of the early painters, and *Pippa Passes*, in which Jules, the sculptor, is a prominent figure. *The Bishop orders his Tomb* deals almost entirely with sculpture. Still sculpture was not Browning's favorite art by any means. Bodily perfection he admired; but he wished to go beyond it to the soul in dramatic situations, to its struggle and endeavor. And for these values the powers of sculpture are limited. To portray successfully any very great struggle or intense feeling of the soul is beyond its nature.

A cause for the large amount of Italian poetry in the writings of Browning has already been suggested, in part.¹⁷ But one must further consider the fact that he did not continue to deal with poets and their writings as subject matter. After the first eight years of his career, he ceased to deal with the causes connected with the failure of poets. Fundamentally, all arts are agencies of expression through the representation of nature and humanity. With the breadth of vision which Browning possessed concerning the possibilities of expression in all the arts, there was none of the five in which he did not, at some time or other, wish to express

17. See Chapter IV, p. 30 and *passim*.

himself. In the beginning of his career, when he was formulating his ideas of a poet, he expressed his ideas of that art by writing about other poets. But with ideas and forms for his own art once fully established, the art became self-expressive. He no longer needed to write about other poets; for the poet in himself had found his own purpose and method.

It has already been suggested that Browning's appreciation of music, as he expressed it in his poems, was qualitative, rather than quantitative, so far as Italian music is concerned. This art rivals poetry in expressing the highest yearnings and ideals of which the soul is capable, and is, therefore, in a very high degree, though in abstract form, the art of personality. And this art Browning expressed most perfectly, as to the aims and ideals of its artists, when he chose to do so. But with all his own feeling for music and with such ability as he expressed in performance, it, like poetry, was largely self-expressive for him. That is he played, instead of writing poetry about music. Browning's evident preference for other music than that of the modern composers of Italy explains the lack of space accorded to them. Yet in spite of this preference the best of his musical poems were built about Italians—obscure ones though they may be.

Browning did no work in actual study of the technique of painting. The nearest he came to it was at the time of his thirteen days application to drawing.¹⁸ Yet painting is in a very large degree expressive of the soul—its anguish, sorrow, failure, joy, ecstasy, or endeavor. Drawn to it by his interest in personality, Browning made it contribute largely to his poems. The Italian painting with which he dealt had little to do with landscape or other phases of nature. It portrayed persons; and stimulated by the pictures which he saw, or by records of personality in the biography of artists, he incorporated many references to painting in his poems, dealing more largely with it than with any other art. Since, too, Italy was the home of painting, his environment was very conducive to a development of his tendency to make painting an important element in his poems.

Browning, as poet and man, was able to forgive any sort of failure if the person whom he was judging had only made a thorough effort to accomplish something. He carried this doctrine

18. See above, p. 12.

so far as to make a lack of effort the cause of his censure of the Duke and the Lady in *The Statue and the Bust*, even though the fulfillment of their plan would have been a sin. This love for endeavor, which always accompanies his attitude toward any personality, along with his enthusiasm for personality itself explains his selection and emphasis in his treatment of the arts. Painting he decidedly preferred above sculpture for other reasons than its greater ability in portraying the soul. This preference is stated in *Old Pictures in Florence*, and is based on the fact that Greek art had run, and "reached the Goal." Its effort, then, was over:

"They are perfect—how else? they shall never change:
We are faulty—why not? we have time in store.
The Artificer's hand is not arrested
With us . . . "

"'Tis a life-long toil till our lump be leaven—
The better! What's come to perfection perishes."

These quotations from *Old Pictures in Florence*, in which the poet, by using the first person in his references to the early masters of Italy places himself in their group and refers to Greek art in the third person, are indications of the spirit of the poem and of Browning's entire attitude toward endeavor in art.

To summarize, then: few persons have as great an interest in expressing themselves through all the arts as did Robert Browning. Architecture and sculpture he appreciated least; therefore he expressed least concerning their spirit and feeling. Music was a fundamental part of his life; but he was able to embody his feelings about it in music itself, not merely in poetry about it. Yet because of his perfect understanding of it, he has embodied its spirit in a few choice poems, making permanent, by his treatment of its evanescent quality, the ideas that could not be left to the world by his playing. Painting he deeply appreciated from childhood; but beyond a few amateur efforts for diversion, he could not express his appreciation of it by means of that art itself. Consequently, in an unusually large number of his poems, he gave us his view of that art, his portraits of its followers, historical or imaginary.

III. PERSONALITY AND THE ARTS.—Through his presentation of artists, Browning has given the world many different types of character. Prominent among them are the following: The non-

altruistic, impractical poet—Sordello; the sensualist—Bocafoli; the superficial character—Plara; the regretful but optimistic idealist—Abt Vogler; the coarse realist, who yet possessed a really fine appreciation of God's world—Fra Lippo Lippi; the weak, ambitionless man—Andrea del Sarto; the keenly sensitive mind—Pictor Ignotus; and the reformer—Pacchiarotto.

Art is also connected with Browning's character portrayal in a secondary sort of way, of which *The Ring and the Book* furnishes excellent illustrations. In that poem people are characterized by their likeness to some work of art—*e. g.*, Pompilia is compared to Raphael's Madonna; or by their fondness for some particular work of art—*e. g.*, the Pope chuckling over the *Merry Tales*.

While Browning mentioned the great masters in many different poems, it is noticeable that he never used one of them as the main subject of a poem. There are Andrea, Lippo, and Furini, but there is no Angelo and no Raphael. This is due to the one element of interest on Browning's part that has already been emphasized in this chapter and previous ones—personality. Browning was interested in the artist he selected, not merely as an artist, not as a distinguished figure, but as a human being, whose attempts, partial failure, or development, the poet wished us to study with him.

Very often the characters whom Browning chose to present either in connection with the arts or otherwise, were such as we do not approve of—but neither did Browning approve of them. His theory of art was no mere aesthetic one of art for art's sake, no mere dogma of didacticism. It was rather, art for the sake of human nature, of personality. Of all the characters he has drawn for us, the one whose expression of art best gives Browning's own sentiments is Fra Lippo Lippi, the painter and realist, enthusiastic for

“The beauty and the wonder and the power,
The shapes of things, their colors, lights, and shades,
Changes, surprises—and God made it all!

“But why not do as well as say,—paint these
Just as they are, careless what comes of it?”

Numerous instances might be cited as a proof of this—Guido, the Duke, the Bishop, and many others. All his human beings, then, Browning chose because their personality appealed to him,

as a study, rather than because they compelled his admiration, whether he selected them from the world of art or elsewhere.

IV. BROWNING AS THE POET OF HUMANITY.—By consideration of Browning's general attitude towards the arts, of his fondness for the struggle of the human soul as a poetic theme, and by a discussion of his relative emphasis on each art and the method in which he chose to treat it, the fact has been established that Browning was primarily the poet of the human soul, and a poet of the arts as seen through the medium of personality.

When he was once asked if he liked nature, he replied, "Yes but I love men and women better." The arts—architecture, music, poetry, sculpture, and painting—he loved also; but he loved them most because they recorded human experience, and best when they most fully expressed the struggles of the soul, and thus became the direct embodiment of personality.

APPENDIX

I. POEMS CONTAINING REFERENCE TO ITALIAN ART.

1. Pauline, 1833.
2. Paracelsus, 1835.
3. Sordello, 1840.
4. Pippa Passes, 1841.
5. My Last Duchess, 1842.
6. In a Gondola, 1842.
7. Waring, 1842.
8. The Boy and the Angel, 1845.
9. Time's Revenges, 1845.
10. The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church,
1845.
11. Pictor Ignotus, 1845.
12. The Italian in England, 1845.
13. Luria, 1846.
14. A Soul's Tragedy, 1846.
15. Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day, 1850.
16. Up at a Villa, 1855.
17. A Toccata of Galuppi's, 1855.
18. Old Pictures in Florence, 1855.
19. By the Fireside, 1855.
20. Any Wife to Any Husband, 1855.
21. In Three Days, 1855.
22. The Guardian Angel, 1855.
23. Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha, 1855.
24. The Statue and the Bust, 1855.
25. How it Strikes a Contemporary, 1855.
26. Fra Lippo Lippi, 1855.

27. Andrea del Sarto, 1855.
28. Bishop Blougram's Apology, 1855.
29. One Word More, 1855.
20. James Lee's Wife, 1864.
31. Abt Vogler, 1864.
32. Youth and Art, 1864.
33. A Face, 1864.
34. Apparent Failure, 1864.
35. The Ring and the Book, 1868-9.
36. Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, 1871.
37. Fifine at the Fair, 1872.
38. Red Cotton Night-Cap Country, 1873.
39. The Inn Album, 1875.
40. Pacchiarotto, 1876.
41. Cenciaja, 1876.
42. Filippo Baldinucci, 1876.
43. Pietro of Abano, 1880.
44. Christina and Monaldeschi, 1883.
45. With Christopher Smart, 1887.
46. With Francis Furini, 1887.
47. With Charles Avison, 1887.
48. Ponte dell' Angelo, Venice, 1889.
49. Beatrice Signorini, 1889.

II. TABULATION OF REFERENCES TO INDIVIDUAL ARTS.

SCULPTURE

I. *Sordello*.

1. Niccolo Pisano (1206-1278). By his study of nature and the ancients, gave the death-blow to Byzantinism and heralded the Renaissance.
2. Giovanni Pisano (c. 1250-1330). His many pupils carried the continuation of his father's principles throughout northern Italy.

II. *Pippa Passes*.

1. Canova (1757-1822). A refined, classical, but somewhat artificial reviver of Italian sculpture in the modern era.

- a. The Psiche-fanciulla—Psyche as a young girl with a butterfly, in the Possagno Gallery.
- b. Pietà—a statue of the Virgin with the dead Christ in her arms, in Possagno Church.
2. Jules. An imaginary young sculptor, studying Italian models.
 - a. Almain Kaiser.
 - b. Hippolyta.
 - c. Psyche.
 - d. Tydeus.

III. *My Last Duchess.*

1. Claus of Innsbruck. An imaginary Renaissance sculptor.
 - a. Neptune taming a sea-horse.

IV. *The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church.*

1. Tomb of the Bishop.
2. Globe in the Church of Il Gesu.

V. *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day.*

1. Early Christian attitude toward art.

VI. *Old Pictures in Florence.*

1. Niccolo Pisano.
2. Ghiberti (1378-1455). A Florentine sculptor, also important for perspective in painting, whose ideal combined religious feeling with classical beauty.

VII. *The Statue and the Bust.*

1. Giovanni da Bologna (John of Douay) (c. 1524-1608). An Italian Renaissance sculptor who combines technical knowledge with fine poetic feeling.
 - a. Statue of Duke Ferdinand, by Giovanni.
 - b. A bust of the Lady.

VIII. *The Ring and the Book.*

- (I.) 1. Baccio's marble (by Baccio Bandinelli)—statue of John of the Black Bands, father of Cosimo de' Medici.
2. Bernini's Triton.
- (III.) 3. Bernini's Triton.

- (VI.) 4. Pasquin's statue.
 - (VII.) 5. Marble lion in San Lorenzo.
 6. Virgin at Pompilia's street corner.
 - (XI.) 7. Bocca-dell'-Verità—the fabled test for the verity of witnesses, a mask of stone in the portico of the Church Santa Maria in Cosmedin.
-

MUSIC

- I. *The Englishman in Italy.*
 1. Bellini (1801-1835). An Italian opera composer.
- II. *A Toccata of Galuppi's.*
 1. Galuppi (1706-1785). A composer of melodious rather than original operas, whose workmanship was superior to that of his contemporaries in harmony and orchestration.
- III. *Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha.*
 1. Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha. An imaginary composer.
 2. Palestrina (1526-1594). Famous for saving music to the church by submitting some that met with approval when ecclesiastical authorities were about to forbid its use.
- IV. *Bishop Blougram's Apology.*
 1. Verdi (1813-1901). One of the greatest modern Italian composers, best known by *Il Trovatore*, *Rigoletto*, and *La Traviata*.
 2. Rossini (1782-1868). A composer whose success antedates that of Verdi; best known by his opera *William Tell*.
- V. *Abt Vogler.*
 1. Abt or Abbe Vogler (1749-1814). An organist and composer of Bavarian birth, some of whose study and public work were done in Italy. Though he invented a new system of musical theory, his ideas were empirical.

VI. *Youth and Art.*

1. Grisi (1811-1869). An Italian opera singer.

VII. *The Ring and the Book.*

- (I.) 1. Corelli (1653-1713). A violin player and composer who, though he employed only a limited part of his instrument's compass, made an epoch in chamber music and influenced Bach.
- (IV.) 2. Magnificat—Catholic music.
3. Nunc Dimittis.
- (VI.) 4. Ave.
5. Angelus.
- (VII.) 6. Ave Maria.
- (X.) 7. Sanctus et Benedictus.
- (XII.) 8. Pater.
9. Ave.
10. Salve Regina Cœli.

VIII. *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country.*

1. Guarnerius (1687-1745). Joseph del Gesu, one of the most famous violin makers, who worked for boldness of outline and massive construction, securing in consequence, a robust tone.
2. Antonius Stradivarius (1644-1737). His final model, with its soft varnish, now irrecoverable, brought violin making to its highest perfection.
3. Corelli.
4. Paganini (1784-1840). A violin player who achieved such brilliant success that his name still stands for all that is wonderful in execution on that instrument.

IX. *Parleyings with Charles Avison.*

1. Buononcini (1672-1750). The author of a musical treatise; his chief claim to fame being the fact that he influenced Handel and Scarlotti.
2. Geminiani (c. 1680-1762). A violinist of considerable ability, but as a composer, dry and deficient in melody.

POETRY

- I. *Paracelsus*.
1. Aprile. An imaginary poet.
- II. *Sordello*.
1. Sordello (13th. century). The most famous of the Mantuan troubadours.
 2. Nina. A contemporary of Sordello.
 3. Alcamo. A contemporary of Sordello.
 4. Plara. An imaginary poet.
 5. Bocafoli. An imaginary poet.
 6. Eglamor. An imaginary poet.
 7. Dante. (1265-1321).
- III. *Time's Revenges*.
1. Dante.
- IV. *A Soul's Tragedy*.
1. Stiatta. An imaginary poet.
- V. *Up at a Villa*.
1. Dante.
 2. Petrarch (1304-1374).
 3. Boccaccio (1313-1375).
- VI. *Old Pictures in Florence*.
1. Dante.
- VII. *One Word More*.
1. Dante—*The Inferno*¹
- VIII. *Apparent Failure*.
1. Petrarch.
- IX. *The Ring and the Book*.
- (III). 1. *Hundred Merry Tales*. (Boccaccio).
 - (V). 2. Boccaccio.
 3. Sacchetti (1335-1400). A poet and novelist who left many unpublished sonnetti, canzoni, ballate, and madrigale, and whose novelle throw light on the manners of his age.

- (VI). 4. A Marinesque Adoniad.
 5. Marino (1569-1625). A poet of disreputable life, leader of the Secentisimo period, whose aim was to excite wonder by novelties and to cloak poverty of subject under form.
 6. Dante.
 7. Pietro Aretino (1492-1556). Author of satirical sonnets, burlesques, comedies; and a man of profligate life.
- (X). 8. Aretino.
- (XI). 9. *Merry Tales* (Boccaccio).
 10. Aretino.
- (XII). 11. Petrarch.
 12. Tommaseo (1803-1874). A modern Italian poet, author of the inscription to Mrs. Browning placed by the city of Florence on the walls of Casa Guidi.

X. *The Inn Album.*

1. Dante—*The Inferno.*

ARCHITECTURE

I. *Sordello.*

1. Goito. An imaginary 13th century castle, used to influence the life of Sordello by its beauty and solitude.
2. St. Mark's. A great landmark of Italian architecture, in construction from the ninth to the fifteenth century, and the most splendid polychromatic building in Europe.
3. Piombi. Torture cells under the Ducal Palace at Venice.
4. San Pietro (Martire). A Veronese Gothic church of 1350.
5. St. Francis. A Lombard Gothic church at Basano.
6. Castle Angelo. A huge Roman fortress constructed in the time of Hadrian.
7. San Miniato. A Florentine church built in Central Romanesque style.

8. Sant' Eufemia. A 13th century Veronese church, now modernized internally.

II. *Pippa Passes.*

1. St. Mark's—Venice.
2. Possagno Church. Designed by Canova in 1819, as a place for statues of religious subjects.
3. Fenice—or Phoenix. The best modern theatre of Venice, built in 1836.
4. Academy of Fine Arts. A Renaissance building in Venice.

Asolo Group.

5. Duomo of Asolo.
6. Pippa's Tower. Later the studio of Browning's son.
7. Church.
8. Castle of Kate—of which the banqueting hall is now a theatre.
9. Turret.
10. Palace.
11. Mill—now a lace school.

III. *In a Gondola.*

1. Pulci Palace—Venice.

IV. *The Boy and the Angel.*

1. St. Peter's. In process of construction during the 16th and 17th centuries; the building that best typifies the importance of the church during the middle ages. Built on the Greek cross plan, it is surmounted by the dome of Michael Angelo, the most nobly beautiful of architectural creations.

V. *The Italian in England.*

1. Duomo at Padua. A 16th century building of admirable proportions.

VI. *The Bishop orders his Tomb at St. Praxed's Church.*

1. Santa Prassede—or St. Praxed's. A church in Rome, founded on the former site of a refuge for

persecuted Christians. It is notable for the beauty of its stone work and mosaics, one of its rich chapels being called Orto del Paradiso. The building is old but was restored in the 15th century.

2. Il Gesu. An ornate 16th century church in Rome, representing the retrograde movement in architecture.

VII. *Luria.*

1. Duomo. The Florentine cathedral, famous for its dome of 1420, its beautiful sculptured exterior and its cold brown interior.
2. Towers of Florence—San Romano, Sant'Evola, San Miniato, Santa Scala, and Sant'Empoli.

VIII. *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day.*

1. St. Peter's—Rome.

IX. *A Toccata of Galuppi's.*

1. St. Mark's—Venice.

X. *The Guardian Angel.*

1. Chapel at Fano.

XI. *Old Pictures in Florence.*

1. Giotto (1267-1337). Architect, and the humanizer of painting, as well as the builder of the Campanile.
2. Campanile. The bell tower of the Florentine Duomo, built by Giotto in 1332; an architectural triumph in beauty and splendor.
3. Santo Spirito. A 14th century Florentine church.
4. Duomo—Florence.
5. Ognissanti—Florence.

XII. *By the Fireside.*

1. Chapel near Bagni di Lucca.

XIII. *The Statue and the Bust.*

1. Antinori Palace. An example of Renaissance secular architecture, built about 1481, in Florence.

2. Riccardi Palace. A Florentine castle, the earliest and finest example of secular Renaissance architecture.

XIV. *Fra Lippo Lippi.*

1. Santa Maria del Carmine. A 15th century church and convent in Florence, containing frescoes by Masaccio and Filippino Lippi.
2. Palace of the Medici—Florence.
3. St. Lawrence—or San Lorenzo. A Florentine Renaissance church, rebuilt about 1425.
4. St. Ambrose. A Florentine edifice, the reputed scene of a transubstantiation miracle in 1746.

XV. *Bishop Blougram's Apology.*

1. Vatican. The papal palace at Rome, most of which as it exists now, was built no earlier than the fifteenth century.

XVI. *Andrea del Sarto.*

1. Chapel and the Convent—Florence.

XVII. *One Word More.*

1. San Miniato—Florence.

XVIII. *Abt Vogler.*

1. St. Peter's.

XIX. *The Ring and the Book.*

- (I). 1. San Lorenzo. The original building by Brunelleschi in 1425 or perhaps 1420, was entrusted to Michael Angelo for the facade. Florence.
2. Riccardi Palace—Florence.
3. San Felice Church. A little grey-walled Florentine church, mostly in a very ancient Romanesque style, which could be seen from the windows of Casa Guidi.
4. Fiano Palace. An example of secular architecture in Rome, built about 1300.
5. Ruspoli Palace. Built by the Rucellai family in 1586; has one of the finest white marble stair cases in Rome.

- (II). 6. San Lorenzo—Rome. Founded by Sixtus III in 440 and modernized in 1506; has a Crucifixion by Guido Reni, above the high altar.
7. Ruspoli Palace—Rome.
- (III). 8. Saint Anna's. A monastery in Rome.
9. San Lorenzo—Rome.
- (IV). 10. San Lorenzo—Rome.
11. Vatican—Rome.
- (V). 12. Tordinona—Rome.
13. New Prisons—Rome.
14. San Lorenzo—Rome.
- (VI). 15. Pieve, or Santa Maria della Pieve. A great church in Arezzo, built in the capricious, extravagant style of the 13th century.
16. San Lorenzo—Rome.
17. Duomo—Arezzo.
- (VII.) 18. San Lorenzo—Rome.
19. San Giovanni. A Tuscan church built in Rome at the expense of the Florentines.
20. Pieve—Arezzo.
- (VIII). 21. Sistine Chapel. Chapel of the Vatican, at Rome; a most extreme example of figure painting in decoration, but justified by the excellence of the work. The ceiling is Michael Angelo's, and on the altar wall is his "Last Judgment."
- (X). 22. Vatican—Rome.
23. Pieve—Arezzo.
24. Monastery of the Convertites—Rome. Founded in 1584, for the spiritual care of the sick at Rome.
- (XI). 25. Certosa. A beautifully situated, very richly built monastery of the Carthusians in Val d' Ema, four miles from Florence, built in the 14th century Gothic style.
26. Vallombrosa Convent. Situated near Florence; founded about 1650, by a repentant profligate.
27. Palace in Via Larga. Secular Florentine architecture.
28. San Lorenzo—Rome.
29. Vatican—Rome.
- (XII). 30. New Prisons—Rome.

31. San Lorenzo—Rome.
32. Monastery of the Convertites—Rome.

XX. *Fifine at the Fair.*

1. St. Mark's—Venice.

XXI. *Pacchiarotto.*

1. San Bernardino. A Renaissance church at Siena, with an Oratory, containing work of Beccafumi, Pacchia, and Pacchiarotto.
2. Duomo at Siena. An unfinished cathedral, the most purely Gothic of all of those of Italy, of unrivalled solemnity and splendor.

XXII. *Filippo Baldinucci.*

1. San Frediano. A modern Florentine church.

XXIII. *Pietro of Abano.*

1. Lateran. Formerly the Papal residence, though the present structure, of 1586, was never used for that purpose and is now a museum of classical sculpture and early Christian remains.

XXIV. *With Francis Furini.*

1. San Sano, or Ansano. A Florentine parish church.

XXV. *Ponte del Angelo, Venice.*

1. House along the Bridge, of no importance architecturally, but connected with an old legend which is the subject of the poem.

PAINTING

I. *Pauline.*

1. Andromeda. By Polidoro da Caravaggio—the picture of Perseus freeing her from the sea monster.

II. *Sordello.*

1. Guido of Siena (c. 1250—). The disputed artist of a Virgin and Child, the date of which may be either 1221 or 1281. If it be the former, some of Cima-

bue's claims are disturbed by Guido's earlier work.

2. Guido Reni (1575-1642). A prime master in the Bolognese school, faithful to its eclectic principles and working with considerable artistic feeling, but still with a certain "core of the commonplace."
3. *Andromeda*. By Caravaggio.

IV. *Pippa Passes*.

1. Annibale Carracci (burlesque—"Hannibal Scratchy") (1560-1609). With his brother and his uncle founded the Bolognese school, which was eclectic and comprised the good points of all the great masters.
2. Correggio (1494-1534). The head of the Lombard School at Parma, a painter of graceful naturalness and sweetness and of great technical power in chiaroscuro.
3. Titian (1477-1576). A Venetian painter who lacked inventiveness but was the greatest of colorists.
 - a. *Annunciation*—in the Cathedral at Treviso, painted by Titian in 1519.

IV. *My Last Duchess*.

1. Fra Pandolf. An imaginary artist.

V. *In a Gondola*.

1. Schidone (c. 1570-1615). A portrait painter of the Lombard school.
 - a. *Eager Duke*. An imaginary picture.
2. Luca Giordano (1632-1705). Called Luke-workfast because of his father's miserly urging; a painter of superficiality and facility.
 - a. *Prim Saint*. An imaginary picture.
3. Giorgione (Castelfranco) (1477-1510). A Venetian painter who did for his school what Leonardo da Vinci had done for Florence twenty years earlier.
 - a. *Magdalen*—imaginary.
4. Titian.
 - a. *Ser* (a picture).

VI. *Waring.*

1. Polidoro da Caravaggio.

VII. *Pictor Ignotus.*

1. Pictor Ignotus—an imaginary painter of Italy.

VIII. *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day.*

1. Michael Angelo and discussion of painting.

IX. *Old Pictures in Florence.*

1. Michael Angelo (1475-1564). A Florentine master in painting, sculpture, and architecture. No other single person ever so dominated art as he, with his Italian "terribilita", or stormy energy of conception, and his great dramatic power.
2. Raphael (1483-1520). A master of combined draughtsmanship, coloring, and graceful composition; popular and unexcelled in versatility.
3. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). The earliest of the great masters of the High Renaissance, and the first to completely master anatomy and technique.
4. Cavaliere Dello (c. 1404-c. 1464). An unimportant Florentine painter of frescoes.
5. Stefano (1324?-1357?). Called the "Ape of Nature" because he followed her closely in an age of unrealistic painting.
6. Cimabue (1240-c. 1302). The first painter of importance in the revival of that art, the one who formed its first principles, though he owed something to the Pisan sculptors.
7. Ghirlandajo (1449-1494). Good in his general attainment but lacking in originality, and remembered for one famous pupil—Michael Angelo.
8. Sandro (Botticelli) (1444-1510). A Florentine painter, imbued with a strain of fantasy, mysticism, and allegory.
9. Lippino (1460-1505). The son of Fra Lippo Lippi, a painter of considerable skill, the first to introduce detail in antique costumes.

10. Fra Angelico (1387-1455). A holy, self-denying painter of faces that showed a "sexless religiosity."
11. Lorenzo Monaco (1370-1425). A Florentine monk and painter of much religious sentiment.
12. Pollajolo (1429-1498). An important painter whose works show brutality, but who was a close student of muscular anatomy.
13. Baldovinetti (1427-1499). A Florentine; one of a group of scientific realists and naturalists.
14. Margheritone (c. 1236-1289). An early Tuscan painter whose work shows the stiffness and crude color of the Byzantine artists.
15. Carlo Dolci (1616-1686). An unimportant Florentine painter of careful workmanship and religious sentimentality.
16. Giotto (1267?-1337). A painter and architect, the real humanizer of painting.
17. Andrea Orgagna (1308-1368). A Florentine painter and artist in other lines as well.
18. Taddeo Gaddi (c. 1300-1366). Painter and architect.

X. *In Three Days.*

1. General reference to early art.

XI. *The Guardian Angel.*

1. Guercino (1591-1666). The "squint-eyed"; a Bolognese painter.
 - a. Angel at Fano.

XII. *Any Wife to Any Husband.*

1. Titian's Venus.

XIII. *How it Strikes a Contemporary.*

1. Titian.

XIV. *Fra Lippo Lippi.*

1. Lippi (1406-1469). A realist of good coloring and technique, a painter of enjoyable pictures showing power of observation.

- a. Jerome.
- b. St. Lawrence.
- c. Coronation of the Virgin—in St. Ambrose.
2. Angelico.
3. Monaco.
4. Guidi Masaccio (1402-1429). A Florentine; the master of Lippi, the first to make considerable advancement in atmospheric perspective and to paint architectural background in proportion to the human figures.
5. Giotto.

XV. *Andrea del Sarto.*

1. Andrea (1487-1513). A Florentine, the "faultless painter," who lacked elevation and ideality in his works.
2. Raphael.
3. Vasari (1511-1571). A Florentine artist, student of Michael Angelo, imitative and feeble as a painter, but interesting as an art historian.
4. Michael Angelo.
5. Leonardo da Vinci.

XVI. *Bishop Blougram's Apology.*

1. Correggio.
 - a. Jerome.
2. Giulio Romano (1429-1546). A rather ornate artist, the executor of some work on the Vatican.
3. Raphael.
4. Michael Slaying the Dragon—by Raphael.

XVII. *One Word More.*

1. Raphael.
 - a. Sistine Madonna.
 - b. Madonna Foligno.
 - c. Madonna of the Grand Duke.
 - d. Madonna of the Lilies.
2. Guido Reni.
3. Lippi.
4. Andrea.

XVIII. *James Lee's Wife.*

1. Leonardo da Vinci.

XIX. *A Face.*

1. Correggio.
2. General reference to the early art of Tuscany.

XX. *The Ring and the Book.*

- (I). 1. Luigi Ademollo (1764-1849). A Florentine painter of historical and fresco works, whose works show superficial skill.
2. Joconde, or Mona Lisa, by Da Vinci—the woman of the mysterious smile, recently returned to the Louvre.
- (II). 3. Guido Reni.
 - a. Crucifixion, in San Lorenzo at Rome.
- (III). 4. Carlo Maratta (1625-1713). A painter at Rome, an imitator of Raphael and the Carracci.
- (IV). 5. Raphael.
6. Correggio.
 - a. Leda.
- (V). 7. Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669). Mainly a scenic and fresco painter, the estimate of whom has declined since his own time.
8. Ciro Ferri (1634-1689). A pupil of Pietro, so imitative of his master that the work of the two cannot be distinguished.
- (VI). Raphael.
- (VII). 10. St. George Slaying the Dragon—by Vasari.
- (VIII). 11. Carlo Maratta.
- (IX). 12. Maratta.
13. Luca Giordano.
14. Michael Angelo.
15. Raphael.
16. Pietro da Cortona.
17. Ciro Ferri.
- (X). 18. St. Michael.
- (XI). 19. Albani (1587-1660). A Bolognese who also worked at Rome; a painter of minute elaboration and finish, and one of the first to devote himself to cabinet painting.

20. Picture in Vallombrosa Convent.
 21. Raphael—any picture.
 22. Titian.
 23. Fra Angelico.
 24. Michael Angelo.
 - (XII). 25. Michael Angelo.
- XXI. *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau.*
1. Raphael.
 2. Salvator Rosa (1615-1673). A Neapolitan painter of battle scenes and landscapes, with a tendency toward the picturesque and romantic.
- XXII. *Fifine at the Fair.*
1. Raphael.
 2. Bazzi (1477-1594). An Italian Renaissance painter who was greatly influenced by Leonardo da Vinci, and in turn, had great influence on the Sienese school.
 3. Michael Angelo.
- XXIII. *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country.*
1. Michael Angelo.
 2. Correggio.
 - a. Leda.
- XX. *Pacchiarotto and How He Worked in Distemper.*
1. Pacchiarotto (1474-?). A Sienese painter, reformer, and conspirator.
 2. Pacchia (b. 1477). A Sienese painter contemporary to Pacchiarotto, and also a reformer and conspirator.
 3. Fungaio (c. 1460-c. 1516). One of the last of the old school. His works have rigidity and awkward stiffness.
 4. Bazzi.
 5. Beccafumi (1486-1551). A Sienese painter who weakly imitated Angelo and attempted to rival Sodoma.
 6. Giotto.

XXV. *Filippo Baldinucci.*

1. Buti. The painter's name under which Baldinucci, in his history of art, records the events forming the subject of Browning's poem.
2. Titian.
 - a. Leda.
3. Baldinucci (1624-1696). A Florentine art historian who attempted to prove the theory that all art was derived from his native city.

XXVI. *Cenciaja.*

1. Titian.

XXVII. *Christina and Monaldeschi.*

1. Primaticcio (1504-1570). An Italian painter of the Bolognese school, who did the first important stucco and fresco work in France.

XXVIII. *Mary Wollstonecraft and Fuseli.*

1. Fuseli. (1741-1825). An English painter of exaggerated style, who attempted to be Italianate and changed his name to harmonize with the attempt.

XXIX. *Parleyings with Christopher Smart.*

1. Michael Angelo.
2. Raphael.

XXX. *Parleyings with Francis Furini.*

1. Furini (1600-1649). A Florentine artist and an excellent painter of the nude, who later became a parish priest and wished his undraped pictures destroyed.
2. Michael Angelo.
3. Baldinucci.
4. Da Vinci.

INDEX

- Abt Vogler*, 14, 15, 23, 25, 26, 36, 48, 49, 53, 58, 64
- Academy of Fine Arts, Venice, 62
- Ademollo, Luigi, 71
- Agamemnon*, 14
- Albani, 71
- Alcamo (in *Sordello*), 29, 30, 31, 60
- Andrea del Sarto*, 27, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 64, 70
- "*Andromeda*," Caravaggio's, 41, 44, 66, 67
- Any Wife to Any Husband*, 44, 69
- Apparent Failure*, 60
- Aprile (in *Paracelsus*), 29, 30, 31, 60
- Aretino, Pietro, 29, 33, 61
- Aristophanes' Apology*, 14
- Augustus, a bust by Browning, 12
- Baldovinetti, 69
- Bandinelli, Baccio, 15, 21, 57
- Bazzi, Giovanni Antonio, 45, 48, 72
- Beatrice Signorini*, 41, 44, 45, 46
- Beccafumi, 66, 72
- Beethoven, 10
- Bellini, Vincenzo, 23, 24, 25, 27, 58
- Bernini, 15, 57
- Bishop Blougram's Apology*, 25, 27, 36, 44, 58, 64, 70
- Bishop orders his Tomb, The*, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 36, 38, 49, 50, 57, 62
- Bocafoli (in *Sordello*), 29, 30, 31, 53, 60
- Boccaccio, 29, 32, 33, 60, 61
- "*Bocca-dell'-Verita*," 15, 21, 58
- Botticelli, 68
- Boy and the Angel, The*, 36, 62
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 10, 11, 12, 13, 26, 34, 41, 42, 43, 49, 61
- Browning, Wiedemann, 10, 11
- Buononcini, Giovanni Battista, 23, 25, 59
- Buti, 73
- Byron, Lord, 23, 38
- By the Fireside*, 9, 36, 63
- Campanile, The, Florence, 35, 36, 43, 63
- Canova, 12, 15, 18, 22, 56, 57, 62
- Caravaggio, 41, 44, 66, 67, 68
- Carracci, Annibale, 12, 67
- Castle Angelo, 61
- Catholic Hymns, 23-24, 59
- Cenci*, 45, 73
- Chapel near Bagni di Lucca, 63; at Fano, 63; at Florence, 64
- Charles Arison, Parleyings with*, 25, 26, 45, 48, 59
- Christina and Monaldeschi*, 73
- Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*, 9, 16, 17, 20, 22, 36, 38, 50, 57, 63, 68
- Christopher Smart, Parleyings with*, 45, 73
- Churches, Italian: Il Gesu, 57, 63; Ognissanti, 63; Pieve at Arezzo, 37, 65; Possagno, 57, 62; St. Francis, 61; St. Mark's, 36, 61, 62, 63, 66; St. Peter's, 36, 38, 39, 50, 62, 63, 64; S. Ambrogio, 47, 64, 70; S. Bernardino, 66; S. Empoli, 63; S. Eufemia, 62; S. Evola, 63; S. Felice, 64; S. Frediano, 66; S. Giovanni, 65; S. Lorenzo, 36, 58, 64, 65, 66, 71; S. Miniato, 61, 63, 64; S. Maria della Scala, 63; S. Maria del Carmine, 64; S. Maria in Cosmedin, 58; S. Pietro Martire 61, S. Pressede (St. Praxed's), 19, 38, 62; S. Romano, 63; S. Sano, 66; S. Spirito, 63
- Cimabue, 40, 42, 66, 68
- Claus of Innsbruck (in *My Last Duchess*), 15, 19, 57
- Convent, at Florence, 64; Vallombrosa, 65, 72
- Corelli, Arcangelo, 23, 25, 59
- Correggio, 12, 40, 44, 67, 70, 71, 72; his "*Jerome*", 70, 72; "*Leda*", 71, 72
- "*Crucifixion*", Guido's, 37, 71

- Dante, 29, 32, 33, 34, 60, 61
 "David", Domenichino's, 12
 Da Vinci, Leonardo, 12, 40, 44, 67,
 68, 70, 71, 72, 73; "Mona Lisa",
 71
Decameron, The, 33, 60, 61
 Dello di Niccolo Delli, 40, 68
De Vulgaris Eloquentia, 32
Divine Comedy, The, 32
 Dolci, Carlo, 69
 Domenichino, 12
 Dore, Gustave, 45
 Dramatic Monologue, Use of, 49
 Dulwich Gallery, 10, 11
 Duomo, The, at Arezzo, 65; at
 Asolo, 62; at Florence, 36, 63; at
 Padua, 62; at Siena, 66
 Dvorak, Antonin, 25

 "Eager Duke, The", (in *In a
 Gondola*), 67
 Eastlake, Sir Charles, 13
 Eglamor (in *Sordello*), 29, 30, 60
Elegy on Newstead Abbey, Byron's,
 38
Englishman in Italy, The, 24, 58
Epistle of Karshish, An, 14

Face, A, 45, 49, 71
 Fauveau, Mme. de, 11
 Fenice Theatre, Venice, 62
 Ferdinand, Statue of Duke, 15, 20,
 57
Ferishtah's Fancies, 14
 Ferri, Ciro, 45, 71
Fifine at the Fair, 45, 48, 66, 72
Filippo Baldinucci, 44, 45, 46, 49,
 66, 73
 Fisher, Mr., 11
Flight of the Duchess, The, 9
 Fountain of the Tritons, 15, 21, 57
 Fra Angelico, 69, 70, 72
Fra Lippo Lippi, 14, 15, 36, 42, 44,
 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 64, 68, 69,
 70
Francis Furini, Parleyings with, 45,
 46, 53, 66, 73
 Fungaio, 72

 Fuseli, 73
 Gaddi, Taddeo, 35, 69
 Galuppi, Baldassarro, 23, 27, 58
 Geminiani, Francesco, 23, 25, 59
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 15, 57
 Ghirlandajo, 42, 43, 68
 Gibson, John, 11
 Giorgione, 67
 Giordano, Luca, 45, 67, 71
Giorno di Regno, Un, Verdi's, 27
 Giotto, 42
 Giotto, 35, 39, 42, 63, 69, 70, 72
 Giovanni da Bologna (John of
 Douay), 15, 57
 Goito Castle, 20, 38, 61
Gold Hair, 14
 Grisi, Giulia, 23, 25, 27, 59
Guardian Angel The, 42, 43, 45, 49,
 63, 69
 Guarnierus (Joseph del Jesu), 23,
 25, 59
 Guercino, 12, 43, 69
 Guido of Siena, 66

 Handel, George Frederick, 25, 59
 Haworth, Miss, 11, 12, 22
Herakles, 14
 Horne, R. H., 13, 42
 Hosmer, Harriet, 11
How it Strikes a Contemporary, 29,
 69

In a Gondola, 36, 62, 67
Inn Album, The, 61
Inside of the King's College Chapel
 (Wordsworth), 38
In the Cathedral at Cologne (Words-
 worth), 38
In Three Days, 44, 69
Italian in England, The, 36, 62

James Lee's Wife, 44, 71
 Jameson, Mrs., 12, 42
 "John of the Black Bands," statue
 of, 15, 57
 Jules (in *Pippa Passes*), 15, 18, 44,
 50, 57

 Keats, 9

- Kenyon, Frederick G., 10, 37, 43
 Kirkup, Mr., 11, 42
 Kugler, Franz, *Handbook of the History of Art*, 13

Lady and the Painter, The, 20
 Lateran, The, 66
 Leighton, Frederick, 11, 28, 36
 Lippi, Filippino, 40, 64, 68
 Liszt, Franz, 25
Luria, 14, 36, 63

 Madonna, Raphael's, 44, 53
 Magdalen (*In a Gondola*), 67
 Maratta, Carlo, 44, 45, 71
 Margheritone, 69
 Marino, 29, 61
Mary Wollstonescraft and Fuseli, 73
 Masaccio, Guidi, 47, 64, 70
Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha, 23, 25, 26, 49, 58
Memorabilia, 32, 34
Men and Women, 12
Merry Tales, Sacchetti's, 33
 Michael Angelo, 27, 40, 43, 45, 48, 53, 62, 64, 65, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73
 Michael, Raphael's, 44, 70
 Monaco, Lorenzo, 69, 70
 Monastery, Certosa, 65; of the Convertites, 65, 66; of St. Anna, 65
My Last Duchess, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 49, 57, 67

 Neptune, (statue in *My Last Duchess*), 19, 57
 Nina (in *Sordello*), 29, 30, 31, 60

Old Abbeys (Wordsworth), 38
Old Pictures in Florence, 15, 16, 17, 22, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 49, 50, 52, 57, 60, 63, 68
One Word More, 29, 32, 36, 42, 45, 49, 60, 64, 70
 Orgagna, 69
 Orr's, Mrs, *Life of Browning*, 10, 11, 41
 Pacchia, 66, 72
Pacchiarotto, 36, 45, 46, 53, 66, 72

 Paganini, Niccolo, 23, 25, 27, 59
 Page, William, 11
 Palace, Antinori, 63; Ducal, Venice, 61; Fiano, 64; Medici, 64; Pulci, 62; Riccardi, 64; Ruspoli, 64, 65; Via Larga, 65
 Palestrina, 23, 58
 Pandolf, Fra (in *My Last Duchess*), 67
Paracelsus, 29, 30, 31, 42, 60
 Pasquin's statue, 15, 21, 58
Pauline, 9, 29, 30, 32, 34, 41, 44, 66
 Petrarch, 29, 32, 60, 61
Pheidippides, 14
Pictor Ignotus, 42, 45, 46, 49, 53, 68
 "Pieta", Canova's, 15, 57
 Pietro d' Abano, 66
 Pietro da Cortona, 45, 71
Pippa Passes, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 36, 42, 44, 50, 56, 62, 67
 Pisano, Giovanni, 15, 16, 17, 56, 68
 Pisano Niccolo, 15, 16, 17, 56, 57, 68
 Plara (in *Sordello*), 29, 30, 31, 53, 60
 Pollajola, Antonio, 40, 69
Ponte dell' Angelo, Venice, 66,
 Powers, Hiram, 11, 28
 Primaticcio, 73
 "Prim Saint" (in *In a Gondola*), 67
Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, 72
 "Psiche-fanciulla", Canova's, 15, 57
 Psyche, a bust by Browning, 12

 Raphael, 27, 40, 43, 44, 45, 48, 53, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73,
Red Cotton Night-Cap Country, 25, 45, 59, 72
 Reni, Guido, 12, 43, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71
Ring and the Book, The, 12, 14, 16, 20, 21, 22, 24, 33, 36, 37, 38, 40, 44, 45, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 71
 Romanelli, 46, 47
 Romano, Giulio, 44, 70
 Rossetti, W. M., 47
 Rossini, 23, 25, 27, 28, 58

- Sacchetti, Franco, 29, 33, 34, 53, 60
 St. George, Vasari's, 71
 Salvator Rosa, 72
Saul, 23
 Schidone, 67
 Ser (a picture), 67
 Ser Giovanni, 65
 Shelley, 9, 30, 32, 34, 48
Sonnet on Chillon, Byron's, 38
Sordello, 12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 29,
 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42, 44,
 53, 56, 60, 61, 66
Soul's Tragedy, A, 18, 29, 60
Statue and the Bust, The, 16, 17, 20,
 22, 36, 38, 52, 57, 63
 Stefano, 40, 68
 Stietta (in *A Soul's Tragedy*), 29, 60
 Story, W. W., 11, 12, 28
 Stradivarius, Antonius, 23, 25, 59
Strafford, 29
 Tasso, Torquato, 29
 Technical Art Terms, Browning's
 use of, 21, 26
Time's Revenges, 32, 60
 Titian, 40, 44, 67, 72, 73; "Annun-
 ciation," 67; "Venus," 44, 69
Toccata of Galuppi's, A, 23, 25, 26,
 36, 49, 58, 63
 Tommaseo, Niccolo, 29, 34, 61
 Tordinona, 65
 Towers of Florence, 63
Trovatore, Il, Verdi's, 26, 58
Two Poets of Croisic, The, 14
Up at a Villa, 32, 60
 Vallombrosa Convent, 65, 72
 Vasari, Giorgio, 13, 42, 44, 70
 Vatican, The, 36, 64, 65, 70; Sistine
 Chapel, 65
 Verdi, Giuseppe, 23, 25, 26, 27, 58
Vita Nuova, La, 32
 Wagner, Richard, 25
Waring, 44, 68
 Wilde, Mr., 11
 Wordsworth, 9, 38, 48
Youth and Art, 25, 59