HUMANISM AND THE ARTIST RAPHAEL: A VIEW OF RENAISSANCE HISTORY THROUGH HIS HUMANIST ACCOMPLISHMENTS

THESIS

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This thesis advances the name of Raphael Santi, the High Renaissance artist, to be included among the famous and highly esteemed Humanists of the Renaissance period. While the artistic creativity of the Renaissance is widely recognized, the creators have traditionally been viewed as mere craftsmen. In the case of Raphael Santi, his skills as a painter have proven to be a timeless medium for the immortalizing of the elevated thinking and turbulent challenges of the time period. His interests outside of painting, including archaeology and architecture, also offer strong testimony of his Humanist background and pursuits.

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I would like to gratefully acknowledge the kind and loving support (and patience) that I have received from my wife and my entire family. Thank you for everything, and I dedicate this thesis to all of you, but especially to the person that most embodies all those humanist qualities this thesis attempts to celebrate and honor. That person is my father.

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INTRODUCTION

The Renaissance occurred because of the individual and corporate contributions and accomplishments of men that history has labeled Humanists. While all sorts of questions and doubts surround both the notion of a Renaissance and the Humanists, the events which occurred throughout Europe, but especially in Italy, from around 1300 - 1600, had, and continue to have, dramatic and profound effects. To be an admirer of one personality of this era, and a staunch advocate of that personality's significance both locally in that time frame, and also in terms of a legacy created, pushes one to demonstrate the association of that personality with the widely-accepted giants of the period. These giants, the humanists of the Renaissance, produced inspirational messages for their period, and those same messages should inspire us in our troubled times as well. It is in this vein, therefore, that the author argues that the artist Raphael Santi should be acknowledged, because of his

activities and accomplishments, as a humanist - the most honored appellation possible for a person living during those centuries.

Towards this pursuit, I will first attempt to define "Humanism" as a point of reference; specifically as it relates to the other definition-weary concept - the Renaissance. I will next recount the nature of Raphael's life and accomplishments as they reflect similarities and relevance to the previous definition of humanism. Humanists led active lives and pursued a variety of interests. An attempt to recount such an individual's relevant life activities may tend to appear disjointed. I have attempted to supply all necessary transitions. The most significant activities and works will obviously receive the greatest attention. As a true humanist, Raphael continually matured intellectually and expanded personally throughout his life, and at life's end his accomplishments (some unfinished) remained as a lasting legacy. This aspect of Raphael will be addressed last.

Raphael is remembered and revered as one of the most skilled

painters of all time. A study of the subjects he painted, and how he planned his compositions, as well as how those two aspects relate to his interests outside of painting, provide the real guideposts to an exploration of Raphael as a Renaissance humanist. To this end, some fifty color photographs of the paintings discussed in the text are included. Although these are much reduced in size, they enable the reader to experience some of the effect that these creations had on Raphael's contemporaries and continue to have on us who live in a quite different age.

It is constructive to consider the lasting impact of Raphael's pictorial "statement" of those virtues and accomplishments which are most highly valued (treasured) by the humanists. Certainly, the writings which propound the humanist point of view have had a major influence upon the institutions and foundations of our civilization. But it must be acknowledged that few individuals today read the works of Petrarch, Valla, Erasmus, or More. By contrast, Raphael every week, through his inspired depictions of the power of the Biblical heritage and the fascinating contributions of

the Ancients to science, art, and philosophy, "speaks" to thousands of visitors, who come from all over the world to the Papal Apartments. As we witness this we are forced to concede that wily Pope Julius II must have had a perception that the art of Raphael, Michelangelo, and Bramante, conceived through his patronage and iron will, would be a powerful, continuing influence upon posterity.

The lofty and noble ideals of humanity have never been more eloquently or effectively conceived, in any form, than in Raphael's Stanze della Segnatura works. Their execution required Raphael to reach beyond his previously demonstrated artistic and intellectual ability, and he did so by assimilating others' talents and strengths with his own. Raphael relied heavily on the knowledge and expertise of scholars during the planning of his commission, as he brought very little previous classical scholarship with him when he first arrived in Rome. But his powerful and naturally-curious intellect rendered him an enthusiastic student of this new world that had opened for him. The other interests he developed during the period he lived in Rome offer strong testimony to that. Raphael, like other

humanists, dedicated himself to the identification of classical accomplishments, and the development of systems to assimilate ancient glories with efforts to address the uncertainties and regressions of the times. Raphael's contribution to the expression of these ideals came primarily, though not entirely, through his peerless abilities of presentation as a painter. Horace described painting as "poetry without words." Raphael's "poetry" in the Stanze della Segnatura offers to observers the inspiration and challenge to continually seek the nature and goals of our humanity.

CHAPTER I

HUMANISM: THE ESSENCE OF THE RENAISSANCE

> The ultimate effect of this recovery of classical literature was, once and for all, to liberate the intellect.
>
> -Paul Oskar Kristeller

> Prayer, to be sure, is the stronger weapon...yet knowledge is no less necessary.
>
> -Erasmus of Rotterdam

Definitions

The thought of attempting one more definition of the Renaissance and Humanism is daunting, considering the previous, countless scholarly attempts. This presentation makes no claim, nor has any pretense, that the opinions and interpretations expressed here are going to shift the balance of the debates fought for nearly one and a half centuries. Even Jacob Burckhardt, famed author of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860),

concedes that explaining and defining an historical period such as the Renaissance is largely arbitrary and vulnerable to personal prejudices. He said it is as if you are "try[ing] to link up a number of historical observations and inquiries to a series of half-random trains of thought."[1] He concedes that a different observer, studying the same "observations" could, and probably would arrive at completely different conclusions. Somewhat comforted by this room to maneuver, I present some of my own observations and conclusions.

I support the position that there was indeed a cultural movement in Italy in the 14th Century that can accurately be described as a renaissance or rebirth. Certain views, to be discussed below, attack the uniqueness and significance of the movement, but even "Renaissance"-period scholars and writers talked about a revival or rebirth occurring.[2] Matteo Palmieri, a 15th century humanist writer and Florentine public official, honored Leonardo Bruni's contributions to this new age. From his dialogue On Civil Life (Della

vita civile), Palmieri enthusiastically writes,

> "...we owe it to our Leonardo Bruni that Latin, so long a bye-word for its uncouthness, has begun to shine forth in its ancient purity, its beauty, its majestic rhythm. Now, indeed, may every thoughtful spirit thank God that it has been permitted to him to be born in this new age, so full of hope and promise, which already rejoices in a greater array of nobly-gifted souls than the world has seen in the thousand years that have preceded it."[3]

This promising "new age" was driven by the humanist movement. Perhaps the most respected commentator on this movement is Paul Oskar Kristeller, who characterizes humanism as a movement pursuing a "conscious program of imitating and reviving ancient learning and literature,"[4] and that the models of classical antiquity serve as "the common standard and model by which to guide all cultural activities."[5] Humanists in this pursuit were the first to display an appreciation for the gulf that separated them from their ancient heroes; this expanse, in some cases nearly two millenia, intensified their respect and elevation of these ancient times. To clearly identify one's past involves the simultaneous identification of one's present. This sharper focus on the humanness of mankind and therefore on the importance of the individual in addition to, and

not opposed to, the corporate focus of the universal spirituality addressed by the Roman Catholic Church, is a fundamental quality of the humanist movement.

Burckhardt views this individualist-versus-corporate orientation as anti-religion; that the humanists were secular and non-spiritual. But, Palmieri's earlier cited passage that every person living during those exciting times ought to "thank God" for the opportunity runs counter to Burckhardt and his proponents. A more plausible view is that of Kristeller who acknowledges the humanists' fascination with the ancient texts and inspiration therein, but he explains that this does not indicate they were "anti-Christian." Rather, he states, "as laymen they did not subordinate the development of secular learning to its amalgamation with religious or theological doctrine."[6] Before the emergence of this humanist attitude, almost all learning in the West was entirely dominated by the Catholic Church.

What started as a movement to discover and make copies of

ancient texts grew into the editing of, and commenting on, those ancient texts. Most impressive and significant, however, was how the humanist movement created interest in old areas of study, and in some cases, created entirely new areas of study. Included among these were techniques of textual and historical criticism; Latin orthography (spelling and usage); grammar and rhetoric; ancient history and mythology; archaeology and epigraphy; to cite a list offered by Kristeller.[7] Generally then, humanism encouraged an optimistic appreciation for the possibilities of this life, as opposed to the medieval pre-occupation with the life after a suffering-filled life on earth. John Addington Symonds, author of *The Renaissance in Italy* (1886), explained how medieval man was conditioned to believe that beauty is a snare, pleasure a sin, the world a fleeting show, man fallen and lost, death the only certainty, judgment inevitable, hell everlasting, heaven hard to win.[8] Burckhardt's view was similar. He wrote that medieval man "...lay dreaming or half-awake beneath a ...veil...woven of faith, illusion, and childish prepossession, through which the world and history

were seen clad in strange hues. This veil first melted into thin air [first in Italy, and] man became a spiritual individual, and recognized himself as such"[9]

The Carolingian Renaissance

As alluded to earlier, some scholars attempt to diminish the significance of the Italian Renaissance by demanding recognition for a Carolingian Renaissance. While there was in the 9th century a movement to imitate classical (especially Roman) models of biography, painting, and sculpture, the sophistication of the movement never surpassed a flattering, yet simple imitation. Originality and extensions on the ancient models are not in evidence. For example, the imitation of Roman art was used only to illustrate Carolingian manuscript.[10] This interpretation of Carolingian scribes as mere copyists, with no grasp of the length and significance of the time that separated their two periods, negates the validity that this use of classical models was truly the mark of

a new age. Had Charlemagne's empire not disintegrated so quickly and so drastically after his death, the possibility exists that the movement could have become more sophisticated, but as will be discussed later, a unique, elaborate matrix of circumstances existed in 14th century Italy that would nurture nearly every need of the new-born cultural movement which we call Humanism and the Renaissance.

The Twelfth Century Renaissance: Dwarfs on the Shoulders of Giants

Another challenge to the pre-eminence of the 14th century Renaissance comes from adherents to the importance of a 12th century renaissance, often called the Medieval Renaissance. The dates which best enclose these accomplishments are 1050 to 1250, thus covering more than just the 12th century. The events and activities of this period certainly do indicate advanced thinking, but the influence of the Roman Catholic Church limited the originality of the output. Learning and searching were not done for their own

sake, but rather attempted in some way to reconcile and justify faith.

This was the era remembered for the Crusades, a wonderful example of an outward reach and curiosity. While arranged by the Church, for its goals, the Crusades proved of vital importance in bringing a knowledge of the outside and ancient world back to Western Europe. An example of this is seen in a new interest in travelling, manifesting itself most profoundly in the Pilgrimage, and more generally in the sparking of a natural curiosity in Europeans about the fascinating possibilities of an outside and mostly-unknown world. Trade and commerce between these two "worlds" grew out of this curiosity and the demand for new, fascinating products. Elements of culture naturally accompanied the actual exchanged goods, as well as disease, both having dramatic effects.

A new class of merchants emerged from this trade and commerce, and Italians proved to be the most prolific middlemen.

The wealth associated with this trade provides an important explanation for why the Renaissance began in Italy. The rise of towns at this time created the possibility for more specialized division of labor, and the enhanced accomplishments that usually accompany this. The heavier concentration of peoples in towns created the need to reevaluate and restructure their legal systems, and there was renewed interest in Roman law, which in Italy was centered in Bologna.[11] The search for works related to Roman law led to the discovery of other ancient manuscripts, including poetry. This led to a re-emergence of Latin literature and poetry, and even inspired some vernacular literature. This vernacular literature was most famously initiated in French and German, but the transitional humanist figure Dante, in his *Divine Comedy*, employed Italy's vernacular. An example of famous French vernacular literature of the period is the *Song of Roland*, a collection of tales depicting war and bloodshed that had been passed down through oral tradition. An example of German vernacular literature is *Parzival*, the German version of the Grail story.[12]

Gothic architecture rose to impressive heights, and learning also ascended with the flourishing of cathedral schools and the beginning of universities.[13] Greek science, passed down and enhanced usually through Hebrew and Arab sources, and Greek philosophy, mainly reflecting the writings of Aristotle, played an important role in this revival of learning.[14] The idealization of Aristotle's urge to know all things, and the systems inter-linking them, proved a very powerful influence in the medieval, church-dominated pursuit of logically reconciled theology.

Some of the key figures of this 12th Century Renaissance were St. Anselm, St. Bernard, John of Salisbury, Gratian, and Peter Abelard. Among these, only Peter Abelard strikes me as possessed of any humanist traits. St. Anselm (1033-1109), most famous as an Archbishop of Canterbury, is recognized as being the most able theologian ever to serve in that position. However, his pursuit of knowledge was always motivated by its usefulness in supporting

Christian theology, as seen in his statement, "I believe in order that I may understand."[15] St. Bernard (1090-1154), a Cistercian Abbot of Clairvaux, was also a leading theologian. He was appointed by Pope Eugenius III to preach the Second Crusade, and took a leading role in condemning the writings of Peter Abelard. Anselm and Bernard were tremendously influential in the development of Scholastic philosophy.[16]

John of Salisbury was also a product of the Roman Catholic Church whose works reflect an appreciation for revived learning. In his career he did clerical work in the papal curia and assisted two Archbishops of Canterbury as a specialist in papal affairs, one of whom was Thomas Becket. Exiled after Becket's demise, John of Salisbury later became Bishop of Chartres.[17] Acknowledging the accomplishments of the Ancients, about whom he had been studying, he admiringly wrote that he and his contemporaries were but "dwarfs on the shoulders of giants."[18] Gratian, recognized as one of the great lawyers of the Middle Ages produced a work entitled

Decretum (c. 1140), which codified Church law and is still regarded a vital work in Roman Catholic theology. Also known as the *Concordance of Discordant Canons*, this work was the culmination of efforts to reconcile discordant authorities such as the early Church fathers, Councils, and imperial and papal decrees. Pope Alexander III elevated Gratian to a Cardinal in honor of his work.[19]

Of the key 12th Century Renaissance figures, Peter Abelard (1079-1142) appears to me the most advanced in humanist terms. While definitely a part of the movement led by those previously offered and described, Abelard also often stood independent from, and opposed to, his contemporaries, and suffered for it. Twice he was condemned by the Church for heresy.[20] Having conceived a child with the niece of Canon Fulbert, an important priest associated with the Cathedral of Paris, Abelard and Heloise were secretly married. The powerful, and understandably upset, Canon ordered the forced castration of Abelard and the isolation of Heloise in a convent. The subsequent Abelard-Heloise love letters reflect

Abelard's humanist traits, namely the internal struggle of a man and his conscience.[21]

Abelard's writings reflect a profound understanding of theology, but he is also famously respected for his interest in philosophy. This fondness for the logical approach to problems is clearly seen in his approach to theological questions. His most famous work, *Sic et Non*, addresses many of the key theological arguments of the period. His commentaries on Genesis and Romans also uncover his probing intellect. Maybe his most interesting and line-crossing work is his *Dialogue Between a Philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian.* Abelard's commentaries on Aristotle's logic, and his *Dialectica*, help to confirm the opinion that he more than any one else contributed to the purpose, methods, and goals of Scholasticism.[22]

The career of Peter Abelard illustrates, however, this period's (12th Century Renaissance) limitations upon a free exchange of ideas, that is a pre-requisite for a true renaissance. His

"dangerous" writings infuriated St. Bernard, and as a consequence they were condemned as error at the Synod of Sens in 1140. Unlike his pupil, Arnold of Brescia, who was also censored by the same Synod, Abelard dutifully submitted, recanted, and retired. For another fifteen years, Arnold continued to preach liberty, democratic rights, and opposition to the Church's holding of property. As a result, he was convicted by the Roman Curia and executed.[23] Abelard's compliance and conformity to the Church's obviously potent threats reminds us a little of Galileo's shift in position, confirming that in these times, it was especially unwise to disagree with the human trustees of the Church.

What delineates the Italian Renaissance from the two afore-mentioned claimants of that label? While numerous individual's were indulging in the delight of new learning, none entirely succeeded in developing much of a legacy to carry on the status quo-challenging approaches into which they occasionally thrust themselves. The prominence of the medieval Roman Church, and its perceived infallibility, proved too immovable. Artistically, neither

the Carolingian nor 12th Century Renaissance offered any glimmer of sudden enlightenment to compare with that of the 14th Century. Portaiture, an important aspect of true Renaissance painting, is almost completely absent in the two previous movements. I believe that the renaissance in painting, both its content and form, serve as a precursor in the announcing of the Italian Renaissance.

The Fourteenth Century Italian Renaissance: The Return of the Muses

A truly progressive Renaissance began in Italy in the 14th Century. The fundamental characteristics that had to exist concurrently for there to be this type of Renaissance first manifested in Italy. John Addington Symonds, author of *The Renaissance in Italy*, (published between 1875 and 1876 in seven volumes) viewed those fundamental characteristics as follows: the formation of modern nationalities and modern languages; the achievement and maintenance of relative peace and stability; and the accumulation of wealth.[25] Georg Voigt, author of *The*

Rediscovery of Classical Antiquity (published in 1859 but overshadowed by Burckhardt's famous work published the following year), wrote that Humanism and a Renaissance "could only have happened in Italy, where a little ancient blood still ran in men's veins, where the monuments of classical times were still visible on the ground, and where the memory of former grandeur was linked with patriotic pride."[26] Also omnipresent in Italy was the Papacy, which Hobbes referred to famously as the ghost of the dead Roman Empire. Dante (1265-1321) was recognized as having a vital role in helping Italy "shake off her sleep" by those close to his time period, as well as by the two previously mentioned 19th Century observers. Dante was the "first to open the way for the return of the Muses, [long] banished from Italy," according to Giovanni Boccaccio, one of the earliest giants of the humanist movement, and author of the *Life of Dante*.[27] While Dante is often categorized as medieval, his influence on the early humanists, and the admiration they felt for him, commends his name to be elevated to a transitional humanist status.

The desire to attain ancient manuscripts might have been in part inspired by early 14th Century Paduan lawyers wanting to delve into the original intent of early law codifiers, rather than relying on medieval clerical scholar's interpretations.[28] Attention to Roman poetry and literature, which had flourished during the 12th Century, had mostly stayed north of the Alps, especially in France. This fascination came to Italy toward the end of the 13th Century.[29] Inspired by Dante, Francesco Petrarch (1304-74), viewed as the "Father of Humanism," is praised by Symonds for "his lifelong effort to recover the classical harmony of thought and speech."[30]

Early Humanists

Petrarch greatly admired those Ancients who had "transcended time," and through imitation, sought to take on their "eloquence," the classical harmony of thought and speech, in writing and living. Petrarch especially lifted up Augustine and Cicero as ideal

models.[31] His admiration of Augustine is maybe best depicted in his most personal work, *Secretum*, in which Petrarch's dialogue is with the revered Saint. And in Petrarch's "Ascent of Mont Ventoux," while resting during his climb, he opens Augustine's *Confessions* and finds a passage that encourages human introspection, a vital tenet of true Humanism: "Men go to admire the heights of the mountains, the great floods of the sea, the shores of the ocean, and the orbits of the stars, and neglect themselves."[32]

Petrarch was a deeply pious individual and viewed theology as poetry about God. Poetry to him existed as a means to describe elevated subjects through this elevated expression.[33] The view that the pursuit of knowledge, including introspection, was a process involving piety, literature, and history is the foundation of the Renaissance.[34] Petrarch's synthesis of the past and present is clearly evidenced in his respect for the Ancients and his devotion to his own Christian piety. This is powerfully demonstrated in his *Letters to the Ancient Dead*, in which one finds his letters to Livy

dated, "in the thirteen hundred and forty-eighth year of Him whom you would have known, or of whom you would have heard, had you lived a little longer."[35]

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75), a "student" of Petrarch, perceived "human existence as a joy to be accepted with Thanksgiving, not as a gloomy error to be rectified by suffering," according to Symonds.[36] While his most famous work is the often bawdy *Decameron*, which recounts the one hundred short stories shared by young Florentine men and women attempting to escape the Black Death in a country villa, his dedication to discovering and preserving Ancient manuscripts was no less profound than his teacher Petrarch. His *Genealogy of the Gods* is viewed as one of his most impressive works, as it serves as an encyclopedia of ancient mythology, and Boccaccio inserts commentary along with his definitions which relate the universality of themes touched on by the Ancients' myths. Boccaccio viewed learned men as the equivalent of a "second Prometheus." The allegory using

Prometheus, who stole fire from the gods to better human existence, was intended to illustrate how scholars were making Ancient manuscripts (and the knowledge they contained) more and more available, thus also guiding the ascension from human nature to a higher and more prominent humanness that is only possible through learning.[37] Boccaccio declared that Petrarch had restored "Apollo to his ancient temple," and then celebrated Petrarch's own ascension to the top of Mount Parnassus, where Raphael, later in paint, also immortalized his presence.

Kristeller believed that three distinct periods of scholarship existed during this Renaissance, and that Petrarch and Boccaccio were the vanguard of the first, which desperately sought any of the Ancients' works, and the opportunity to emulate them.[38] Coluccio Salutati and Leonardo Bruni, both statesmen of Florence, helped to bring the Humanism of Petrarch and Boccacio into the 15th Century.[39] The second period Kristeller identified was the age of acquisition. Remarkable effort and expense was required to

accumulate Ancient works and to establish the libraries which housed the often unscrupulously collected works. The humanist Pope Nicholas V was one of the most famous characters of this second period. The third period was the age of critics, philologers, and printers. This third and final stage was the critical element of the Renaissance whereby men who idealized the Ancients, critically examined these discovered works to measure their value and applicability to the practical needs of the their own era. This third period was made possible due to the often haphazard accumulation phase.

Libraries

All across Europe there was an interest in, and a movement to, establish libraries, especially after the Fall of Byzantium in 1453. In less than one hundred years, the number of "considerable" libraries doubled in Western Europe, in places such as Poland, Hungary, and France, as well as in Italy. These libraries usually arose from the generosity of individual patrons, not in conjunction

with the medieval universities, which tended to be more Church-dominated.[40] These libraries became centers of serious, introspective research. Perhaps the most famous of these libraries was in the Vatican, which grew from the patronage of the famous Humanist Pope Nicholas V. To house this impressive collection, Pope Nicholas had commissioned the construction of several stanze, or apartments. Raphael would later do his most famous works here, including the decoration of the stanze intended to serve as the private library for Pope Julius II.

Another famous Italian library of the 15th Century was the Marcian Collection in Venice. Also known as St. Mark's library, it contained Petrarch's collection, and was greatly enhanced through the bequest of some five hundred Greek manuscripts in 1470 by Cardinal John Bessarion, a Greek Churchman, and refugee of the menacing Turkish expansion.[41] The Laurentian Library of Florence arose from the patronage of Cosimo de Medici and his grandson, Lorenzo. Their patronage also supported massive efforts of copying,

translating, and interpreting the assets of this impressive collection.[42] Giovanni Pico, the Prince of the tiny Mirandola principality, also amassed an impressive collection, including many Hebrew and Near Eastern manuscripts.[43] Outside of Italy, King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary assembled an impressive collection, as did the famous Francis I, recognized as the man responsible for bringing the Renaissance to France. Francis's collection at his Chateau Fontainebleau was "enriched" by the collection that had existed in the Visconti-Sforza library of Milan, before his seven year occupation of the northern Italian city.[44] These libraries and collections became centers of intense research and interpretation, and printing workshops emerged to help spread the new learning.

The Greek and Hebrew Revival

One aspect of the immense interest in assembling and maintaining these impressive collections is referred to generally as the Greek and Hebrew Revival. Kristeller identifies the study of

classical Greek during the last half on the 14th Century as one of the precursors to the founding of the humanist movement.[45] As stated earlier, the transition from copying and translating to interpreting and commenting, marks the high achievement of the Renaissance mind. This type of work was encouraged by, if not entirely dependent upon, the generosity and interest of wealthy patrons. Pope Nicholas V's role was very significant, and is seen in his self-adulation: "In all things I have been liberal: in building, in the purchase of books, in the constant transcription of Greek and Latin manuscripts and in the rewarding of learned men."[46] The humanists and their patrons played an important role in the reawakening of Western Europe. One of the most important figures in the Greek revival was Marsilio Ficino. Sponsored by Cosimo de Medici, Ficino administered the Florentine Platonic Academy. Ficino was expected to devote his life to the study of Platonic philosophy.[47] Ficino's interpretation of Plato and the Neo-Platonists was an interesting fusion of philosophy and religion, which might best be characterized as "open-minded," for the way

that it did not condemn other religions. The theology, or pious philosophy, to which Ficino had been inspired by his study and contemplation, strongly reflected his interpretation of Plotinus, a Neo-Platonist. Unsurprisingly, Ficino did not view religious truth as knowable in purely human terms, as Aristotelian theologians might. Instead, he encouraged faithful men to acknowledge the omnipotence of God, which the pagan Plato characterized as the "One," and to view mankind as divine because he is the creation of the "One." The fusion with Christian theology emerges from the Christ, seen as the intermediary between the spiritual and material world, and as the supreme example of the perfect man, after whom men ought to fashion their lives. The role of the Church is to keep man in touch with the spiritual world through the administration of the Sacraments.[48] This assignment of man to so central a place in the hierarchy of the universe was complemented with the view that contemplation provided the path of ascension to God.[49]

Platonic love, as described by Ficino, is the love we who share

our humanity should feel for one another for God's sake. It is this love that guides man to naturally shun evil forces in favor of good and kind forces, and to be attracted to beautiful traits and repulsed by the unbeautiful.[50] This idealization of the lovely, and the interest in allegory to help express these ideals, became a popular practice among poets and artists of the Renaissance period.

A pupil and friend of Ficino who best represents the Hebrew revival is Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Pico travelled throughout Italy and France and studied at various universities. He was an admirer of the scholastic work being done at French universities, but became fascinated with the Cabalistic mystical philosophies of Hebrew texts. From this eclectic background, he composed a summation of all learning. Entitled *Conclusiones*, these nine hundred positions were published as the groundwork for disputation, and Pico even offered to pay the way to Rome for any credible disputant, but Pope Alexander VI declared certain of the positions represented to be heretical. Pico composed an *Apologia* defending

the positions, and the Pope dropped the charge.[51] The most celebrated student of Pico was Johann Reuchlin, and he carried the torch for his teacher who had died at the young age of thirty-one. Reuchlin represented an element in Christiandom that sought to preserve Hebrew texts at a time when a converted Jew named Pfefferkorn was leading a movement to destroy all Hebrew texts because they insulted Christianity.[52] The elevation of, and attention to, the Hebrew texts proved very valuable in the subsequent, strenuous pursuit of biblical scholarship, including more accurate translations and interpretations.

The fascination with, and resulting demand for, works written in the ancient tongues, such as Hebrew and Greek, led to increased activity in the printing trade. While printing had been introduced earlier, the process had become relatively inexpensive at about the time of this increased demand, due especially to the increase in the number of schools.[53] The Aldine Press in Venice printed seventy-seven first edition works of Greek authors and books of reference

between the years 1494 to 1515, and the works were printed in Greek, further commending the Ancient Greeks and their works to scholars in northern Europe, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam. Nearly half of the scholars who contributed most directly to this Venetian printing output were Greek exiles who had fled from the Turkish threat.[54]

Education

The universities and secondary schools were at the center of much of the humanist activity. The term "humanist" actually derives from student slang in which university professors in the area of the *studia humanitatus* were nick-named *humanista.* This is consistent with how professors in other disciplines were referred to as *legista*, *jurista*, *canonista*, and so on.[55] These *humanista* taught grammar and rhetoric based on, and influenced by, the Ancients. Their medieval predecessors, the *dictatores*, also taught and studied grammar and rhetoric, but not on the models of the

Ancients. Humanists saw that education should help each man lead a good life. They believed it was more important to help men accept a truth and be better off as a result, rather than to be able to argue a truth with flawless logic.[56]

The more modern use of the term Humanism, was coined by the German educator, F. J. Niethammer, in 1808, in reference to the importance of studying Greek and Latin classics, even in a more technical and scientific world.[57] Most humanists of the Renaissance period were active and employed individuals. Those not involved in education were often secretaries to princes or cities. Very few actually fit the misconception that humanists were free-lance writers, though that short list does include such personalities as Petrarch, Boccacio, and Erasmus.[58]

Biblical Scholarship

Advances in biblical scholarship proved to be a natural dividend

of the humanists' fascination with ancient and original texts. A major undertaking in the direction of biblical scholarship was supported by a Cardinal Ximenes, at the University of Alcala in Spain. The product of this scholarship was known as the Complutensian Polyglot. This work consisted of the Old and New Testaments translated in three languages, presented side-by-side for easy comparison. The most widely-respected Latin translation of the Bible, St. Jerome's Vulgate Bible, produced in the late 4th century A. D., was placed in the middle of a Hebrew translation and a Greek translation called the Septuagint (which according to unhistorical tradition was produced by approximately seventy Hebrew scholars in seventy-two days, thus the name). This polyglot was intended to reinforce the Vulgate, not critically examine it, therefore Ximenes' effort is really more a product of Scholasticism than of Humanism.[59]

Lorenzo Valla is regarded as the most influential personality of the Humanist scholarship. While Valla both entered and departed this world a Roman (1407-57), during his life, he travelled and

worked across much of Italy. One of his most aggressive and controversial passions was to identify and correct aspects of St. Jerome's Vulgate Bible. The most famous error that Valla sought to correct was the description of Moses in Exodus 34:29, whose appearance after having been in the presence of God shocked his followers, who described Moses' face as radiant. The Hebrew word for radiant is related to the Hebrew noun "horn." Thus, Jerome's description of Moses with horns became a part of the Vulgate, and questioning an aspect of this time-honored work was unwise. Many visual depictions of Moses, therefore, carried these unusual cranial protrusions. The most famous example of this propagated fallacy was Michelangelo's emotional marble of *Moses*.[60] (Fig. 1)

Valla's influence was also felt through a work entitled *Elegances of the Latin Language*, that assailed the degenerate medieval Latin. This work soon became a handbook for both Italian and northern humanists. The crushing impact it had on those works that did not utilize the more eloquent, ancient Latin, had the effect of hastening

the death of Latin as a living language.[61] Aspects of the Roman Catholic Church also came under fire by Valla in a work entitled *Concerning the Profession of the Religious*, in which he argued against the implied superiority of the monastic way of life, by celebrating those individuals whose lives are pleasing to God based on one's strength of will and the result of personal choice, rather than as the result of harsh and forced conformity.[62]

Perhaps his most risky attack on the Church came in a scholarly work entitled *The Declamation Concerning the False Donation of Constantine.* The 4th Century A.D. document describing Constantine's donation of the Lateran Palace and the outlying regions, which the papacy had long felt legitimized the evolution and amassing of power associated with the papacy, was proven to be a forgery, probably from the 8th Century. Valla's use of historical and philological arguments (that certain words in the document did not even exist when it was supposedly written) became a model for later textual criticism. Others before Valla, such as Jon Wyclif (a

14th Century Church reformer from England), and even Dante, had doubted the authenticity of this document, but never in such striking, forceful, and persuasive arguments. The Pope in 1440 (the year of Valla's work), who quite naturally felt personally assaulted, was Eugenius IV. Valla was employed at the time by one of the pope's rivals, King Alfonso of Naples. Eugenius tried unsuccessfully to have Valla brought before the Inquisition in 1444. That Valla was allowed to return safely to Rome, and live there his remaining years is another testament to the humanist nature of Eugenius' successor, Pope Nicholas V, in whose employment Valla spent the last ten years of his life, continuing his literary interests, and ensuring a lasting legacy.[63]

Erasmus felt he was continuing the work started by Valla when he produced an original Greek version of the New Testament.[64] And while also famously critical of the many flaws he observed in the Roman Catholic Church, and in the insincerity of many Christians, Erasmus reflected the efforts of the Counter Reformation rather

than those of the Protestant Reformation. Erasmus saw the value of the new learning as it could be applied to the purpose of the Church. More accurate translations of the Bible should not worry a properly-directed Church. When attacked by theologians for his idealization of the new learning, Erasmus answered, "Prayer, to be sure, is the stronger weapon (in our fight against vice)...yet knowledge is no less necessary."[65] His hope was that all Christians would have such easy access to a Bible that Scripture would constantly be on their mind. This is reflected in the preface to his translation of the New Testament where he relates his wish that every plowboy whistle the Psalms as he plows his furrow.[66] Most humanists, while openly critical of Church weaknesses, did not seek the type of schism caused by the Protestant Reformation, as seen in the example of Sir Thomas More. It is interesting though, that Martin Luther acknowledged Lorenzo Valla, along with Jon Wyclif, to have had the most profound influence in the development of his theology.[67]

Humanism versus Scholasticism

Much has been written about the difference between Scholasticism and Humanism. According to Kristeller, the two coexist far more than normally acknowledged, and the differences are not so stark. Scholasticsm, normally identified for the novelty in its attempt to transform Christian theology into a topically arranged and logically coherent system, most deeply reflects the rediscovery and fascination with the writings of Aristotle, as previously discussed. Humanism and its approach mostly reflected the influence of the rediscovered Plato, whose dialogues, and the open-ended and challengeable arguments they presented, fostered the introspective, man-centered approach to thinking. While scholastics studied logic and natural philosophy, the humanists were studying grammar, poetry, rhetoric, and some moral philosophy. Lorenzo Valla's hope and argument was that theology and faith be addressed and supported through eloquence, not through the meaningless, manipulative tools of syllogism and dialectic.[68]

The Humanist and Reform

The Humanists approach to theological thinking, unsurprisingly, involved attention to the most original source materials available, especially classical works by the Church Fathers.[69] Great numbers of sources were discovered, and the humanist interpretations were viewed as attacks against the scholastics. These findings (attacks), as well as the humanists' attention to more and more non-religious intellectual interests, and the humanists' influence on others to pursue these interests, explain why many scholars, but Burckhardt most famously, consider the humanists to have been irreligious, or even pagan, based on their fascination with classical mythologies and astrology.[70] Humanists have often been maligned, or honored (depending on one's perspective), as the leaders of the Protestant Reformation. This blame, or credit, is an oversimplification of their role. While there were some reform-minded humanists, such as Jacopo Sadoleto and Gian Matteo Giberti, the most dramatic influence of the humanists was in their

contribution to, and emphasis on, education, and the resulting genesis of an intellectual elite dedicated to reform.[71] The concurrent development and employment of the printing press, of course, played an important role in the further transmission of these ideas.

Humanism and History

It occurs to me that the single most important quality of the humanist approach to learning was a respect for history, and the value of knowing about the past and the lessons it can communicate. Cicero, the favorite of many humanists, defined history as "the witness of the times, the torch of truth, the life of memory, the messenger of antiquity."[72] The Roman historian Tacitus viewed the function of history as follows: "to prevent virtues from being forgotten, and [to promote the belief] that evil words and deeds should fear an infamous reputation with posterity."[73] Historical examples of people and events, virtuous or evil, provided concrete

examples of the moral attitudes humanists were attempting to eloquently foster. That histories were viewed as important and worthwhile devices is demonstrated by the movement to seek accurate histories of cities and personalities (if complimentary). Leonardo Bruni wrote a famous history of Florence under the patronage of the Medicis, and Niccolo Machiavelli was on the payroll of the University of Pisa for writing his history of the Florentine Republic.[74] Curiously, though the humanists obviously saw great value in history, they did not view it as a distinctly separate discipline worthy of a position in higher education.[75] Instead they viewed history as the foundation upon which all valuable learning is built. This fascination with personal and political (and theological) histories is clearly pronounced in the art of the Italian Renaissance, and provides one of the most formidable links between the literary humanists and the "artistic" humanists. Of those artistic humanists, Raphael achieved the most profound eloquence. "A picture is a poem without words," wrote the Latin poet Horace, in praise of the value of painting.[76] Renaissance artists, especially

those of the period identified as the High Renaissance, such as Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael, were able to convey emotion and virtue in their works as had never been done before. Their achievement far surpasses what some might simply attribute to their perfection of technical skills. These men were interested and gifted in many fields, not simply the artistic. Leon Battista Alberti, considered the "first universal genius," pre-dating the incomparable Leonardo, wrote a tremendously influential treatise entitled, *On Painting* (published in 1435). Among the more technical observations in the work, Alberti also offers a more philosophic view of the role or goal of painting. The artist should idealize the subjects he painted, and through the painting, relate "an elevating story."[77] This Platonic-influenced view of painting, sought by hundreds of period artists, materialized most dramatically in the works of Raphael, who not only possessed the soul to pursue the "ideal," but also the skill to execute it.

CHAPTER I NOTES

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CHAPTER II

INFLUENCES IN RAPHAEL'S DEVELOPMENT

> However skillful an artist may be, and however perfect his technique, if he unhappily has nothing to tell us, his work is valueless.
>
> -Jacques Maritain

Raphael's Early Years

Raphael was the son of a painter, Giovanni Santi, who at the age of forty married Magia Ciarla.[1] Two years later in 1483 a son was born. He was named for the most gentle of angels, the Archangel Raphael, which means "celestial splendour."[2] Raphael's nature throughout his life is recorded above all things for its gentleness and affability. Raphael experienced many losses as a young boy. One such loss was the death of his brother when Raphael was two. (He was possibly from a previous marriage, and his age when he died is unknown). Six years later, both Raphael's mother and baby sister

died within two weeks of each other, probably from plague, as outbreaks were not uncommon in these days.[3] The abandonment Raphael felt after the death of his mother is believed to have deeply affected the young Raphael, and is reflected in his life and works. Giovanni Santi remarried the following year (1492). Bernardina, recorded to have been a goldsmith's daughter, two years later gave birth to a baby girl, but Santi had died while she was still carrying. He thus left an eleven year old, Raphael, and two additional dependents. Guardianship over Raphael went to two uncles. Santi's will was contested by his wife and daughter, and a final judgment and resolution came finally in 1499 after years of struggle and unpleasantness. This episode may also be reflected in some of Raphael's later attitudes.[4]

Raphael certainly inherited his interest in painting from his father, and from opportunities rendered through his father. Young Raphael was in a position to try to make a livelihood from painting. As a young boy, Raphael worked in his father's workshop mixing

paints, cleaning brushes, and other unglamorous tasks. The elder Santi was a relatively successful painter, especially in their hometown of Urbino, and was therefore the master of a school, or workshop. Santi used his son as a model in some of his paintings and began his instruction in painting, but quickly realized the prodigiousness in his son's talents, and began to make arrangements for his son to be apprenticed to a greater master.[5]

Santi's role in Raphael's development is impossible to measure exactly, because early in Raphael's life, other powerful influences of style were introduced. Raphael's home of Urbino was located in the Central Italian region of Umbria, and the city had become one of the most impressive cultural centers in all of Italy, due to the magnificence of the Duke of Urbino, Federigo Montefeltro. This condottiere-turned-humanist became one of the most famous patrons of art and the humanities of the period, and played an indirect role in the development of Raphael's gifts.[6] (The Duke had died one year before Raphael was even born). The duke's magnificent

palace, for example, proved influential when Raphael, later in life, pursued an interest in architecture.[7] Raphael's father executed many commissions around Urbino, and as the son and assistant, Raphael accompanied him, and was exposed to the great works that the Duke had sponsored.[8]

Piero della Francesca (1420-1492), the recognized leader of the Umbrian school, had executed numerous commissions for the ducal palace.[9] Perhaps the most famous work consisted of two profile portraits of the Duke and his wife, Battista Sforza. They were intended to hang side by side, and thus look eternally upon one another. There was actually a more practical explanation for this rendition. The Duke had gained his fame, originally, for his military and sportive accomplishments, and every portrait of the Duke showed only his left profile, because he had lost his right eye in a tournament (mock battle). That same accident left him with the noticeable disfigurement of his nose.[10] (Fig. 2) Another famous Francesca painting in the palace reflects the Duke's humanist traits.

Entitled *An Ideal City*, this painting may be in honor both of St. Augustine's famous book entitled *City of God*, and also of the Duke's own Urbino.[11] (Fig. 3) Augustine's writings were highly praised among the early humanists, such as Petrarch. A quality both visible and admirable in Francesca's paintings was his attention to background scenery, resembling the Umbrian countryside. Raphael's paintings would also contain beautiful background scenery reminiscent of Umbria, a tribute to the works of Francesca.[12]

Despite his startling appearance, the Duke was a student and supporter of the Humanities. He had assembled an impressive library of original Greek manuscripts. While his power was won and established through force, the Duke believed the first quality of a good ruler was "to be humane," as records the court chronicler Vespasiano.[13] The elder Santi eulogized the deceased Italian statesman in a poem entitled *The Chronicle of the Deeds of Federigo Montefeltro*.[14] Federigo's son and heir, Guidobaldo, continued his father's humane authority and generous patronage. Baldassare

Castiglione, author of *The Courtier*, staged his famous all-night discourse on the "perfect courtier" in the ducal palace of Urbino, with Guidobaldo as a prominent member of the nineteen men and four women gathering.[15] Urbino and its profound Duke were honored by Castiglione, who referred to them together as "the Light of Italy."[16]

When Raphael's father died in 1494, the eleven year old Santi, under the guardianship of two uncles, continued to work in his father's shop, taking on more and more responsibilities. One uncle, Simone di Battista Ciarla, became a second father to Raphael, and Raphael continuously sought his counsel. The uncles served as the transition between Raphael's father and the influential patrons that "adopted" him later.[17] His uncles also saw to it that Raphael was apprenticed to Perugino, Giovanni's choice. In a way, Raphael's learning under Perugino was an extension of Francesca's influence, because Perugino had once been a student of Piero della Francesca.[18] Every biographer of Raphael records his affability to

all, and even more, his ability and propensity to assimilate other artists' styles and presentations with his own manner. Raphael's *Self-Portrait* drawing (~1497) provides us a peek at the face, and into the mind, of the fourteen year old prodigy. (Also known as *Portrait of a Young Boy*, some deny the drawing is Raphael).[19]

Perugino's actual name was Corso Vannucci. When he was made honorary citizen of the city Perugia in 1485 for his artistic contributions, his given name was dropped, and he became Perugino, the adopted son of Perugia.[20] Perugia in the late 1400's resembled Shakespeare's Montague and Capulet torn setting. The combatants in Perugia were the families Oddi and Baglioni. This type of feudal warring was common throughout Italy at this time. In 1491, one hundred and thirty conspirators were hung in Perugia's Palazzo Communale.[21] It is understandable that Perugino would have been affected by this atmosphere, and provides an explanation why Perugino travelled as widely as he did.

Perugio had studied for a time under the master Verrocchio in Florence, with a fellow apprentice named Leonardo da Vinci. Raphael's father, familiar with both artists, considered Perugino and Leonardo "equal in age and endeavor." Art historians generally rank Perugino somewhere between the early renaissance painters and the great masters of the High Renaissance. His stengths included landscape, architecture, and spatial planning.[22] Perugino was a recognized master with commissions in many important venues, such as at the Vatican under Pope Sixtus IV. Considered "the first of three evil geniuses of the Renaissance papacy,"[23] Sixtus was an enemy of the Medici family, and participated in the murderous conspiracy that left Giovanni de Medici dead and Lorenzo the Magnificent wounded. Also infamous for his lavish spending, Sixtus was responsible for the construction of the famous Sistine Chapel, and for having commissioned artists such as Perugino and Sandro Botticelli to further adorn the Vatican.[24]

Much of Raphael's skill should be credited to the five years'

guidance he received under Perugino. Raphael, through imitation, flattered his master in his *Marriage of the Virgin*, painted around 1504. (Fig. 5) The most prominent building, a circular temple, actually emerges from Francesca's *Ideal City*, but the entire scene is designed very similarly to Perugino's *Christ's Charge to Peter.*[25] (Fig. 6) When Raphael first came under the guidance of Perugino, and he viewed some of Raphael's drawings, the master is reported to have exclaimed, "Let him be my pupil! He will soon become my master."[26] Perugino was eventually proven correct when Pope Julius II, who had originally commissioned Perugino and an artist known as Il Sodoma to decorate the stanze (apartments) above the Borgian apartments with frescos, turned the entire project over to Rapahel.[27]

Raphael's early training was valuable and important in his development, but his eyes and his mind would really be opened up by the influence of geniuses like Leonardo and Michelangelo. It is possible that Raphael and Leonardo never actually met, but Raphael

never missed an opportunity to study Leonardo's creations.[28] Michelangelo and Raphael could have met as early as 1502 at Siena, because Raphael was there to help a fellow Perugino student with the space-composition for a fresco commission. This fellow student was named Pintoricchio and Raphael's aid is most clearly witnessed in paintings in the Piccolomini Library, named for the humanist scholar who served as Bishop of Siena on his way to the papacy, where he acted as Pope Pius II.[29] Pius II's humanist background somewhat explains the odd distinction to have been the only pope ever to have written an autobiography.[30] The commission was in honor of Pius II and was sponsored by Pius' nephew, the future and short-reigning Pope Pius III.[31] Michelangelo was working a commission in Siena for the same man, so in all likelihood Raphael and he did meet.[32]

The Florentine Period

Raphael's greatest artistic and intellectual growth came during

his time spent in Florence. He arrived in 1504. This probably was not his first visit, but Florence had really become the center of new ideas in Italy.[33] Vasari records that "many young Florentines and foreigners," referring to the artists and thinkers drawn to Florence, would meet regularly at the studio of an architect named Baccio d'Agnolo. Even Michelangelo, who by reputation preferred solitude and was less than amiable, would be present at these informal gatherings.[34] While it is natural to assume ideas and techniques were shared between artists, it is also important to recognize that with so many excellent artists living in the same town, competition to receive important commissions was considerable. The sister of the Duke of Urbino, Giovanna, Duchess of Sora, had written and sent a letter of introduction with Raphael when he was going to Florence to further his skills.[35] If this letter did make the difference in his being allowed to stay in Florence, it is one more example of how Raphael owed thanks to his hometown and the ruling family.

Florence had suffered a turbulent history. The Dominican monk

Giuolama Savonarola had headed a theocratic republic friendly with the French from 1494-98. Pope Alexander VI, a Borgia, was frustrated by Florence's success at thwarting the expansion of the Papal domain northward, and especially angry at the sharp criticism Savonarola dealt in his sermons against the secular interests and gross immorality of the popes. In 1497 Alexander VI excommunicated Savonarola and threatened interdiction on all Florence if the monk were allowed to continue preaching. Powerful Florentine familes and unsure Florentines quickly turned against the town's leader. Savonarola and two supporters were hung on 23 May 1498 after two days of torture in the Piazza della Signoria.[36]

Florence continued to be attacked, but its republican government survived. To glorify this accomplishment, the city commissioned a fresco to be painted in the Hall of the Grand Council of the City Hall, also named the Palazzo Vecchio. This hall was originally intended to serve as the forum for Savonarola's republican government. The painting would depict the scenes of one of the famous battles that had secured Florence's independence. The battle they selected was

named Anghiari, the painting was titled *Fight for the Standard*, and the artist was Leonardo Da Vinci. The city chose later to have Michelangelo paint another battle scene fresco. This would depict the Battle of Cascina. The two paintings, and therefore painters, would actually share the same wall. The artists disliked each other and the competition between the two actually doomed the project.[37]

Leonardo never finished his battle scene, but what work he did, captured the savagery and confusion in war. Michelangelo never got beyond drawing the cartoons for his commission. His scene depicted male nudes in battle, the Florentines having been caught bathing when attacked. While neither artist completed their commission, their preliminary work was highly praised, and proved very influential to other artists. Raphael was among the artists who studied how these masters had depicted such tremendous action without creating a hopeless clutter of bodies. The Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens in the early 17th century actually completed a copy of Leonardo's Anghiari from studies.[38] (Fig. 7)

Leonardo experimented unsuccessfully with different fresco techniques and materials. He had recently finished, though not without many complications, *The Last Supper* fresco in the refectory of the convent of Santa Maria della Grazie in Milan. Raphael was also influenced by Leonardo's handling of the many figures in this scene. They were arranged into balanced groups of three, so that the figures remain engaged and appear very natural. Raphael's treatment of groupings in his large and involved Vatican frescos reflected Leonardo's influence.[39]

Portraiture

Leonardo's influence on Raphael is best seen, however, in Raphael's portraiture. Leonardo had developed a style of portraiture that utilized a subtle gradation of the light surrounding the subject until it blended into the surrounding atmosphere. This technique and attention to light and dark is known as *chiaroscuro*. Leonardo's particular style of *chiaroscuro* in portrait modeling came to be

referred to as *sfumato*.[40] Leonardo did not simply paint a person's picture, he captured and expressed the person's state of mind. The expression of the *Mona Lisa* best exemplifies this, and unsurprisingly, this same painting seems to have had the greatest influence on Raphael's portraits. The gestures of the subject, and movements of the various parts of their body, all help to express the state of their mind. Indeed, Leonardo suggested that deaf-mutes express themselves in this way better than any other group of human beings.[41]

Raphael's portraits of a husband and wife, *Agnolo and Maddalena Doni*, show many stylistic similarities to Leonardo. (Figures 8 and 9) Raphael's technical skill, artistic "sfumato," and animation are also visible in the wholesome , honest aura of the pregnant *La Donna Gravida*. (Fig. 10) Also striking is the innocent and alluring young *Lady with a Unicorn*, (Fig. 11) The unicorn was an Urbino emblem, perhaps speaking to the origins of the lady, or possibly of the painter. The unicorn was also a time-honored symbol of virginity.

A palm leaf (the symbol of martyrdom) and a wheel had at one time actually been painted over the unicorn. The painting was then known as *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, taken to have been painted with a religious theme in mind. Only in 1930 were the additions carefully removed restoring Raphael's original work.[42] *La Donna Muta*'s dark background (different from the typical landscape background) adds to the mystery already established in her expression. (Fig. 12) The detail of the woman's vestments is astounding, especially her gold chain and the shadow it casts. These early portraits remind us of the unique expressive power that the visual arts possess. They also demonstrate the development of humanist qualities in Raphael, as he seeks to capture and present the humanness of his subjects.

The Madonna Theme

A famous and apparently favorite subject of Raphael was that of the Madonna and her baby. This often painted theme, some believe, represented Raphael's conception of the importance of the maternal

relationship.[43] The loss of his mother and the abandonment he experienced at the age of eight surely had a lasting impact on him. There is a tenderness communicated in his madonnas that transcends the real and achieves the ideal. His progression to this ideal is not difficult to observe. The alluring effect of his later Madonna themes is nearly inescapable.

I most strongly detect Raphael's development, through his famous assimilation of other artists' styles, in his Madonnas. His *Connestabile Madonna and Child* most reflects Perugino's influence. (Fig. 13) His *Madonna of the Meadows* reflects Leonardo, as does his *Madonna del Granduca* with its dark background. (Figures 14 and 15) H-12 His *Alba Madonna* (Figure 14) reflects Michelangelo's influence.[44] (Fig. 16) A challenge Raphael felt in painting his Madonnas, and in all he completed about 40 different variations of the mother-child theme, was to retain *naturalezza*, or a natural state with the subject without losing the essence of divinity that had to be a part of the painting.[45] Of his many Madonnas, the

Madonna della Sedia, named for the humble household chair depicted, most closely approaches a human orientation. (Fig. 17) Dressed in contemporary attire, this could be a touching portrait of any mother and her children. This Madonna, as with many of Raphael's, depicts of course Mary and Jesus, but also John the Baptist as a baby. This grouping is attributable to Leonardo and his famous *Virgin of the Rocks*. (Fig. 18) The use of three subjects worked better in creating depth; the three figures arranged in more of a pyramid form.[46] Jesus and John, in many of Raphael's Madonnas, are quite self-aware and adult-like. The babies in *Sedia*, unsurprisingly, are presented most naturally.

The most spiritual of all Raphael's Madonnas is the *Sistine Madonna*. (Fig. 19) Named for the Convent of San Sisto in Piacenza, the painting actually celebrated a political pact between the town of Piacenza and the powerful Pope Julius II.[47] In the painting, the figure of Mary carrying Jesus sails at the viewer from clouds of cherubim (the second highest order of angels) through an opened

window. The infant John the Baptist is not included, but the pyramid effect is maintained through Mary's holding of Jesus on her right side and the billowing of her veil on her left side. The pyramid sense of the entire painting is complemented by the kneeling figures of a pope, intended to be Pope Sixtus IV but actually carrying Julius II's features, and St. Barbara.[48] (She was the patroness of the makers and users of firearms and fireworks by an analagous extension of the way she had faced martyrdom).[49] At the foot of the painting are two demure angels who appear to be resting on the painting's frame. Mary has an extremely gentile and feminine appearance, and Jesus has a look of amazement and wonder. All the elements combine most gracefully to create a very powerful impression.

Other Early Major Works

Raphael produced two important paintings depicting St. George in battle against a dragon. The action depicted and brilliantly

expressed in the dynamic paintings was in part the result of Raphael's exposure to the preliminary works of Leonardo and Michelangelo in their Florentine battle scenes.[50] The paintings may have allegorically represented his hometown's victory over evil. Cesare Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI, who had conquered much of northern and central Italy, is considered by many as being the prototype of Niccolo Machiavelli's *The Prince*; an intelligent, cruel, and ruthlessly opportunistic ruler. In 1502 he had subdued Urbino and dethroned Duke Guidobaldo. The death of Alexander VI and the eventual succession of Julius II as pope, a strong anti-Borgia, spelled doom for Cesare. Upon Urbino's deliverance and Guidobaldo's restoration, the Duchess commissioned a pageant play be created. It is possible that Raphael's *St. George* was his contribution, as it showed the satan-like, Cesare-like dragon about to experience the sword of Guidobaldo in the guise of St. George, the ideal Christian warrior and patron saint of warriors.[51] (Fig. 18)

Raphael painted another St. George one year later. Federigo

Montefeltro had been honored by investment as a Knight of the Order of the Garter. The English ambassadors of King Henry VII later honored his son, Guidobaldo, with this same highest order of knighthood, at the papal court in Rome on 22 May 1504. They presented him with the Garter, to be worn on the left leg, and thus it became necessary to have Raphael produce another *St. George* smiting the dragon, this time showing the left profile of St. George (and of course the Garter) in order that the biographical accuracy of the painting be retained.[52] (Fig. 21)

Raphael used as his primary model for this second version a small Donatello relief-carving located on the base of his famous bronze statue of *St. George.* This, and the Flemish-like attention to detail, reflect once again Raphael's ability to assimilate other artists' strengths with his own.[53]

Two more Florentine-period paintings, meant to accompany one another as a diptych (a pair of hinged painted panels), also reflect

the influence the battle scenes of Leonardo and Michelangelo had had on him. *The Knight's Vision* depicts a theme well-known in antiquity and often revisited by humanists. (Fig. 22) This subject was drawn from either a poem titled *Punica* by a Roman named Silus Italicus, or Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, or both.[54] The scene shows a sleeping knight in Roman armor, and on either side of the knight, the apparitions of Venus and Minerva. They represent the struggle between such often incompatible concepts as duty or pleasure and wisdom or beauty. The complementing work was *The Three Graces.* (Fig. 23) Another famous theme, the Three Graces represented the knight's reward for having made the choice of virtue over pleasure: the Golden Apples of Hesperides. This diptych was commissioned by the powerful Borghese family in Siena.[55]

Only one year before Raphael began at the Vatican what many agree to be some of the most well-conceived, creative, balanced, and skillful art work ever, he completed a work that experts agree was an example of a Raphael failure.[56] Titled *The Entombment of*

Christ, this was his first commissioned work after his arrival in Rome in 1508. (Fig. 24) The painting depicted the dead Christ being carried away amidst a number of grieving mourners, unnaturally posed and clumsily positioned, creating a "clutter of legs." How the greatest painter of all time could have so misfired remains a mystery, but equally amazing is how in less than a year he was working in the Vatican stanze approaching divine perfection on works far more challenging, and yet with seeming ease. His failure must have been a valuable learning experience, and he never again painted the subject of Christ's death.[57]

CHAPTER II NOTES

1. Laurie Schneider, "Raphael's Personality," *Source*, Winter 1984, p. 9.

2. Frank E. Washburn Freund, *The Stanze of Raphael* (Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, 1936), p. 26.

3. Schneider, "Raphael's Personality," p. 9.

4. Schneider, "Raphael's Personality," p. 9 and James Beck, ed., *Raphael Before Rome* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986), p. 11. Beck argues that Raphael had a very low opinion of women, and possibly attributes this to the negative memories of his step-mother's legal pursuit of his father's estate. He agrees with the view of Raphael as a "womanizer." Vasari might ultimately be responsible for this view of Raphael, for he even attributed Raphael's death to excessive love-making. From my study, this alleged caustic attitude toward women seems inconsistent with the finer qualities for which he is remembered.

5. Johann David Passavant, *Raphael of Urbino and his Father Giovanni Santi* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1978), p. 35.

6. Bruno Santi, *Raphael* (Florence: Scala Books, 1977), p. 3.

7. Avery, *Renaissance Encyclopedia*, p. 808.

8. Passavant, *Raphael and his Father*, pp. 28-29.

9. David Thompson, *Raphael*: The Life and the Legacy (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1983), p. 26.

10. Ibid., p. 21.

11. Ibid., p. 26.

12. Ibid., p. 21.

13. Ibid., p. 22.

14. Passavant, *Raphael and his Father*, p. 24.

15. D.D. Carnicelli, "Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*," *Queens Quarterly*, Winter 1979/80, p. 576.

16. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 22.

17. Schneider, "Raphael's Personality," p. 10.

18. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 26.

19. Oskar Fischel, *Raphael*, trans. Bernard Rackham (London: Spring Books, 1964), pp. 25-26, 320.

20. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 37.

21. Ibid., p. 38.

22. Ibid., p. 37.

23. Spitz, *Renaissance Movement*, p. 53.

24. Ibid.

25. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 42.

26. Spitz, *Renaissance Movement*, p. 217.

27. Ibid., p. 55.

28. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 59.

29. Ibid., p. 43.

30. *The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, 4th ed., s.v. "Pius II."

31. Beck, *Raphael Before Rome*, p. 170.

32. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 43.

33. Ibid., p. 42.

34. Ibid., p. 54.

35. Spitz, *Renaissance Movement*, p. 216.

36. Ibid., p. 239.

37. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 55.

38. Ibid., pp. 55-56.

39. Spitz, *Renaissance Movement*, p. 214.

40. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 77.

41. Ibid.

42. Santi, *Raphael*, p. 20.

43. Schneider, "Raphael's Personality," p. 12.

44. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 60 and Santi, *Raphael*, p. 12.

45. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 85.

46. Ibid., p. 88.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

49. *The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, 4th ed., s.v. "St. Barbara."

50. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 56.

51. Ibid., p. 57.

52. Ibid., p. 58.

53. Ibid., p. 59.

54. Santi, *Raphael*, p. 10 and Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 59.

55. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 59.

56. Ibid., p. 57.

57. Ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE STANZE DELLA SEGNATURA

> The School of Athens and the three companion paintings, illustrating the historical development of theology, poetry, and jurisprudence, constitute a celebration of culture equal in scope to Dante's Paradise and Limbo combined.
>
> -F. de Sanctis

A Crowning Achievement

Raphael's greatest works and most powerful expressions of his humanist beliefs are found in the chambers of the Vatican done under the commission of Pope Julius II. The first and most famous of these Vatican chambers is known as the Stanze della Segnatura, or the Signature Room. An interesting, little known, but tremendously important contribution to this project was made by a man named Battista Casali (1473-1525). Casali on the First of January 1508, the Feast of the Circumcision, delivered a sermon

before Julius II. His sermon mentioned the expanding Turkish Empire and the threats of Islam, and also contained considerable flattery of Julius II. Casali was encouraging the pope to glorify Rome further and to proclaim Rome the New Athens in good works.[1] Cognizant of political gains already achieved by the pope, and of his patronage of the arts and architecture, Casali suggested that Julius II would be most famously remembered for having sponsored libraries to house Greek manuscripts. While Julius was moved by this argument, it seems he wanted to be remembered for all three contributions, and he succeeded, as can be seen in the political strengthening of the Papal States, the artistic adornment of the Vatican, and the commission of Bramante to begin work on St. Peter's Cathedral.

Casali came from an important Roman family. He studied poetry and eloquence, and by age 23 was teaching Latin. Though he did not have any professional training in theology, he was made a canon (a priest serving a cathedral) by both Julius II, and his successor, Leo X. His lack of religious training and background brought criticism

from some. Erasmus called Casali one of those "paganizing" preachers.[2] Indeed his sermons did deal more with historical comparisons and broad moral issues, rather than theological arguments, but they succeeded in conveying a message. The Raphael work that owes greatest honor to Casali's sermon on that January day in 1508 is *The School of Athens*, but in that same Vatican chamber are three other impressive works and all complement one another's significance.

Many artists were originally commissioned by Julius to work on the four stanze in January 1509, including Raphael's teacher Perugino, and an artist named Il Sodoma who was probably appointed Chief Artist.[3] Ironically, when Julius saw the work of Raphael, all the other artists were dismissed, thus proving true Perugino's earlier prediction that his pupil would one day be his master. How Raphael came at all to be one of the many artists chosen by Julius was very interesting, and seems to reflect hometown connections. On a visit to Urbino in 1506 and 1507, Julius II learned of Raphael

and his works, and may have even met Raphael.[4] Julius II's nephew was the 17 year old heir to Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino. His name was Francesco Maria della Rovere, and he actually appears in the left foreground of two of Raphael's famous Segnatura frescos.[5] This inclusion possibly reflected gratitude on the part of Raphael for the role that the young Rovere had played in Raphael's appointment.

Another man close to Julius II who apparently promoted Raphael's talents was Bramante.[6] Julius had commissioned Bramante in 1506 as Chief Architect of the Vatican to tear down the ancient basilica of St. Peter and to start construction of St. Peter's Cathedral. It was intended to be the most magnificent of its kind, and the true capitol of the Roman Catholic Church. Bramante was born near Urbino, and actually claimed a distant relationship to Raphael. He suggested to Julius that Raphael be included among the artists who would be working on the pope's stanze. There is some reason to believe that Bramante had helped Raphael with his

Marriage of the Virgin and the architecture of the circular temple depicted therein.[6] Bramante's confidence in Raphael was justified. In his first work at the Vatican in the Stanze della Segnatura, in June of 1509, Raphael painted a small ceiling panel depicting the creation of the universe. Julius liked it so much he dismissed all the other artists and entrusted Raphael to direct the project from a new conception phase to completion.[7]

Raphael faced an enormous challenge. He was a new and mostly untested arrival in Rome. The most influential person in all of Europe had just entrusted him to create and execute a visionary plan to thematically draw together the elements of the exciting age we call the Renaissance. The appointment was truly beyond Raphael's genius alone, but with support and advice from the pope and other experts in the fields of theology and classical philosophy and literature, an ingenious plan for the four stanze, especially for the Stanze della Segnatura, was born. Raphael's genius transformed the plan into a stunning artistic creation.

Another fact that made the accomplishment of Raphael's stanze paintings so amazing was his lack of experience with the medium he would be using: the fresco. This method of painting on wet plaster required the painter to be decisive and to paint quickly. He had worked on frescos before under others' guidance, but only once before had he painted a fresco on his own, and that was a year previous to his Vatican work, in a tiny side-chapel to the church of Saint Severo, back in Perugia.[8] Fortunately while in Florence, Raphael had come to know the works of an artist, Fra Bartolommeo, who demonstrated great skill in fresco work. The monk's works in San Marco Monastery in Florence are viewed by experts to mark a transition between Leonardo and Raphael's eventual genius.[9] His full name was Bartolommeo di Pagholo del Fattorino, and he is also called Baccio della Porta. Influenced by Savonarola, he joined Savonarola's Dominican order in 1500 and actually stopped painting. He resumed painting in 1504 and became one of the leading Florentine masters.[10] One element of his style that Raphael

adopted was the use of vestments in his works that had either classical or religious themes. He was one of the first to abandon contemporary costuming of his characters and instead he used an envisioned classical style of drapery.[11]

Pope Julius II: A Patron Without Peer

Raphael's greatest patron and eventual confidante was Pope Julius II. His actual name was Giuliano della Rovere. His uncle was Sixtus IV, the pope who had, among other things, built the Sistine Chapel. Sixtus had also ordered the collection of classical-period marbles and bronzes.[12] Julius inherited his uncle's passion for art. Julius wanted to strengthen and empower Rome and the papacy and avoid any future threats of Schism (division) in the Church.[13] Ironically, his efforts to glorify Rome and his intention that all Christendom should help finance it, actually led to the greatest schism Christendom has ever experienced.

Giuliano della Rovere(1443-1513) received several church offices from his nepotist uncle Sixtus, eventually even being named a Cardinal in 1471. Upon his uncle's death, he sought to become pope but failed.[14] Instead his close friend Giovanni Battista Cibo became Pope Innocent VIII. Innocent was considered the most notorious of the bad renaissance popes.[15]His open acknowledgement of the sixteen bastard children he had sired reflects the insincerity of his piety. Giuliano largely directed papal affairs for Innocent, and was aware of, if not largely a part of, the corruption and inconsistency that existed throughout Innocent's entire curia. Upon his death, the College of Cardinals shunned the eager yet soiled Giuliano, in favor of his bitter rival Rodrigo Borgia who became Pope Alexander VI. Giuliano went into voluntary exile until Alexander's death in 1503. Following a one-month Pius III papacy, Giuliano finally did become Pope Julius II at the age of 60, and although he would live only ten more years, his was an enormously active papacy.[16]

Julius was foremost a military genius. His primary goal was to

strengthen the Papal States. He joined the French in the League of Cambrai and was at war with Venice until 1509 when he had succeeded in winning back three former Papal State provinces. France's usefulness had expired and their continued presence was viewed as a threat. Julius organized the Holy League to drive the French out of Italy. He even sought the help of England's Henry VIII to take part. With Milanese and Swiss support, French influence was driven north of the Alps representing one chapter of the costly Italian Wars' struggles.[17]

The Christian humanist Erasmus had actually witnessed Julius II's triumphant ride into defeated Bologna, one victim in Julius' plans of consolidation.[18] As a result, Julius was severely criticized in Erasmus' biting and highly-stylized commentaries for encouraging Christians to incite violence against other Christians. An Erasmus-influenced anonymous writer created an imagined dialogue between a deceased Julius II and St. Peter at the pearly gates to heaven. When St. Peter does not recognize the pope, and

mentions that Julius' silver key does not at all resemble the one St. Peter holds, the key "which Christ, true pastor of the Church, gave me," Julius threatens to bring troops and batter down the gates to gain entrance into Heaven.[19] Michelangelo was commissioned by the pope to create a huge Julius II statue which was placed over the entrance to the church of St. Petronio in Bologna, following his conquest. At the first opportunity, the Bolognese tore and melted the statue down, eventually using the copper to make a cannon.[20] Julius's image appears in many of the works he commissioned, but his fiery, bellicose nature was best captured by Michelangelo and depicted in the statue of *Moses* and in the Sistine ceiling image of God in the *Creation of Adam*.[21]

Possibly influenced by Casali's sermon, Julius decided to commission artists to renovate and decorate the apartments above the Borgian apartments, with which for obvious reasons he refused to have any association.[22] He envisioned these four commissioned apartments would serve as his personal residence, offices and

library. Work started in the apartment intended to be the pope's private library and is best known as the Stanze della Segnatura, because once a week the pope would hear pleas for clemency in this room, and if granted, his signature was required.[23] The fact that this was intended by Julius II to have been a library is witnessed in the art decorations. Four round ceiling paintings depict the four Faculties of Knowledge. In fact the stanze is sometimes called the Hall of the Faculties. The four Faculties are described as "the sciences by means of which man struggles to apprehend Divine Truth,"[24] and they include Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Justice. A representation of these themes in some form were traditionally contained in all medieval and renaissance period librairies.[25]

Julius II was familiar enough with the humanist approach of introspection and the quest for improvement, to know that the Church needed to undergo radical reform. This should not be confused however with the deliberate efforts of the Counter Reformation of the mid-sixteenth century, for those were in

reaction to the Protestant Reformation. The reform Julius wanted to direct in Christendom was the result of the thoughtful deliberations of one who had grown individually and wanted to become a force for improvement on a larger scale. Julius envisioned himself as an Apollo ready to lead a Roman-directed Christian Empire to a Golden Age.[26] As Apollo receives inspiration from the Celestial Ideal and then passes it on to the Muses who in turn inspire the poets, Julius saw his papal authority and inspiration passed to him from God, and from him to the clergy and eventually the people.[27]

Julius' plans for the first stanze reflect this perception of the ideal papal role as an "instrument of Divine Power, responsible for, and authoritative in all intellectual pursuits".[28] Where idealism and unity exude from the Stanze della Segnatura, the second stanze reflects a more somber and uncertain tone. Begun at a time when Julius's fortunes were at their lowest, when miracles seemed the only escape from the political, military, and even spiritual threats

that Julius was facing, the frescos in this second apartment, the Stanze d'Eliodoro (named after the most famous fresco, *The Expulsion of Heliodorus*), all represent legendary instances of reported Divine Intervention.[29] Having weathered some of the greatest threats to papal sanctity, Julius did not live to see the second stanze completed. His successor, Leo X, continued the stanze decoration commission with Raphael, and the third Stanze, known as the Stanze dell'Incendio (named after the most famous fresco, *The Fire in the Borgo*), reflects the mood of his papacy. At that time there was reason to be optimistic regarding the future of the papal power and its influence over the course of history. These frescos celebrate the deeds of prior popes named Leo, and represent the deeds and goals of Leo X.[30]

The Geometry of the Stanze

The previous chief artist, as already mentioned, was the Sienese master Il Sodoma. His actual name was Giovanni Antonio Bazzi

(1477-1549). Though Raphael did eventually paint over most of Sodoma's work, he did continue what had been Sodoma's plan of dividing the vaulted ceiling into compartments, and the space for the paintings created by Sodoma's design was utilized very meaningfully.[31] Another aspect of previous work that Raphael did not change was the oculus, or the point at the very center of the vaulted ceiling. Here Sodoma, or possibly Bramantino (Bartolommeo Suarde 1465-1535), a pupil of Bramante, had painted the escutcheon, or shield-shaped coat-of-arms, bearing the emblem of Nicholas V, the humanist pope who had built the stanze. The emblem is surrounded by cherubs and is up against a sky blue background. The sky to Raphael represented man's spiritual reach and he saw no reason to change it.[32] (Fig. 25)

There are twelve main elements in this single room. In addition to four wall frescos, one of which is comprised of three separate paintings, each wall has a corresponding roundel (round painting) on the ceiling which introduces the theme of the fresco below.

Bridging the walls are four rectangular panels which link and provide transition between the adjoining frescos. (Fig. 25)

The four roundels on the ceiling play an important role in the stanze. They relate in theme to the fresco below and symbolize, in the form of women, four pursuits of human endeavor admirable to humanists and to Raphael. All four roundels contain an inscription, and in all but one, a woman carries a book, a connection to the intended use of the stanze as a library.[33]

The roundel above *Disputa* represents Theology. The woman's beauty is inspired by Dante's descriptions of Beatrice as well as her three color vestment (white, green and red) reflecting the three virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity.[34] Her inscription reads "Knowledge of Divine Things." In the second of these roundels, which is located over *Parnassus*, Poetry is an appropriately more imaginery figure of a women with wings. The inscription reads "Inspired by Godhead." The third roundel represents Justice. This

woman carries a scale in one hand and a sword in the other, not a book. The inscription reads "To each one she assigns his due." This roundel especially ties in with the fresco below entitled *Cardinal Virtues*, in which women are used to represent Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance. This arrangement is in keeping with Platonic thinking that Justice is not a virtue but rather the sum and goal of the virtues.[35] The last of these roundels appears over *The School of Athens* and represents Philosophy. According to Vasari, the best authority on his contemporary renaissance artist acquaintances, the four colored vestments worn by this woman represent the four natural elements of earth, water, fire, and air. The inscription reads "Knowledge of Causes."[36]

In the ceiling vaults where the four walls meet are four allegorical scenes which relate to the large adjacent frescos on the walls.[37] One of these rectangular panels had been Raphael's first work in the stanze, and had won Julius II's attention, and eventually his trust to turn the entire stanze project over to Raphael.[38] The

panel which introduces *Disputa* is a work entitled *Original Sin* relating allegorically to the failure of Adam and Eve when introduced to temptation and to the fallibility in all of us. (Fig. 26)

The painting *Apollo over Marsyas* announces *Parnassus* and its theme which celebrates the creative abilities of man to produce beauty. The myth of Apollo and Marsyas involved a contest between the two judging who possessed the greatest musical talent. Marsyas, a satyr (part human, part beast), had discovered and mastered the flute invented but thrown away by Apollo. Apollo agreed to Marsyas' musical challenge, but the Nine Muses chose Apollo's lyre playing to be superior. Per the pre-challenge rules, the winner could do as he wished with the vanquished, and Apollo slew Marsyas. The blood spilled and the tears shed for the loss of the well-liked satyr mythologically explained the existence of the river named for the destroyed musical Marsyas.[39]

The third rectangular panel is, like *Disputa*'s, another Old Testament theme, entitled *The Judgment of Solomon.* It introduces

the wall which contains both *The Cardinal Virtues*, which complement each other towards the culmination of Justice, and the two historic examples of great lawmakers that were located on either side of the window in the stanze. The scene painted by Raphael depicts the story of how Solomon had settled the dispute between two women claiming to be the actual mother of a child. When he proposed cutting the child in two, the real mother declared herself the imposter to save the life of the child.

The School of Athens is introduced by Raphael's first work he had done in the stanze, entitled *The Creation of the Universe.* This painting speaks to man's intellect and curiosity to seek explanations and systems which reveal The Truth. A scholar named N. Rash-Fabbri has proven that the constellations depicted on the stellar globe in the panel accurately reflect the constellations visible at the time of Julius II's election to the papacy.[40] These panels show the breadth of Raphael's experience in his use of themes from the Old Testament and Greek mythology, and the way they complement the entire theme of the stanze. The roundels and

panels add greatly to the visual and thematic power of the Stanze della Segnatura, but undoubtedly Raphael's genius exudes most demonstrably in the four walls which he transforms into the ultimate exercise of the imagination, and an awe-inspiring display of thought-provoking creativity.

The Sublime Frescos

The frescos of Raphael in the Stanze della Segnatura are arguably the consummate examples of art in which artistic creation is blended with universals to proclaim the accomplishments of and hope for western civilization. Considering Raphael's relative inexperience, the accomplishment is that much more miraculous and awe-inspiring. Julius II was concurrently overseeing Michelangelo's work in the Sistine Chapel, the themes of which naturally all focused on the divinities of faith. The Stanze della Segnatura, intended as a library and pseudo-courtroom, would contain works that reflected the temporal as well as the divine.

All four frescos relate to Christian Platonism (the idealism that underlies Humanism) and the identifiable purest qualities of The True, The Good and The Beautiful.[41] *Disputa* addresses the theological or revealed Truth, and the *School* addresses the philosophic or rational Truth. *Cardinal Virtues* and *Justice* address the Good, and *Parnassus* the Beautiful. While the roundels utilize symbolism, and the panels allegory, the wall frescos utilize historical figures and events, many of which carry allegorical significance as well.[42] Some of the different areas or subjects that Raphael touched on in his frescos include: "the *Bible*, classical antiquity and the Middle Ages, Humanism, philosophy, theology, the liberal arts, law, peace and war, temporal and divine power."[43] He also found use for the religions of Pagandom. Considering all that the project involved, it is surprising that it took Raphael only two and a half years to complete.[44]

Some of the genius evident in the Stanze della Segnatura reflect, in subtle fashion, events and aspirations of the times. Recalling the

relationship between Raphael and Bramante and the commission and dream of Julius II to build St.Peter's Cathedral, *Disputa* specifically, and the stanze overall, immortalize this unrealized dream.[45] *Disputa* depicts the congregation of the Divine Trinity, Church "immortals" (saints, martyrs, Old Testament figures) residing in Heaven, and the most prominent temporal church figures. The meeting is taking place in the open on what appears to be the foundation of a church not yet completed. In the right foreground, Raphael has represented the 1506 cornerstone as laid by Julius II to commemorate the start of construction on St. Peter's, only to have the project stymied by lack of funds. In the background scenery to the left of center, Raphael has painted a construction scene complete with scaffolding.[46] The four stanze frescos helped to illustrate Julius' dream of his monumental cathedral. *The School* and *Disputa* are painted on a single axis, creating the illusion, as one looks from front to back and side to side, of the crossways of an enormous cathedral. This illusion was heightened by the perspective created by the retreating archways in *The School of*

Athens. (Fig. 27) That this was an intentional Raphael commemoration to his pope and his friend Bramante is seen and supported by the drawings of a contemporary.[47] The Dutch-born, but Italian-transplanted Maarten van Heemskerck was very famous for sketches he drew depicting Bramante's conceived vision of a completed St. Peter's. These drawings are amazingly similar in appearance to Raphael's archways in *The School*.[48]

Disputa is regarded as the starting point in the cycle of the four frescos, because only with an understanding of God can Man aspire to perceive the wholeness of Truth.[49] (Fig. 28) Recalling that Vasari surely misnamed this painting, for no serious argument is being presented to discredit the Christian Sacrament, the more likely name is *The Adoration of the Sacrament*.[50] The name *Disputa* may reflect the inclusion of earthly historical characters who had had philosophical differences but not as challenges to the importance of the Sacrament. At the top of the fresco Raphael depicts God the Father flanked by heavenly hosts. Below the Father

is the Christ, showing his wounds. Below the Christ are Mary and John the Baptist, who points in iconographic tradition to his Lord.[51] The three just mentioned are placed in customary pyramidal form and immediately below them is the representation of the Holy Spirit, depicted as a descending dove.

Two seated, cloud-borne semi-choruses of six men each flank the pyramid grouping. These twelve men represent Old Testament figures and martyrs.[52] Starting at the left are: Peter (disciple and first Bishop of Rome); Adam; John the Evangelist; David; Lawrence (praised by Church fathers for his role in the conversion of Rome: he served as deacon of Rome, was martyred by fire in 258, and is honored as one of the most venerated of Roman Catholic saints)[53]; and a prophet believed to be Jeremiah (c. 628-586 B.C., who preached personal and social moral reform and portended doom).[54] This sixth figure is barely visible. Some of the six are identifiable by symbols, such as Peter's holding of the key, John's writing of the Apocolypse, David with crown and harp (and Leonardo's likeness),

and Lawrence with the robe of a deacon.[55]

Starting at the right are Paul (the missionary); Abraham (founder of the Jews); James the Less (younger brother of Jesus); Moses; Stephen (the first Christian martyr, who as one of the first deacons was stoned to death by Jews c. 36 A.D.)[56]; and Judas Maccabees (who led the Jewish reconquest of Jerusalem over the Greek-supported Syrians, and rededicated the stripped and desecrated temple. This event in 165 B.C. is celebrated by Hanukkah).[57] Again, some of the six are identifiable by symbols such as Abraham's knife symbolizing obedience and the near-sacrifice of his only son Isaac. James the Less is a controversial figure. Considered by some to be "the Lord's brother" (Gal.1.19), the blood connection would have to be through their father Joseph, keeping consistent with the perpetual virginity of Mary. Symbolically, Raphael rendered a striking likeness between James and the Christ. James is recognized to have become the first Bishop of Jerusalem and was martyred under stones c. 62 A.D.[58] Moses is clearly identifiable holding the tablets

containing the Ten Commandments. St. Stephen wears the robe of a deacon. Some controversy exists as to who the sixth figure, who barely appears, is supposed to represent. The contention that this is Judas Maccabees is challenged by some, and the name of St. George is offered in its place. St. George, patron saint of war, could explain the character's armor and a dragon-adorned helmet, but Judas also had an obvious reputation for fighting. A further argument offered is that St. George is also the patron of Liguria, home of Pope Julius II, and his inclusion was, therefore, to honor the Pope.[59]

Occupying the entire lower two-fifths of the fresco are the earthly representatives to the Church Universal. In the very center is the altar and atop it the golden chalice representing the Sacrament. In honored, seated position on either side of the altar are the four great Latin Fathers of the Church.[60] To the left are Pope Gregory and Jerome, and to the right are Ambrose and Augustine. Gregory (pope from 590-604) established important

temporal power precedents, as well as sponsoring missionary activities, most famously the mission of Augustine (of Canterbury) to Britain (596). He was a strong supporter of monasticism.[61] The figure of Gregory in *Disputa* possesses the features of Julius II.[62] Jerome (c. 347-420) is most remembered for work translating the Bible from Hebrew. His dedication to the pious life originated in a vision in which Christ reproved his fascination with classical scholarship (375).[63] Ironically, this part of his life story is somewhat antithetical to the goals of a Renaissance mind such as that of Julius II.

Ambrose, Bishop of Rome from 374-397, is honored for his standing up to the Byzantine emperors, and against factionalizing in the Christian church, especially against Arianism. (This was a significant movement, and heresy, within Christianity that rejected Christ's equality with God, and therefore, the concept of the Divine Trinity as stated in the Nicene Creed, "Being of one substance with the Father"). His preachings and writings were usually allegorical

and always moving, prompting the conversion of St. Augustine.[64] Augustine is regarded to have had the geatest influence on Christianity, second only to Paul. Bishop of Hippo from 395 to 430, Augustine wrote extensively. His contributions are especially impressive considering his non-Christian philosophical attachment to Manichaeism, an interesting synthesis of Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism that highlighted a dualist struggle between good and evil, before his Ambrose-inspired conversion.[65] For his works he is looked upon as the founder of theology. His most famous works are *Confessions* and *City of God*, which both speak to the fallibility of man and the grace attainable only through God.[66]

Art experts can detect a difference in Raphael's style when they compare Gregory and Augustine. They hypothesize that while *Disputa* was the first fresco Raphael worked on, he abandoned it for work on *Parnassus*. When he returned to *Disputa*, it was after perfecting a style with *Parnassus* and *The School*, and possibly, after having studied Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel work.[67]

Most of the many characters in this painting are not identifiable, but some who are include Sixtus IV, uncle of Julius II, who stands on the lowest step on the right side of the painting. On that same side behind Augustine is the Dominican Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) with a book in his palm, possibly his *Summa Theologica*, which addressed theology hoping to reconcile reason with faith. Wearing a laurel crown behind Sixtus is Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) whose commentaries on Italian society and the Church, and the condition of most Christians' faiths, had made a profound impression on the period's thinkers.[68] Savonarola is believed to be in the painting somewhere, to illustrate how Julius II had revoked the condemnation of Savonarola by Julius' predecessor and enemy Alexander VI.[69] St. Dominic and St. Francis are both represented, as is Duns Scotus (1265-1308), the Scottish Franciscan theologian who contested Aquinas's interpretation of Aristotle.[70] The other identified characters are in the left foreground. Leaning on a rail is the architect Bramante, among a group of men engaged in some

argument. Bramante's attention has been temporarily drawn away by a standing figure gesturing to the Sacrament, possibly as an attempt to silence their arguing by having them focus on the true meaning of their humanity. The young man is the Duke of Urbino, Francesca Maria della Rovere, Julius II's nephew.[71] The emphasis on these recognizable personalities is very characteristic of Humanism. In the field of literature, this same interest led to heightened expression in biography.

The first fresco completed by Raphael in the stanze was *Parnassus*. As stated earlier, unlike his *Disputa* and *School*, in which some debate and discourse has engaged the characters, *Parnassus* was Raphael's attempt to unite Antiquity (the Humanists' strongest focus) and Christendom.[72] (Fig. 29) Apollo, surrounded by the Nine Muses, is hosting a gathering of the great poets and artists atop his Mount Parnassus. Some interesting stylistic points are worthy of mention.

Parnassus is located between *The School* and *Disputa.* Thematically its location thus serves as the conduit between the two antithetical ever-facing frescos. The scene in *Parnassus* depicts antiquity and Christendom in perfect balance and harmony. Famous literary figures delight in each others' company. The title is a reference to Mt. Parnassus in southern Greece. According to mythology, it was the home of Apollo, the god of the sun, music, and poetry, and also to the Nine Muses, the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, who represent nine different sciences and arts. They also represent a spirit or power from which artists derive inspiration. Apollo is centrally located in the painting playing an instrument that is symbolically contemporary with Raphael. The nine daughters are represented amid the fictional meeting of such historically-separated favorites as Homer and Dante, Vergil and Petrarch.[73]

Raphael did many preliminary drawings for this fresco. He allowed an artist named Marcantonio Raimondi to make a

copperplate engraving from his drawings.[74] Raimondi (c.1480-1534) had earned a reputation for engraving reproductions of other artists' work. In the case of Albrecht Durer, the accomplished german engraver, Raimondi's unauthorized plagiarism resulted in Durer's heated complaint to the Venetian senate.[75] Raphael abandoned many of his original plans for *Parnassus* after seeing Raimondi's engraving, apparently unpleased with the visual impact of his own presentation.[76] Raphael's skills were improving throughout his tenure in Rome but the change is most noticeable during the work in this first stanze.[77]

Raphael's final *Parnassus* included more characters, creating a continuous garland-like appearance, rejecting the original plan for five groupings of individuals and isolated characters. Wreath-bearing angels were omitted, and Apollo plays a 16th Century instrument rather than a classical lyre. The window that interrupts the *Parnassus* wall overlooks the Belvedere Cortile. This multi-purpose courtyard was inspired by Julius II and designed by

Bramante, based on Ancient Roman models. One important feature of the Cortile was a statue court where Ancient marbles were honored. Four of Julius's most prized marbles were displayed here: the recently (1506) discovered *Laocoon*; *the Sleeping Ariadne; the Belvedere torso*; and the *Belvedere Apollo*. The *Apollo* was discovered during the pontificate of Alexander VI and purchased by Julius. Part of Julius's fascination with the *Apollo* marble stemmed from the vision he had of himself as the new Christian Apollo. (Apollo in the Aeneid was one of the gods most instrumental in the founding of Rome). Raphael's entire conception of the stanze may have pivoted on the incorporation of his Parnassus wall with the framed vision of his beloved marbles, and the Antiquity they represented.[78]

The most recognizable of the ancient and contemporary artists in *Parnassus* is Homer. His blind gaze upward and right hand outstretched, Homer, the 8th century B.C. Greek poet, is most famous for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[79] Many modern scholars,

while accepting the notion that there was a poet named Homer, are reluctant to ascribe the two famous epics solely to his creation. During Raphael's time, however, and to an extent today, Homer was considered the first European poet. Raphael depicted Homer with the features and gestures of the Laocoon marble.[80] (Fig. 56) Behind Homer to his right is surely Dante. This profiled character bears strong resemblance to the character in *Disputa* identified as Dante. Another figure prominent in *Parnassus* is Sappho (of Lesbos). At the bottom-left of the fresco, leaning against the window frame, is this early 6th c. B.C. poet, regarded as the greatest of the early Greek lyric (as distinguished from narrative or dramatic) poets. Her poetry is characterized by passion, a love of nature, and a direct simplicity that set the standard for the classical pure love lyric (an almost musically-rhythmed poem). Plato referred to Sappho as the "tenth muse."[81]

Two more characters included in *Parnassus* are the historically-separated yet renaissance-united Vergil and Petrarch. Vergil, a

Roman 1st c. B.C. poet, is the dominant figure in all Latin literature. He is most famous for the *Aeneid*, his narrative poem describing the life and experiences of Aeneas, ascribed by Vergil to be the founder of the Roman state.[82] Francesco Petrarch (1304-74) is considered one of the first and greatest humanists of the Renaissance. He strongly believed that much could be learned from the study of the Ancients, especially Plato. His inclusion in *Parnassus*, however, best reflects his contribution to poetry. He is considered by some to be the first modern poet. He wrote in the Italian vernacular as well as in Latin, and the source of his inspiration was a woman named Laura, who sadly but not surprisingly was among the many who died of Bubonic Plague (Black Death) in 1348. The papacy was located in Avignon, France at this time, much to the unhappiness of most Italians. Petrarch's attention focused on an end to this "Babylonian Captivity" and a normalization of relations between the Church and the kings of France, the papacy's captors. A connection between the Black Death and church instability was formulated by some imaginative and desperate observers of the time period.[83]

Parnassus is considered to serve as the link and buffer zone between the deeply Christian-oriented *Disputa* and the pagan *School of Athens*, however it is a masterpiece of beauty and content all its own.

Opposite *Parnassus* are three smaller frescos linked by the theme Justice. (Fig. 30) That side of the room, like *Parnassus* is interrupted by a window. Raphael designed a painting for both sides of the window, and one spanning the wall's length entirely above the window frame. This upper fresco is known as *The Cardinal Virtues.* It depicts three women symbolizing Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance. (Fig. 31) The woman who symbolizes Fortitude, the strength of mind to endure hardship, is dressed in armor and sits in the shade of an oak tree, the symbol of Julius II's della Rovere family, another nod to his employer. Prudence, the exercising of good judgment, is seated on the highest step. This woman is also young and beautiful, but her reflection in the mirror is that of an old man, because prudence is chiefly a quality of old age and experience. Temperance, the exercising of restraint, is depicted holding a pair

of reins. The three women are accompanied by five infantile angels. Three of the angels have symbolic significance in their representation of the theological virtues Faith, Hope, and Charity. Faith is seen pointing to the sky. Hope bears a flaming torch, and Charity is depicted gathering the fruits of the oak tree.[84]

Below *The Cardinal Virtues* on either side of the window are two frescos which represent and celebrate the creation of Canon and Civil Law. In one scene *Pope Gregory IX* (born 1143, pope from 1227-1241) is handing the Decretals over to a consistorial jurist.[85] (Fig. 32) The Decretals represent a body of letters or decisions the pope and Church have produced which then are applied to and transformed into official Canon Law. The Consistory was the collection of cardinals that would ratify and solemnify papal decrees and appointments. Gregory IX is remembered as a major contributor to the body of Canon Law which reflects centuries of legal contributions and revision, and today bulges with over 2400 laws.[86] Raphael painted this important church figure with the features of

his benefactor Julius II.[87] Gregory should inspire all octagenarians and their elders, for he did not become pope until age 84 and vigorously led the Church for the next fourteen years.

The painting on the other side of the window depicts the *Emperor Justinian* giving his book of Pandects to Tribonianus.[88] The Byzantine Emperor from 527-565, Justinian is credited with having codified Roman law into a work commonly called the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, of which the Pandects comprise one (and the most important) of four parts. Tribonianus was an eminent jurist who presided over the efforts to systematize approximately one thousand years of Roman legal tradition.[89] The entire wall celebrates Justice symbolically, allegorically and historically. Raphael's handling of the window frame-interrupted wall demonstrates his flexibility, but Raphael's greatest genius was demonstrated on the wall adjacent.

The School of Athens is one of the most easily recognized

paintings in the world. Interestingly, the original name Raphael intended for the painting is accepted to have been forgotten. Its now well-known name dates to 1695 and is attributed to a person named G. P. Bellori.[90] The painting, perhaps more than any other, represents the humanistic and artistic renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries. Humanism grew from the rediscovery and study of, and the fascination with, the Ancients. *The School* singlehandedly celebrates this passion of the humanists. Many of the ancient philosophers are easily identified. The anonymity of the others suggests the exclusion of none. So here in Raphael's imagination are captured all the great thinkers of the classical world. And while they were chronologically removed from Christendom, their immortality is gained through their examples of logical, pragmatic application of intellect and their discovery of certain universals applicable to all human experience.

Artistically, Raphael's *School* contains the elements which so radically delineate renaissance art from its distant relative, medieval art. Perhaps the best example of perspective, *The School*

also rejects another medieval trend of having paintings mostly involve church-dominated themes. The realism of Raphael's work, enhanced by shading techniques, reflects a characteristic of renaissance art best described as professionalism. This meant that real dedication and purpose drove these men, and they learned from one another new techniques and shared their ideas and innovations. Raphael's entire stanze work is a celebration of the times in which he was living, but *The School of Athens* marks his truest and highest accomplishment, and his unselfish payment of honor to those who helped bring him there.

At the center of the fresco stand two figures, Plato and Aristotle Aristotle, Plato's pupil, is obviously the younger man. With the advice of experts such as Pietro Bembo, Raphael divided his painting into two halves. Plato's half is filled with characters who represent, and are empowered by, the world of artistic imagination. *Parnassus* appropriately adjoins this half of Raphael's *School.* The right side, Aristotle's side, represents pragmatism and reason rather than intuition.[91] Not only are the historical figures

accurately located on one side or the other, but even the statues located in the upper right and left of the painting reflect the dichotomy. Overlooking Plato's throng is the Greek god Apollo, representing the sun, music and poetry. Aristotle's side is protected by Athena, Greek goddess of wisdom and justice, and appropriately this side is adjacent to the stanze's wall dedicated to these themes.[92] As mentioned earlier, the receding archways pay honor to Raphael's friend Bramante, and the architect's unrealized vision of the St. Peter's project.[93] Raphael's painting contains many identifiable and significant historical figures, and his genius incorporated many interesting and less obvious touches and dedications as well.

Of the many philosophical discussions being engaged in the painting, the central discussion is between Plato and his student Aristotle. Plato's gesture towards the sky reflects his contention that elements in the observable world partake of idealized Forms that exist universally, the highest being The Good. Aristotle's

horizontal gesture reflects his contention that other than the Prime Mover (Creator or God), all other observable elements could be understood if logically broken down into categories identifying their composition, function and purpose. While Plato looked for universal truths and a way to identify these traits in worldly matter(s), Aristotle saw the accruing of knowledge about worldly matter(s) as the key to unlocking the mystical universals that applied to all things.[94]

Raphael used the features of Leonardo da Vinci for his Plato, paying honor to both men.[95] Continuing on Plato's half of the painting, Socrates is identified by his famous pug nose, well known from survivng classical busts. He is shown in profile at the extreme right of the group in discussion to Plato's right. He is enumerating some argument with his hands. Facing him in full classical armor is Alcibiades (450-404 B.C.), the Athenian leader and statesman overly-blamed for the decline of Athens, brought on in part by its unadvised commitment to fighting Sparta and her

allies in the Peloponnesian Wars.[96]

The grouping in the lower left of the fresco is intended to represent the grammarians, who during classical times studied their language, its parts and meaning, through philosophy. The lone figure to the right of the grammarians who looks out at the artist and observer is the Duke of Urbino, once again; the same person who silences Bramante in *Disputa*, Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew of Julius II.[97] The other lone figure on this side of the painting is the contemplative man seated in the very front. This figure was added after the rest of the painting was completed. He appears slighlty out of proportion (larger) compared to the other figures. Raphael includes this figure to represent Heraclitus, the Greek philospher who saw fire as the common element from which all things derived, and who believed the only state of reality was the state of change or becoming. The specific inclusion and later addition of Heraclitus may have been simply the way Raphael chose to honor and glorify the great MIchelangelo, through the use of his

features. Raphael felt no shame in recognizing the influence Michelangelo's genius had played in his own development.[98]

Aristotle's rational, logical side of the painting is also a testament of honor, appreciation and grace. Sprawling on the steps to the right of Aristotle's feet is the Cynic philosopher Diogenes (412-323 B.C.). He was famous for identifying the austere life as most compatible with a virtuous life. He is identified in the fresco by his only and last possession, a drinking cup, which he was reported to have also given up once he witnessed a peasant able to drink adequately using only his hands.[99] A curious grouping of three men in the upper right portion of the painting pays honor to Donatello. The three men's grouping and appearance are copied almost exactly from a part of a Donatello bronze relief sculpture in Padua, entitled *Miracle of the Heart of the Miser.* It is believed that Raphael would have seen and sketched this work on his way to Venice with Fra Bartolommeo.[100]

Bending over and explaining some figures on a slate in the lower right is the mathmetician Euclid (4th c. B.C.). He is most famous for contributions in the area of geometry, in his deductive method of presentation through definitions and or proofs, postulates based on proofs, and statements applying and based on the foundation of these proofs and postulates. Raphael honored his friend Bramante by endowing Euclid with the architect's features.[101]

Behind Euclid holding a globe is Ptolemy. We only see the back of this 3rd c. A.D. Greco-Egyptian astronomer and geographer. His works represented the culmination of centuries of scientists' discoveries and theories. Ptolemy's geocentric universe was the accepted and standard doctrine of astronomy until the 16th c. and Copernicus. Holding a celestial globe and facing Ptolemy is Zoroaster (c. 628-551 B.C.), the Persian religious teacher, prophet, and founder of Zoroastrianism. This religion influenced the development of both Judaism and Christianity in its identification of good and evil forces in the universe and the contest between the two as acted out in the conduct and lives of the people. It is

believed the features ascribed to Zoroaster belong either to Castiglione or Pietro Bembo, who had advised Raphael on his construction of the *School* theme.[102]

There are two characters at the extreme right of the painting (part of the Ptolemy-Zoroaster grouping), one engaged in discussion, the other coyishly looking out at the artist. The engaged character is believed to carry the features of Il Sodoma, the original chief artist of the stanze project, some of whose ideas and plans Raphael had kept. Some art experts contend that this character is actually Raphael's first teacher (and early stanze project painter) Perugino.[103] However, all agree it further exemplifies Raphael's appreciation of those who had helped him develop as an artist. The figure who looks out from the fresco is Raphael himself.[104] It is interesting that he placed himself on Aristotle's side of the painting considering his artistic, creative genius, but it is consistent with the humanist philosophy which celebrated the individual in pursuit of perfection, in this case, of presentation.

Raphael gazes out as if to measure the observer's reaction to his work.

Contributors to Raphael's Philosophy

Julius II gave advice to Raphael but mostly he gave support and the opportunity. Raphael received more technical and subject-oriented advice from others in his close circle of acquaintances. Through his association with these scholars and thinkers, Raphael developed a powerful intellect that enabled him to excel in his painting, but which also led to interests and successes outside of painting. In the most famous of the Segnatura frescos, *The School of Athens*, Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) shared his knowledge of the classical world with Raphael. Originally from Venice, Bembo had spent time in Urbino, but eventually found himself in Rome where he became Papal Secretary under Leo X and then a Cardinal under Paul III. He staunchly supported the preservation of classical literature and played a role in the standardization of the literary Italian language. Raphael immortalized his likeness in the *School* figure of

Zoroaster.[105] (Some disagree arguing his long-time friend Castiglione embodies Zoroaster). Raphael also relied on the ten books by the third Century Greek biographer Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives and Opinions of the Greek Philosophers*, in order to choose and arrange the philosophers in the painting.[106] Ludovico Ariosto, a lyric poet and playwright, gave advice to Raphael on the Parnassus and Disputa frescos.[107] Raphael also received tremendous information and advice from the Dominican order in planning Disputa, as they were regarded the leading authorities on church orthodoxy.[108] Appropriately, St. Dominic is an important figure in the painting, as well as St. Thomas Aquinas, whose High Middle Ages scholasticism, affirming church orthodoxy on the authority of the church Fathers and Aristotle, greatly shaped attitudes and practices for centuries. Raphael does portray church figures whose views did not neatly coincide with Dominican positions, but none which pointedly discredited the Sacrament. Raphael's openness to Dominican advice possibly emerged from his association with the Dominican monastery of San Marco in Florence.[109] St. Francis and

the Franciscans are also represented, in recognition that Julius II was a Franciscan.[110]

CHAPTER III NOTES

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CHAPTER IV

THE STANZE DI ELIODORO AND STANZE DELL' INCENDIO

A room hung with pictures, is a room hung with thoughts.
-Sir Joshua Reynolds

Julius's Last Triumphs

Raphael, with increasing participation of his school, went on to complete the two stanze adjoining the Stanze della Segnatura. The decoration of a fourth adjoining room, the Sala di Constantino, was carried out entirely by his school following his premature death. Michelangelo was critical of Raphael's use of, or reliance on, so many assistants. He once called Raphael "the General," because of the following he had.[1] In fact, much of his following was due simply to the fact that he was so well-liked. But some contemporaries agreed with Michelangelo, that especially with the

later stanze and other Vatican works, he overused assistants. In fairness, however, Raphael and his "school" usually had so many commissions underway, his hands could not have been in all places. Most experts also defend Raphael's unmistakable guidance and designs in the large projects his school executed.

Much of Julius' time was spent fighting and commanding wars. He was often away from Rome, and reports that reached Rome often described setbacks. The Italian peninsula was entwined in a confusing and changing civil war atmosphere. States desperate to resist takeover, especially by Julius' efforts to unify and expand the Papal States, sought alliances with kingdoms outside Italy, usually and most infamously France, whose king, Louis XII, already controlled much of northern Italy, including Milan. Alliances shifted quickly and frequently, so your ally one month might be your enemy the next. Such a reversal once actually helped Julius II.

A 1508 alliance known as the League of Cambrai consisted of the Papacy, France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Emperor, and was aimed

at bringing Venice into alignment with Rome. Once Venice was subdued, Julius made peace with Venice through the Holy League, in 1510. The loosely-allied forces, or sentiments, of the Pope, Venice, Spain, the Holy Roman Emperor, and even Henry VIII of England, strove unsuccessfully to drive Louis XII's French influence north of the Alps. Julius returned to Rome for the Mass of the Assumption on 15 August 1511. The outlook was so bleak from the unsuccessful campaigning in northern Italy, and the weakening of his Holy League, that Raphael was commissioned to begin the decoration of the second stanze. The themes of the stanze were to recall and celebrate instances where hopelessness was reversed through what was perceived to have been Divine Intervention. The frescos reflect the darkness of the times that Rome's leader was experiencing. The room is named the Stanze di Eliodoro, for the fresco Raphael first worked on, *The Expulsion of Heliodorus*.[2]

Raphael began work in this stanze early in 1512 when Julius's situation was getting more desperate. In April, his forces suffered a difficult defeat at Ravenna, and soon after, a group of dissident

cardinals met in Milan, a French ally, and declared Julius's papacy suspended.[3] The *Expulsion of Heliodorus* recalls events recorded in the Second Book of Maccabees. (Fig. 33) The story involves the attempted looting of the Jerusalem Temple by Heliodorus, who was the Treasurer to the King Of Asia, Seleucus.[4] Events proceed in Raphael's fresco from left to right, like words on a page. At the far left, terrorized Hebrews react to the violation of their Temple. In the center of the painting, the High Priest is in deep prayer at the altar, and bears the features of Julius II. At the far left, Heliodorus, representing the French desire to loot the Papal States, is being trampled by a Heaven-sent apparition of a horse and rider. When the fresco was first conceived, similar divine intervention was hoped for, but certainly not yet realized. When in fact Julius's fortune did turn, and the French were driven out of Italy, Raphael returned to this completed fresco and made an important change. In the left foreground, Pope Julius, carried aloft in a sedan, is a triumphant observer of the events portrayed. One of the two front bearers is believed to be one of Raphael's closest assistants,

Marcantonio Raimondi, who is thought to have actually done much of the painting from Raphael's designs and drawings. The other front bearer is Raphael himself.[5]

The factors that had so radically shifted the Pope's position and future were military support from the Swiss and a confirmation of his papacy from loyal cardinals. Both groups were honored in the second fresco, entitled the *Mass at Bolsena*.[6] (Fig. 34) Julius suggested the rather obscure theme for this fresco. On his way to Bologna, before the Swiss defeat of the French, while his future hung very much in the balance, he stopped at the 13th century Cathedral at Orvieto in central Italy. This cathedral housed an interesting sacred relic of a miracle reported to have occurred in 1263, in a little town called Bolsena, and he was going to pay homage. This 13th century incident is the most recent event presented in any of Raphael's stanze frescos.[7] The miracle involved a priest named Theutonicus whose faith about the Transubstantiation was wavering, so he prayed for assurance. While

he did so, the chalice flowed blood. The relic consisted of the Corporal Cloth used in the Mass when the miracle occurred. After Julius's situation had reversed for the better, Julius wanted to honor the 13th century miracle.[8] Some believe the priest, whose name was Theutonicus, might have prophecized that the german Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian and the German kingdoms would turn from their religious dissidence and would come more into line with Julius's leadership.[9] The fresco depicts a pope (with Julius's features, of course) and a priest, praying and facing each other across an altar. The miracle is experienced inwardly by the two men, not in a grotesque bleeding chalice. Below the altar, Raphael represented the supportive cardinals that confirmed Julius' papacy. Below the cardinals are the Swiss guards.[10] To this day, Swiss soldiers still guard the Vatican. This fresco was painted with more brilliant colors than was typical for Raphael. Experts feel this demonstrates again Raphael's ability and propensity to assimilate other artist's styles. The use of these brighter colors was a characteristic of Venetian painting, and Raphael had been working

alongside a Venetian painter on a commission outside the Vatican. Ironically, that painter was Michelangelo's surrogate, Sebastiano del Piombo. Another Venetian, Lorenzo Lotto, is also recorded to have been working at the Vatican at this same time.[11]

The third fresco in the Stanze di Eliodoro is entitled the *Liberation of St. Peter.* (Fig. 35) The church where Julius had officiated before becoming pope was named San Pietro in Vincoli, or St. Peter in Chains. This is the theme of the fresco. It occupies the darkest side of the stanze, and Raphael utilized the contrasts between dark and light powerfully. In the center of the painting, an exhausted and weak St. Peter lies lifeless in a gloomy cell, while an angel removes the chains that bind him. To the right of the cell, the angel and an invigorated St. Peter have been liberated. St. Peter carries the features of Julius II, and the fresco celebrates the eventual release from the prison of this world that Julius, the seventy year old Vicar of Christ, could now await. Julius II died on 21 February 1513. The *Liberation* was the last Raphael fresco he

saw brought to completion.[12]

Raphael's close relationship with Julius II had allowed him to see a humble side of the pope. Julius II's likeness appears seven times in the different scenes of the Vatican apartments. Raphael's *Portrait of Pope Julius II* was painted within a year of his death. (Fig. 36) Raphael's portrait captures the soul of this fiery Vicar, who having ascended to power with such ambition, was now forced to accept that many of his visions would not be realized. His life was ending and the Church was facing enormous challenges. Julius's features reflect the suffering and disfigurement caused by gout.[13] When his successor, Leo X, tried to complete the St. Peter's project, and intended to raise money through the sale of indulgences in the German kingdoms, the resistance of Martin Luther sent shockwaves throughout Christendom that Julius II could not have imagined. That German objectioner's ideas, spread far and wide by the printing press and a Humanist-inspired appetite for the written word, created a schism in Christendom known as the Protestant

Reformation.

The last fresco in this stanze was started while Julius was still alive, and was intended to provide one more example of an instance where God intervened on behalf of those trying to serve him. The *Meeting of Leo I and Attila* is another example of a narrative fresco that proceeds from left to right.[14] (Fig. 37) The story being communicated goes back to 452, when Attila, leader of the Huns, had invaded northern Italy, and was driving south towards Rome. Pope Leo I's diplomacy is credited with having convinced Attila to abandon his plans to sack and plunder Rome. A shortage of supplies and an outbreak of pestilence in Attila's army more accurately explains his change of heart.[15] In the left foreground of the fresco, Pope Leo I, on a white mount, is accompanied by two cardinals, also mounted. Apparitions of St. Peter and St. Paul, patron saints of Rome, sail to his support. Visible in the background is the representation of the Colosseum, as well as fires consuming distant towns. The rearing horses resemble Leonardo's battle scene

drawings, and some of the foreground figures resemble Michelangelo's famous twisting figures. An extraordinary feathered helmet in the center of the picture is surely from Mexico and reflects treasures brought back from the New World.[16] Raphael used Julius's features when he painted the mounted Pope Leo I, but Julius died shortly after the fresco was started. His features were replaced by those of his successor, Leo X. This created a unique problem that Raphael chose not to correct. One of the cardinals behind the pope, when first painted, carried the features of Giovanni de Medici, later known, and better known as Leo X. Therefore, both Pope Leo I and one of his cardinals have Leo X's features.[17]

A New Patron: Leo X and A New Focus

Raphael's new patron was quite different from Julius II, and the difference is noticeable in the themes of the third stanze. The "Julian" frescos reflected the pursuit of ideals and the celebration of human achievements. The frescos commissioned by Leo X seem to

celebrate him personally, rather than mankind and Christiandom. They also reflect an attitude that the world can be manipulated to resemble the form he desired. Leo X became pope at the age of 38, one of the youngest ever, but also died one of the youngest, at age 46.[18] He surrounded himself with an impressive array of artists, intellectuals and aristocrats. He gained comfort in his position by appointing many cardinals to his curia. In one day alone, he once appointed 31 cardinals to protect his interests. A remark attributed to him shows his view of the position he now held: "God has given us the Papacy. Let us enjoy it."[19]

Leo saw the third stanze as an opportunity to celebrate his papacy, and to declare his optimism and vision that situations can be influenced, if not controlled, through the papacy, for the betterment of Christiandom. This third, and last, Raphael-designed stanze was called the Stanze dell' Incendio, named for the "incendio" portrayed in the fresco, *Fire in the Borgo*. All the stories reflected in this stanze involve a historic recounting of the achievements of a

pope named Leo, and all hold allegorical significance to Leo X's times and goals.[20]

Fire in the Borgo involves a terrifying scene in which medieval Rome is in flames in 847. (Fig. 38) According to legend, Pope Leo IV stopped the fire by simply making the sign of the cross, and sanity and safety was restored. How Leo intended this fresco to have relevance to his life involved an incident in which a group of recalcitrant cardinals, encouraged by Emperor Maximilian and Louis XII, led an attack against the Pope. This break with Rome is referred to as the Pisan Schism. Just as Leo IV had ended the destruction in the Borgo, Leo X was now just as powerfully ending the harmful effects of their misguided break, and offered the cardinals full absolution and reconciliation. Sanity and safety had been restored.[21]

The next two fresco themes are inseparable. *Oath of Purgation* recalls the troubles of Pope Leo III. (Fig. 39) An unsavory reputation

resulted in Leo III's having to flee Rome in 799. He sought the protection of Charlemagne, King of the Franks. These men then reached an agreement by which they could help one another. Charlemagne and his forces enabled Leo to safely return to Rome, where he subjected himself to a sworn oath. On 23 December 800, he proclaimed his innocence regarding any charges that had been levied against him. The tapestry which decorates the altar in the fresco depicts the incident from the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria, in which her persecutors were struck down. An inscription in the fresco reads, "God and not man, is the judge of Bishops." Charlemagne is a witness to Leo's "solemn" oath. He is seen in the upper left background holding a crown, the significance of which is revealed fully in the next fresco.[22] The relevance to Leo X in this fresco comes from a struggle involving the king of France, Francis I. Through a secretive compromise, Francis agreed to repudiate the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which had served to resolve a long standing dispute between the papacy and the French kings. This included the king's right to make or influence ecclesiastical appointments, and the extent of papal authority in

French churches in general. Made official in the new Concordat of 1516, Francis still retained considerable control, if not more than before, as a result of this compromise. What Leo gained from these secret dealings, so secret that even Paolo Giovio, the pope's own historian, could find out nothing about them, was Francis's commitment to help organize a crusade against the steadily encroaching Ottoman Turks. Their success was a menace to Christiandom, and a genuine concern of Leo X's. According to their agreement, Francis was authorized to take one-tenth of the Ecclesiastical income for himself, with the understanding that it would be put towards a future crusade against the infidels.[23] In fact, Francis never fought against the muslims, but instead waged several wars against his neighboring Christian kingdoms.

In the *Coronation of Charlemagne* fresco, the crown that the king of the Franks merely held in the *Oath*, was now being placed on his head by Leo III, consummating their secret pact. (Fig. 40) This coronation took place in the year 800 on Christmas Day. In both frescos, Leo III has the features of Leo X and Charlemagne has those

of Francis I.[24] These two frescos reflect some very interesting, yet odd, history. Francis had long been an avid claimant to the title Holy Roman Emperor, but Maximilian I, the Austrian Hapsburg Holy Roman Emperor, maintained a strong hold on the title himself, and was committed to securing a Hapsburg successor. Leo X's secret negotiation with Francis I involved a commitment from Leo to support Francis's bid to succeed Maximilian. The year of this compact was 1516.[25] But what was motivating Leo to agree to help this long time enemy of the papacy?

The apocalyptic rationale behind Leo's position of supporting Francis's claim of Holy Roman Emperor stemmed from a legitimate and understandable fear of Turkish conquest, and a curious prophesy of long standing in his home of Florence. It had long been prophesied that during a period of chaos a French king, a "Second Charlemagne," would reveal himself, cleanse the Church, conquer the infidel, unite the world under the pope, and then retire.[26] The doom that Leo must have envisioned drove him to this desperate conclusion. Francis had

just concluded an amazingly successful military campaign in northern Italy (at Marignano) in September of 1515 when he and Leo entered their highly concealed negotiations. Perhaps Leo saw Francis's success as the last best hope for destroying the Turks. The image projected by the fresco reflects the secret agreement, and an apocalyptic optimism on the part of Leo X.[27]

Maximilian I was 57 years old at the time of their compact, and Leo X promised he would use his influence to help Francis realize his desire to be Emperor, as Charlemagne had been, of most of Europe. But when Maximilian died in 1519, and Francis had shown no signs of confronting the Turks, Leo felt excused from any previous commitments he had made. Consequently, Maximilian's grandson, Charles I of Spain, became Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 as Charles V.[28] In time, differences arose between Charles V and the increasingly insecure papacy of Leo X, and of his eventual successor, Clement VII. These conflicts proved irreconcilable, especially when Clement VII, in 1526, joined the League of Cognac with Francis I,

against Charles V.[29] The papacy of Adrian VI interceded those of Leo and Clement. A Hollander, Adrian had served as a tutor to a Flemish boy who would one day become Charles V. Adrian was a pious man who truly sought to reform the long standing corruption in papal affairs, but only lived twenty months beyond his election. Considering his relationship with Charles V, and his intention to reform, one has to wonder how things might have turned out differently if the duration of his papacy had been longer.[30]

In 1527, Charles sent an army into Italy, comprised mostly of German Lutherans. This army went on to sack Rome, supposedly without Charles's authorization. Senseless destruction was everywhere, and the Vatican was a favorite target. Many artworks were vandalized, including Raphael's *Disputa* fresco, into which Martin Luther's name was carved.[31] Pope Leo X died in 1522, so he could enjoy the optimistic outlook portrayed in the two Charlemagne frescos, ignorant of what destruction awaited his precious Christendom. As it turned out, Turkish infidels proved

much easier to subdue than long-embittered Christians.

The last fresco of the Stanze dell'Incendio, the *Battle of Ostia*, was an allusion to an 894 victory of Pope Leo IV over the Saracens, fought at Rome's port of Ostia. (Fig. 41) It is intended to allegorize Leo X's dream that Christian rulers would unite in cause to expel the Ottoman Turks from Christiandom, after which time the world could be unified under the Pope. An incorrect interpretation sometimes offered is that the fresco represents an incident that occurred in April of 1516, in which Leo was very nearly captured by pirates in Ostia. That this event is only coincidental to the actual theme is proven by the fact that an early Raphael preparatory drawing of the *Battle* was sent to Albrecht Durer in 1515, one year earlier.[32]

The Rivalry With Michelangelo

Many people or groups influenced and offered advice to Raphael on the themes the stanze paintings could express, and for their help, Raphael immortalized them including them or their likeness in his

paintings. The foremost supporter of Raphael was Julius II. The pope worked closely and cooperatively with Raphael. Raphael became a confidante of the pope. This amiable friendship is all the more amazing because just a few passages away from the pope's apartments, Michelangelo was barely enduring his commission of painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. The pope's relationship with Michelangelo was one of constant battle. Michelangelo (1475-1564) was first commissioned by Julius in 1505 to plan and execute his tomb. Because of interruptions, the tomb took twenty years to complete, and even then it was not as magnificent as Michelangelo had originally conceived it.[33] The Sistine ceiling project, and the interruptions associated, proved to be a major frustration to Michelangelo, and one cause of the stormy relationship he had with his chief patron the pope. In fact though, Michelangelo's temperament was infamous and no one was able to win his complete confidance. He saw himself as a sculptor predominantly and resented Julius removing him from his tomb work to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in 1508.

Michelangelo was very secretive and sensitive about his work. He used very few assistants and locked his workplace, the chapel, to keep the inquisitive out. This prohibition even included the pope. Raphael is recorded to have been amiable to all and very well-liked, but Michelangelo had no kind feelings for him. To Michelangelo, Raphael represented a threat. Michelangelo's preference for seclusion and his tendency towards confrontation were referred to as his *terribilita*. Raphael had great admiration for Michelangelo. An often related story tells how Bramante, chief architect of the Vatican, and therefore holder of all the Vatican keys, enabled Raphael to examine and study Michelangelo's Sistine work.[34] Experts can trace Raphael's growth as an artist from his first stanze work in his Florentine style to his more developed Roman, Michelangelo-influenced style. In honor to the majesty of the tormented genius, Raphael added Michelangelo as a prominent foreground figure in *The School of Athens*. Michelangelo's figure represented the early Greek philosopher Heraclitus. Michelangelo's figure is slightly out of proportion in the picture (larger than life to reflect his genius, perhaps), and appropriately, his is the only figure that keeps

entirely to himself.

Michelangelo was very direct in his view on how Raphael's presentation increasingly resembled his own. He wrote that Raphael "had his art not from nature but by dint of diligent study."[35] Vasari, on Raphael's assimilation of other artists wrote, "He took what he needed and desired...from the best of other masters and turned many manners into a single manner, which was always then taken to be his own."[36] Studying and sharing and borrowing were all common practices in which artists engaged, but Michelangelo understandably felt threatened by Raphael. Some experts feel the influence between these two artists was far more reciprocal than is often depicted.[37] Michelangelo lived forty-four years after Raphael's death and certainly did not ignore Raphael's work during those years.

Michelangelo completed the ceiling work in 1512 after four years of torment. His work will always be considered one of the greatest achievements of human skill. After the ceiling was finished,

Michelangelo was the most powerful artist in Europe. Leonardo had only produced two important works in the previous nine years (his *Mona Lisa* and his *St. Anne, Virgin and Child*). Raphael was Michelangelo's chief rival, and Raphael tended to win the most coveted commissions because of his favorable relationship with Julius II.[38] Julius' successor, Leo X, also shunned Michelangelo in favor of Raphael. Leo X was the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Michelangelo's first powerful patron, and even though Leo had known Michelangelo since his boyhood, he felt uncomfortable around him.[39] Leo did assign Michelangelo to execute some Medici commissions, but these were of course in Florence, and simply allowed Leo to continue to "control" and claim Michelangelo, while not having to deal with his *terribilita*.[40]

Jealous of Raphael, Michelangelo continued his rivalry with him through a surrogate named Sebastiano del Piombo. Piombo, a competent artist, excelled in this unusual role. He was working in Rome and kept regular correspondence with Michelangelo, informing

him about Raphael's projects, often criticizing Raphael's "army" of assistants. Brought to a point of rage by Piombo's letters, Michelangelo would agree to design paintings for Piombo that would then represent vicariously Michelangelo's superiority. Piombo was certainly skilled enough to complete these designs and studies, and quickly earned a reputation. The rivalry in which he was participating reached its apex when Cardinal Giulio de Medici (later to be Pope Clement VII) commissioned both artists to execute an altarpiece for the Cathedral of Narbonne.[41] Michelangelo and Piombo produced an impressive work entitled *The Resurrection of Lazarus*. Raphael's was his famous and awe-inspiring *Transfiguration*, his last, and possibly most dramatic work. After Raphael died, Michelangelo took far less interest in Piombo. A nasty parting occurred in 1535, when Michelangelo adopted a new favorite rising artist, Tommaso de'Cavalieri, and moved permanently to Rome.[42]

CHAPTER IV NOTES

1. Freund, *The Stanze of Raphael*, p. 4.

2. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 129.

3. Ibid., p. 130.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp. 130-31.

6. Ibid., p. 130.

7. Gould, "Raphael's Papal Patrons," p. 359.

8. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 132.

9. Zupnick, "Stanze dell' Incendio," p. 196.

10. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 132.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., p. 134.

13. Ibid., p. 98.

14. Ibid., p. 135.

15. *The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, 4th ed., s.v. "Attila" and "Leo I."

16. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 135.

17. Gould, "Raphael's Papal Patrons," p. 359.

18. Ibid., p. 358.

19. Thompson, Raphael, pp. 138-40.

20. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 215 and Zupnick, "Stanze dell' Incendio," p. 201.

21. Zupnick, "Stanze dell' Incendio," p. 198.

22. Ibid., p. 199.

23. Ibid., pp. 199-200.

24. Gould, "Raphael's Papal Patrons," p. 359.

25. Zupnick, "Stanze dell' Incendio," p. 200.

26. Ibid., p. 201.

27. Ibid., pp. 200-202.

28. Ibid., p. 200.

29. *The New Columbia Encyclopedia*, 4th ed., s.v. "Francis I."

30. Ibid., s.v. "Adrian."

31. Ettlinger and Ettlinger, *Raphael*, p. 229.

32. Zupnick, "Stanze dell' Incendio," p, 198.

33. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 96.

34. Ibid., p. 107.

35. Henry Martin, "The Year of Raphael," *Art News*, May 1984, p. 99.

36. Ibid., p. 100.

37. Ibid., p. 99.

38. Robert S. Liebert, "Raphael, Michelangelo, Sebastiano: High Renaissance Rivalry," *Source*, Winter 1984, p. 60.

39. Ibid., p. 61.

40. Gould, "Raphael's Papal Patrons," p. 359.

41. Liebert, "Renaissance Rivalry," p. 63.

42. Ibid., p. 68.

CHAPTER V

OTHER RAPHAEL PROJECTS AND INTERESTS

> The highest art is always the most religious, and the greatest artist is always a devout man. A scoffing Raphael, or an irreverant Michelangelo, is not conceivable.
>
> -William Garden Blaikie

Paintings and Tapestries

Raphael's talents were put to tremendous use inside the Vatican by both Julius II and Leo X. His reputation, which had spread far and wide, led to requests to execute commissions all over Italy and into Europe. Most he had to turn down because he and his school were already overburdened with the work being sought just in and around Rome. Raphael was asked to take on additional responsibilities in the Vatican, outside of painting, as well.[1]

One of Raphael's major projects inside the Vatican, besides the

Stanze decorations, was to plan and execute ten tapestries to be hung in the Sistine Chapel. The ceiling, of course, had been completed by Michelangelo in 1512, but a fresco cycle just below ceiling level had been executed in the 1480's by such Renaissance masters as Perugino, Botticelli, Pintoricchio, Signorelli, and Ghirlandaio. Raphael's tapestries were to hang just below the Fresco cycle. The ten massive tapestries would depict scenes from the lives of St. Peter and St. Paul. (Fig. 42) Raphael executed the drawings that would serve as the guide for weavers in Flanders, a region famous for its finely woven products. As guides, these drawings mirror the actual design he was after. Leo X ordered this commission towards the end of 1514, and most of the tapestries were hung in place for a St. Stephen's Day service on 26 December 1519, and they were received with awe.[2] Most of the tapestries survive even today, though they have only been hung in the Chapel again on one occasion, and that was in 1983 in honor of an international conference organized to celebrate the quincentennial of Raphael's birth.[3]

Another Vatican commission that Raphael and his school executed was decorating the Vatican Logge. The term logge refers to an exterior, covered walkway which fronts a building. The side away from the building is usually open to the air, and is enhanced by repeated arches. The Vatican Logge that Raphael and his school decorated had thirteen arches, and therefore thirteen arched domes. (Fig. 43) They executed fifty-two different frescos, one on each of the four faces created under each dome. The frescos depicted scenes based on Old and New Testament themes or personalities; a different theme for each of the thirteen domes. This massive undertaking in the Logge came to be nick-named "Raphael's Bible."[4] The first dome in the series unsurprisingly depicted images of *The Creation.* (Fig. 44) The elaborate style incorporated in the decoration of the Logge greatly reflected the recent discovery, excavation, and research of the Domus Aurea of the Roman Emperor Nero.[5] Raphael was drawn to the study of the Roman ruins. His curiosity sparked, Raphael embarked on new forms of artistic and

intellectual expression.

Raphael continued to be drawn toward the Madonna theme. He painted the most moving and spiritual *Sistine Madonna*, while executing his other commissions in Rome. His most famous portraits during his Vatican years include: *Julius II*; *Leo X and two cardinals*; *La Donna Velata*; *Self-portrait with his Fencing Master*; and *Baldassere Castiglione.* (Figures 45 through 48) The Castiglione portrait established a classical style for portraiture that has been followed for centuries.

Even Raphael's drawings and sketches have been revered as treasures. To some, the drawings are even more alluring, because they often tell more about Raphael than his finished masterpieces. His exquisite touch and grace are visible in these spontaneous sketches, as seen in this study for the *Alba Madonna.* (Fig. 49) Focus on Raphael's drawing came about during the nineteenth century, a century very critical of Raphael, when many found his works insincere. Scholarship of the twentieth century reflects a renewed

respect for the artist.[6]

Raphael's most famous patron outside the Church was Agostino Chigi. Easily the wealthiest person in Rome, he was often called the Pope's banker.[7] Raphael executed several frescos in Chigi's beautiful Villa Farnesina, which overlooked the Tiber. The most famous of these was the *Triumph of Galatea*. (Fig. 50) Raphael executed another fresco cycle at this villa based on the Cupid and Psyche mythology.[8] (Figures 51 and 52) Raphael's presentations at the Villa Farnesina definitely reflect his new interest in emulating examples of classical Roman decoration that were being discovered.[9] Raphael once even executed a fresco decorating a cardinal's *stuffetta* (bathroom) in this manner. Michelangelo did not miss the opportunity to chide Raphael for taking on such a commission. Cardinal Bibbienna and Raphael were friends, however. Raphael had even been engaged to, and would have married his niece, except for her untimely death.[10] Raphael's school employed many artists, and such revenue-producing commissions in and around

Rome paid expenses. This was especially important because income from Vatican patrons was not very reliable. Julius's warring ways often meant that artists and others went unpaid. Michelangelo understood this as well as anyone. In a letter to his brother, he wrote, "I have not received as much as three pence."[11] Patrons outside the Church were more dependable in paying for their commissions.

Architecture

Bramante, Chief Architect of the Vatican and St. Peter's, requested that upon his death, Raphael be appointed his successor.[12] Leo X shunned Michelangelo, and named Raphael. Raphael had designed only one actual building before, and that had been with Bramante's help soon after his arrival in Rome.[13] However, in his paintings, most notably the *Marriage of the Virgin* and the *School of Athens*, Bramante had identified a natural talent. Other than Bramante, Luciano Laurana, who had designed the impressive ducal

palace in Urbino, had the greatest influence on Raphael's architecture.[14] Unsure he could live up to the expectations others were setting, Raphael, in a letter to Castiglione, wrote, "I raise myself higher with thought, but I do not know whether my flight will be like that of Icarus," whose fashioned wax wings melted because he flew too close to the sun.[15]

Raphael's actual contributions to St. Peter's design were minimal. His impact might have been greater, but Leo X was not nearly as aggressive about its construction as Julius had been.[16] As stated earlier, Raphael had become fascinated by the study of ancient Roman buildings. He had Vitruvius's works translated into the Tuscan dialect. Vitruvius had been the engineer and architect for Augustus Caesar. He wrote volumes on the many aspects of architecture and city planning.[17]

The only religious building built with Raphael's architectural design was the Chigi Chapel in the Santa Maria del Popolo.[18] Most

impressive is the beautiful domed cupola. The lovely decorations which adorn the chapel and the cupola were all designed by Raphael, and many were also executed by the architect. (Fig. 53) The beautiful Chapel is also the resting place for Agostino Chigi. Raphael continued to study classical architecture attempting to recapture the Ancients' ability to unify architecture, painting, and sculpture. He most closely accomplished this in his design of the Villa Madama. (Fig. 54) Commissioned by Giulio de Medici, the future Pope Clement VII, work began in 1516, but was far from finished at the time of Raphael's passing. Raphael had based his design of this Medici villa, in part, on Pliny the Younger's written descriptions of beautiful Roman villas. Raphael even emulated the style of written description that Pliny used. The result of this approach was the most authentic Roman villa design yet achieved, reproducing both function and form.[19] Raphael had also taken a trip to Tivoli with Bembo, Castiglione, and others to study ancient structures, and especially ancient villas.[20]

The Threatened Glories of Ancient Rome

What began as yet another interest, learning about the ruins of Ancient Rome, soon became an obsession for Raphael, and later, another responsibility. Brunelleschi and Donatello, visited Rome around 1410 from their native Florence. For the interest they showed in the ruins, they are considered the first famous Renaissance antique seekers. Brunelleschi employed what he learned from the Ancients in his own architectural designs, especially in the famous dome of the Florence Cathedral, and many of Donatello's reliefs reflect elements of the Roman art they had studied.[21]

Beautiful classical marble statues were uncovered in and around Rome. As mentioned earlier, Julius II commissioned Bramante to construct an open air sculpture-court, the Belvedere Cortile, in part to display this antique marble collection. The most famous pieces were *Laocoon*, the *"Belvedere" Apollo*, the *"Belvedere" torso* (which greatly influenced Michelangelo and other artists), and the *Dying*

Cleopatra, misnamed because the snake bracelet on her arm was romantically mistaken to be an asp. (Fig. 55) The marble is more accurately known as *Sleeping Ariadne*.[22] Ariadne, in Greek mythology, was the daughter of King Minos who aided Theseus in his mission to slay the Minotaur. Raphael, in humanist fashion, borrowed from antiquity to inspire the presentation of his works. The potential-filled *"Belvedere" torso* is given new life and purpose in Raphael's *Vision of Ezekiel* and in the *Council of the Gods* (one of the ceiling frescos in the Cupid-Psyche Logge).[23]

Raphael's fascination with these antiques turned to horror as he began to realize how many of them had been and were being destroyed. When he brought this information to Leo X's attention in 1515, he was appointed "Keeper of the Inscriptions and Remains of the City of Rome."[24] It now became his responsibility to preserve the antiques. For centuries, these incredible structures were viewed as convenient quarries, and had been broken down and looted for their constitutent parts, including the practice of crushing down

pieces, sometimes artworks, to produce mortar for contemporary building programs.[25] Laws were introduced to stop the further destruction of the antiques, but a 1519 letter from Raphael to Leo X complained that the destruction had continued.[26] The next year, the Roman City Council reinforced Leo's appointment of Raphael to his position as protector.[27] The preservation of these antiques was very important to the Classical revival associated with the Renaissance, and Raphael's role in this should not be overlooked. One task he sought to accomplish was to make a scale model of Ancient Rome. Though he did not complete the task, the preliminary work he had started was impressive, and others carried on using what he had left.[28] Celio Calcagnini, a friend of Raphael's and a papal clerk, described Raphael's new responsibilities in a letter:

> "He has undertaken to reinstate the former appearance of the Ancient city, its splendour and its great beauty..., and he has already a large portion of it to show."[29]

Considering his fascination with the ancient buildings, it is appropriate that he requested to be buried in the Pantheon, which dates to Hadrian and the second century A. D. As tall as it is wide,

this amazingly durable example of Ancient architecture, and especially the open oculus in the ceiling, has inspired mankind for nearly two millenia.[30]

His Final Masterpiece

The last work of Raphael was the previously mentioned commission of Cardinal Giulio de Medici, entitled *The Transfiguration.* (Fig. 56) The commission had been presented somewhat as a contest between Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo, whose designs and presentation really emanated from the mind and hands of Michelangelo. The Cardinal wanted Raphael to be aware of this undeclared contest between the two great and rival masters, because he hoped to get Raphael's true genius, not just an assistant's imitation. Raphael responded to the challenge. He poured all of his creativity and passion into this painting. He pushed himself to create a presentation entirely new and different from anything he had attempted before, and he succeeded. Experts

feel this marks the start of an entirely new direction for Raphael.[31] His hands alone were to execute this work, and this desire to claim complete ownership of the work would have been realized, if not for his untimely death. Recent scientific methods of restoration confirm that Giulio Romano did actually add finishing touches at the very foot of the painting.[32] Grief-stricken at his early death, Romans carried this painting behind Raphael's body in the funeral procession to the Pantheon where his body lies in a simple tomb. The painting depicts both the miraculous ascension and transfiguration of the Christ, with Moses and Elijah beside him, and the reaction of an awe-struck and deeply moved audience below, unable to help a possessed boy. Both reflect scenes contained in St. Mark's Gospel.[33] That this was Raphael's last painting is appropriate, for his genius has and forever will render his audiences in awe and amazement and wonder.

CHAPTER V NOTES

1. E.H. Gombrich, "Raphael: A Quincentennial Address," *Art History*, June 1984, p. 171 and Thompson, *Raphael*, pp. 173-74.

2. Thompson, *Raphael*, pp. 174-75.

3. Caroline Elam, "The Raphael Conference in Rome," *Burlington Magazine*, July 1983, p. 437.

4. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 173.

5. Gould, "Raphael's Papal Patrons," p. 360.

6. James Gardner, "'Raphael and His Circle' at the Morgan Library," *Arts Magazine*, May 1988, p. 77 and Gombrich, "Raphael Address," p. 170.

7. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 124.

8. Ibid., pp. 126, 171-72.

9. Michael Greenhalgh, "The Renaissance and the Ruins of Ancient Rome," *History Today*, November 1974, pp. 749-50.

10. Beck, *Raphael Before Rome*, p. 10.

11. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 124.

12. Spitz, *Renaissance Movement*, pp. 217, 219.

13. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 162.

14. Avery, *Italian Renaissance*, p. 808 and Mario Salmi et al., *The Complete Works of Raphael* (New York: Harrison House, 1969), p. 439.

15. Schneider, "Raphael's Personality," p. 17.

16. L.H. Heydenreich and W. Lotz, *Architecture in Italy, 1400-1600* trans. Mary Hottinger (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 173-77.

17. Fischel, *Raphael*, p. 200 and Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 167.

18. Heydenreich and Lotz, *Architecture in Italy*, p. 166.

19. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 191 and Heydenreich and Lotz, *Architecture in Italy*, pp. 172-73.

20. Inge Jackson Reist, "Raphael and the Humanist Villa," *Source*, Summer 1984, p. 20.

21. Greenhalgh, "Renaissance and Ancient Ruins,"pp. 744-45.

22. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 124.

23. Fischel, *Raphael*, pp. 194, 198.

24. Greenhalgh, "Renaissance and Ancient Ruins," p. 749 and Fischel, *Raphael*, p. 202.

25. Ibid.

26. Elizabeth G. Holt, ed., *A Documentary History of Art* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), pp. 289-96 and Greenhalgh, "Renaissance and Ancient Ruins," p. 749.

27. Greenhalgh, "Renaissance and Ancient Ruins," p. 749.

28. Fischel, *Raphael*, pp. 205-207.

29. Ibid., p. 207.

30. Ibid., pp. 162, 201.

31. Thompson, *Raphael*, p. 192.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

POSTERITY'S APPRAISAL

> The most profound thought of the time was not expressed in words but in visual imagery. Two sublime examples of this truism were produced in the same building in Rome, not more than one hundred yards from each other, and during exactly the same years.
>
> -Sir Kenneth Clark

A True Humanist Transcends the Centuries

Raphael meets and surpasses every definition offered for what constitutes a humanist. He saw and expressed a need for reform in the Church, and as humanists do, Raphael looked to the past to find noteworthy mentors. He glorified the individual and epitomized the concept of self-realization and self-improvement. To seek an understanding of God, according to Augustine, required one to, "descend into thyself; go to thy secret chamber, thy mind....For not in the body but in the mind was man made in the image of God."[1]

Consistent with this is the eloquent statement of John Ruskin, a Nineteenth-century English critic and essayist, that, "All great art is the expression of man's delight in God's work, not his own."[2] Raphael sought ideal presentations in his art, and felt he was near attaining an ideal beauty in the women he painted. In a letter to Castiglione, Raphael wrote, "Because real beauty is rare to find, I follow a certain idea that hovers before me, living in my mind."[3]

He was active in the community and possessed the graciousness, ease, and elegance that Castiglione referred to as "grazia" in his *Courtier*.[4] He was gifted in a variety of areas, and driven by a natural and professional curiosity. He hovered in humanist circles, and these acquaintances made it possible for him to construct the impressive themes of his paintings. A eulogy to Raphael contained a precis of what three goals should comprise a painter's ambition: to deceive the eye, to satisfy the understanding, and to touch the heart.[5] Raphael possessed a powerful intellect that was able to meet the challenges it encountered, and as a result of his

experiences, acquaintances, and a natural curiosity, his intellect developed to rival others in the learned circles of Rome.[6] Humanists had particular strengths, but they also had a variety of interests and competencies. Surrounded by intellectuals in Rome, and revered among them, Raphael bravely dabbled in writing sonnets. Like painting, this very personal mode of expression tends to attract callous criticism. While by no means viewed as masterpieces (though highly praised by Vasari), his sonnets do reflect his outward, curious, reaching outlook on life, and the humanist goal of self-improvement.[7]

His pursuit of the Ancients through their art and architecture, and by way of their written works, reflects his intellectual potential and a strong humanist trait. Where a poet would pursue philology to improve his ability to write poetry, Raphael sought ancient artistic examples to improve his ability to present art. There are many examples for when Raphael borrowed the arrangement or positioning of figures in some ancient artwork, and I

have tried to mention the most interesting. Whether a small relief from the sarcophagus of Augustus, or the famous "Belvedere" marbles, Raphael's purpose was to honor antiquity and to gain inspiration from the linking of the two periods, and to jubilantly announce it. Oskar Fischel, a Raphael scholar and biographer, comments on this reverent borrowing: "His plagiarisms are rejuvenated by the creative manner in which he adapts them to his own inventiveness...."[8]

While painting, sculpture, and architecture are usually considered skills, and are therefore excluded from the Seven Liberal Arts, the High Renaissance masters such as Leonardo, Michelangelo, and certainly Raphael, could capture, or even surpass, the power and intensity of poetry. Standing before one of his paintings in London, Madrid, Dresden, Washington D. C., Florence, or especially Rome, one finds a kinship with Raphael and his fellow humanists despite the intervening centuries. Their identification of those ideals to which we all should strive become tangible, shared realities through the harmony of Raphael's timeless compositions.

Raphael possessed a genius for composing art. This genius involved many of the characteristics attributed to the famous humanist thinkers of the Renaissance. His development as a painter and a student of his times produced a man with deep curiosities and exceptional powers of synthesis. He possessed a deep appreciation for the study of history and the promulgation of knowledge and universal truths. His talents stretched across a vast range of fields including, of course, his painting, but in his later years, he tried his hand at architecture and became fascinated with the excavation and study of ancient Roman buildings and artifacts. He even designed theatrical scenery reflecting these new interests for dramas written by his literary acquaintances.[9] His premature death at the age of thirty-seven raises the question of what else he might have accomplished.

Raphael's dedication to the pictorial reconstruction of Ancient Rome shows both his intellectual growth and humanist qualities. This project had also won the admiration of his acquaintances, and

the sadness of his passing was compounded by the realization the project would probably never be completed. Castiglione's eulogy included this mention:

> "Thou didst excite the jealosy of heaven, when thou didst with thy marvellous mind reconstuct Rome, her body all violated; when thou didst call back to life and to her ancient beauty the corpse of the sublime city,..."[10]

Another contemporary, Paulo Giovio, offered this eulogy:

> "Raphael died in the flower of his life, just when he had undertaken to measure the remains of the buildings of Rome; he had devised a new and wonderful means of doing this, so as to present the city as he saw it, as if new, before the eyes of the architects.[11]

Despite the fame that Raphael's project had achieved, the fate of those preliminary works remains a mystery. Theories explaining their disappearance range from them having been destroyed during the 1527 Sack of Rome; to their having been accidentally set aflame by burning wax drippings while being shown to Leo X ; or to their having been carelessly combined with the works of his students.[12] Raphael had worked to a certain extent with a scholar named Andrea Fulvio on this reconstruction project. Fulvio published his *Antiquitates Urbis* in 1527, one month before the Sack, and in the

preface, acknowledges Raphael's contribution.[13]

A contemporary admirer and friend, Celio Calcagnini, offered this simple yet telling description of Raphael as, "...a young man of immense goodness and admirable intelligence."[14] Calcagnini was not always so understated in his admiration for Raphael. In an elegy (a poem for the dead), Calcagnini offers this praise of Raphael, "Now a Raphael seeks in Rome for Rome, and finds it; seeking belongs to an exalted mind, finding to a God."[15] Every century has praised and uplifted Raphael and his accomplishments, and I think it is interesting to hear how their comments differed. G. P. Bellori, the 17th century art historian, wrote, "He has raised his art [painting] in its ultimate features to the height of its beauty, restoring it to its ancient mobility,..."[16]

An 18th century observer, A.R. Mengs, wrote, "...the reason why not everyone likes Raphael's works at first sight is because their beauty is intellectual and not visual. Thus, beauty is not perceived

immediately, but only after it has penetrated the intellect...."[17]

Renewed interest in Raphael in the 19th century led, unsurprisingly, to a romanticizing of his life and works. The French writer Stendahl wrote,

> "Like true Parisians, accustomed to the highly animated expressions of our modern painters who aim at popular acclaim...most of Raphael's heads seem cold to us. After eight months in Rome, we begin to be cured of our bad taste...."[18]

The German philosopher Hegel wrote,

> "He succeeded in unifying the most elevated sentiments, in conformity with the requirements of the Church and the religious mission of art, with a thorough knowledge and loving reverence of natural appearances in all their vivacity of forms and colours, and with an enlightened sense of antiquity."[19]

Burckhardt also praised Raphael, writing that his highest personal quality, "was not so much aesthetic, but moral, the great honesty and strong determination which always informed his struggle."[20]

As scholarship has improved, I believe we in the 20th century can come to know Raphael almost as well as his contemporaries. Our century would certainly benefit from a rediscovery of the ideals he expresses in his many works, and should be inspired by his creative accomplishments.

From 1509 to 1520, the year he died, Raphael lived and worked in the company of the most influential political, religious, and artistic personalities of the High Renaissance period. He was exposed to the political and spiritual tensions of the age at their very highest levels of creation and impact, and his works reflect those tensions. That his works merely reflect the period he lived in understates his role and abilities of expression though. Raphael used his artistry of synthesis and skill with the tools of painting to transcend and state ideals like a poet who uses words. On his tomb, the epitaph from his friends reads, "Here lies Raphael. Living, great Nature feared he might outvie her works; and dying, fears herself may die."[21]

CHAPTER VI NOTES

1. Weakland, "Renaissance *Paideia*," p. 154.

2. Tryon Edwards, ed., *The New Dictionary of Thoughts* (New York: The Standard Book Company, 1965), p. 31.

3. Fischel, *Raphael*, p. 216.

4. Carnicelli, "Castiglione's *Courtier*," p. 578.

5. Gombrich, "Raphael Address," p. 165.

6. Fischel, *Raphael*, p. 214 and Thomas Puttfarken, "Raphael Redivivus?" *Art History*, December 1984, p. 506.

7. Fischel, *Raphael*, p. 203 and Salmi, et al., *The Complete Works of Raphael*, pp. 603-604.

8. Fischel, *Raphael*, pp. 194-95.

9. Ibid., p. 211.

10. Ibid., p. 207.

11. Ibid., p. 208.

12. Ibid., pp. 209-210.

13. Ibid., pp. 205-206, 209.

14. Richard Cocke and Pierluigi de Vecchi, *The Complete*

Paintings of Raphael (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1966), p. 8.

15. Fischel, *Raphael*, p. 207.

16. Cocke and de Vecchi, *The Complete Paintings of Raphael*, p. 10.

17. Ibid., p. 10-11.

18. Ibid., p. 11.

19. Ibid.

20. Gombrich, "Raphael Address," p. 169.

21. Ettlinger and Ettlinger, *Raphael*, p. 12.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1

Michelangelo

Moses (Detail)

1513-16 93 in.

San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome

Fig. 2

Piero della Francesca

Protrait of Federigo Montefeltro

1465 19 x 13 in.

Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 3

Piero della Francesca

An Ideal City

~1465 24 x 79 in.

Galleria Nazionale della Marche, Urbino

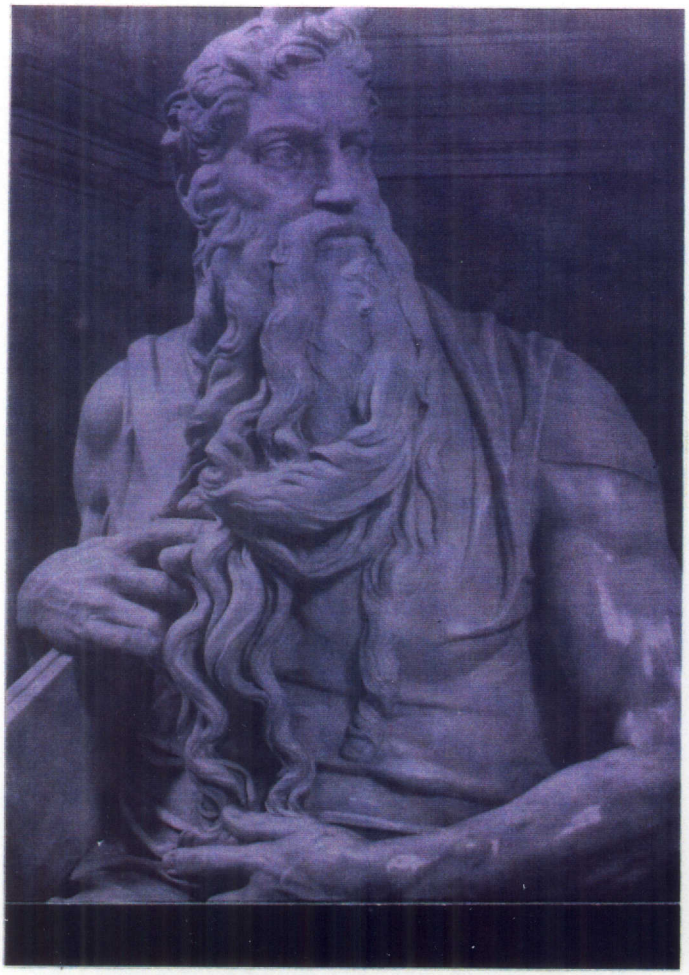
Fig. 4

Raphael

Self-portrait

1497 15 x 11 in.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



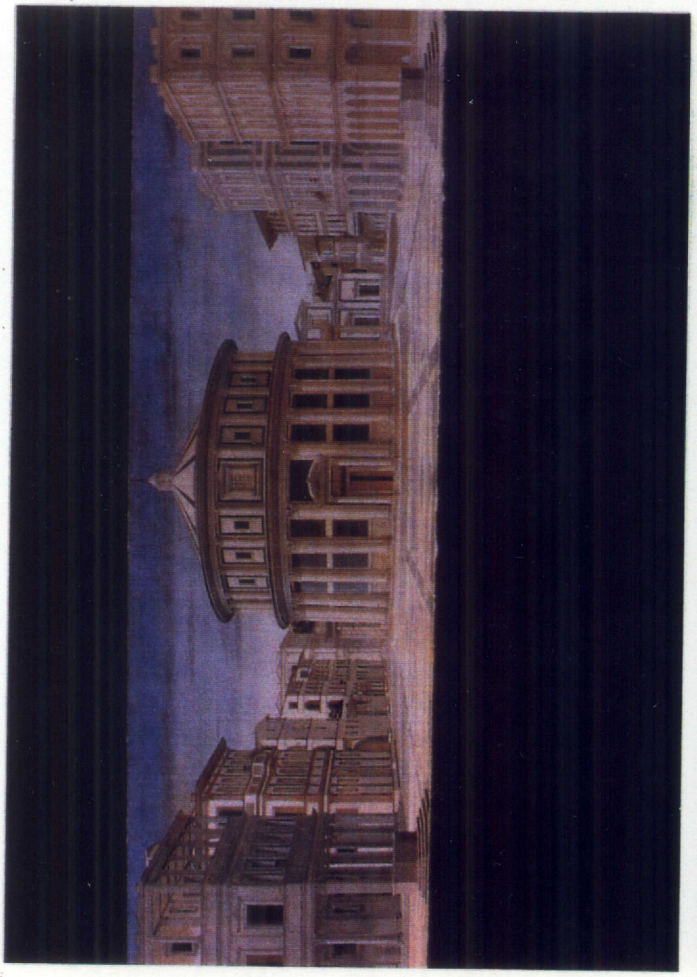


Fig. 5

Raphael

The Marriage of the Virgin

1504 67 x 47 in.

Brera, Milan

Fig. 6

Perugino

Christ's Charge to Peter

1481

Sistine Chapel, Rome

Fig. 7

Peter Paul Rubens (from Leonardo's *Anghiari* studies)

Fight for the Standard

1606

Fig. 8

Raphael

Portrait of Agnolo Doni

1506 25 x 18 in.

Pitti Palace, Florence

Fig. 9

Raphael

Portrait of Maddalena Doni

1506 25 x 18 in.

Pitti Palace, Florence

Fig. 10

Raphael

La Donna Gravida

1506 26 x 20 in.

Pitti Palace, Florence

Fig. 11

Raphael

Lady with a Unicorn

1505-06 26 x 22 in.

Brera, Milan

Fig. 12

Raphael

La Donna Muta

1506-07 25 x 19 in.

Galleria Nazionale della Marche, Urbino

Fig. 13

Raphael

The Connestabile Madonna

1502-03 7 x 7 in.

Hermitage, Leningrad

Fig. 14

Raphael

The Madonna of the Meadow

1505 47 x 35 in.

Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna

Fig. 15

Raphael

The Madonna del Granduca

1505 34 x 22 in.

Pitti Palace, Florence

Fig. 16

Raphael

The Alba Madonna

1511 37 in. diameter

National Gallery of Art,

Washington, D.C.

Fig. 17

Raphael

The Madonna della Sedia

1514 28 in. diameter

Pitti Palace, Florence

Fig. 18

Leonardo da Vinci

The Virgin of the Rocks

1506 75 x 47 in.

National Gallery, London

Fig. 19

Raphael

The Sistine Madonna

1513-14 104 x 77 in.

Gemaldegalerie, Dresden

Fig. 20

Raphael

St. George and the Dragon

1505 12 x 11 in.

Louvre, Paris

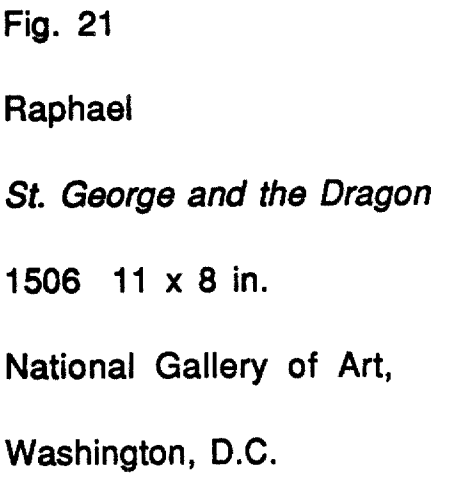


Fig. 21

Raphael

St. George and the Dragon

1506 11 x 8 in.

National Gallery of Art,

Washington, D.C.

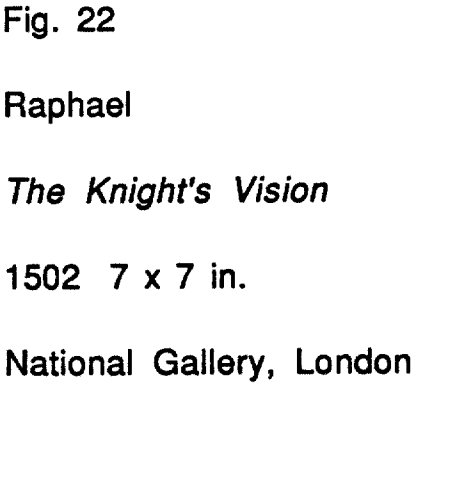


Fig. 22

Raphael

The Knight's Vision

1502 7 x 7 in.

National Gallery, London

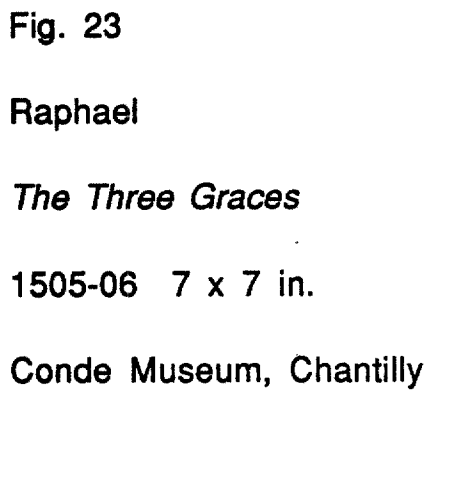


Fig. 23

Raphael

The Three Graces

1505-06 7 x 7 in.

Conde Museum, Chantilly

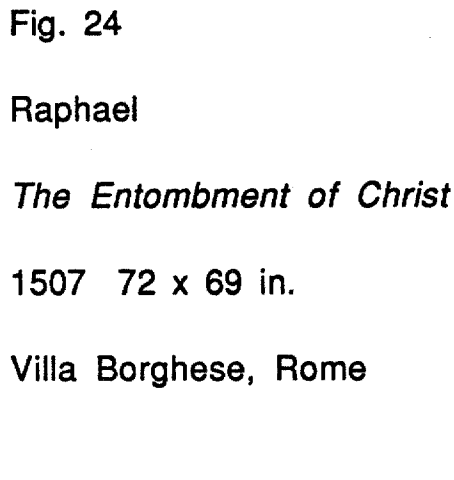


Fig. 24

Raphael

The Entombment of Christ

1507 72 x 69 in.

Villa Borghese, Rome

Fig. 25

Raphael

The Ceiling of the Stanze

della Segnatura

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 26

Raphael

Original Sin (S. d. Segn. panel)

1509 47 x 41 in.

Stanze della Segnatura

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 27

Raphael

The School of Athens

1509-10 25 ft. 3 in. (at base)

Stanze della Segnatura

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 28

Raphael

Disputa

1509 25 ft. 3 in. (at base)

Stanze della Segnatura

Vatican, Rome

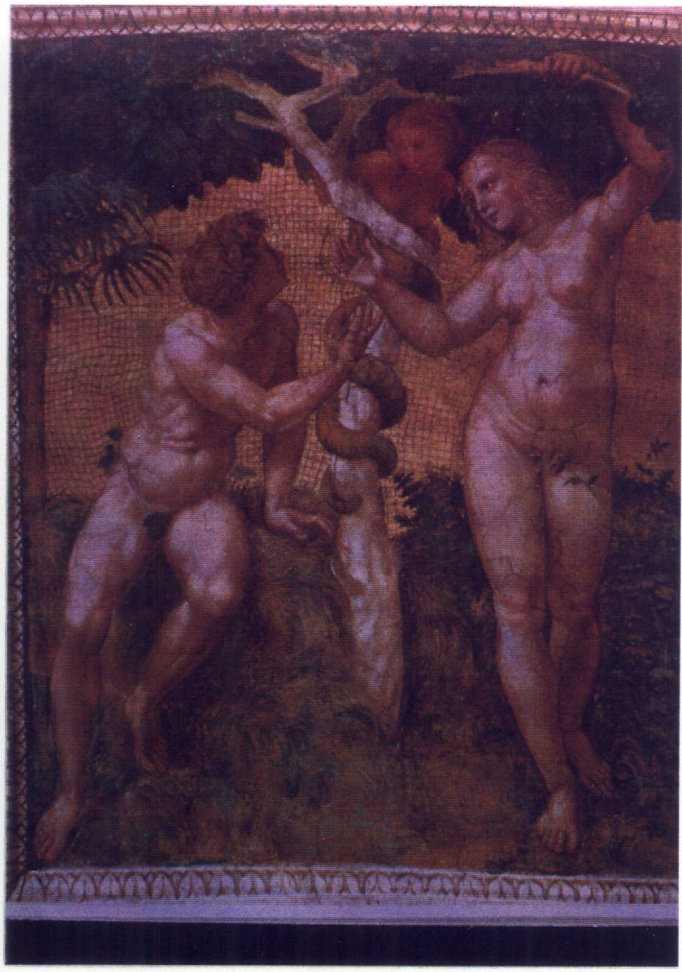


Fig. 29

Raphael

Parnassus

1510-11 22 ft. 1 in. (at base)

Stanze della Segnatura

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 30

Raphael

The *Jurisprudence* (Justice) Wall

1511

Stanze della Segnatura

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 31

Raphael

The Cardinal Virtues

1511 22 ft. 1 in. (at base)

Stanze della Segnatura

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 32

Raphael

Gregory IX and the Decretals

1511 87 in. (at base)

Stanze della Segnatura

Vatican, Rome

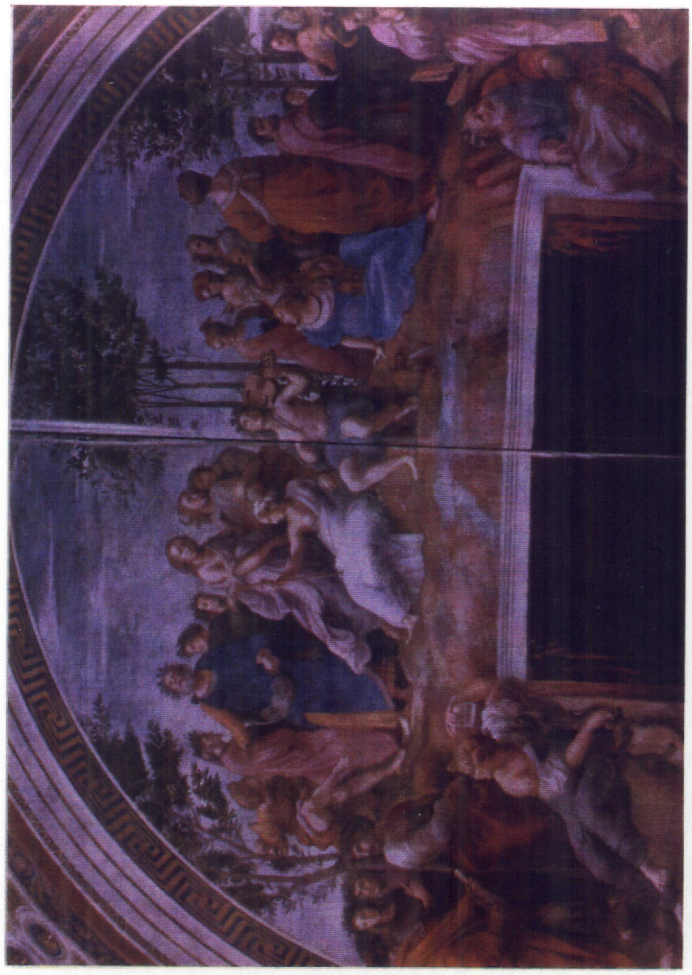


Fig. 33

Raphael

The Expulsion of Heliodorus

1511-12 24 ft. 7 in. (at base)

Stanze di Eliodoro

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 34

Raphael

The Mass of Bolsena

1512 24 ft. 7 in. (at base)

Stanze di Eliodoro

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 35

Raphael

The Liberation of St. Peter

1513-14 21 ft. 8 in. (at base)

Stanze di Eliodoro

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 36

Raphael

Portrait of Pope Julius II

1512 43 x 32 in.

National Gallery, London

Fig. 37

Raphael

The Meeting of Leo I and Atilla

1514 21 ft. 8 in. (at base)

Stanze di Eliodoro

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 38

Raphael

The Fire in the Borgo

1514 22 ft. (at base)

Stanze dell' Incendio

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 39

Raphael

The Oath of Purgation

1516-17 22 ft. (at base)

Stanze dell' Incendio

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 40

Raphael

The Coronation of Charlemagne

1516-17 25 ft. 3 in. (at base)

Stanze dell' Incendio

Vatican, Rome

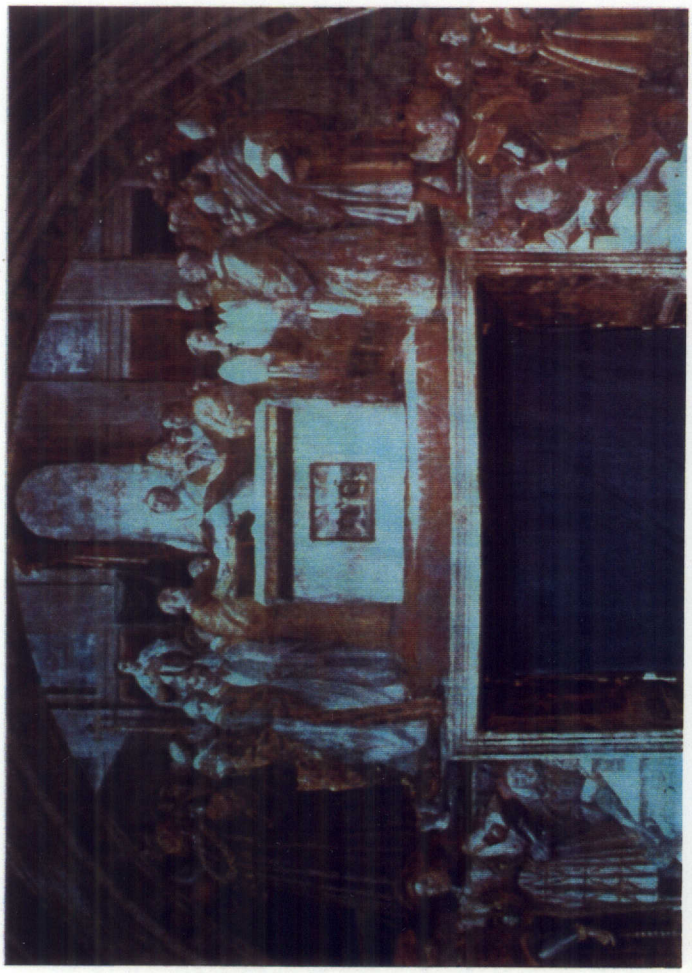


Fig. 41

Raphael

The Battle of Ostia

1514-15 25 ft. 3 in. (at base)

Stanze dell'Incendio

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 42

Raphael

The Miraculous Draught of Fishes

1514-15 142 x 158 in.

Victoria and Albert Museum,

London

Fig. 43

Raphael

The Vatican Logge (Raphael's

Bible)

1518-19

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 44

Raphael

The Creation (series)

1518-19

The Vatican Logge

Vatican, Rome

Fig. 45

Raphael

Portrait of Leo X and Two Cardinals

1517-18 61 x 47 in.

Uffizi, Florence

Fig. 46

Raphael

La Donna Velata

1513-14 34 x 26 in.

Pitti Palace, Florence

Fig. 47

Raphael

Self-portrait with Fencing Master

1518 39 x 33 in.

Louvre, Paris

Fig. 48

Raphael

Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione

1515 32 x 26 in.

Louvre, Paris

Fig. 49

Raphael

A Study for the Alba Madonna

Wicar Museum, Lille

Fig. 50

Raphael

The Triumph of Galatea

1511 116 x 89 in.

Villa Farnesina, Rome

Fig. 51

Raphael

The Logge of Cupid and Psyche

1517

Villa Farnesina, Rome

Fig. 52

Raphael

Cupid and the Three Graces

1517 13 ft. 2 in.

The Logge of Cupid and Psyche

Villa Farnesina, Rome

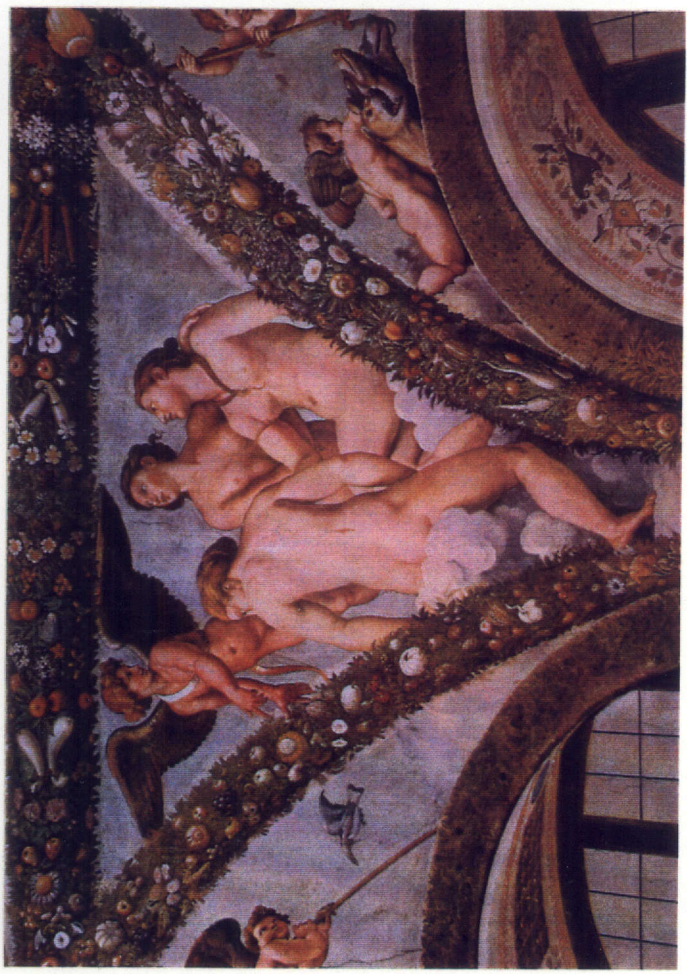


Fig. 53

Raphael

The Cupola of the Chigi Chapel

1515-16

The Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome

Fig. 54

Raphael

The Villa Madama (exterior of the Garden Logge

1517-20

Rome

Fig. 55

Laocoon

Rhodes, First Century B.C. to First Century A.D.

Vatican, Rome

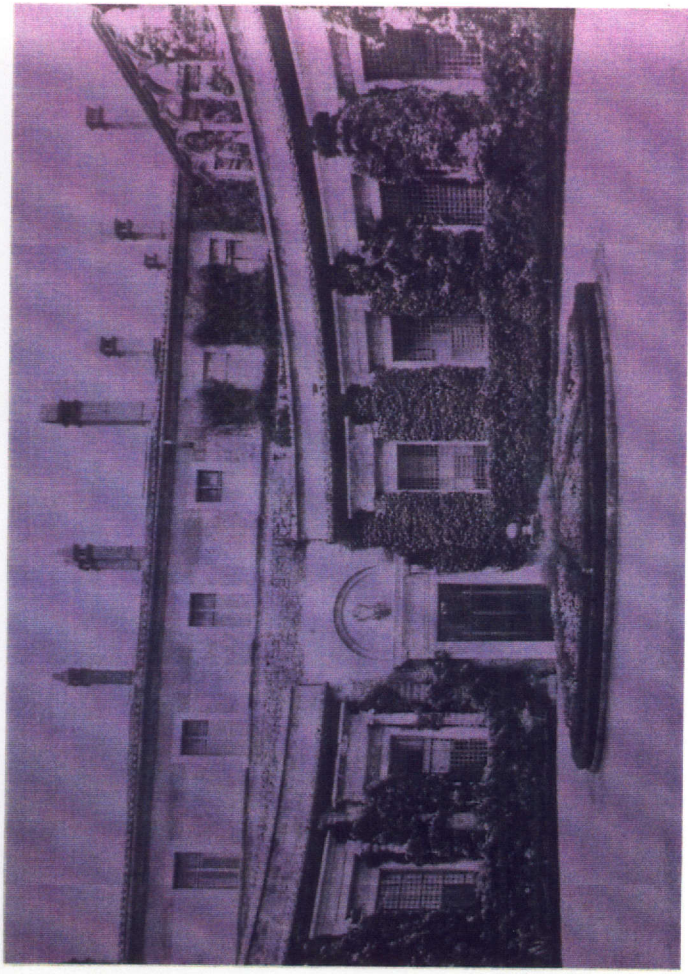
Fig. 56

Raphael

The Transfiguration

1518-20 13 ft. 3 in. x 9 ft.

Vatican, Rome



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