

large palace, and probably one commissioned by a ruler. On the basis of various similarities of form they would appear to be related to the palace that Charles V was building for himself in Granada. And if this hypothesis is accepted, they would reinforce the suggestion advanced by various scholars that there was Italian involvement in the design, since one of the drawings is clearly by an Italian architect associated with the workshop of Giulio Romano. They would also suggest that the Italian architect was working with another architect and a copyist who was less versed in the classical language of architecture, perhaps a Spaniard. The drawings, if they are indeed associated with the Palace of Charles V, tell us much about the gestation of palace's design, clarifying that the starting point for the palace's design lay in two celebrated recent works, one by Raphael – Palazzo Branconio – the other by Giulio Romano – Palazzo Te. Ex-SMA 24 would also tell us that the domed frontispiece was probably a response to Charles V's request to have a chapel inserted into the façade, and that it probably dates from soon after November 1527, and ex-SMA 59 [ii] that there was an early project to erect a statue of the Laocoon in the palace's courtyard.

FURTHER MUSINGS ON RAPHAEL'S *PARNASSUS*

LISA PON

THE *Parnassus* (FIG. 1) painted on the north wall between the *School of Athens* and the *Disputa* in the Stanza della Segnatura was one of Pope Julius II's great projects in the Vatican. Raphael completed the fresco in 1511, and around 1517, Marcantonio Raimondi made a related engraving (FIG. 2). In my recent book, I addressed some of the differences between the print and the painting, including, for example, the absence of certain figures added to the composition late in the game, as a device to help minimize the intrusion of the window on the north wall into the pictorial field; or the squared top of the print demonstrating a decreasing gradient of reliance upon the fresco.¹ Ultimately, I argued the print's primary function for its first audience was not «to reproduce the fresco» as some 20th century print scholars have put it, nor «to record a lost compositional drawing by Raphael,» as some 20th century art historians have treated it. Rather, Marcantonio's engraved *Parnassus* served first as a venue in which Raphael could publicly claim his authorship of the fresco. Raphael's signature on the print, in the form of the inscription *RAPHAEL PINXIT IN VATICANO*, attached his name to the painting in the Vatican; whereas in the Stanza della Segnatura itself, only Julius' name appears.²

Thus, for the first audience the message of Marcantonio Raimondi's print was not in the various differences with the fresco, but in the

* I thank Derek Katz for his helpful comments on earlier versions of this essay, which is presented here in honor of Roy Eriksen.

¹ LISA PON, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004. I expanded this argument in my essay *Paint/Print/Public* in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, edited by Peter Weibel, Bruno Latour, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2005, pp. 686-693.

² Raphael did include the initials R.V.S.M. (Raphael Vrbinas Sua Manu) on the collar of the figure commonly identified as Euclid in the *School of Athens*. This monogram stands in the same relation to Julius' inscription in the Stanza (*JVLIVS II. LIGVR. PONT. MAX. AN. CHRIS. MDXI PONTIFICAT. SVI VIII*) as Marcantonio Raimondi's entwined initials *MAF* do to Raphael's full assertion of authorship on the engraving of *Parnassus*. The issue of Raphael's self-portrait in the *School of Athens* as a signature, or a visual substitute for one, is related but distinct, and will be discussed in a future essay.



FIG. 1. Raphael, *Parnassus*, 1509-1511. By Art Resource Permission.

public claim that Raphael was author of the Vatican *Parnassus*. Nonetheless, I believe there is much to learn from the manifest differences between painting and print, and in this essay I offer further musings on one major difference: the instrument played by Apollo. In the engraving, Apollo plays a hand-plucked classical lyre, whereas the painted Apollo plays a bowed instrument. The change was already underway by the time Raphael made a drawing now in Lille that shows a model with right arm poised to hold an uplifted if undrawn bow.¹

In their fundamental study of Raphael's work, Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny described the instrument as a «fiddle»² a well-chosen word, since it was used in the late medieval period to designate any bowed instrument, whatever its shape or number of strings. Both the almond-shaped instrument wielded by the figure carved on the 12th-

¹ See also the copy of a drawing by Raphael, now in the Ashmolean, of the composition of the fresco which shows Apollo with a bowed instrument.

² «Likewise, the name *fiddle* was used in the Middle Ages to designate any bowed string instrument, whatever its shape or the number of its strings.» ROGER BRAGARD, FERDINAND DE HEN, *Musical Instruments in Art and History*, trans. B. Hopkins, New York, Viking, 1968, p. 56. ROGER JONES, NICHOLAS PENNY, *Raphael*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press 1983, p. 68.



FIG. 2. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Parnassus*, c. 1517.

century French capital now in Wellesley, Massachusetts, for example and the round-ended instrument in the form of a figure eight held by the angel in the leonardesque picture now in London could be called fiddles.¹ Our English word «fiddle» has its roots in the Late Latin *vidula* that was transformed into the German *Fiedel* or *Vedel*, the French *vielle* and the Italian *viola*.² Within these various languages, the terminology was evolving as well: musicologist Keith Polk has shown that in early-fifteenth-century Germany, the term *Vedel* was most commonly used, though around 1500 the modern word *Geige* became predominant.³

¹ The capital, from the abbey of Savigny, near Lyons, is now in the Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College (1949.16). The painting, one of the flanking angels for Leonardo's *Madonna of the Rocks*, is part of the collection of the National Gallery, London (NG1661).

² GUIDO GATTI, ALBERTO BASSO, *La Musica*, Turin, UTET, 1966-1971, s.v. *Arco, strumenti a*.

³ KEITH POLK, *Vedel und Geige: German String Traditions in the Fifteenth Century*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 42, 1989, pp. 504-546. Similarly the classical terms for instruments in the lyre family varied: in Homeric texts, *phorminx* and *kitharis* were common, after the sixth century BCE, *lyre*, *chelys*, *barbitos*, and *kithara* were used with increasing frequency. See THOMAS MATHIESEN, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory*

In Italy, the situation was further complicated by the development of a particular stringed instrument that came to be known as the *lira da braccio* (FIG. 3).¹ This instrument, typified by a flat leaf- or spade-shaped pegbox, a slightly rounded bridge, several strings on the fingerboard, and one or two free strings along the side of the fingerboard, underwent a rapid evolution in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.² In these decades, the *lira da braccio* was not uniform in shape, size, or number of strings.³ One especially splendid example (FIG. 4) of a *lira da braccio*, made by Giovanni Andrea di Verona in just the years Raphael was painting the Parnassus, has five strings on the fingerboard, two free strings, and a grotesque face and figure carved on its back.⁴

Whatever its structure, the *lira da braccio* was especially favored by the Italian humanist courts to accompany improvised solo singing. According to Vasari, for example, Bramante «delighted in poetry, and loved to improvise upon the lyre [*su la lira*], or to hear others doing this: and he composed some sonnets, if not as polished as we now demand them, at least weighty and without faults.»⁵ Vasari's faint praise was all the more damning in the ears of those who recalled that in antiquity the lyre was customarily passed around at the princely banquets, to accompany poetry skillfully composed *ex tempore*.⁶

in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Lincoln, NE, University of Nebraska Press, 1999, pp. 135-136. See also VICENZO GALILEI, *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*, trans. Claude Palisca, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2003, pp. 146-147: «[...] Among the many names of musical instruments that have different meanings among the Greeks, five names give the impression of meaning the same: these are lyre, chelyn, kithara, cetra and phorminx».

¹ The *lira da braccio* was understood as an Italian instrument and is not included, for ex., in SEBASTIAN VIRDUNG, *Musica Getutscht*, trans. Beth Bullard, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, in which he «undertook [to deal with] is the instruments that are now in use by us in our land and nothing more», p. 119.

² STERLING SCOTT JONES, *The Lira da Braccio*, Bloomington, IN, Indiana University Press, 1995, p. 4, n. 3, and he adds, «In many instances, however, not all of these characteristics present themselves, making identification with certainty almost impossible». See also BENVENUTO DISERTORI, *Pratica e tecnica della lira da braccio*, «Rivista Musicale Italiana», 44, 1940, pp. 150-175.

³ GATTI, BASSO, 1966-1971, s.v. *Arco, strumenti a*: in the fifteenth century, «una sola corda di bordone.»

⁴ The instrument is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, SAM, Inv. No. 89.

⁵ GIORGIO VASARI, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston de Vere and introduction by David Ekserdjian, New York, Knopf, 1996, I, p. 668.

⁶ RAFFAELLE BRANDOLINI, *On Music and Poetry*, trans. Anne Moyer Tempe, AZ, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001, pp. 28-29: «Neque enim ignoras fuisse antiquitus usurpatum, ut in magnorum principum conviviiis lyra circumferretur; quam cum Themistocles recusasset (quot Cicero refert), habitus est indoctor» [«Surely

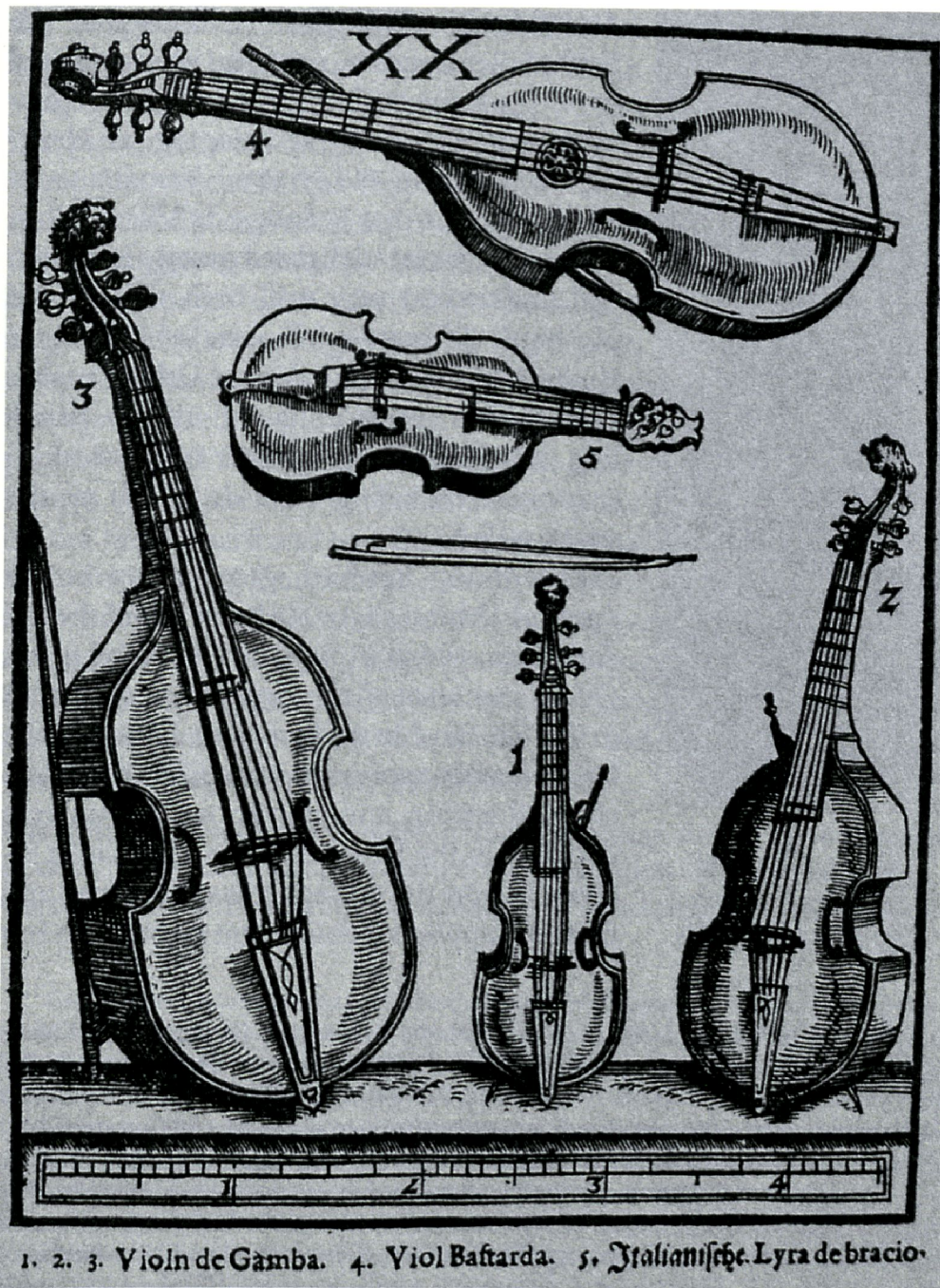


FIG. 3. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, 1620, vol. II, figure XX.

you are not unaware that in antiquity the lyre was customarily passed around at the banquets of great princes; when Themistocles refused it, as Cicero reports, he was considered quite ignorant.»]. Moyer notes that Brandolini is citing QUINTILIAN, *Institutio Oratoria* 1.10.19 and CICERO, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.4.

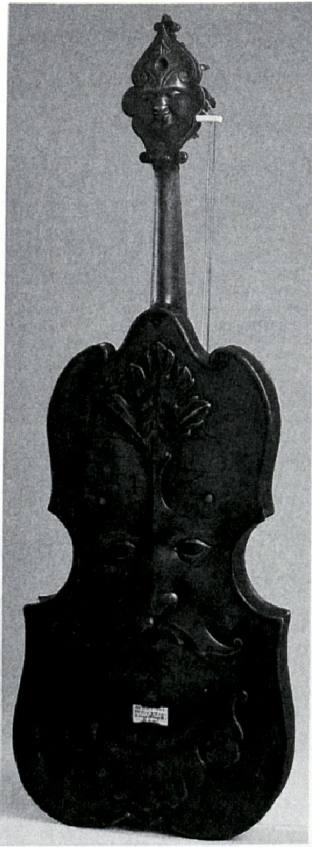


FIG. 4. Giovanni Andrea di Verona, Lira da Braccio, 1511.

As Baldassare Castiglione tells us that the perfect Renaissance courtier was expected to do the same with the *lira da braccio*, spontaneously composing and singing, as Marsilio Ficino put it, «ad lyram»¹ Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us that Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, «delighted greatly in music, and understood very well both singing and playing [*e del canto e dell suono*].»² Federigo's studiolo in the ducal palace at Urbino makes that interest visible in its rich intarsia paneling, which depicts a number of musical instruments, including a *lira da braccio* on the south wall.³

The young Raphael, growing up at the court of Urbino, certainly knew about the *lira da braccio*, which is played by an angel in his *Oddi Coronation of the Virgin* of c. 1503, now in the Vatican.⁴ In his *Parnassus*, however, the *lira da braccio* appears in not a Christian but a classical setting, and the various instruments depicted in the fresco indicate a humanist interest in how the ancient lyre was formed and played. Sappho's Aeolian lyre or barbitos has

¹ BOOK II, 13. See also JAMES HAAR, *The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music*, pp. 165-189 in *The Ideal and the Real in the Renaissance*, eds. Robert Hanning, David Rosand, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983, and STEFANO LORENZETTI, *Viola da mano e viola da arco testimonianze terminologiche nel Cortegiano (1528) di Baldassar Castiglione*, «Liuteria, Musica e Cultura», 1996, pp. 2-23.

² VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, *Le vite di uomini illustri del secolo xv*, ed. Angelo Mai, Florence, 1859, p. 93: «Della musica s'era diletato assai, e intendeva benissimo e del canto e del suono, e aveva una degna cappella di musica, dove erano musici intendentissimi di piu' istrumenti; dilettauasi piu' distrumenti sottili che grossi; trombe e istrumenti grossi non se ne dilettaua molto, ma organi e istrumenti sottili gli piaceuano assai.» See NICOLETTA GUIDOBALDI, *La Musica di Federico: immagini e suoni alla corte di Urbino*, Florence, Olschki, 1995.

³ OLGA RAGGIO, *The Gubbio Studiolo and its Conservation*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999, I, pp. 89-91.

⁴ See SYLVIA TERINO PAGDEN, *Iconographic demands and artistic achievements: the genesis of three works by Raphael*, in *Raffaello a Roma: Il convegno del 1983*, Rome, Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1987, pp. 13-27, esp. pp. 14-19.

the shape of the instrument described in the fourth Homeric Hymn, made by Mercury from the shell of a tortoise [though here with five strings, not Homeric seven]¹, and she holds in her hand the plectrum with which the strings were sounded (FIG. 5).² The muse often identified as Terpsichore holds an antique kithara with two gracefully curved arms (FIG. 6).³ Musicologist Emanuele Winternitz suggested that the forms of both Sappho's and Terpsichore's instruments were taken from an antique sarcophagus known as the Mattei sarcophagus now in the Museo Nazionale di Roma.⁴

Apollo's instrument is clearly not from a classical source such as the Mattei sarcophagus (FIG. 7). With its modern bow, heart-shaped pegboard, and free strings it is without question the Italian *lira da braccio*, though a closer look shows that Apollo's lira has seven strings on the fingerboard and two free strings: a total of nine strings, more than the number found on any surviving instrument.⁵ The court of Pope Julius II was interested in the increasing number of strings in the antique lyre, and late in Julius' pontificate, papal humanist Raffaele Brandolini wrote an oration late in Julius' pontificate, *De musica et poetica*, discussing the invention of the lyre and the establishment of additional strings. The lyre, writes Brandolini,

was invented by Mercury..., either with three strings, for the three changes of time, or with four strings in order to indicate plainly the four elements.... Coroebus, son of Atys the Lydian, invented the fifth string, Hyagnis the Phry-

¹ CHRISTIANE JOOST-GAUGIER, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura: Meaning and Invention*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 118, suggests this is from the Fourth Homeric Hymn, Hymn to Hermes (well-known to Italian scholars after 1504). MATHIESEN, *op. cit.*, gives the text (*Apollo's Lyre*, p. 36).

² EMANUELE WINTERNITZ, *Musical instruments and their symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconology*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979, p. 196, gives an alternative explanation is that Sappho grasps a form derived from the sole horn (of two originally) surviving in the sixteenth century in the instrument as it appears on the Mattei sarcophagus, well-known in the early sixteenth century and now in the Museo Nazionale di Roma.

³ She is sometimes also identified as *Erato*.

⁴ IDEM, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-197.

⁵ ARNOLD NESSELRATH, «Muse make the man thy theme, for shrewdness famed and genius versatile»: Apollo Accompanies Homer in the Proclamation of Julius II in Raphael's Parnassus», pp. 478-483 in *In the Light of Apollo: Italian Renaissance and Greece*, ed. Mina Gregori (exh. cat.), Athens, 2003. In 1984, Franca Camiz oversaw the construction of an instrument based on the one in the fresco (see *Hoch Renaissance im Vatikan 1503-1534: Kunst und Kultur in Rom der Päpste*, exhibition catalogue, Bonn, Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1999, cat. no. 187).



FIG. 5. Raphael, *Parnassus*, detail: Sappho. By Art Resource Permission.



FIG. 6. Raphael, *Parnassus*, detail: Terpsichore.
By Art Resource Permission.



FIG. 7. Raphael, *Parnassus*, detail: Apollo. By Art Resource Permission.

gian the sixth, Apollo or Terpander the seventh, in order to indicate well the number of the planets.... Simonides ...added the eighth string to the lyre.¹

Other authors, both earlier and later, recognized Prophrastus of Pieria as having added the ninth string to the lyre. In 1581 Vincenzo Galilei added, «The strings of this instrument were later assigned to the choir of the nine muses, and it was called "enneachord."»²

¹ RAFFAELE BRANDOLINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23 and 28: «Illam a Mercurio...sive tricordem ad triplicem ad triplicem temporem mutationem, sive tetracordem ad quattuor elementa planius demonstranda repertam....quintam cordam Chorebus, Athis Lydii filius, Hyagius Phrix sextem, Apollo Terpanderve septimam ad planetarum numerum optime designandum invenit» and «Simonides...octavum lyrae nervum adiunxit.»

² VINCENZO GALILEI, *op. cit.*, p. 289: «Venne dipoi Profasto Periota, ò forse Perinto, & vi aggiunse la nona; ancora che secondo Plinio fu' inventione di Timoteo Milesio...la qual corda pose nel grave sotto l'Hypate quanto al suono, ma sopra circa il sito; & la nomino dalla positura Parhypate. Dalla qual cosa si puo fare argomento, che tenuta in braccio la Lira nel sonarsi, le corde piu gravi riguardavano (a guisa di quelli del Liuto) il cielo, & non per il contrario le corde del quale strumento, furono dopo applicate al coro delle nove muse, & lo dissero Enneacordo.» The statement derives from NICOMACHUS OF GERASA, *Excerpta* 4 (see MATHIESEN, *Apollo's Lyre*, p. 247 and pp. 406-413) and was included in Boethius and many others. Coluccio Salutati, in Book 1 Chapter 7 *De*

So Apollo's instrument, a sixteenth-century *lira da braccio* with nine strings like the Greek enneachord given over to the nine muses, serves as the culmination of the lyre's development, as pictured in the Parnassus by Raphael. The series starts with Sappho's tortoise-shell lyre with five strings, moves to Terpsichore's seven-stringed *ki-thara*, finally to reach Apollo's nine-stringed *lira da braccio*, whose very name, in Vincenzo Galilei's words, «imitates that of the ancient lyre.»¹ Indeed another name for the *lira da braccio* was the *lira moderna*, to distinguish it from its classical antecedent.²

Raffaele Brandolini makes the convergence of the antique lyre and the modern *lira da braccio* clear in his oration, already quoted, *De musica et poetica*. After discussing classical players of the lyre, Brandolini turns to his own performance of improvisatory poetry, «which I have been accustomed to use often with the lyre» [«quo ego frequenter ad lyram uti consuevi»]. Brandolini's modern practice of singing with the *lira da braccio* is understood to be in seamless continuity with the practices of the classical gods and heroes he had been describing. Furthermore, Brandolini sang of things past, present, and future:

As for matters past: both of peace and of war...; As for matters present: both those intimate and amusing, and those austere and weighty.... I sang of matters future, when driven by poetic – that is, divine – frenzy, I implored punishments for vices, rewards for virtues.³

What more appropriate instrument was there for Raphael's Apollo than the *lira da braccio*, which embraced all poetry's subjects and

laboris herculis, writes, «Nam septimum apposuisse creditur Lesbius gente Terpander, Samius autem Lychaon octavum, at Prophrastus natione Peryothes ad Musarum numerum rem istam redigens condidit enneacordum. Quam inventionem Germanicus assignavit Orpheo.»

¹ IDEM, *op. cit.*, p. 370: «[la] viola da braccio, detta da non molti anni indietro la lira; ad imitatione dell'antica quanto al nome.»

² IDEM, *op. cit.*, p. 130: «[Signore Giovanni] Bar[di]. In qual maniera fatto & di qual forma credete per fede vostra che fusse il Plettro degli antichi citharisti & citharedi? [Signore Piero] Str[ozzi]. Credo che egli fusse un'Archetto simile a quello che adoperano hoggi il sonatori di Viola da gamba, & da braccio detta modernamente Lira (V. GALILEI, *op. cit.*, p. 130). See also STERLING SCOTT JONES, *op. cit.*

³ RAFFAELE BRANDOLINI, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89: «Praeteritas res tum acis tum belli... praesentes tum familiares et iocosas, tum severas et graves, iocosas quum aut tacenti silentium aut colloquenti sermonem aut conniventi nutum... graves... quum perditos nostri saeculi mores honestissimis veterum institutis commisi, – futuras – inquam – res concini, quum poetico, hoc est divino, impulsus furore vitiis poenas, virtutibus premia sum deprecatus.»

which represented the sixteenth-century incarnation of the antique lyre.¹

So Raphael's depiction of Apollo playing the *lira da braccio* in the *Parnassus* found its motivation in a number of different places. First, there was the growing interest in that instrument in the Montefeltro court of Urbino, where Raphael grew up.² Another motivating force came from the papal court of Julius II, where humanists such as Raffaele Brandolini composed and played «ad lyram.» I'd like to suggest that the change of Apollo's instrument, from classical lyre to *lira da braccio* also bore the imprint of Raphael's relationship with the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi.

Around 1510-1511, both Raphael and Marcantonio were at the beginnings of their careers in Rome, Raphael in the midst of painting those frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura that would be his first great Roman successes; Marcantonio, newly arrived in the city, a leading practitioner of the most technologically advanced means of picture-making then available, namely engraving.³ As I have suggested elsewhere, Raphael's own manner of solving pictorial problems on paper, his graphic intelligence, led him to embark on what would become a remarkably productive partnership with Marcantonio Raimondi. When the *Parnassus* was being painted, that partnership was still quite young.

Before working with Raphael, Marcantonio had depicted the *lira da braccio* as the instrument of classical figures including Apollo and Orpheus no less than four times: *Orpheus and Eurydice* of around 1500-1503; *Allegory of music* (or *Apollo and the three Graces*) of around 1502-1504; *Orpheus enchanting the animals* of around 1506; and another

¹ That is, not, as Winternitz writes, the «seemingly anachronistic introduction of Apollo's bowed instrument among those taken from antiquity» [p. 186]. See also W. GOETHE, *Wilhelm Meisters Theatralische Sendung*, Book 6, chapter 9: «When [the violinist Horatio] at last grasped his instrument, one forgave Raphael for showing his Apollo with a violin instead of a lyre.»

² Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, depicted the instrument being played by Apollo and a muse in the *Tempietto delle Muse* in the ducal palace in Urbino, as well as the hands of an angel in the 1484 *Sacra Conversazione* for the convento di Montefiorentino. See CECIL CLOUG, *Il Tempietto delle Muse e Giovanni Santi*, pp. 63-70; CLAUDIO CRESCENTINI, *Giovanni Santi, Carlo Oliva e la pala di Montefiorentino*, pp. 76-83; and FRANCESCO LUISI, *Iconografia musicale in Giovanni Santi*, pp. 152-156, all in RANIERI VARESE, *Giovanni Santi: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Urbino, 17-19 marzo 1995, Milano, Electa, 1999.

³ See PATRICIA EMISON, *Raphael's Multiples*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, edited by Marcia Hall, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 186-208, where a similar argument is made.



FIG. 8. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Orpheus and Euridice*, c. 1509-1510.

engraving of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, from around 1509-1510 (FIG. 8).¹ One reason behind the repeated depiction of this new and fashionable instrument was that Marcantonio grew up in late-fifteenth-century

¹ These four engravings are catalogued and illustrated in MARZIA FAIETTI, KONRAD OBERHUBER, *Bologna e l'Umanesimo, 1490-1510*, Bologna, 1988, catalogue numbers 1, 4, 27 and 40. Their respective Bartsch numbers are 282, 398, 314, and 295.

tury Bologna, a flourishing center for music. A chair in music had been established at the university in 1450 (if not continuously filled); the Bentivoglio Signoria was well-known for their musical patronage, especially for their splendid public festivals; and an impressive circle of musical theorists, composers and musicians, including Ramos de Pareja and Giovanni Spatoro, was active in Bologna.¹

Humanist, poet, and collector Giovanni Filoteo Achillini described the scene in his chivalric poem, *Il Viridario*, written in 1504, by saying «This [Bolognese] land is gilded with musicians» before praising individual composers and instrumentalists.² Achillini is best known to art historians for the section of *Il Viridario* just following the passage on music, where Achillini also lauds Marcantonio Raimondi's «designo, e bollin molto et profondo» and mentions a «retrato in rame» by Marcantonio. Such a portrait does indeed exist; it is one of Marcantonio's most successful early works (FIG. 9). In it, Achillini is shown playing another modern instrument, a *viola da mano*, which, from its convex case, seems to have a vaulted back.³

Leandro Alberti's textual characterization of Giovanni Filoteo Achillini, first published in 1550, supports the musical interest highlighted in Marcantonio's portrait. Alberti writes:

[...][Achillini's] intelligence was such that he was able in every virtuous pursuit: in the knowledge of Greek and Latin literature, no less in rhetoric, and in poetry, both Italian and Latin. He also did not lack knowledge of music, whether as a singer or as a player of a number of kinds of instruments.⁴

¹ LODOVICO FRATI, *Per la storia della musica in Bologna dal secolo XV a XVI*, «RMI», XXIV, p. 449-478, in SUSAN FORSCHER WEISS, *Musical Patronage of the Bentivoglio Signoria, c.1465-1512*, (IMSCR, XIV), Bologna, 1987, and *Grove Dictionary of Music*, sv. Bologna, 1917; SUSAN FORSCHER WEISS 1987, and *Grove Dictionary of Music*, sv. Bologna.

² *Il Viridario* (Bologna, Hieronimo di Plato, 24 December 1513), written c. 1504, p. 186: «de musici e dorata questa terra [Bolognese] / che cantano improvvisi ogni bel punto, / d'assai compositori a cui non erra / l'arte e molti hanno il canto seco aggiunto» [cited in LUIGI FERDINANDO TAGLIAVINI, «La scuola musicale bolognese», pp. 1-11 in Adelmo Damerini et al., ed., *Musicisti della scuola emiliana*, Siena, Arti grafiche Ticci, 1956.

³ Stephen Barber and Sandi Harris, lute makers in London, have constructed a *viola da mano* based on this engraving.

⁴ LEANDRO ALBERTI, *Descrizione di tutta Italia* (per Domenico de' Ferri), Venice, 1557: pp. 299v-300r: «In lui ritrovasi tal ingegno che ad ogni atto virtuoso era adagiato, con cio fosse cosa che parimente esso combattea, la cognition delle lettere grece & latine, non meno l'eloquenza, con la poesia, tanto volgare, quanto letterale. Et iandio non vi mancava la cognition della musica, così nel cantare, come nel sonar diverse generationi di stromenti.»



FIG. 9. Marcantonio Raimondi, *Giovanni Philoteo Achillini*, c. 1504.

Marcantonio Raimondi's portrait also highlights Achillini's classical interests: using a grecophile middle name with latinate *PH* and *th* à la grecque. Achillini's activities as the founder of the Accademia del Viridario, as defender of the Bolognese dialect, and as published author of a number of works support both the verbal portrait by Leandro Alberti, and the pictorial one by Marcantonio Raimondi.

One of Achillini's publications is a small booklet, published without date or place,¹ in which Achillini describes the collection of a shadowy figure, Ombrone di Fossombrone, including «all sorts of precious stones, the Sibyls, a variety of antique and modern arms, musical instruments, colossal statues, the nine muses, various shrubs, equestrian equipment, and antique and modern dress.»² The passage on the musical collection, kept in a «beautiful chamber, not very big» opposite the display of weapons and arms, gives a list of fifty-seven instruments. We can note that the list includes «lire» plural for «lira» which as we have seen can encompass both ancient instruments and the modern *lira da braccio*. Five other terms on the list, conservatively speaking, could refer to lyres of one sort or another: for example «barbithos» or «cheli», denoting tortoise-shell instruments of the type held by Raphael's Sappho; «cethre» the larger kithara held by Raphael's Terpsichore; and «viole» the modern term for the *lira da braccio* held by Raphael's Apollo.

In other words, the collection of musical instruments described by Giovanni Filoteo Achillini includes a listing of various members the lyre family. Similarly, Raphael's painted Parnassus offers a visual taxonomy of the lira, from the antique instrument, made by Mercury from a tortoise shell, to Terpsichore's twin horned kithara, to the instrument held by Apollo known as the *lira moderna*. My observation

¹ *Epistole al magnificentissimo Missere Antonio Rudolpho Germanico*. See CLAUDIO FRANZONI, *Le raccolte del Theatro di Ombrone e il viaggio in oriente del pittore: Le Epistole di Giovanni Filoteo Achillini*, «Rivista di Letteratura Italiana», 7, p. 287-335; RENATO MEUCCI and GERHARD STRADNER, *Musikinstrumente der Renaissance in den Aufzeichnungen von Giovanni Filoteo Achillini, Bologna, um 1510*, in WILFRIED SEIPEL, *Für Aug'und Ohr: Musik in Kunst- und Wunderkammern*, (exhibition catalogue, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Schloß Ambras), Vienna, 1999, pp. 44-57; and ARMANDO FIABANE, *Un inventario di strumenti di Giovanni Filoteo Achillini (1466-1538)*, «Liuteria, Musica e Cultura», edited by Renato Meucci, Cremona, Associazione Liuteria italiana, 1996.

² ARMANDO FIABANE, *op. cit.*, 1996, p. 26: «preciose petre, le Sibille, la varietà de l'armi antiche et moderne, Musici instrumenti, colossi, le nove Muse, diversi arbori, cavalcarue, antiquuchi et moderni habiti.»

of this parallel between Achillini's text and Raphael's painting suggests that, as with Raphael's youthful activities in Urbino and Siena, as with his relations with Giovanni Santi and Pinturicchio, further attention to Raphael's ties to Bologna, perhaps through Marcantonio Raimondi, would be rewarded. This work has already begun,¹ but there is more musing to be done on Raphael's *Parnassus*.

¹ See for example, HUGO CHAPMAN, TOM HENRY, CAROL PLAZZOTTA, *Raphael: From Urbino to Rome*, exhibition catalogue, London, National Gallery, 2004.

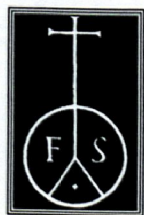
EARLY MODERN AND MODERN STUDIES

A JOURNAL OF THE EARLY MODERN SOCIETY

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IMITATION,
REPRESENTATION
AND PRINTING
IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

EDITED BY
ROY ERIKSEN
AND
MAGNE MALMANGER



PISA · ROMA
FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE

2009

Bb 206-6090

The publication of this volume has been aided by grants from the Research Council of Norway, Stiftelsen Cultiva, and University of Agder.

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ISSN 1828-2164
ISBN 978-88-6227-111-0



2009.3893

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APOLLO'S GLANCE IN RAPHAEL'S *PARNASSUS*

Luba Freedman

Apollo's glance directed heavenward (Fig. 1) immediately strikes the spectators of Raphael's *Parnassus*.¹ (The fresco [1510–1511] forms part of the decoration of the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican Palace.) Von Einem states that Apollo's heav-

enward glance is not in the spirit of classical antiquity.² However, no explanation is offered for Raphael's representing Apollo this way.³ Scholars, noting how unclassical Apollo is in Raphael's fresco, usually focus on Apollo's "modern" musical instrument, the violin.⁴ I want to argue that it is Raphael, rendering Apollo in the unclassical mode by using the heavenward glance, who added this unprecedented feature.

In classical antiquity, Apollo, whether accompanied by Muses (as shown in Raphael's fresco) or not, was never depicted with his eyes lifted toward the heavens. Ancient statues, reliefs, coins, and gems present Apollo looking either straight ahead or downward, the latter emphasized by the slight inclination of his head. Raphael's other fresco in the same room, the *School of Athens*, shows Apollo as a statue in a niche (Fig. 2). Consistent with classical models, he is holding a lyre in his hand.⁵ This Apollo bends his head downward.

Before Raphael, two Renaissance works represented Apollo with the heavenward glance. One is Andrea Mantegna's painting *Parnassus* (1497), the other Hans von Kulmbach's woodcut (1501–1502).⁶ In these representations, however, the heavenward glance is motivated by Apollo's location at the foot of the mountain. Raphael's fresco, on the other hand, shows Apollo on the summit of the mountain. Therefore, the heavenward direction of Apollo's glance is an unprecedented feature; it is not moti-



Fig. 1 Raphael, *Parnassus* (detail): Apollo. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican Palace, Vatican State. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

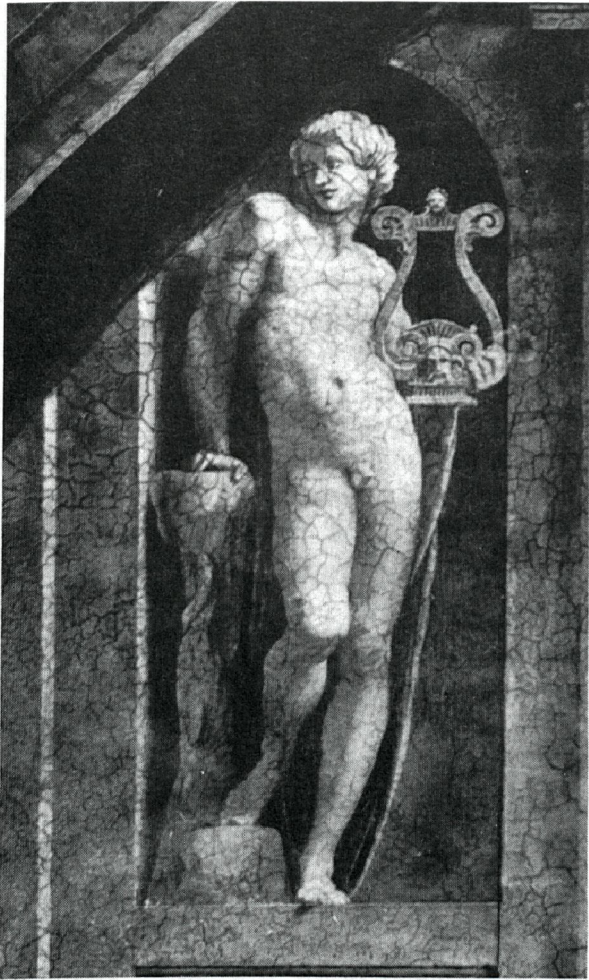


Fig. 2 Raphael, *School of Athens* (detail): Apollo. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican Palace, Vatican State. (Photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource)

vated by the location of the figure and seems to be directed nowhere. Prior to Raphael, Apollo was often represented with his glance directed downward. Raphael could have seen even in his native Urbino works by Botticelli and Timoteo Viti⁷ that depict Apollo playing a violin. Though garbed in “modern” attire, Apollo looks downward, as befitting the classical deity.

In classical antiquity, deities were never

shown gazing heavenward. In that era, the gods had a lofty status; they ruled over their own domains. Raphael’s unclassical-looking Apollo, shown presiding over the Muses and the poets, is supposed to look downward, not up as depicted. The Stanza della Segnatura frescoes comprise several images of rulers. Opposite *Parnassus*, beneath the lunette fresco, two frescoes—*Gregory IX Consigns the Decretals to the Consistory* and *Justinian Consigns the Pandects to Trebonian*—convey ecclesiastical and secular authority.⁸ In both frescoes, the rulers incline their heads toward kneeling recipients, the downward bend of the heads emphasized. The heavenward glance of Apollo thus undermines the status he had had in ancient Greece.

Why was Apollo, the ruler of Muses, portrayed in Raphael’s *Parnassus* with uplifted face? The fresco is located in the papal room, dominated by Christian connotations. The same room contains the *Disputa*, where Christ (Fig. 3), raising his open hands, inclines his head slightly toward those who discuss Christian dogma.⁹ Since Christ is rarely shown this way, even this slight downward inclination contrasts markedly with Apollo’s uplifted face. Surrounded by the mandorla, from which the sun’s rays emanate, Christ replaces Apollo—the pagan god of the sun—as the *sol iustitiae*.¹⁰ Thus, to lessen the authoritative aspect of Apollo, Raphael renders the God’s face uplifted, his eyes directed heavenward.

By lifting his eyes toward heaven, Apollo, it is implied, acknowledges the existence of a higher authority. In this respect, his facial expression is, paradoxically, parallel to that of Homer in the same fresco.¹¹ In works painted by Raphael’s contemporaries, saints were often rendered with eyes turned toward the higher authority: God, Christ, or

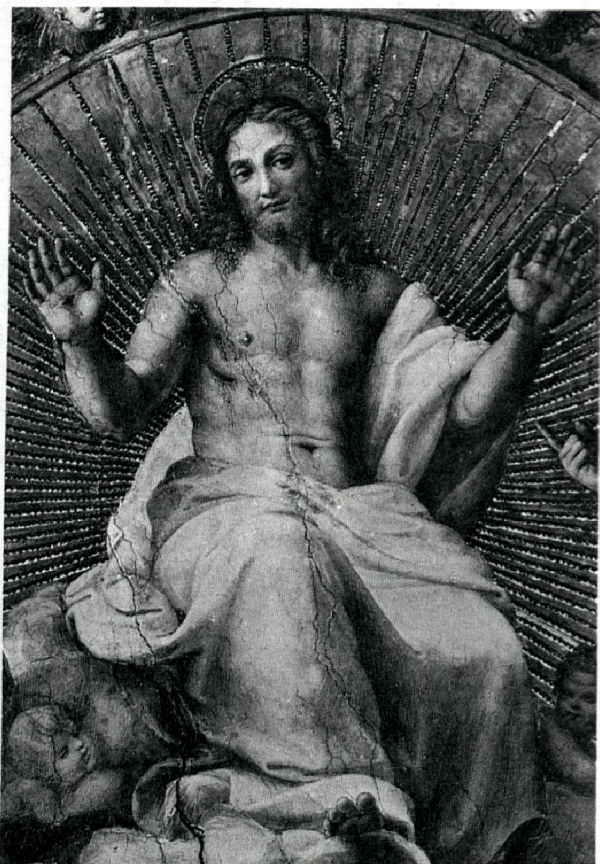


Fig. 3 Raphael, *Disputa* (detail): Christ. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican Palace, Vatican State. (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

the Madonna.¹² One of Raphael's preparatory drawings for *Parnassus* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille) reveals his preoccupation with how Apollo holds his instrument (the artist drew this twice on the same page) rather than with the classical god's countenance.¹³ The figure in the drawing simply looks toward the instrument. Raphael rendered Apollo's facial expression several times. Another drawing, an earlier one made for the *Coronation of the Madonna* (1502–1503) and containing Saint James's face (British Museum, London),¹⁴ manifests Raphael's mastery in rendering the uplifted glance. The pagan deity, adapting the facial

expression of the saint (and of the poet), thus looks less deified than in his classical representations.

However, the absence of motivation for the direction of Apollo's gaze is unusual; it is unprecedented for the depictions of the saints as well. Raphael himself would render the face of a saint with uplifted gaze only one other time—in the *Ecstasy of Saint Cecilia* (1514). Cecilia's heavenward gaze is probably inspired by Psalm 25:15: "My eyes are always upon the Lord."¹⁵ Later in the cinquecento, the gaze that is directed upward but not toward a fixed subject would be lent to the images of penitent saints. By looking at the development of the uplifted gaze in the images of saints, we can better appreciate Raphael's representation of Apollo in the papal room.

That Apollo should not have looked heavenward was known to Raphael from, among other things, literary descriptions.¹⁶ Statius, in the *Thebaid* (VI.355–357), a classical text familiar in Raphael's time,¹⁷ states that Apollo, in the company of the Muses, strikes the strings of the cithara as he directs his eyes toward earth. The passage mentions Apollo as presiding on Parnassus in the combined role of Musagetes and Citharedos. Though Statius's text is known to Raphael scholars, it seems never to have been cited in connection with the unusual expression on Apollo's face.¹⁸ The verse from the *Thebaid* reads as follows:

Interea cantu Musarum nobile mulcens concilium cithareque manus insertus Apollo Parnassi summo spectabat ab aethere terras.

[Meanwhile Apollo was charming with his strains the Muses' glorious company, and, his finger placed upon the strings, was gazing down to earth from the airy summit of Parnassus.]¹⁹

How different is Apollo's look in Raphael's *Parnassus* from that described by Statius. Apollo plays a violin and looks heavenward. The uplifted glance confers on his face an unusual expression that causes him to appear less than classical.

Raphael's uncommon representation of Apollo prompts Bellori to comment on this figure. Bellori recalls that Raphael wished to "honor an excellent musician who accompanied the song of poets at the time of



Fig. 4 From Marcantonio Raimondi, engraving after an early study of Raphael for the *Parnassus* (detail): Apollo. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of James C. McGuire, 1931. (31.54.166)

Pope Leo.²⁰ Bellori's remark enhances the impression of Raphael's Apollo as unclassical but is problematical since *Parnassus* was executed during the reign of Julius II. And no one other than Bellori mentions this wish of Raphael's to "honor an excellent musician."²¹ It is improbable that Raphael added the features of a specific court musician to the visage of Apollo. In the papal room, the location of Apollo in the center of the fresco, presiding over the Muses and poets, ancient as well as contemporary, parallels that of Christ in the *Disputa*.²² Raphael changes the look of Apollo in a number of ways to lessen the impression that the pagan deity's status is equal to that of Christ, the uplifted glance being merely one of these. It is precisely because *Parnassus* is part of a larger composition decorating the papal room that Apollo seems to yield his power to that of Christ. Consequently, the *Parnassus* Apollo is remote from the classical model.

Raphael's unclassical Apollo appears in the same room with two other renderings of the god: in the *School of Athens*, where he is seen as a statue in a niche, and on the ceiling, taking cruel revenge on Marsyas.²³ In these instances, Apollo is seen at the acme of his power; in both of them, he directs his glance downward.

Describing Raphael's *Parnassus* from memory, Vasari adds several details that he could not have seen in the fresco, but only in the engraving of the subject by Marcantonio Raimondi (Fig. 4). Vasari omits the difference between the fresco and the engraving in both editions of the *Lives* (1550 and 1568). The second edition, however, includes a life of Marcantonio, where Vasari adds that the engraving was made after "a small drawing of the Mount Par-

nassus with Apollo, the Muses and Poets."²⁴ Although he pays attention to various figures in the fresco, Vasari does not describe Apollo. Over a hundred years later, Bellori notes that the *Parnassus* Apollo differs from that in the engraving and focuses on Apollo's instrument—the violin in the former and the lyre in the latter.²⁵ Yet Apollo's glance in the fresco differs from that in the engraving: in the former, his glance is uplifted; in the latter, it is turned downward.

In the engraving (which probably reproduces Raphael's drawing),²⁶ Apollo follows Statius's description: Apollo holds a cithara in one hand, touching the strings with the other. Most notably, Raphael follows Statius in depicting Apollo with head inclined and eyes turned down.

The engraving presents Apollo in the

classical manner because it depicts the subject as a self-contained unity even as, by its inscription "Raphael pinxit in Vaticano," it reminds the viewer about the *Parnassus* fresco. This engraving demonstrates that in Raphael's time Apollo could have been represented as a deity of classical antiquity on the condition that Apollo is rendered per se, without any connection to Christ's image, as it is in the *Parnassus* fresco, a neighbor of the *Disputa*, which is in the same room.

Raphael, familiar with the diverse aspects of the Apollo image, has devised an ingenious way of indicating to visitors in the papal room that the authority of the classical deity, as conveyed by the Roman poet, has waned. The uplifted glance eloquently transmits Raphael's message to Renaissance and contemporary viewers.

NOTES

1. L. Dussler, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries* (London and New York: 1971), pp. 74–76. Cf. D. Redig de Campos, *Raffaello nelle Stanze* (Milan: 1965).

2. H. von Einem, "Das Programm der Stanza della Segnatura im Vatikan," *Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Geisteswissenschaften*, Vorträge G 169 (Opladen: 1971), p. 33: "Der schwärmerische Aufblick des Gottes, der Antike unbekannt, mag schon auf die Geheimnisse vorausdeuten, die erst in der Theologie offenbar werden."

3. K. Meyer-Baer, "Musical Iconography in Raphael's *Parnassus*," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 8 (1949):95, suggests that Raphael actually rendered Orpheus. More recently, B. Cohen, "The *Rinascimento dell'Antichità* in the Art of Painting: Pausanias and Raphael's *Parnassus*," *SOURCE: Notes in the History of Art* 3 (Summer 1984):33, proposes that Raphael represents Orpheus during his visit to Hades. However E. Verheyen,

The Paintings in the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este at Mantua (New York: 1971), p. 35 and n. 63, remarks that Orpheus was never shown surrounded by Muses or poets. Cf. G. Scavizzi, "The Myth of Orpheus in Italian Renaissance Art, 1400–1600," in *Orpheus: The Metamorphoses of a Myth*, ed. J. Warden (Toronto: 1982), pp. 125–128.

4. E. Winternitz, "Musical Archaeology of the Renaissance in Raphael's *Parnassus*," in *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven and London: 1979); pp. 185–201.

5. G. Becatti, "Raphael and Antiquity," in *The Complete Works of Raphael*, ed. M. Salmi (Novara: 1969), pp. 519–520.

6. Verheyen, pl. 21, and F. Winkler, *Hans von Kulmbach: Leben und Werk eines frankischen Künstlers der Dürerzeit* (Munich: 1959), pl. 4 and p. 37.

7. L. Parigi, "Nota musicale botticelliana," *Rivista d'Arte* 19 (1937):71–77. Cf. R. Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1978), II, p. 213 (F 13), who does not attribute

the design to Botticelli. For Viti's Apollo, see R. Dubos, *Giovanni Santi: Peintre et Chroniqueur à Urbino, au XVe siècle* (Bordeaux: 1971), p. 130, pl. 36. (Dubos attributes the design to Giovanni Santi.)

8. Dussler, p. 77. As far as I know, the rulers' posture in these frescoes has not been discussed.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–73, without relating to Christ's posture.

10. The parallel between Christ and Apollo has been drawn on numerous occasions, but see especially J. M. Greenstein, "'How Glorious the Second Coming of Christ': Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* and the Transfiguration," *Artibus et Historiae* 20 (1989):49 and nn. 56 and 57.

11. Homer's expression was analyzed by A. Springer, *Raffaël und Michelangelo*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: 1883), I, pp. 231, 233 n. 5; cf. von Einem, p. 33.

12. Examples of the renditions of saints who gaze at the Madonna, Christ, or God are common.

13. P. Joannides, *The Drawings of Raphael with a Complete Catalogue* (Oxford: 1983), cat. no. 237v.

14. *Ibid.*, cat. no. 50.

15. T. Connolly, *Mourning into Joy: Music, Raphael, and Saint Cecilia* (New Haven and London: 1995), lingers on the unusual character of the "heavenly seeing" Cecilia, p. 131, where the Psalm is quoted, and more on p. 253: "Yet, her gaze is not toward the angels, who are actually behind her, but to something in the heavens before them and out of the viewer's sight."

16. E. Schröter, *Die Ikonographie des Themas Parnass vor Raffael: Die Schrift- und Bildtraditionen von der Spätantike bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: 1977).

17. Statius's *Thebaid* was one of the standard classical texts circulating in the Renaissance. See E.

Paratore's entry on Statius in *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, ed. U. Bosco, 6 vols. (Rome: 1970–1979), V, pp. 419–425,

18. Schröter, p. 6, cites the passage in full.

19. *Statius with an English Translation*, ed. J. H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library (London: 1967), II, p. 87.

20. G. P. Bellori, *Descrizione delle immagini dipinte da Rafaella d'Urbino nelle camere del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Rome: 1695; rpt. Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1968), p. 25: "far onore ad un suonatore eccellentissimo, il quale accompagnava il canto de' Poeti nel tempo di Papa Leone." Cf. Winternitz, p. 200.

21. V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo* (Vatican City: 1936).

22. J. Shearman, "The Vatican Stanze: Functions and Decoration," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 57 (1971):16: "Yet the prominence of Apollo is only equalled in the room by that of Christ."

23. On the Apollo "statue," see p. 20 in this article and n. 5, above. On Apollo on the ceiling, see E. Wind, "The Flaying of Marsyas," in *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New York: 1968), pp. 171–176.

24. G. Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, ed. W. Gaunt, trans. A. B. Hinds, 4 vols. (New York: 1980), III, p. 74.

25. Bellori, p. 25.

26. J. Shearman, "Raphael's Unexecuted Projects for the Stanze," in *Walter Friedlaender zum 90. Geburtstag: Eine Festgabe seiner europäischen Schüler, Freunde und Verehrer* (Berlin: 1965), pp. 158–159. On Raimondi's engraving, see the excellent entry in *Raffaello a Vaticano* (Milan: 1985), cat. no. 50, pp. 80–82.