ICONOCRAZIA

RIVISTA DI SCIENZE SOCIALI E FILOSOFIA POLITICA

SAGGIO

# Raphael at Court, but Not Altogether of It

CHARLES BURROUGHS

*Independent Scholar – Rochester, NY*

**Abstract**

Raphael's capacity to thrive at court stands out in an age of manners and reflections on manners. His reputation as a perfect courtier has been burnished by his association with Baldassare Castiglione, whose evocation of "the perfect courtier" was one of the most influential books of the Cinquecento and whose portrait by Raphael seems to embody the qualities outlined by Castiglione himself. Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* may represent a shift to self-conscious reflexivity in a long history of positive and negative writings on courts and courtiers. Nevertheless, it emerged in a culture used to visual representations of court life, from images of Mary as Queen of Heaven to more secular subjects, such as Mantegna's *Camera degli Sposi* or Signorelli's Court of Pan. In the Stanza della Segnatura, Raphael painted the court of Apollo on Parnassus with attendant beautiful women and talented and eloquent men (also women), as in Castiglione's ideal court. Yet in the Stanza, there are indications of Raphael's capacity for sly and witty subversion of the overarching epideictic purpose; in this, too, perhaps, he was a perfect courtier.

**Keywords:** Stanze, Raphael, Andrea Mantegna, Baldassare Castiglione, Apollo, Parnassus

When he arrived in the papal court in 1508 or early 1509, Raphael was a young man, only twenty-five years of age. He would work in Rome for a mere decade until his premature and much-lamented death in 1520. His artistic brilliance was matched by a capacity to seek out and organize collaborators and impress superiors with his social skills, his "costumi santi," as Giorgio Vasari put it admiringly (Rubin, 1995, pp. 380-381). Elsewhere Vasari describes Raphael simply as *grazioso* (Vasari, 1550, p. 599).[1] *Grazia* ("grace"—the ability to perform effortlessly at a high level) is famously a crucial concept in the *Book of the Courtier* by Raphael's friend Count Baldassare Castiglione, first published by the prestigious Venetian printer Aldus Manutius in 1528. The book was many years in the making; a first draft of 1508 probably predated the insertion of admiring references to Raphael, notably in the published book. Raphael's friendship with Castiglione is immortalised by the well-known portrait of the count (**Figure 1**) as an embodiment of the perfect courtier that his book sets out to evoke (Shearman, 1994, p. 72; Mac Carthy, 2009, pp. 33-45).

*Figure 1. Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio), Portrait of Count Baldassare Castiglione. Oil on Canvas, Louvre, 1514–1515. Photo Elsa Lambert, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=15716848.*

Castiglione's book occupies a special place in a long tradition of writing about courts, often from a highly negative perspective, as in a work of 1444 by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, the *De curialium miseriis* ("On the Miseries

[1] On the implications of Vasari's terminology, see Rijser, 2012, pp. 80–82.

of Courtiers") (Garina, 1997, pp. 119-120). Such accounts of court life claim objectivity, as if written from outside the court milieu, but Castiglione presents "a group of courtiers who take themselves and their role and function at court as a topic for reflection and discussion." (Ugolini, 2018, pp. 898-899). Though certainly idealised, the setting of the *Book of the Courtier* —the court of the Duke of Urbino — is one that Castiglione knew well as the scene of his own performance as courtier, and as participant in the games that he describes as central to the life of a court (Lanham, 2004, pp. 146-155). In Raphael's portrait of him, moreover, as Ita Mac Carthy points out, the count looks out of the painting as if addressing an interlocutor, apparently an equal, a role she plausibly assigns to Raphael himself (Mac Carthy, 2009; Thomas, 1997, pp. 38-65). Shortly after his arrival in Rome, indeed, Julius II promoted Raphael to take charge of the decoration of his private apartment, a commission initially entrusted to a group of more senior artists (Shearman, 1983).[2] Evidently the pope envisaged his state apartment as an appropriate hub—and reflection—of a court as glittering as any predecessor.

Julius can hardly have foreseen the success of what was surely something of a gamble on Raphael. Not only, however, did Raphael flourish as both court painter and leader of men, I will argue that in certain paintings he drew on the court itself as his inspiration or even model. In the Stanza della Segnatura especially, Raphael's imagery can be set in the context of reflections on the phenomenon of the court, perhaps even anticipating the self-conscious approach of Castiglione (Rubin, 1995, p. 393).[3] In certain details, moreover, Raphael wittily implies a degree of critical distance from the ostensible celebratory or epideictic purpose. But this too, perhaps, fits the profile of the perfect courtier.[4]

Raphael's initial commission in Rome was the decoration of the Stanza della Segnatura, at the time Julius's private office and—perhaps—library.[5] No-one could deny that the four great frescoes in the room repaid Julius's faith in Raphael. Necessarily, the artist accepted and amplified the epideictic purpose of the frescoes, the glorification of the pope and the papacy through multi-figured compositions that balanced attention to individual figures and the larger pictorial surface. Raphael's frescoes amply exemplify *grazia* by concealing the enormous labour required, as preparatory drawings attest, to populate the contrasted scenes with representatives of the fields of knowledge—Theology, Law, Philosophy, and Poetry—that we can presume the patron himself chose as major motifs for his study, probably corresponding to the classification of books stored in the room or at least owned by

[2] Shearman opened a new direction of study. On Raphael's interlocking skills as an artist and manager, see now Talvacchia, 2005, pp. 167–186.
[3] Rubin notes that Vasari associates Raphael, "the courtly painter," with the "Petrarchan tradition of courtly love." See also Barolsky, 2010, p. 38.
[4] The sycophancy of courtiers was a regular theme in anti-court polemics; Ugolini, *op. cit.*, pp. 898–899.
[5] The use of the room as a library is largely accepted, but see Rijser, *op.cit.*, p. 128.

the pope.[6] The basis for Raphael's work in the Stanza was presumably Julius's own vision for the room, though this probably did not go into detail and required Raphael to amplify basic themes, occasionally, as we will see, in a subtly subversive direction.

The first fresco that Raphael tackled in the Stanza was the *Disputa* (**Figure 2**), as it is usually known, painted on the wall beneath the enthroned personification of "Knowledge of Things Divine," according to the associated motto.

*Figure 2. Raphael, Disputa (Adoration of the Host), fresco, Stanza della Segnatura, Rome, c.1510. Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=15460950. The possible portrait of Bramante is at the lower left.*

The commission required extensive knowledge of the history of the Church and, to an extent, its doctrines, for which, obviously, Raphael did not have the requisite education or background. Accordingly, the complexity of the commission for the Stanza required Raphael to assemble collaborators both in his workshop and, especially for the *Disputa*, among learned members of the papal court, involving interactions that must have challenged even Raphael's diplomatic skills. Nevertheless, he produced a compelling image of eminent theologians and other holy figures engaged in collective veneration of the Host. On the lower level, we see an image of collaboration and harmony among diverse theologians and Church leaders gathered beneath a vision of Christ enthroned in glory between the Madonna

[6] On correspondences between Raphael's imagery and the book collection, see Taylor, 2009, pp. 103–141; and Cosgriff, 2022, pp. 82–97.

and St. John the Baptist, among ranks of angels, prophets, and sainted martyrs.[7] In other words, this is an image of the Court of Heaven, a not uncommon subject of altarpieces, one of which Raphael himself had painted a few years previously (1502–1504), though no previous versions approached the scale and ambition of the *Disputa* (Watson, 1987, p. 134).[8]

Raphael's development of the *Disputa* did not proceed without hitches, apparently arising from the concerns of learned advisers, or even the pope himself. At an early stage, Raphael's preparatory work was interrupted, and his final version incorporated important revisions (Nesselrath, 2022, p. 78).[9] This is not surprising; as an image of Theology, the *Disputa* had uniquely sensitive content in the context of the Stanza, much more so than the images of philosophers or poets, or even jurists, the subjects of the other three frescoes in the room. A striking motif that survived the revision of Raphael's initial design is an angelic figure stationed on the left side of the fresco and pointing toward the central motif, perhaps echoing the gesture of Lady Theology, enthroned in the vault above **(Figure 2**). The final version gives the angelic figure both great beauty and a narrative purpose: clad in white, he (?) points toward the Host as if admonishing a balding older man, holding an open book, who seems determined to follow a text rather than the vision, possibly echoing St. Paul's assertion, "The letter kills, but the Spirit gives life" (2 Corinthians 3:6).[10] The Pauline assertion has been much discussed, but it is important in the present context that it corresponds to Castiglione's distinction (later echoed by Vasari) of the rule—i.e., of conduct—and the higher stage of transcendence of the rule (Bader and Fiddes, 2013, pp. 3-30).[11]

A reference to "spirit" occurs also on the *Parnassus* wall, where the fresco of Apollo and the Muses is surmounted by an enthroned female personification flanked by *putti* holding tablets inscribed with the words *numine afflatur* (roughly, "inspired by a/the divine force") (Steppich, 2002, pp. 111-114; Schröter, 1980). The phrase literally refers to a "breathing in," with connotations of the original association of the words "spirit" (*spiritus*) and "in-spir-ation" with breath (*spirare*). As divine figures, the Muses, who surround Apollo in the fresco, are frequently invoked by poets, such as those gathered around them, to supply inspiration: "Sing, Muse" is the famous beginning of Homer's *Iliad*.[12] The relationship of spirit and

---

[7] On "celestial visions" in general, see Gill, 2014, pp. 60–99. On the *Disputa*, see Kleinbub, 2011, pp. 32–37.

[8] He compares here Apollo's court with traditional images of the court of the Queen of Heaven.

[9] He summarises here his own crucial research on the painting of the *Disputa*.

[10] In the Latin of the Vulgate, Paul writes: "qui et idoneos nos fecit ministros novi testamenti: non littera, sed Spiritu: littera enim occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat." On Vasari see Rubin, 1995, p. 254.

[11] They note (p. 4) Augustine's distinction of *mandatum* and *gratia* in the *De Doctrina Christiana*, which is surely related, if only indirectly, to Castiglione's conceptions. And (p. 7) "the development of Paul's text has affected every period within the intellectual history of the Old Europe." For Christian overtones in Castiglione's advice to courtiers, see Thomas, 197, p. 42.

[12] Plato founded, for example, a famous cult site of the Muses in his Academy at Athens (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.30.2).

inspiration, or of theology and literary production, is conspicuously thematised in the Stanza through the unmistakable presence, both in the *Disputa* and in the *Parnassus*, of Dante. Moreover, the association of Apollo, the sun god, with Christ recurs in medieval and Renaissance culture (Fumo, 2010, pp. 79-80).

Though markedly different from each other, the painted communities of the Stanza frescoes (there are three crowd scenes) have in common a high degree of internal diversity, whether in human type, gesture, clothing, or in the *Parnassus*, gender. Such diversity is subordinate in each fresco to a larger coherence or perhaps even submerged, as often alleged, in a totalising harmony (Joost-Gaugier, 2002). In the *Disputa*, notably, the assembled theologians and clerics form a kind of unifying apse that corresponds, as Matthias Winner especially has noted, to architectural metaphors deployed by early Christian writers, notably St Paul. Indeed, Paul (1 Corinthians 3:10) refers to himself as "a master builder who lays the foundations, and another buildeth upon it" (Barolsky, 1997, pp. 48-52). In the *Disputa*, this idea seems embodied in a large stone that looms up on the right over the figures gathered in front of it; almost certainly it represents or at least alludes to the cornerstone, that is, the crucial element of a foundation that supports and binds together the rest of a building. In an expansive metaphor, Christ himself is the cornerstone of the Church, though illogically he is also the pinnacle (Ladner, 1983, pp. 171-196).

If we turn our glance across the room, the apse-like arrangement of bodies in the *Disputa* confronts the triumphal but artificial literal architecture that forms the monumental backdrop that unifies the *School of Athens* and vaults over the dominant pair of Plato and Aristotle (**Figure 3**).

*Figure 3. Raphael, Parnassus, fresco, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, c.1511. Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=15709581.*

In the green landscape of the *Parnassus*, in contrast (**Figure 4**), architectural references are entirely lacking (Wilson, 2020, p. 400);[13] on the hill of Parnassus (here conflated with Mount Helicon, the mythological home of the Muses), Apollo presides over the "council of the Muses" themselves as well as an assorted company of poets gathered among laurel trees (Watson, 1987, p. 136).

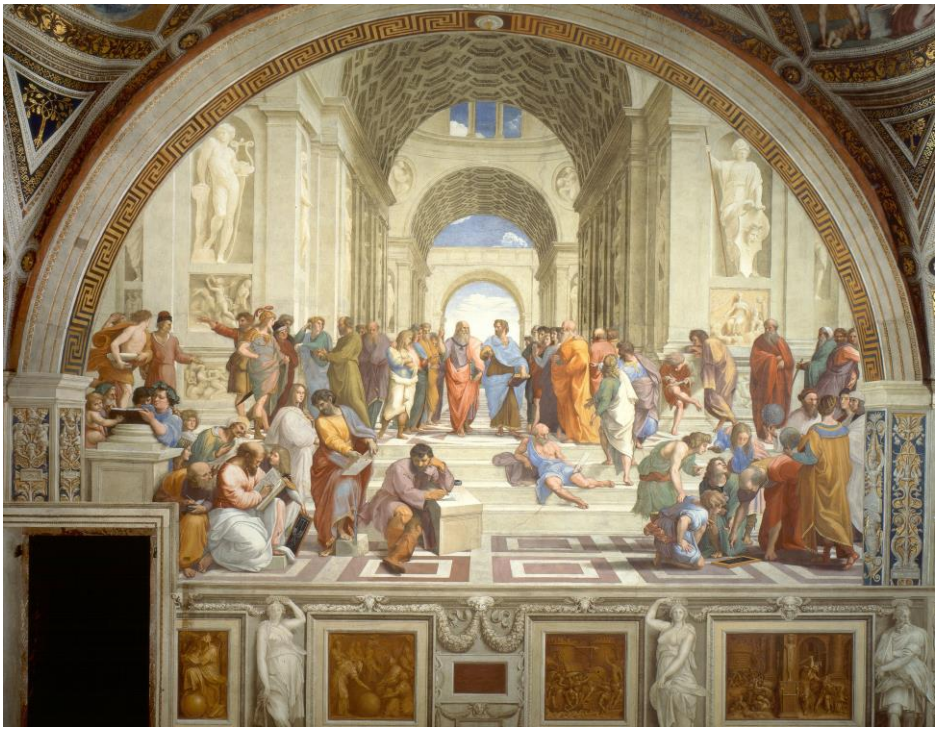

*Figure 4. Raphael, School of Athens, fresco, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican, c.1510. Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4406048.*

As he draws his bow across the strings of a perhaps jarringly contemporary *lira da braccio*, Apollo is both an inspired maker of music but also, presumably, at the same time a divine source of poetic inspiration, such as might be mediated through the Muses and expressed in various modes and genres by the poets gathered around the god.[14] Certainly, on the left side of the fresco, the lyric poets around Sappho on the lower slope are clearly distinguished from the epic poets higher up the mountain. It was a distinction that mattered, as we will see, in the discourse about poetry.

On his sacred mountain, then, or at least on a soft foothill of Parnassus, Apollo holds court (Watson, 1987, p. 134). By 1511, visitors to the Stanza were surely aware of the ongoing cultural achievements associated with the court of

[13] He remarks here that the Stanza combined the functions of a library and a garden, i.e., the landscape pictured in the *Parnassus* as well as the larger landscape beyond the window.
[14] On contemporary insistence on the divine source of musical or poetic inspiration, see Wilson, 2020, p. 349.

Julius II, from the work of Bramante and Michelangelo to the progress being made in the decoration of Julius's study. As Julius consolidated his reputation as patron of the arts and instigator of ambitious artistic and architectural projects, it was easy to cast him in the role of Apollo, even without considering his close association with a famous statue of the god. Before his accession to the papacy as Julius II, the then Cardinal Giuliano Della Rovere had been the proud owner of the statue known as the Apollo Belvedere, transferred after Julius's accession to the statue court on the Vatican hill. The statue joined an exceptional group of ancient statues set up in the Belvedere villa, from which it took its name.[15]

Before late sixteenth-century construction obstructed the view, the "window in Parnassus" in the Stanza opened to the Belvedere Courtyard, designed by Bramante. This enormous space joined the papal palace at the foot of the Vatican hill and a Renaissance villa at the top by way of successive terraces and stairs organising the rising ground on the slope of the Vatican hill. In Antiquity there had been a shrine to Apollo on the hill, so that the window provided a visual link, obstructed by later buildings, between images of Apollo in the Stanza and the site of his ancient shrine. Accordingly, the positioning of the Apollo Belvedere (**Figure 5**) on the Vatican hill marked a kind of return of the god to his ancient haunts, asserting a continuity of a kind dear to Renaissance intellectuals (Daltrop, 1982, pp. 57, 61 and 63 n. 20).

[15] On the establishment of the sculpture courtyard, see Lazzaro, 2011.

*Figure 5. The Apollo Belvedere, marble statue, second century CE (?). Belvedere Courtyard, Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican. Photo Livio Andronico CC BY-SA 4.0, Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license. https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/inde.*

Probably the statue appealed to Raphael and others for its ambiguity, for it shows Apollo "in an avenging action that yet reveals him as the god of poetry and leader of the Muses" (Fehl, 2015, p. 144). Such a duality links the image of Apollo in the *Parnassus* and the nearby image, discussed below, of the god's victory over the rustic upstart Marsyas.

No doubt Julius would have been pleased by being associated, however subtly, with Apollo, especially in his role as proponent of literary creation and, in general, activities associated with the Muses. There was nothing covert, however, in Raphael's self-insertion into the *Parnassus* (Barolsky, 1994, p. 164);[16] he is surely the youthful figure who appears between the group of the epic poets around blind Homer and the Muses (Enenkel, 2022). He is, accordingly, in a privileged position to receive inspiration, though the laurel wreath that he wears, like the other poets, suggests a record rather than the promise of achievement. He looks out over the pointing hand of the poet to his right, apparently Virgil, who seems to be alerting Dante to the presence of Apollo, while Homer, needing no such guidance, turns his unseeing eyes heavenward. As is well known, Raphael makes a more prominent

[16] "Raphael's *Parnassus* suggests that … [his] own painting, his own *poesia*, places him in the very history of poetry that it illustrates."

appearance in the *School of Athens,* where he and his associate Il Sodoma advance from the lower right. In both frescoes, Raphael's inclusion was perhaps a gesture on behalf of his craft, as if disputing any presumption of the primacy of text over visual art.

In the *Parnassus*, however, the inclusion of Raphael's likeness in the court of Apollo alludes to his increasingly dominant position in the patronage economy of Julius II and, in the fresco, within a celebratory or at least aspirational mirror of the court of Julius. Even in the *Parnassus,* however, the gathered poets exemplify a wide range of relations to power, including some voices critical of the social and political realities of their day; Dante's bitter complaints are a case in point. Moreover, for insightful reflection on the position of the artist at the court of a powerful ruler, we can turn especially to one of the greatest and most versatile poets of Antiquity, the Roman poet Horace, whose collected works were published in 1482 in the edition of Cristoforo Landino, whose landmark edition of Dante had appeared the previous year (McGann, 2007, pp. 305-317).

Horace's importance was such that, as Karl Enenkel has remarked in an exploratory account of his reception in the visual arts, "Horace cannot have been absent from the *Parnassus*" (Enenkel, 2022, p. 115). He was certainly not missing from Dante's list of pagans as present in Limbo, where Horace appears (*Inferno* 4.89) as "Orazio satiro" (Barański, 2006, pp. 187-221)[17]. Horace's ability to master Greek metres in his lyrical Latin verses was probably unparalleled, but the title of satirist conferred on him by Dante anchors him in a specifically Roman context, in view of the claim by the eminent rhetorician Quintilian (*Institutes of Oratory* 10.1.94) that satire was "all ours." Satire was in Antiquity—and remains now—a capacious descriptor, and indeed Horace goes to some lengths to contrast his own, in his view, far superior efforts in the genre with those of the Roman pioneer Lucilius, while claiming Socrates as a model (*Art of Poetry,* 309–311) in the delineation of moral types.[18]

Cinquecento humanists were certainly aware of a more savage current of satire, like that of Juvenal, who wrote long after Horace's time.[19] They knew, further, of literary complaints about the excessive harshness, or "liberty," in certain satirists' work, which offended the principles of decorum. Horace's explicitly satirical works, titled *Sermones* ("Conversations"), in general offer quite gentle observations on human behaviour (Gowers, 2005, pp. 48-61; Hooley, 2007, pp. 28-86). In this sense there is a wider satiric impulse in Horace's work, notably in one of his most influential works, the so-called *Art of Poetry* (ostensibly not a treatise but a letter to friends) with its reflections on the diversity of human character,

[17] See also: Reynolds, 1995, pp. 128–144; Pistoja, 2015, pp. 27–45; Fabian and Applauso, 2020, pp. 1–18. In *Art of Poetry*, 235, Horace refers to himself somewhat ambiguously as "satyrorum scriptor."
[18] On the nature and range of Roman satire, see Keane, 2005, p. 12.
[19] In studies of the intellectual context of the Stanza, Horace, apart from the *Art of Poetry,* has not attracted much attention.

especially in a dramatic context.[20] In short, if Dante emphasised Horace's satirical work, it draws attention to the Roman poet's importance as an inspiration for his own rich gallery of human types and failings.[21] Apart from the antique sculptures mentioned by Claudia La Malfa, indeed, the Horatian array of personages may have offered Raphael an antique model for his own "cast of richly human protagonists" in the Stanza (La Malfa, 2020, p. 155).[22]

If indeed Horace can be found in the *Parnassus*, the question arises, where? Enenkel identifies him in a bearded man, situated in the lower right and shown pointing into the room (**Figure 6**), as if communicating or even remonstrating with its occupants, who were generally the pope and major figures of the papal court.

*Figure 6. Raphael, Parnassus, fresco, Stanza della Segnatura, detail. The Pointing Poet, here identified as Horace the satirist. Photo Art Resource/Scala.*

[20] On the broader satiric impulse in Horace's poetry, see Vazzana, 2001, pp. 91–102.
[21] On the "manifest overlap" between the *Ars Poetica* and the Satires, see Ferriss-Hill, 2019, pp. 238–420. On Horace in Dante, see Karsten Friis-Jensen, "Horace in the Middle Ages," in Harrison, 2007, p. 304; Reynolds, 1995, pp. 128–144.
[22] La Malfa does not mention Horace.

A bravura work of illusionism, the figure perhaps detracts from the overall harmony of the composition; this may be deliberate, as argued below (Thoenes, 2019, p. 39).[23] The window that opens in the virtual Mount Parnassus, as well as in the actual wall, connects both the painting and the room to a physical "Parnassus" established by the pope at the top of the hill. In a reverse movement, the pointing figure——alone in the Stanza——uses gesture to challenge the boundary between a virtual scene and actual interior space. In her monograph on the Stanza frescoes, however, Christiane Joost-Gaugier has objected that the pointing man does not fit Horace's own description of himself as short and chubby (Joost-Gaugier, 2002, pp. 127-130). Instead, she identifies him as Pindar, a famous ancient Greek poet who specialised in the praise of aristocratic victors in athletic festivals, like the Olympian Games.

Such an identification disregards an especially famous passage in one of Horace's *Odes* (4.2)[24] that provides a memorable account of Pindar's style, drawing comment, e.g., in Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory* (10.1.61). Pindar's poetry, according to Horace, is sublime and magniloquent, like a stream in torrent or a soaring swan, and he emphasises the contrast with his own more mundane verse: he compares himself to a bee flitting among lowly herbs.[25] The irony is patent, especially as Horace proceeds to do a good job of imitating Pindar. Nevertheless, there is no question that the pointing figure, seated at the foot of Raphael's Mount Parnassus, does not accord with Horace's evocation of Pindar's lofty style. And though Horace's *Satires* (*Sermones*) belong to his earlier career, it is likely that Raphael's adviser(s) thought of his satirical persona as permeating his verse until the end, and that the later, mature Horace, having said farewell to his amatory pursuits, would be suitable for an epideictic work such as the *Parnassus* (Oberhuber, 1999, p. 105).[26]

Horace's tour de force in praise of Pindar would have been known to any humanist, including any learned adviser assisting Raphael to develop imagery for unfamiliar subjects that challenged the limits of visibility. Horace was the author of the most famous reflections on poetry in Latin antiquity; the text that is traditionally known as the *Art of Poetry*, itself a poem that purports to be in the form of an extended letter and is certainly not a treatise or didactic composition in a conventional sense, though it would be often treated as such in the early modern period. The *Art of Poetry* was certainly known to Raphael's most likely learned

[23] Thoenes notes that Raphael later gave up such effects, though only for formal reasons.
[24] In Latin, Horace's *Odes* are titled *Carmina* ("Songs"), a much more familiar and modest term. On the contrast of poets, see Phillips, 2014, pp. 466–474; and Kennedy, 1975, pp. 9–24.
[25] On Horace's characterisation of Pindar's lofty style, see Fowler, 2022, pp. 2–4. As noted by Phillips, 2014, p. 467, "Horace constructs an (exaggerated) opposition between Pindar as the poet of unruly inspiration and himself as the poet of painstaking craft."
[26] Oberhuber, following Winner, tentatively identifies the man as Horace for his praise of Augustus (a type of Julius II) in one of his poems. There is no reference to Horace's more general and explicit avoidance of explicit flattery.

collaborator, Tommaso Inghirami, Prefect of the Vatican Library and author of a commentary, discussed at length by David Rijser, on Horace's compact and often difficult text (Rijser, 2021, p. 134, with n. 120). Inghirami was known in Rome's literary circles for his long-standing interest in the theatre, especially classical drama, and he owed his nickname, Fedra, to the role—the female protagonist—that he had played as a youth in a pioneer production of a Roman tragedy, Seneca's *Phaedra*. Horace's *Art of Poetry* unequivocally asserts the performative nature of poetry, highlighting its profound impact on the audience and its profound connection to Greek drama from its archaic origins. As such, it is particularly relevant to the work of "Fedra."

As is well known, Horace's text owes its impact in the Renaissance and later to the issue of the relationship of word and image embodied in the phrase *Ut pictura poesis* (*Art of Poetry* 389; "as in painting, so in poetry").[27] No doubt Horace's ruminations would have interested Raphael, whose task in the Stanza was to give visual form to a programme of some kind, possibly quite detailed, and perhaps composed by Inghirami.[28] Beyond the *Art of Poetry*, the exclusive focus of Rijser's engagement with Horace, the poet's wider *oeuvre* was certainly well known in humanist circles, including several poems (e.g., *Satire* 2.1; *Odes* 3.14) in which Horace declines the Pindaric celebration of an acclaimed hero. Rather than follow his friend Virgil in producing epic verse about the new age ushered in by Augustus's victories and reforms,[29] Horace employs the well-worn rhetorical trope of refusal (*recusatio*).[30] As a lyric poet, indeed, Horace managed to enjoy the patronage available within the circle of Augustus while at the same time maintaining or at least demonstrating a certain independence (Freudenburg, 2014; Rutherford, 2007, pp. 251–253; Bowditch, 2010, pp. 53–74).

As Paul Barolsky has observed, the Augustan era was a conscious model for the cultural politics that shaped the court of Julius II (Barolsky, 1997, pp. 116-117). It is especially significant, then, that in his poetry Horace reflected on the relationship of art and power, or poet and patron, whether Augustus himself or his culture "minister" Maecenas. For all the differences of cultural and social milieu, this aspect of his work situates Horace, I believe, as a forerunner of critical writing

---

[27] The phrase was taken out of context in the Renaissance current of critical discourse known as the Paragone, which turned on the comparison of the specific possibilities of different media. See Trimpi, 1973, pp. 1–34. Rowland, 2000, pp. 159, notes Inghirami's work on the *Art of Poetry* and observes his (presumably related) liking for visual imagery in his prose writings.

[28] For the suggestion that Raphael was working from an extensive programme embracing the whole room, see, notably, Joost-Gaugier, 2002, pp. 3–4, 9–17; and Winner, 2010, pp. 469–494. There is good reason to be sceptical about claims that the programme in complete form preceded the execution of the frescoes, especially in view of design changes, or "scars," in the execution of the frescoes; Nesselrath, 2022, p. 78.

[29] In his earlier work, Virgil too adopted a posture of *recusatio*; Lyne, 1995, p. 49.

[30] In her edition of Horace, Gowers, (2012, p. a163) comments: "Horace contrasts his pedestrian, lowly writings with the inspired boomings of the epic or tragic *vates*."

about "the court,"[31] giving new significance to Horace's prominence in the *Parnassus* and perhaps coinciding with ideas that Raphael was already exchanging with Castiglione on the basis of their common experience of life in two very different courtly environments, the intense and refined "bubble" of Urbino and the rowdier environment of Rome. It was perhaps partly the ability to compare these equally extraordinary but very different situations that prompted Castiglione's self-conscious approach to the conversations of courtiers, as we saw. Raphael's image of Apollo's court may even anticipate the "Book of the Courtier" within the history of reflection on the phenomenon of the court. However successfully Raphael played the courtier, however, it is important nevertheless to recognize that he managed to reserve some distance, an element of *recusatio*, even when creating some of the most powerful epideictic imagery in Western art history.

The prominence in Raphael's *Parnassus* of an author identified by no less an authority than Dante as a satirist may have had contemporary resonances. From 1501 there is documented evidence of an annual festival associated with the ancient statue known as Pasquino that stood on a lofty pedestal against a palace wall on the *via papalis*, the ceremonial route through Rome traversed by processions, most notably for papal coronations (**Figure 7**) (Reynolds, 1985, pp. 178–208; Reynolds, 1987a, pp. 289–307; Reynolds, 1987b, pp. 117–126).

[31] Dennis Feeney, "'Una cum scriptore meo': Poetry, Principate, and the Traditions of Literary History in the Epistle to Augustus," in Freudenburg 2009, pp. 360–385.

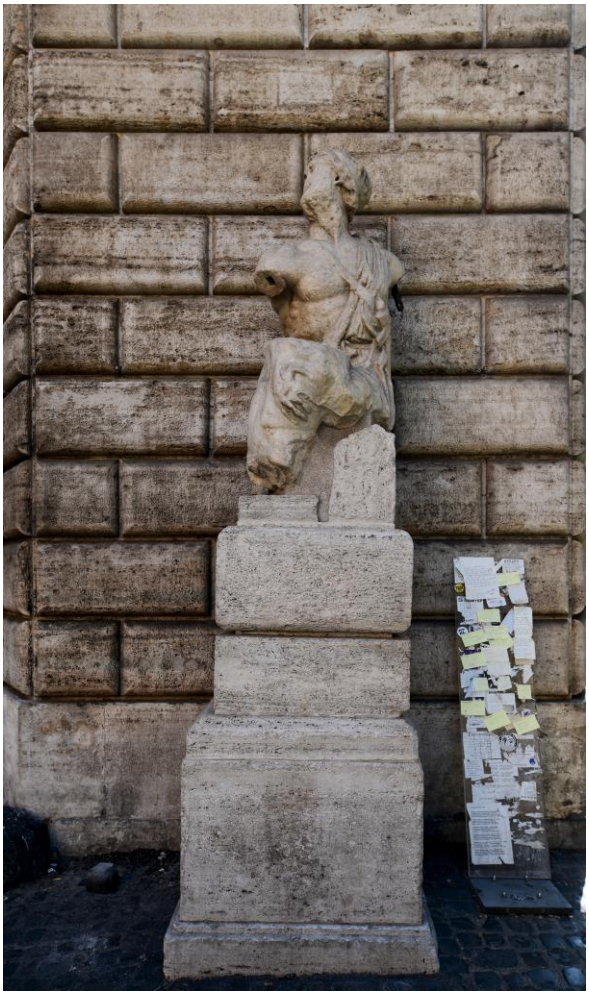

*Figure 7. The "Talking Statue"—Pasquino, Piazza di Pasquino, Rome. Posted next to him are comments, attributed to him, about current politics. Photo Architas, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=72796235.*

The statue itself was badly mutilated, but its truncated condition allowed it to assume various guises, including in 1509 that of Janus, in 1510 Hercules, and in 1514 Apollo (Temple, 2020, p. 56). Already in 1501, the statue had become a mouthpiece, albeit behind a mask, for sometimes scurrilous comment about the city and its rulers (Dickinson, 1960, pp. 155–158; Barkan, 1999, pp. 209–212; Bober *et al.*, 2010, pp. 187–188.). Though the day of the festival of Pasquino was a religious holiday, the feast of St. Mark (25 April), and it was held under the auspices of the cardinal who owned the adjacent palace, there were echoes of spring celebrations of the pagan festive calendar of ancient Rome, and traces of the *libertas* (embracing both speech and conduct) tolerated in Antiquity on popular holidays, like the festival of Flora at the end of April (Baudy, 2002, c. 466–467).[32] The verses

[32] On the link between Flora and Liber, see Fantham, 1992, p. 49. On *libertas* in speech, see Feeney, 2006, pp. 464–488. In his *Third Satire*, Horace traces the origins and development of satire; see Gowers, 2012, Introduction, pp. 8–13.

supposedly composed or even spoken by Pasquino, Rome's most famous "talking statue," became a feature of Roman social life and provided an outlet for more-or-less witty grumbling on the part of Romans in a range of social positions.

Though he was certainly an ancient object, however deformed, Pasquino's role as a "speaking statue" was not ancient. He did have a significant ancient precursor, however, at least as an emblem of free speech.[33] From the late third century BCE, a statue of the satyr Marsyas that stood in the Roman Forum was an acknowledged *signum liberae civitatis* (symbol of a free society);[34] some ancient sources suggest that the statue was also associated with libertine conduct, especially after dark (Pliny, *Natural History* 21.9; Seneca, *On Benefices* 6.32). However, especially thanks to Ovid's compressed but compellingly sadistic account of his story in the *Metamorphoses* (6.383–400), Marsyas was and is best known for the consequence of challenging Apollo to a musical contest that pitted the satyr's rustic flute against the god's lyre, a mainstay of courtly entertainment.[35] As punishment for his hubris Apollo, victorious in the contest, had Marsyas flayed alive, and the flowing blood of the satyr and the tears of his pastoral companions became the river Maeander (now the Büyük Menderes in Türkiye); this metamorphosis justifies the inclusion of Marsyas's punishment in Ovid's poem.

A scene of Apollo crowned with the victor's wreath appears in the Stanza della Segnatura in the spandrel between the *Disputa* and *Parnassus* (**Figure 8**); awaiting his cruel fate, Marsyas is suspended from a tree.

[33] On the affiliation between the Marsyas statue in the Forum and Pasquino, see Gowers's note in *ivi*, p. 247.

[34] This phenomenon was not restricted to Rome, as is clear from Servius's comment on Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.20 ("in liberis civitatibus simulacrum Marsyae erat, qui in tutela Liberi patris est"); the connection to Liber (Bacchus) is explicit. On the statue and its significance, see Wiseman, 1988, pp. 4–5. In her monograph on representations of Marsyas, Wyss, 1996, p. 14, justifies her lack of discussion of Marsyas as symbol of liberty as "involving a different set of associations" from the musical contest with Apollo. It is unlikely this distinction would be made by Roman Cinquecento humanists interested in the history of their city.

[35] Marsyas's challenge to Apollo, not explicitly mentioned in this passage, is well known from other sources; See Feldherr and James, 2004, p. 78.

*Figure 8. Raphael (or workshop), Apollo and Marsyas, fresco, c.1511. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican. Public domain Wikiart, https://www.wikiart.org/en/raphael/apollo-and-marsyas-from-the-stanza-della-segnatura-1511.*

As a satyr and champion of *libertas*, the Roman Marsyas was associated with Liber, a Roman cult name for Bacchus, and the plays that were performed in his presence (*coram Marsya*) were perhaps related, as Peter Wiseman has suggested, to the satyr plays of ancient Greece, which take up many lines of Horace's account of the evolution of drama in the *Ars Poetica* (220–500) (Wiseman, 1988, p. 1). Various rationalisations have been offered for the insertion of the Marsyas theme in the Stanza (Wind, 1980, pp. 171-176),[36] but the likelihood is strong that contemporary viewers understood the Roman associations of the story in a context in which *libertas* was a matter of concern—perhaps in connection to the contemporary interest in Pasquino, as noted above.

The first publication in 1509 of verses attributed to Pasquino roughly coincided with Raphael's arrival in Rome. The cardinal who sponsored the Feast of Pasquino, Oliviero Carafa, was a leading patron of the relatively new printing

[36] The author famously emphasises Plato's comparison of Socrates to Marsyas in the *Symposium* and its echoes in Dante's *Inferno*. See also Bull, 2005, pp. 301–321; and Wyss, 1996, pp. 67–69. Wyss and others doubt that Raphael painted the Marsyas panel, but he was surely responsible for the invention.

technology, especially art. Around 1500 he commissioned Donato Bramante, newly arrived in Rome, to design the cloister at S. Maria della Pace, an important step toward Bramante's appointment in 1503 as architect of the rebuilding of St. Peter's and soon thereafter of the creation of the Belvedere courtyard. Bramante's career had begun in Urbino, where he knew Raphael, and it was almost certainly through Bramante's good offices that his younger compatriot entered the service of Julius II. Bramante was also a lover of poetry; perhaps he also introduced Raphael to Carafa and his circle (Wilson, 2020, p. 99).[37]

When Cardinal Carafa died in January 1511, the mourning rituals included dressing Pasquino as an allegorical figure of Grief lamenting the death of her patron (Small, 2017). It is chronologically possible, then, that the reaction to Carafa's death can be linked to the inclusion of at least one exponent of the genre of satire among the poets of the *Parnassus*. On the left-hand side of the fresco there are two easily identifiable and clearly separate groups: the lyric poets including Sappho, identified by name, are gathered at the foot of the slope that leads up to the epic poets, among whom we can recognize blind Homer and the familiar profile of Dante that appears also in the *Disputa*.

On the right hand, in contrast, no such grouping is apparent. However, the growing fame or perhaps notoriety of Pasquino provided a contemporary context for the inclusion of a major satirist (Wilson, 2020, p. 398).[38] Moreover, Julius was not universally admired; his decision to demolish the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter's, for example, occasioned severe criticism.[39] Of course, any overt critique of the pope in the Stanza would be highly unlikely, but Raphael's taste for ambivalence seems at times to have leavened the epideictic force of his imagery. In the *School of Athens*, a central motif is the pairing of Diogenes, the Cynic, and the melancholy figure usually identified as the curmudgeon Heraclitus (**Figure 9**).

[37] Raphael was joined in Rome by a musician friend from Urbino, Timoteo Viti, a noted performer on the lyre.

[38] The author points out: "Less often mentioned is the extent to which the fresco derives some of its signifying power from contemporary cultural practices, specifically the poetry gatherings of Roman sodalities and the practice of *cantare ad lyram*."

[39] On the *Julius exclusus* of Erasmus (?), see Temple, 2011, p. 88; and Kempers, 1998, pp. 15–29.

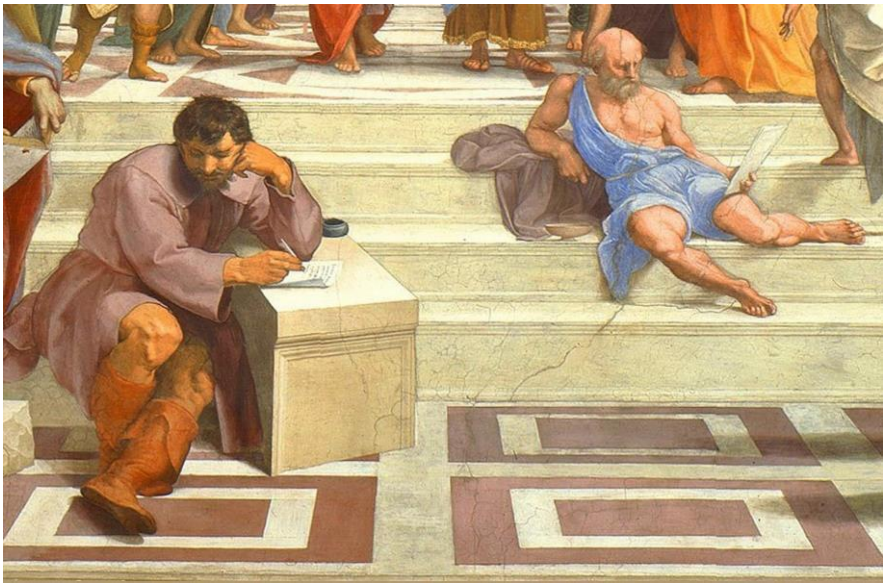

*Figure 9. Raphael, School of Athens, fresco, detail. Heraclitus and Diogenes of Sinope (the Cynic). Photo Barbara Koskoska, Public Domain, https://roma-nonpertutti.com/storage/images/articles/348/szkola-atenska-rafael-fragment-heraklit-i-diogenes-po-prawej-apart.*

Beyond his notorious lack of deference to Alexander the Great, Diogenes dismissed Plato's idealist metaphysics and denounced his sojourn at the Syracuse tyrant's court.[40] It is hard to see such defiance of authority, echoed in the ancient account of Heraclitus, merely as ultimately contributory to an overall impression of harmony (Heyd, 2018, pp. 168-178).[41]

Finally, I return to the group in the *Disputa* of the angelic figure and the stubborn older man who seems to insist on the text that he holds rather than accepting the vision imagined by Raphael on the wall; again, the conflict, or *paragone*, of text and image recurs, and in dramatic form. The older man may have the features of Bramante himself, and in the distance behind him, a building site under construction may allude to his contentious ongoing projects. Ernst Gombrich's characterisation of the group as "separatists" or even "heretics" may be exaggerated (Gombrich, 1990, pp. 69-70); nevertheless, at the margin of imagery predominantly expressive, as often asserted, of cosmic harmony projected into the human world, Gombrich draws attention to the presence of discordant details. As we have seen, there are more such details: indeed, Heraclitus and Diogenes, and perhaps also Horace, offer the glimmer of an alternate voice.

[40] For the key source, see Dorandi, 2018, p. 587.
[41] I propose a more expansive discussion of this issue elsewhere.

**Bibliography**

Bader, G. (2013). "Whatever Happened to a Pauline Text? 2 *Cor.* 3.6 and its Afterlife." In G. Bader and P. Fiddes (eds.), *The Spirit and the Letter: A Tradition and a Reversal*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, pp. 3–30.

Barański, Z. G. (2006). "Dante e Orazio medieval." *Letteratura italiana antica*, 7, pp. 187–221.

Barkan, L. (1999). *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Barolsky, P. (1994). *The Faun in the Garden: Michelangelo and the Poetic Origins of Italian Renaissance Art*. University Park: Penn State University Press.

Id. (1997). *Michelangelo's Nose: A Myth and Its Maker.* University Park: Penn State University Press.

Id. (2010). *Why Mona Lisa Smiles and Other Tales by Vasari*. University Park: Penn State University Press

Baudy, D. (2002). "Flora." In M. Landfester et al. (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World and Classical Tradition*. Part 5. Leiden: Brill, c.466–467.

Bober P. P., R. O. Rubinstein, and S. Woodford. (2010). *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*. Rev. ed. London: Harvey Miller.

Bowditch, P. L. (2010). "Horace and the Gift Economy of Patronage." In G. Davis (ed.), *A Companion to Horace*. London and New York: Wiley, pp. 53–74.

Bull, M. (2005). *The Mirror of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burroughs, C. (1990). *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cosgriff, T. (2022). "Raphael by the Book: The Titles in the Stanza della Segnatura." In T. Cosgriff and K. B. Wingfield (eds.), *Revisiting Raphael's Vatican Stanze*. Turnhout: Harvey Miller, pp. 82–97.

Daltrop, G. (1982). "Belvedere: The Beginning of the Collection of Ancient Statues in the Vatican." In J. P. O'Neill (ed.), *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 57–61.

Dickinson, G. (1960). *Du Bellay in Rome*. Leiden: Brill, 1960.

Dorandi, T. (2018). "Diogenes Laertius in Latin." In J. Miller (ed.) and P. Mensch (trans.), Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 585–588.

Enenkel, K. (2022). "The Reception of Horace in the Visual Arts, 15th Century until c.1840: A First Exploration." In K. Enenkel and M. Laureys (eds.), *Horace Across the Media*. Leiden: Brill, 2022, pp. 73–211.

Fabian, A., and N. Applauso. (2020). "Introduction: Dante Satiro." In A. Fabian and N. Applauso (eds.), *Dante Satiro: Satire in Dante Alighieri's Comedy and Other Works*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 1–18.

Fantham, H. (1992). "Ceres, Liber and Flora: Georgic and Anti-Georgic Elements in Ovid's *Fasti*." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 38, pp. 39–56.

Feeney, D. (2006). "*Si licet et fas est*: Ovid's *Fasti* and the Problem of Free Speech under the Principate." In Peter E. Knox (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Ovid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 464–488.

Id. (2009). "'Una cum scriptore meo': Poetry, Principate, and the Traditions of Literary History in the Epistle to Augustus." In K. Freudenburg (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies, Horace, Satires and Epistles*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 360–385.

Fehl, P. (2015). "The Apollo Belvedere." In N. T. de Grummond (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*. London and New York: Taylor & Francis, pp. 143–146.

Feldherr A., and P. James. (2004). "Making the Most of Marsyas." *Arethusa*, 37, no.1, pp. 75–103.

Ferriss-Hill, J. (2019). *Horace's Ars Poetica: Family, Friendship, and the Art of Living*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 238–240.

Fowler, R. L. (2022). *Pindar and the Sublime: Greek Myth, Reception, and Lyric Experience*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Freudenburg, K. (2014). "*Recusatio* as Political Theatre: Horace's Letter to Augustus." *Journal of Roman Studies*, 104, pp. 105–132.

Friis-Jensen, K. (1995). "Commentaries on Horace's 'Art of Poetry' in the Incunable Period." *Renaissance Studies* 9, no. 2, pp. 228–239.

Id. (2007). “The Reception of Horace in the Middle Ages.” In S. J. Harrison (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 291–304.

Fumo, J. C. (2010). *The Legacy of Apollo: Antiquity, Authority and Chaucerian Poetics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Garin, E. (1997). *Renaissance Characters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

Gill, M. J. (2014). *Angels and the Order of Heaven in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gombrich, E. H. (1972). “Raphael’s Stanza della Segnatura and the Nature of its Symbolism.” In idem, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*. London: Phaidon, pp. 85–101.

Gowers, E. (2005). “The Restless Companion: Horace, *Satires* 1 and 2.” In K. Freudenburg (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 48–61.

Ead. (2012). *Satires. Book 1*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Harrison, S. J. (2007). *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Heyd, D. (2018). “Spoilers of the Party: Heraclitus and Diogenes in Raphael’s *School of Athens*.” *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 37, no. 3, pp. 168–178.

Hooley, D. M. (2007). *Roman Satire*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Joost-Gaugier, C. L. (2002). *Raphael’s Stanza della Segnatura: Meaning and Invention*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Keane, C. (2005). *Figuring Genre in Roman Satire*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kempers, B. (1998). “*Julius inter laudem et vituperationem*: Ein Papst unter gegensätzlichen Gesichtpunkten betrachtet.” In P. Kruse and G. C. Alteri (eds.), *Hochrenaissance im Vatikan: Kunst und Kultur im Rom der Päpste 1503–1534*. Bonn: Hatje, pp. 15–29.

Kennedy, N. T. (1975). “Pindar and Horace.” *Acta Classica*, 18, pp. 9–24.

Kleinbub, C. K. (2011). *Vision and the Visionary in Raphael*. University Park: Penn State University Press.

Ladner, G. B. (1983). "The Symbolism of the Biblical Cornerstone in the Medieval West." In idem, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, pp. 171–196.

La Malfa, C. (2020). *Raphael and the Antique*. London: Reaktion Books.

Lanham, R. A. (2004). *The Motives of Eloquence: Literary Rhetoric in the Renaissance*. New York: Wipf and Stock.

Lazzaro, C. (2011). "River Gods: Personifying Nature in Sixteenth-Century Italy." *Renaissance Studies*, 25, no. 1, pp. 70–94.

Lyne, R.O.A.M. (1995). *Horace: Beyond the Public Poetry*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Mac Carthy, I. (2009). "Grace and the 'Reach of Art' in Castiglione and Raphael." *Word & Image*, 25, pp. 33–45.

McGann, M. (2007). "The Reception of Horace in the Renaissance." In S. J. Harrison (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 305–317.

Nesselrath, A. (2022). "Raphael's Stanze: Patience and Power." In D. Ekserdjian and T. Henry (eds.), *Raphael*. London: National Gallery, pp. 77–90.

Oberhuber, K. (1999). *Raphael, the Paintings*. New York: Prestel.

Pfisterer, U. (2019). *Raffael: Glaube Liebe Ruhm*. Munich: Beck.

Phillips, T. (2014). "Between Pindar and Sappho: Horace *Odes* 4.2.9–12." *Mnemosyne*, 67, no. 3, pp. 466–474.

Pistoja, A. C. (2015). "Profeta e satiro: a proposito di *Inferno* XIX." *Dante Studies*, 133, pp. 27–45.

Reynolds, A. (1985). "Cardinal Oliviero Carafa and the Early Cinquecento Tradition of the Feast of Pasquino." *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 34, pp. 178–208.

Ead. (1987a). "The Classical Continuum in Roman Humanism: The Festival of Pasquino, The *Robigalia*, and Satire." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 49, no. 2, pp. 289–307.

Ead.. (1987b). "Classical Iconography in the Early Celebrations of the Festival of Pasquino." *Parergon*, 5, pp. 117–126.

Reynolds, S. (1995). "'Orazio satiro' (*Inferno* IV, 89): Dante, the Roman Satirists, and the Medieval Theory of Satire." *The Italianist*, 15, pp. 128–144.

Rijser, D. (2012). *Raphael's Poetics: Art and Poetry in High Renaissance Rome*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Rowland, I. D. (2000). "The Intellectual Background of the *School of Athens*: Tracking Divine Wisdom in the Rome of Julius II." In M.B. Hall (ed.), *Raphael's School of Athens*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 139–170.

Rubin, Patricia L. (1995). *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rutherford, R. (2007). "Poetics and Literary Criticism." In S. J. Harrison (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 251–253.

Saccone, E. (1987). "The Portrait of the Courtier in Castiglione." *Italica*, 64, no. 1, pp. 1–18.

Schröter, E. (1980). "Der Vatikan als Hügel Apollons und der Musen. Kunst und Panegyrik von Nikolaus V. bis Julius II." *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 75, pp. 208–240.

Shearman, J. (1994). "Castiglione's Portrait of Raphael." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 38, no. 1, pp. 69–97.

Id. (1983). "The Organisation of Raphael's Workshop." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 10, pp. 40–57.

Small, B. (2017). "Public Satire in Rome." In A. Palmer (ed.), *Tensions in Renaissance Cities, Catalogue to the Exhibition*. University of Chicago Library, https://independent.academia.edu/BrendanSmall2.

Steppich, C. J. (2002). *Numine afflatur: die Inspiration des Dichters im Denken der Renaissance*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Talvacchia, B. (2005). "Raphael's Workshop and the Development of a Managerial Style." In M. Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 167–186.

Taylor, P. (2009). "Julius II and the Stanza della Segnatura." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72, pp. 103–141.

Temple, N. (2020). *Architecture and the Language Debate: Artistic and Linguistic Exchanges in Early Modern Italy*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Id. (2011). *Renovatio Urbis: Architecture, Urbanism and Ceremony in the Rome of Julius II*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Thoenes, C. (2019). *Raphael 1483–1520*. Cologne: Taschen.

Thomas, B. (1997). "The Judgement of Beauty: Castiglione and Raphael." In *The Paragone Debate and Sixteenth-Century Italian Art*. DPhil diss., University of Oxford.

Trimpi, W. (1973). "The Meaning of Horace's *Ut Pictura Poesis*." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36, pp. 1–34.

Ugolini, P. (2018). "Courts and Courtiers in the Renaissance." In M. Sgarbi (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Renaissance Philosophy*. Cham: Springer, pp. 898–899.

Vasari, G. (1550). *Vita di Bramante.* In L. Bellosi and A. Rossi (eds.), *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostril*. Florence: Torrentino.

Vazzana, S. (2001). "Orazio Satiro?" *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*, 2, pp. 91–102.

Watson, P. F. (1987). "On a Window in Parnassus." *Artibus et Historiae*, 8, no. 16, pp. 127–148.

Wilson, B. (2020). *Singing to the Lyre in Renaissance Italy: Memory, Performance, and Oral Poetry*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wind, E. (1980). *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Winner, M. (2010). "Vitruv in Raffaels *Schule von Athen*." In A. Dietl (ed.), *Roma Quanta Fuit: Beiträge zur Architektur- Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Augsburg: Wissner, pp. 469–494.

Wiseman, T. P. (1988). "Satyrs in Rome? The Background to Horace's *Ars Poetica*." *Journal of Roman Studies*, 78, pp. 1–13.

Wyss, E. (1996). *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas in the Art of the Italian Renaissance: An Inquiry into the Meaning of Images*. Wilmington: University of Delaware Press.