



a. Excavation by tunnelling. Walls of buildings appear on each side (1969).



b. A jar containing 19 imported small perfume flasks (askoi) (1971).

ITALIAN LECTURE

THE VATICAN STANZE: FUNCTIONS AND DECORATION

By JOHN SHEARMAN

Read 24 November 1971

I THINK I should begin by defining the scope of this lecture. We shall be looking most closely at the three Vatican Stanze painted by Raphael, and considering the relationship between the design and subject-matter of their decoration on the one hand and their functions on the other.¹ But I should maintain that they cannot be understood in isolation, but they must be read in the context of the whole papal apartment of which they form a minor part; and so we shall begin with a necessarily abbreviated survey of the whole apartment, from which I hope to demonstrate, in two simpler cases, the proposition that a recovery of the functions of these rooms can indeed yield a direct explanation of their decoration.² For the title I chose the less elegant plural—Functions—because I wanted to draw attention to one complication among so many which I must pass by, which is that the purposes of the separate parts of the papal apartment are subject to confusing but not casual change, and that these changes must be brought into exact chronological correlation with the decoration if the result is to make any sense. Historians never fail to over-simplify, and I do not expect to be an exception; but one of their worst habits, which in this case we *must* avoid, is the neglect of the intrinsic dynamics of historical problems, by which I mean the assumption that the purposes of enterprises remain the same from start to finish, and that it is only exterior factors, like time, personalities, and politics, that change. What we shall see is that in some papal rooms intentions survived changes of both patron and responsible artist; but in each of the Stanze the decorative enterprise was radically changed, and the function was changed in two of them.

This is a lecture about a problem and not about heroes, so I want to introduce the heroes at this point. I shall be talking about the contributions of only two popes, who were in their profoundly different ways remarkable men. The first was

Giuliano della Rovere, nephew of Sixtus IV, who became Pope Julius II late in 1503; he died in February 1513 and was succeeded in March by Giovanni de' Medici, son of Lorenzo *il magnifico*, who reigned as Leo X until 1521. The elements of continuity and change in the ecclesiological and political ambitions of these two popes are matched by continuity and change in the total programme of reconstructing the papal apartment begun by the first and virtually completed by the second. In somewhat the same way Bramante, who was the chosen director and architect of the Julian programme, and who died in 1514, was succeeded by Raphael, who died in 1520. Raphael had, of course, been active in the programme as a partly independent agent with special responsibilities since the second half of 1508. For the purposes of this lecture I feel that I do not need to distinguish between Raphael and his workshop. I do not know a certain portrait of my fifth hero, the papal Master of Ceremonies Paris de Grassis (Crassus to his enemies), who was, from his appointment by Julius in 1504 to his retirement after the death of Leo, a diligent and, one suspects, reluctant witness of all novelties which might change the proper order of things.³ He belonged to that blessed and maligned breed of men we call pedants, and he was obsessed by the necessity of being understood; without the manuscripts of his diary and the precision of his notes I should have fewer dates and identifications to give you, and the ice would be too thin even to skate round the edges of this problem.

Julius took up residence in the Vatican with one rare memory: he had been papal legate at Avignon, and thus he had known a papal residence not only considerably larger than the Vatican in 1503, but also one more completely and impressively equipped for ceremonial.⁴ I think this memory was crucial when he drew up a programme for modernizing and amplifying the Vatican Palace. It was to include, for example, an enormous and never-realized Hall for Conclaves, a feature at Avignon;⁵ and I suspect that his recollection of the grand staircase there prompted his major structural alteration in the Vatican. At all events it was with the staircases of the Vatican that he began. In May 1506, a month or so after laying the foundation-stone of New Saint Peter's, he demolished the old ceremonial staircase (No. 1 on the plan, fig. 1) that led from the portico of the basilica to the Hall of the Royal Consistories, the Sala Regia (No. 2).⁶ This was, in fact, the first stage of a total reconstruction of the pontifical route from the private suite to public ceremonies in Consis-



Fig. 1. Plan of the Vatican Palace, c. 1506–20, on second and third levels. Key: (1) Via Iulia nova (staircase from Saint Peter's); (2) Sala Regia (Aula prima, Royal Consistory); (3) Sistine Chapel (Capella palatina); (4) Sala Ducale (Aula secunda); (5) Sala Ducale (Aula tertia, Public Consistory); (6) Cordonata; (7) Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri (Camera de' Paramenti); (8) Sala de' Palafrenieri (Camera del Papagallo, Secret Consistory); (9) Camera del Papa (bedroom); (10) Chapel of Nicolas V (Capella secreta); (11) Anticamera secreta; (12) Sala di Costantino (Aula pontificum superior); (13) Stanza d'Eliodoro (Audientia?); (14) Stanza della Segnatura (Bibliotheca Iulia, Studio?); (15) Stanza dell'Incendio (Signatura, Triclinium penitus); (16) Torre Borgia (Guardaroba); (17) Loggia.

tory (5 or 2), the Sistine Chapel (3), or Saint Peter's; and it followed from his decision taken some time before November 1505, to remove his living quarters from the Borgia Apartments on the second level of the palace, back to the third level where they had certainly been, but perhaps as summer quarters only, in the time of Nicolas V, fifty years earlier.⁷ This decision led to a staircase of such amplitude that it was possible to ascend on horseback from Saint Peter's to the top level of the palace; but it was a decision with several other results, which we can best approach by starting from the other end, that is the private papal chambers themselves.

The essential nucleus of a papal private apartment in this period is a bedroom, an *anticamera*, and a *capella quotidiana* where the pope may daily perform the Mass.⁸ On the third level these were accommodated at the East side of the central courtyard, known now as the Cortile del Papagallo. His bedroom (No. 9) led on one side directly into the chapel, which is the one decorated for Nicolas V by Fra Angelico (No. 10), and on the other into the *anticamera* (No. 11).⁹ The sequence of events, so far as I can reconstruct it, is as follows: after his return from Bologna, on 28 March 1507, Julius did not immediately go back to the upper suite which he had occupied in 1505 and 1506, but he lived in the Borgia Apartments; he abandoned the latter, definitively, in November 1507 when he settled in the *mansiones superiores*.¹⁰ The delay is likely to have been caused by the very finality of that decision, entailing reconstruction and redecoration of the upper suite at this date. In December 1507 the chapel was in use and described as *nuper restaurata*,¹¹ which I hope means no more than the rebuilding of the entrance doors, particularly the very splendidly framed one from the hall outside which used to have a pair of intarsia leaves with Julius's emblems.¹² (Each arrow on the plan represents a Julian door-frame, and the direction of entrance it implies.) The reconstruction of the bedroom, so far as Julius was concerned, was mainly a matter of woodwork—one half of a ceiling carved with his arms survives,¹³ and we learn that it was also lined with wood panelling from a diplomat's description of a comic scene in December 1512 when Julius became so deep in discussion with the Venetian ambassador that neither noticed that the fire had so far escaped the fireplace as to reach the ceiling.¹⁴ Leo X added a majolica tiled floor and a new fireplace.¹⁵

The *anticamera* (No. 11) has been totally gutted, and its fireplace has been removed;¹⁶ all that remains of the original decoration is a Julian door of white grey-veined marble which leads, by one step up, into the bedroom, another which leads by a passage to the Stanze, and fine stone window-seats like those of the Stanze. Its vault was decorated with 'bellissime pitture'—but perhaps for Leo rather than Julius—and its walls were hung with tapestries which were unequivocally Julian, and so impressive that they came to Michiel's mind as a term of comparison when Raphael's Leonine tapestries were first hung in the Sistine Chapel.¹⁷ Here the pope, seated on his *Sede camerale*, would receive visitors;¹⁸ and it seems to me very probable that it was particularly in this position that Raphael

represented him in the portrait in the National Gallery, seated on a *sede camerale* in the corner of a room hung with richly woven green tapestry. The *anticamera* may be the *camera del broccato* for which Leo provided a new floor in 1518, and which I cannot locate elsewhere.¹⁹ By an odd accident a copy of Raphael's portrait now hangs in the *anticamera*.

This private suite must communicate directly, for ceremonial and liturgical reasons, with two semi-public halls which I can best introduce by describing the sequence of events before a Mass or Public Consistory. These two halls are robing-rooms, and in the outer one, the *Camera de' Paramenti* (7), the cardinals receive their robes; they then pass into the inner one, called (as I shall explain later) the *Camera del Papagallo* (8), where they await the pope's appearance.²⁰ He is provided not only with a throne but also with a ceremonial bed for robing,²¹ and when that operation is at length complete²² the pope and cardinals pass through the *Camera de' Paramenti* to Public Consistory, or through the Consistory Halls (5 and 2) to Mass in the Sistine Chapel (3) or Saint Peter's. It is at this point that we can return to the ceremonial staircase; for the rooms I have described so far were to be, in Julius's new scheme, on the level above the Consistory Halls, and the existing communication between the two was very cramped.²³ Julius required—as Leo, on the whole, did not—to be transported through this long sequence not, indeed, on horseback but on the *sede gestatoria*, which posed some of the same problems. The necessarily moderate slope entailed length, and a staircase of the requisite length could not be accommodated within the existing building. It was provided in a new wing to the South (6), which is buttressed by a new Eastern façade, the second and third levels of which are the celebrated Logge (17). The part of this loggia-façade which masks the main block of the palace in fact replaces a medieval three-tier loggia which, like the loggia of Pius II's palace at Pienza, overlooked the *giardino segreto* and the best view, in this case of Rome.²⁴ But the new and extended loggia-façade seems to have been intended from the start to mark out the flank of an enormous rectangular courtyard, not unlike the present Cortile di San Damaso but in fact completely enclosed.²⁵ The staircase (6) which leads down from the third to the second level, and thus via the Consistory Halls (5 and 2) and another new flight (1) to Saint Peter's, also continues directly down to a *portone* in the centre of the loggia-façade, which should be the new principal entrance.²⁶ The ceremonial staircase, the so-called *cordonata*

of Bramante, did in its original form allow ascent to the papal apartment on horseback, as its name implies and as diplomatic correspondence testifies.²⁷ It was probably begun when the new loggia-façade was begun, also to Bramante's design, and that was some time before the end of 1509.²⁸ The third flight was under construction in August 1513, that is some six months after Julius's death; the logge themselves had probably been brought to this level before his death.²⁹

Now let us return to the two robing-rooms (7 and 8), but noticing first that they and the intimate papal chambers repeat in function and relationship a set of rooms below. There too the first of the big rooms was the *Camera de' Paramenti*, the second the *Camera del Papagallo*, distinguished only by the adjective 'lower'. The name *Camera del Papagallo* refers to one of its trivial but presumably most striking functions, which was—and had been since the medieval period—to house a caged parrot.³⁰ These two robing-rooms, however, serve other more serious purposes when the pope is not on his way to public ceremonies. The inner room, in spite of the parrot, was the proper location of the Secret (that is to say, normal) Consistory;³¹ the outer room at this date housed the guard of door-keepers, *ostiarî*, and here an ambassador would wait before admission to the Consistory.³²

In April 1506, apparently for the first time, Julius held the Secret Consistory 'in aula Papagalli superiori',³³ and in November 1507—that is to say when he moved into the new private suite—he began to use the two upper halls for robing before Mass.³⁴ Julius in fact died not in his bedroom (9) but in the upper hall immediately outside it (8).³⁵ The decoration of these two halls had been begun before his death. The outer one, now known as the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri, has three Julian doors³⁶ and a massive stone fireplace which is probably a late work of Bramante's and Julian too. The inner hall, later called the Sala de' Palafrenieri, has three Julian doors, to the chapel, the bedroom and the *anticamera*, and it had a fireplace on the North wall which has disappeared.³⁷ The outer hall was also given a superb gilt, compartmented, wooden ceiling, which is really one of the most important examples of a type particularly characteristic of Roman Cinquecento architecture (Pl. XXVII). The arms and emblems, including *bronconi* interwoven along the frames, are those of Leo X, and I see no reason to question Vasari's general attribution of all the gilt wooden ceilings in this part of the palace to Raphael.³⁸ The rectangular panels of grotesque-relief which include the Medici Yoke are consistent

in style with the decoration of the window-embasures of the Stanza d'Eliodoro, to be dated 1514–15. The ceiling incorporates end-panels the full width of the room, each bearing an inscription. The text over the entrance to the Consistory, from Proverbs 8, was no doubt addressed, in the first place, to the visitor to that assembly: 'Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors' (many an ambassador must have thought that only too pertinent); and the text the other end, which I take to be addressed more especially to those *ostiarî* whom Paris de Grassis describes mounting guard in the *Camera de' Paramenti*, is from Psalm 134: 'Praise ye the name of the Lord, praise him O ye servants of the Lord; Ye that stand in the house of the Lord, and the entrances of the house of our God.'³⁹ The walls were decorated by Giovanni da Udine, who painted a frieze of lions, *putti*, papal arms, and grotesques, above fictive marble panelling in imitation of wall-surfaces like those of the Pantheon (the absence of any figurative subjects is striking, but appropriate to the transitory ceremonial functions of the room);⁴⁰ this decoration probably disappeared about 1558,⁴¹ and the present frescoes were painted for Gregory XIII in 1582.⁴²

The Sala de' Palafrenieri, the new Consistory Hall itself, was completed by 2 February 1517, when Paris de Grassis notes that Leo, on his way to and from Mass, passed through the 'nova Aula facta in Aula Concistoriali';⁴³ its function, therefore, had not changed; on 10 January a notary drew up a document for Raphael in the same room, clearly because that was where he was at work.⁴⁴ In this case too, Leo—and, one supposes, Raphael—gave the room a magnificent gilt ceiling, in a superficially less attractive but in fact more advanced style, with much deeper coffering;⁴⁵ it bears a good selection of the Leonine emblems, but its meaning is restricted to them. In this room the principal decoration was a frescoed sequence of grisaille figures in pilastered tabernacles—the Apostles and one or two other saints.⁴⁶ This decoration was very largely destroyed by Paul IV in 1558, reconstructed for Pius IV by Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro in 1560,⁴⁷ and modified once more in 1582 under Gregory XIII, who gave the room the title *Aula Sanctorum Apostolorum*.⁴⁸ It is a miracle that anything of the original decoration survives, as in fact it does; this seems to me visually obvious in the case of the *Saint John the Evangelist*, which is almost entirely original, and can be demonstrated conclusively in this case and in that of the *Saint Lawrence* by the technique

of graffito-dating (each of them bears inscriptions dated long before Paul IV's destructive intervention).⁴⁹

The subject-matter of this decoration is very directly related to the hall's function as Consistory, for the constitutional role of the College of Cardinals in Consistory with the pope is derived from that of the Apostles in their office of assistance first to Christ, then to Peter.⁵⁰ That is a late thirteenth-century formulation, revived in the fifteenth century and established in the two sources that matter most in this context, the *Summa* of Torquemada and the *De Concilio* of Domenico Jacobazzi, whom Leo indeed made a cardinal in 1517.⁵¹ But there was another feature of the room's decoration of which no trace survives: a frieze painted with various animals, but principally parrots, by Raphael's colleague Giovanni da Udine.⁵² It is interesting on two counts: first because it must surely have been inspired by the room's popular name, the *Camera del Papagallo*, and second because the sumptuous wooden ceiling of Raphael's was in fact dropped nearly two metres below the full height of the thirteenth-century room in such a way that superimposed thirteenth- and fifteenth-century friezes have been preserved above it; and each of these friezes includes among its decorative motifs a large number of birds.⁵³

I have spent a little time on these two big rooms because they show in the clearest and simplest way the specific relationship between the purpose and decoration of rooms in this papal apartment. But I think it is valuable to notice as well how a pre-existing decoration may be recalled in a new one, if only to remind ourselves how much more we might understand about the Stanze if we had a better idea of the earlier decorations there.⁵⁴

When we turn to consider the sequence of rooms which we call the Stanze we move from the thirteenth-century part of the palace to the relatively new north wing, erected about 1450 by Nicolas V; this too was built on three levels, in the lowest of which Sixtus IV had put the papal library while Alexander VI had put his private suite, the Borgia Apartments, in the second.⁵⁵ Those apartments continue into the tower in the north-west corner, the Torre Borgia, which was the most recent addition to the fabric. When we examine the Stanze on the top level (13, 14, 15) we have to start by unravelling a confusion that arose by pure accident. Vasari was the first and only sixteenth-century writer (except for his followers such as Borghini) to call the middle room (14) by the name we now use, the *Camera della*

Segnatura;⁵⁶ and this was due to the coincidence that during the 1540s, when Vasari first became familiar with the Vatican, the tribunal of the *Signatura gratiae* was for a brief moment established in this room by Paul III. Vasari's name for the room was accurate for the years in which he knew it, but it is worse than misleading when it is applied anachronistically, as it is so often, to the pontificates of Julius and Leo. And while talking of confusions perhaps I should mention that a document that turns up in the literature now and then, purporting to be a credit-note to Raphael, dated 3 January 1516, for painting the *Cubicula signature*, is a Roman forgery of about 1860.⁵⁷

Providentially we can establish from multiple references in Paris de Grassis's diary exactly where the *Signatura* of Julius II was situated, and that was in the third of these Stanze, the one now called the Stanza dell'Incendio (15). The evidence, which comes from the diarist's accounts of four occasions upon which Leo X used this room for the consecration of bishops, is perfectly precise and admits of no wriggling. On the first of these occasions, 12 December 1513, the consecration took place 'in the last of the new upper rooms, that is the one that is painted: the *Signatura* of Julius'.⁵⁸ This document has been known for almost a century but it has been misinterpreted with astonishing persistence;⁵⁹ the 'last room' is the last topographically, and in Paris de Grassis's terminology it cannot be any other than the Stanza dell'Incendio;⁶⁰ and he says that the room *was* Julius's *Signatura*, not that Julius had once thought of putting it there.⁶¹ I think the implication of the retrospective definition, the *Signatura* of Julius, should be that it was not, in 1513, the *Signatura* of Leo. That is quite certainly the case in the last of three other diary references (which I think are not generally known),⁶² the one dated 2 July 1519, in which it is called 'cammera in qua solebat esse Signatura P.P. Julij': it used to be . . . So, let us consider the fact that Julius used this end room for his *Signatura*, and return later to the function and decoration of the room under Leo.

The *Signatura* is the supreme tribunal of the Curia;⁶³ its business had grown during the fifteenth century to the extent that Alexander VI subdivided the pleas between a *Signatura iustitiae*, presided over by a cardinal, and a *Signatura gratiae* of which the president was the pope.⁶⁴ It is the latter, then, with which we are concerned, and its composition requires a papal throne and table on a daïs, in front of it a longer table with benches for cardinals, and provision for the accredited prelates

and notaries.⁶⁵ Since the tribunal must function through the winter it requires a fireplace;⁶⁶ and since some of those attending would in fact be external to the papal household it requires access not only directly from the papal chambers and the Consistory, through which the cardinals could pass, but also independently and directly from the public end of the palace. These necessities seem to have conditioned Julius's choice. In his pontificate there would have been uninterrupted passage from the *anticamera* and the robing rooms through the other Stanze; and an exterior route leads along a balcony on the West exterior façade of the palace to a door—not, as is usually said, a window—which is clearly the principal entrance for visitors to the *Signatura* (Pl. XXX).⁶⁷

The only part of this room's decoration which survives from the Julian period is the ceiling, which was painted by Perugino, probably in the second half of 1508.⁶⁸ The subjects of the four *tondi*, in so far as they can be interpreted, seem perfectly responsive to the room's use. The *tondo* over the west wall illustrates the text of John 20, in which Christ says to his disciples: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained';⁶⁹ in a pontifical context this can mean only one thing: the transmission of the authority to loose and to bind, through Peter and the Apostles, to the Church.⁷⁰ It seems to me probable from the design of this fresco, and from analogous situations in which the papal throne was placed opposite the fireplace, that the dais was on this side.⁷¹ The *tondo* over the north or window-wall represents Christ, against a circular gold disc, as *Sol iustitiae*, the fulfilment of an Old Testament prophecy;⁷² on his left is his tempter, the devil, and on his right an apostle, perhaps Saint Matthew who describes the Temptation.⁷³ To the east is represented the *Pantocrator*, probably opposite the papal throne; and, to the South, Christ is shown in an attitude of mercy between two personifications, one obviously *Iustitia*. A point to notice is that *Iustitia* holds her sword point down, as she does not, for example, on Raphael's ceiling in the next room; Justice with the scales and the sword pointing downwards was the emblem of the *Signatura iustitiae* engraved in later centuries on the calendar of the tribunal.⁷⁴ For the other personification the late nineteenth-century interpretation as *Gratia* seems to me marginally preferable on its own merits to the alternative *Misericordia*,⁷⁵ and it is also marginally more appropriate to the *Signatura* of Julius. Thus the ceiling as a

whole may be taken to illustrate the integrity, plenitude and spiritual grace of divine justice, and its transmission to the institution of the Church through its head.

When Francesco Albertini wrote his *Opusculum de mirabilibus Romae* in 1509 he spoke of the decoration of these rooms by several artists *concertante*, which was more than a pretty metaphor, since he used the same word to describe the relationship of the team of artists employed by Sixtus IV in the Sistine Chapel.⁷⁶ It seems that Julius did in fact recall his uncle's technique of patronage, and that he assembled a team of collaborators to conduct a rapid campaign on the ceilings of these rooms; the date of this decision would appear to be about the spring of 1508.⁷⁷ As in the Sistine Chapel, so here: Perugino was the only artist to be given a clear field. In the middle room the story was much more complicated. The Sienese painter Sodoma undertook, at some date before October 1508, to paint a relatively small portion of one of these rooms, and certainly less than the whole of this ceiling upon which he began, in the centre;⁷⁸ but if it was planned from the start that he should have a collaborator, the plan was changed while he was still at work, for whereas he first painted the *putti* in the centre in a *circular* frame,⁷⁹ he also painted the small scenes on the diagonal axes of the definitive design, and his too is the invention—but perhaps not the execution—of the grotesques of the frames.⁸⁰ The change of plan is most likely to be connected with the late appointment, towards the end of 1508, of Raphael as his collaborator;⁸¹ and for reasons too complicated to explain here the definitive design of the vault—not the first one—must be connected with a decision to paint the walls.⁸² One of the reasons for that decision was the destruction by Julius of whatever had been the decoration of the north and south walls. To the north this happened when he had the segmentally headed window of Nicolas V's room reduced in height and given a more classical, rectangular frame; and to the south it happened when he introduced an entirely new window of the same kind which looks on to the Cortile del Papagallo and bears on that side his name.⁸³ The new south window could not be centred on this wall because in the thickness of the latter, to the right, was the flue of the fireplace in the room below.

The function of this middle room cannot be established with the same certainty as that of the end room. If you will forgive me the omission of a long and tedious argument I should like simply to say that the documents show very nearly conclusively

that this room was intended to be the *Bibliotheca Iulia*, that is a new library reserved for the pope's private use;⁸⁴ in fact the documents leave the only alternative site for this library in the Torre Borgia.⁸⁵ So in this case, where the external evidence is not wholly conclusive, we must reverse the process we have followed so far, and seek, in the room itself, confirmation or refutation of the possibility offered by the documents. I should add that no other possibility arises from the external evidence.

The hypothesis that the room was designed to be a library was evolved by Grimm, Springer, Wickhoff, and Schlosser, but most effectively by Wickhoff, late in the nineteenth century;⁸⁶ briefly, what they demonstrated was in part the documentary argument—but they did not use one crucial document⁸⁷—and in part the compatibility of the iconography of the decoration with library conventions. To be still more brutally brief, the second part of their argument is reducible to two essential points: that the decoration includes the representation of an altogether exceptional number of books, and that the division of the subject-matter, which begins on the ceiling, conforms to the existing system of organizing libraries, *in facultatibus*;⁸⁸ the Faculties in this case are Theology, *Poesia*, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence (not Justice). Beneath each Faculty, on the walls, is a large fresco in which that Faculty is seen to be exercised; so, for example, the *Disputa* is an ideal elucidation of one of the Mysteries of the Sacrament by the practice of Theology, which is the titular Faculty on the vault above.

The requirement of an hypothesis is not that it should resemble a fact, but that it should be consistent with all the contingent facts; and when it is as old as this one, it should be consistent with all those many discoveries and observations which have been made since. This hypothesis has had an odd history; it has been greeted enthusiastically by some specialists in library-history,⁸⁹ but with hostility by others and by many art-historians;⁹⁰ many objections have been raised but not a single one survives scrutiny.⁹¹ Rather than rehearsing and refuting these old arguments I should prefer to check the hypothesis against some neglected facts. Let us start with practical matters, and first of all with the books.

By good fortune there exists a list of Julius's books, in which there were 220;⁹² so it was not a great library, but a respectable one and a good working tool.⁹³ At Julius's death it was split up, and the greater part absorbed into the main Vatican library; thus it follows *ex hypothesisi* that if the middle room had been the

library, then it should have lost its original function and furnishings on the accession of Leo. And that did happen in this room. Any interpretation must take account of one odd circumstance: that whereas the room appears to have been finished in the autumn of 1511,⁹⁴ it was Leo X who provided, immediately after his election, the intarsia *basamento*.⁹⁵ This celebrated work, by Fra Giovanni da Verona, was replaced by the present frescoed one in the 1540s;⁹⁶ but because it had been completed on the north wall by an imitation—also Leonine—in fresco (Pl. XXVIII), we can visualize rather accurately its design;⁹⁷ and because Fra Giovanni also made the intarsia linings of the doors, which survive, we can assess its beautiful quality (Pl. XXIX). Now if, as I believe, it is scarcely credible that the room was left without a *basamento* for eighteen months after the main frescoes were completed, it follows that the Leonine intarsie replaced something Julian; and book-shelves of about the right length for Julius's collection—either closed *armarii* like those of the Vatican library or open shelves like those of the Varano library at Camerino—would fill these spaces.⁹⁸

Two other points about the room are worth noting. The first is that this is the only room in the sequence of eight that did not have a fireplace. Fireplaces have always been unpopular with librarians, not only because they brought the obvious risk of fire but also because they were thought to encourage bugs. The Vatican libraries have never had fireplaces. The second point arises from a consideration of the *opus sectile* floor, which can best be studied from a beautiful drawing by John Talman (Pl. XXXI).⁹⁹ Part of this floor—certainly the whole strip between the doors—was added by Leo X. But the principal pattern, the large carpet-like square, bears Julius's name, and the asymmetrical position of this carpet makes no sense until one notices that it is exactly centred on the axis of the north window, from which Julius could see the Villa Belvedere that he loved so much. A pattern of that kind, like the very similar one in the chancel of the Sistine Chapel, has a definite significance: it delimits an open space, an area of free circulation, and it is inconceivable that a papal throne was placed here, as some would wish,¹⁰⁰ or for that matter in any other part of the room. A floor of this kind was placed in the Vatican Library by Sixtus IV.¹⁰¹ Whatever function is proposed for the room it must take account of two facts that eliminate almost every possibility that comes to mind: the absence of a fireplace and the design of the floor. Both of these are accounted for by the library-hypothesis.

During Julius's long career as cardinal he had lived in two Roman palaces, at SS. Apostoli and at San Pietro in Vincoli; in each of these he made a library.¹⁰² And for almost as long, from 1476 to 1503, he had been Cardinal-legate of Avignon and had lived in the papal palace there from time to time and particularly in the 1490s. At Avignon he would have seen that the private papal chamber, which was on the third level, was directly connected with the papal library.¹⁰³ No doubt the *Bibliotheca Iulia* in the Vatican was intended to be a permanent accession to the papal apartment and, as Bembo said, 'much more convenient for the pope's personal use' than the public library below; and the implication of Bembo's words, that this library was intended by its founder to be an institution (like the tribunal of the *Signatura*), is the necessary condition without which this room's expensive and protracted decoration makes no sense.

Finally I should like to examine more closely the *Parnassus* fresco, because this is the one that has always given the most trouble—understandably—to those who have sought some function for the room in papal ceremonial;¹⁰⁴ indeed it is absurd in that context. The site for this fresco was chosen, I believe, because it frames the view, through the north window, of the Belvedere on the summit of the Mons Vaticanus, and the Mons Vaticanus, as was perfectly well known at the time, had been sacred to Apollo.¹⁰⁵ Yet the prominence of Apollo is only equalled in the room by that of Christ, and it may even seem greater if the viewer's orientation, implied by the floor-design, is taken into account; it demands an explanation which seems to be best supplied by the tradition of dedicating libraries to Apollo and of decorating them with images of Apollo and the Muses. This tradition was exemplified in recent times by a project for the Medici library in the Badia at Fiesole and above all in the Vatican Library founded by Julius's uncle;¹⁰⁶ and it seems very probable that in the case of the latter, the *Bibliotheca palatina*, the inspiration was derived from the greatest in antique Rome, the Palatine Library of Augustus, which was also known as the Library of Apollo.¹⁰⁷ I am not suggesting that Julius's was in any sense a reconstruction of Augustus' library, but rather that the latter, by far the best recorded of ancient libraries, especially by Suetonius, Horace, and Pliny, was a model for the visualization of ancient libraries in general.¹⁰⁸ Julius, by the way, had the texts of Suetonius and Pliny among his manuscripts. And it seems to me important that Bembo's well-known descrip-

tion of the *Bibliotheca Iulia*, which so far as it goes is consistent with this middle room's decoration, is immediately preceded by a passage in which he asserts that in this foundation Julius was emulating the great libraries of antiquity;¹⁰⁹ he mentions, in fact, Alexandria and Pergamum, but of those no visually suggestive descriptions survived.

It will be obvious to you that I am persuaded by the library-hypothesis. It seems to me that there is sufficient internal evidence to resolve that choice for its location which is determined by the documents, between this room and the Torre Borgia; it would be astonishing if the latter had been more appropriately decorated, and in fact there is no reason to suppose that it was decorated at all under Julius. But what I want to suggest in particular is that any more elaborate analysis of the so-called Stanza della Segnatura should start from the proposition that Raphael interpreted his task as the animation and orchestration of those conventionally emblematic, serried portraits of the literary heroes and their gods to be found in library decoration in antiquity and in the fifteenth century.

Raphael began work in the remaining room in this suite, the first in ceremonial sequence and the one we call the Stanza d'Elidoro, in the autumn of 1511.¹¹⁰ The vault had already been painted in the initial campaign of 1508–9 by Peruzzi, Ripanda, and other artists whom I cannot identify;¹¹¹ and at least two of the walls had been painted at that time by Signorelli and Bramantino.¹¹² I shall say very little about this room, not because I think it less interesting than the Stanza della Segnatura, but because within the terms of this lecture there is much less to be said; in other words the function of this room is not moderately but in the highest degree hypothetical. The first positive designation that I can find is on a conclave-plan of 1565, where it is the *Sala dell'Audienza*;¹¹³ there is a series of references, beginning in 1517, to a *Camera de l'Audientia*, which I cannot locate elsewhere,¹¹⁴ and the anonymous author of a *Memoriale* of 1544 describes a 'belissima udienza, dipinta di mano di Raffaello da Urbino', which is also hard to locate elsewhere unless this was a loose description of the Consistory.¹¹⁵ So, the only suggestion I can make is that this was the papal audience-chamber; and while on the one hand the evidence is unsatisfactory, on the other hand it is not, so far as it goes, in conflict with the Julian decoration, political and even propagandist in its meaning.

That the subjects of the four main frescoes on the walls of the room were all chosen during the pontificate of Julius II is beyond doubt, and the consistency of the four preliminary projects suggests to me that they were all selected at the beginning of the work, that is to say in 1511.¹¹⁶ To define the political intent of this programme requires intuition (that is to say, guesswork) and a more careful survey of the political imagery of that precise moment than has yet been made, but a politically allegorical programme it must be, as Vasari saw already,¹¹⁷ for there is no other conceivable link between the four Julian subjects: one from the Old Testament, the *Expulsion of Heliodorus*, one from the Acts of the Apostles, the *Release of Saint Peter*, one from the early Christian Church, the *Repulse of Attila*, and one from the Middle Ages, the *Miracle of the Mass at Bolsena*. My guess in the case of the *Expulsion of Heliodorus* is that this represents, allegorically, the divine sanction for the Church's right to temporal possessions, since it was upon the presumption of the contrary that Heliodorus attempted to remove the treasure from the Temple. This guess is controlled by the emblematic *Moses* on the keystone above, for Julius was compared with Moses as the leader who made a 'just war' for his people;¹¹⁸ the apology for the 'just war' was a posture of the Julian panegyrists, for whom one of the appropriate causes was the defence of Church property.¹¹⁹ More obviously the *Repulse of Attila* refers to the divine sanction for the defence of the States of the Church, and particularly Rome, against the barbarian invasion. The keystone in this case, a young man holding a sphere, is perhaps an emblem of *Imperium*; the barbarians threatening the papal *Imperium* in 1511 were, of course, the French.

Raphael had reached what should have been the definitive design of this fresco, the last of the four, when Julius died in February 1513; and then by a happy but quite characteristic coincidence Leo X stepped into the role of Leo I. This event led to a revision of the design by which the new pope became prominent in the foreground. The revision is accomplished a little awkwardly, but it is once again a political statement; the pacific gesture of Leo is, it seems to me, a record for posterity of his appearance as the man of peace in his triumphal Lateran procession of 11 April, the feast of San Leo, which is recorded for us in a little-known woodcut of the same year (Fig. 2).¹²⁰ So in the final fresco, as in historical reality, the political aspiration remains the same but the means of its attainment are different.



Fig. 2. The Lateran Procession of Leo X, 11 April 1513; woodcut, Roman, 1513 (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

And immediately afterwards the whole programme of the room was given a subtly different meaning by the repainting of the ceiling.¹²¹ Of the original ceiling there now remains only the peripheral framing, the central wreath, and four of the initially eight ribs. In the four new quadrants are represented symbolic episodes from Genesis and Exodus which function as retroactive titles for the wall-frescoes, to which their relation is that of typological precedents.¹²² Thus the Leonine modification of the programme shifts the emphasis away from the contingencies of those political obsessions identified with the personality of Julius towards a more universal and, as it were, neutral theme; for it was only at this stage that the wall-frescoes—in combination with the new ceiling—became most naturally interpreted as illustrations of the intervention of Divine Providence in the affairs of God's people. In the lower sections of the vault Raphael added, at the same time, Medicean *impresa*, emblems, and hieroglyphs which seem to be best interpreted as attributes of the reign of Leo X; Hercules, for example, is probably chosen as the Tuscan hero who first bore the *signum leonis*, and as *exemplum virtutis*.¹²³ And Raphael finally added the painted *basamento*, where the caryatids stand as allegories of the benefits

of good papal government—a New Style of Government, one might say—benefits such as Peace, Commerce, and Law.¹²⁴ The final Leonine programme is as appropriate to an audience-chamber as the first one, but for audiences with a very different pope.

Retracing our steps we come back to the Stanza della Segnatura, which was certainly not Leo's library. In order to understand what it might have been in his pontificate we should notice at this point two general changes that Leo brought to the Stanze. Under Julius these three rooms—audience-chamber (13), papal library (14) and *Signatura* (15), if our hypotheses are correct—were semi-public and institutional, and there was passage-like, uninterrupted communication down the enfilade of open doorways from the Sala di Costantino (12).¹²⁵ It was Leo who gave to each of these rooms an enclosed, discrete character,¹²⁶ for his are the marble door-frames and all the superb wooden doors, carved in high relief by one of the finest craftsmen of the period, Gian Barile.¹²⁷ These doors and their frames were designed with a clear implication of the direction of entrance (with the papal arms on the 'outer' side), and when seen together in a plan of the Stanze in their Leonine state (Fig. 3) these directions make a coherent pattern; from that pattern we can deduce that in the hierarchy of privacy the most secret were the middle room and the Torre Borgia (16). Secondly, you will notice that when Leo enclosed the Stanze he provided simultaneously a by-pass, as it were, which is the balcony erected in 1513 to lead from the remaining medieval tower at the North end of the Loggia to a new door cut in the exterior wall of the end room, the Stanza dell'Incendio.¹²⁸ This by-pass, for

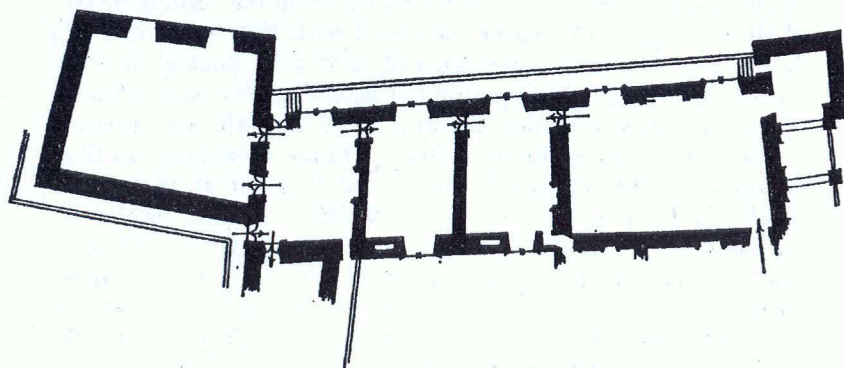


Fig. 3. Plan of Stanze as modified by Leo X, 1513–21.

the better protection of privacy, is so designed that the level descends by steps, and no one using it could either see into the Stanze or be seen from them. While we are considering this plan let us notice another new Leonine balcony, on the western interior face of the Cortile del Papagallo, which leads from the *cucina secreta* through a newly cut door into the Stanza dell'Incendio.¹²⁹

When Leo made the Stanze into self-contained rooms he not unnaturally completed, in the case of the middle room, the *opus sectile* floor of Julius which had been no more than a kind of carpet laid over a part of it (Pl. XXXI); and he provided, as we have seen, a stunning intarsia *basamento* which, by the way, included benches, or the illusion of benches.¹³⁰ To what purpose did Leo put this now completely private room? Paolo Giovio simply called it 'the pope's inner chamber'.¹³¹ My suggestion is derived from those intarsie, which must have given the room the character of a *studio*. It is important to remember that Leo's greatest love was not for the visual arts, nor even for letters, but for music;¹³² he was patron and composer, performer and listener, and moreover he was a collector of musical instruments. Somewhere, I feel, we have to find a place for his clavichord,¹³³ his Neapolitan alabaster organ,¹³⁴ and the gold and silver instruments imported from Nürnberg.¹³⁵ The suggestion that this room became Leo's music-room is based partly upon this necessity, and partly upon two texts. Leo, a compulsively generous man, gave Paris de Grassis a Christmas present in 1518: 'a most beautiful clavichord which [the pope] had kept for his own delight in *sua camera*';¹³⁶ and in 1520 a legal document was drawn up in a room described as 'the room towards the Belvedere where His Holiness, during the Summer, relaxes' (it will be remembered that the room still had no fireplace, so that its enjoyment would be limited in winter).¹³⁷ But the suggestion may also be supported by an analogy with the practice of other music-lovers, such as Ferdinand of Naples who kept his instruments in his private *studio* in the Castello Nuovo.¹³⁸ And perhaps we may take a hint from the doors of this room, all four leaves of which were decorated, on the inside, by Fra Giovanni da Verona with intarsie of musical instruments (Pl. XXIX).¹³⁹

Passing on through the Leonine suite we cross the Stanza dell'Incendio to the other most private section, the Torre Borgia; and it was indeed so private that it was called the *Sancta Sanctorum* where, in theory, only the pope could enter. For this was the secret treasury, the *Guardaroba*—so described from 1517 until

1541—where Leo kept in chests and cupboards of cypress-wood his tiaras, mitres, and jewelled rings, together with certain documents and an organ (not the Neapolitan one).¹⁴⁰ I find this adaptation of the Torre Borgia interesting because once again it seems to reflect the experience of the palace at Avignon, where there stands, next to the papal chamber, a *turris guardarobae*; and Leo X, like his predecessor, had known the Avignon palace and became much concerned with its conservation.¹⁴¹

Now, briefly, back to the end room, the Stanza dell'Incendio, the function of which I think you will have guessed from the new exterior passage from the *cucina secreta*; Paolo Giovio, writing in the 1520s, called it the *triclinium penitius* of Leo, that is to say the secret dining-room.¹⁴² In that case it is likely to be identical with the *tinello segreto* (a less pretentious title) that is mentioned in several documents of the period.¹⁴³ But if it was secret it was not by the same token informal, and I suspect that it is no accident that the essential furnishings required for a secret dining-room were the same as those for the *Signatura gratiae*: a papal throne with a small table opposite a longer table for the cardinals.¹⁴⁴ It seems to be clearly stated by Paris de Grassis that this room was no longer used for the *Signatura*, as it had been under Julius;¹⁴⁵ and so—unless Julius had already used this as his dining-room, which is quite possible—Leo adapted its furnishings to another ceremonial purpose. In any case he and Raphael, between 1514 and 1517, adapted the existing decoration to this purpose in a remarkably enterprising way.

It is said that Raphael's wall-frescoes in the Stanza dell'Incendio bear no relation to Perugino's ceiling of 1508 or 1509¹⁴⁶—a remark so unlikely to be true that one instinctively looks again; and by a magical dexterity of mind Raphael did indeed establish both thematic and visual relationships between his four histories and Perugino's four *tondi*. I take two examples arbitrarily out of the four; Leo, in the person of Leo III in the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, receives the gift of apostolic authority together with the blessing of Christ above, which is one reason why Raphael placed the pope to the right of this fresco; in the opposite scene Leo, in the person of Leo IV in the *Defeat of the Saracens at the Battle of Ostia*, is placed conversely to the left, where he looks directly at Perugino's *Pantocrator* for divine aid against the infidel and duly receives the Father's benediction.

The *Fire in the Borgo*, from which the room takes its name, is, like the Expulsion of Heliodorus, a political allegory. The extinction of the fire by Leo IV is not, as is generally said,

a reference to the extinction of the Schism by Leo X, because the contemporary metaphor for the Schism was not fire but pestilence.¹⁴⁷ The flames that Leo extinguishes are, as in so many texts of the period, the Flames of War.¹⁴⁸ In these four frescoes generally Leo is presented—I suspect in reaction to the requirements of the Election Capitulations drawn up at his conclave in 1513—as the bringer of Peace, and of Concord between Christian princes, the man of purity and integrity, and the propagator of the Crusade against the Turk.¹⁴⁹ The ambitions and to some extent the achievements, the ideals and to some extent the realities that are represented here do make, in relation to the expectations voiced at Leo's election, pertinent objects for the contemplation of his cardinals. But more than that (and more importantly) they would have appeared at the time to be more than reactions to the contingencies of a brief moment of history, and to represent the temporal charge laid permanently upon the Vicar of Christ. The choice of incidents from the lives of his Carolingian predecessors Leo III and Leo IV may seem to require no elaborate explanation in the case of this pope, who was more obsessed than most with previous bearers of the name with whom, indeed, he was frequently compared by entirely serious contemporaries.¹⁵⁰ But if we remember that this was Leo's *Triclinium* the choice may seem a little odd unless we also remember what every historian knew from the *Liber pontificalis* (the literary source for the narratives), that is, the contributions of Leo III and Leo IV to the earliest Vatican Palace: Leo IV's building operations are recalled in the *Fire in the Borgo*, Leo III had erected and decorated its *Triclinium*, and Leo IV, once more, had restored it.¹⁵¹

We could certainly continue, applying the same techniques and principles, to study Raphael's later decorations for Leo X in the Loggia and in the Sala di Costantino; but that would take much longer, and although it would amplify our results so far it would add nothing to the main point. In this survey I have already, perhaps, attempted to show you too much, but the cumulative effect was an essential part of my purpose. We have scarcely considered the decorations of these rooms as works of art. But by tracing the relationship between functions and decoration, and between these two factors and the changing requirements of his patrons, I wanted—indirectly—to draw attention to two neglected aspects of Raphael's qualities as, precisely, an artist: his profound sense of purpose and his extraordinary intellectual agility.

NOTES

1. I have left unaltered the text of the lecture from which, necessarily, much detail was omitted, as well as all documentation; the omission is rectified here, so far as possible, in the annotation which, as I realize, becomes disproportionately elaborate. The only alternatives I can see are to rewrite the lecture itself at greater length, or to edit the documentation to a degree which would give this publication the *ex cathedra* character which lectures have by their very nature; and the latter, in my view, is not an acceptable alternative. In working on this problem I have profited greatly from discussions with many friends, and in particular with Howard Burns, David Chambers, Christoph Frommel, Julian Gardner, Michael Hirst, Konrad Oberhuber, Rolf Quednau, and Ruth and Nicolai Rubinstein. I should like to add at this point that I cannot regard this study as complete. In seeking evidence for a problem of art-history in ceremonial, diplomatic, literary, legal, ecclesiological, and other historical sources, one shakes a cornucopia of information as best one can and with, inevitably, incomplete results. I should hope that the cornucopia will be shaken again by others with more specialized experience, and no one will be more astonished than I if the fruits that fall out do not entail revision of my present conclusions.

2. The only relevant survey of the functions of the apartment that I know is by D. Redig de Campos, 'L'appartamento pontificio di Giulio II', *Bollettino della unione storia ed arte*, n.s. ix (1966), p. 29; this note, although very brief and without documentation, is extremely useful, and the only real changes I have to propose are in the function of the Stanza d'Elidoro and the location of the *anticamera secreta*.

3. A biography of Paris de Grassis is to be found in the introduction to L. Frati, *Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II* . . . (Bologna, 1886). A portrait to the left of Leo X's in Raphael's *Repulse of Attila* is conventionally identified as that of Paris (most recently in A. Haidacher, *Geschichte der Päpste in Bildern* (Heidelberg, 1965), p. 280), but this head seems too young; Paris was perhaps born c. 1450 (Frati, p. v), and certainly not later than 1470 since in his *Diarium*, 1512, he remarks that he has known Rome for forty years. There exists an extraordinary number of MSS. of the *Diarium*, of which I have used, in most cases, the British Museum copy, Add. MSS. 8440-4. There is no complete printed edition, although excerpts, précis, and abridged texts have been published quite frequently. Two much abbreviated 'editions' are by J. J. I. Dollinger, in *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte*, iii (Vienna, 1882), pp. 363 ff. (Julius II only), and by Mons. P. Delicati and M. Armellini, *Il Diario di Leone X di Paride de Grassi* (Rome, 1884); of these the second is very misleading.

4. L.-H. Labande, *Le Palais des Papes . . . d'Avignon* (Marseilles, 1925), ii, pp. 83 ff.; L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, ed. F. I. Antrobus (London, 1950), vi, p. 61.

5. For the Avignon Conclave-hall see Labande, op. cit. in n. 4, i, pp. 120 ff.; the one projected for the Vatican is referred to in the description of the Belvedere by Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae & veteris Urbis Romae*

(Rome, 1510), fol. Z. iii, v. ('locum pro conclavi designatum a tua Beatitudine . . .'). Albertini's text, dedicated to Julius II, was completed by 3 June 1509. This Conclave-hall is presumably the huge structure shown, leading off to the East of the Belvedere, on the drawing Uffizi A287 (J. S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere* (Vatican City, 1954), pp. 199 ff. and Fig. 3); this identification seems justifiable because of the perfect solution the structure provides for the recurrent problems of conclaves: independence, total security, self-contained service-rooms and chapel (the latter to be erected on the *Torione* of Nicolas V). For earlier attributions of UA287 (Bramante, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger) see Ackerman, loc. cit., who himself proposes the name of Peruzzi and a date probably before 1527. More recently C. L. Frommel, 'Antonio da Sangallo's Cappella Paolina', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xxvii (1964), p. 34 n. 6, has returned to the attribution to Antonio and suggested a date c. 1524. I would suggest that it be dated much earlier. The drawing is unquestionably before 1521 because it shows the door between the two parts of the Sala Ducale (4 and 5 on my plan, Fig. 1) to the South of the dividing wall, whereas it had been moved to the centre by 10 April 1521 (Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, quoted by E. Müntz, *Les Historiens et les critiques de Raphaël* (Paris, 1883), p. 132). It is with only a little less certainty before 1513, because it shows the North wing of the palace at Stanze-level, but without the Leonine balcony and its access-doors (see p. 386). On the East side it shows a loggia occupying the length of the one erected by Bramante, discussed below, but with twelve bays instead of thirteen; and the staircase-solution in the South-East corner is also different from Bramante's; thus it is unlikely to be later than 1509 (see below, n. 28). On the other hand the plan of the Belvedere is probably exactly consistent with Bramante's definitive plans, so that the drawing is unlikely to be earlier than about 1508. My colleague Howard Burns, independently of these arguments, has proposed an attribution to Giuliano da Sangallo, which I find very convincing (compare the very striking plan for the Conclave and chapel with his plans for the Neapolitan royal palace and Saint Peter's reproduced by G. Marchini, *Giuliano da Sangallo* (Florence, 1942), Pls. Xa, XXIIb). Giuliano was called to Rome by Julius in 1508 and left again—not to return in this pontificate—in spring 1509 (Marchini, p. 110). I suggest that UA287 is a plan produced by Giuliano in these months in response to Julius's new requirements, with solutions in some respects different from those of Bramante, and that as a whole it represents essentially the same Julian scheme that Albertini was writing about at the same date. The plan shows the Julian *serliana* of Bramante at the North end of the Sala Regia (inserted summer 1508) and the Julian South windows of the Stanze (probably also 1508—see p. 379), but neither of these provides a positive *terminus post* since—like the Belvedere—they may be represented as parts of a scheme not yet implemented.

6. Johannes Burchard, *Liber notarum*, 21 May 1506: the staircase 'demoliverrant pro nova facienda, tali scilicet quod eques ire posset ex aula regali usque ad S. Petrum' (quoted from F. Ehrle, S. J., and E. Stevenson, *Gli affreschi del Pinturicchio nell'appartamento Borgia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Rome 1897), p. 11); there are two further reports in the *Diarium* of Paris de Grassis on the Eve and Feast of Ascension 1506 (Add. MS. 8440, fols. 349^v–351^v). The real significance of this project may be deduced from the fact that when it was

first used, with explicit personal enthusiasm by Julius himself, at Pentecost 1506, it was entitled *via Iulia nova* (Paris de Grassis, MS. cit., fol. 358^r; and again at Easter 1507, Add. MS. 8441, fol. 127^v), and a similar title was evidently in use for some time. When Charles V visited the Vatican in 1536, he and Paul III ascended 'per scalas novas Iulii ad Salam Regiam' (*Diarium* of Biagio da Cesena, 5 April, quoted from B. Podestà, 'Carlo V a Roma', *Archivio della R. società romana di storia patria*, i (1878), p. 331). The Sala Regia is basically a late thirteenth-century room, built by Nicolas III (D. Redig de Campos, *I Palazzi Vaticani* (Bologna 1967), pp. 28 ff.); it has a number of alternative titles in documents of the Renaissance period: Sala grande, Sala Magna, Aula regalis, Aula Regum, Aula prima, Aula major, Magnum atrium inter duas capellas, and Aula prima Caesaris (the latter in Bibl. Vat., MS. Vat. Lat. 3535, *Scripturus quae memoratu digna Romae et in Italia ab excessu Adriani. vj. Pont. Max: gesta sunt*, Anon., c. 1523, fol. 96^v, where the title Aula Regum is, unusually, given to the second Consistory-hall, 4 on my plan). The functions of the room, as the site of the reception of ambassadors from the Emperor or kings, are described with particular clarity by Paris de Grassis on the occasion of the arrival of an embassy from Maximilian, 13 January 1509 (Add. MS. 8441, fols. 268^r-271^r), and in the *Liber Caeremoniarum* of Johannes Burchard and Agostino Patrizi, 1488 (MS. Vat. Lat. 4738; in the edition by Cristoforo Marcello, *Rituum ecclesiasticorum* . . . (Venice, 1516), fols. i^v and xlv^v).

7. The first signs that Julius was living on the top level come in two reports of the wedding of Laura Orsini, which was performed in the upper *Aula Pontificum*, that is the Sala di Costantino (12 on the plan), on 16 November 1505; one account is in the *Liber notarum* of Burchard ('. . . Sponsalia in superiori aula Pontificum . . . quo facto papa surrexit et intravit ad suas cameras novas ibidem . . .', quoted from Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 22); the other is in the *Diarium* of Paris, under the date 9 November ('Papa in aula alia [sc. superiori] Pontificum . . . mulieres . . . ascenderunt . . . Quo facto Papa recessit ad suam cameram, et omnes mulieres sequutae sunt eum, et factae sunt nuptiae, et coena nuptialis in eadem cameram, in qua Papa etiam coenavit . . .': Add. MS. 8440, fols. 282^v ff.). It appears from Paris's later reports that Julius continued to reside in the upper suite until his departure for Bologna, 26 August 1506 (see, e.g., *Diarium*, under 12 December 1505, Epiphany 1506, 26 August 1506: Add. MS. 8440, fols. 242^v, 243^v, 294^r, and the passage quoted in C. Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, xi (Lucca, 1754), p. 482); and that would appear to be the implication of Burchard's account, 27 April 1506, of the Secret Consistory 'in aula Papagalli superiori', cited below, n. 33. It is worth noting that not only Nicolas V but also Julius's uncle, Sixtus IV, had lived in the bedroom of the upper suite (Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit., p. 14). The seasonal use of the different levels of the palace is discussed by G. Dehio, 'Die Bauprojecte Nicolaus des Fünften und L. B. Alberti', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, iii (1880), p. 246.

8. A nucleus of this kind was provided (1555-8) for Paul IV in the East wing of the Belvedere when the original apartment was in a dangerous state (D. René Ancel, 'Le Vatican sous Paul IV', *Revue bénédictine*, xxv (1908), pp. 50-7).

9. That the *anticamera* was immediately contiguous with the bedroom is clear from a letter of Stazio Gadio, c. 20 December 1512, cited below, n. 14; also, an account, 5 July 1519, of ambassadors visiting Leo X (M. Sanuto, *I Diarii*, xxvii (Venice, 1889), col. 453), the description of Marco Dandolo, 1523, cited below, n. 17, and a letter from Francesco Gonzaga, 17 January 1526, describing Isabella d'Este's visit to Clement VII (A. Luzio, 'Isabella d'Este e il sacco di Roma', *Archivio storico lombardo*, xxxv (Ser. 4, x, 1908), p. 366). The earliest reference to this room's use during the pontificate of Julius II seems to be in the *Diarium* of Paris de Grassis, 25 July 1508 when, the pope being absent from Mass, 'ego ordinavi ut Cardinales omnes ad Anticameram Papae in Paramentis venirent, et ibi expectarent . . .': (Add. MS. 8441, fol. 215^v); on 23 August 1511, when Julius was in bed and exceedingly ill he was visited by Francesco Maria della Rovere, who got as far as the 'Anticamera di N. S.' but was not allowed into the bedroom (A. Luzio, 'Isabella d'Este di fronte a Giulio II', *Archivio storico lombardo*, xxxix (Ser. 4, xvii, 1912), p. 329 n. 1); see also below, n. 17.

10. Paris, *Diarium*, 26 November 1507 (Add. MS. 8441, fol. 170^r): 'hodie Papa cepit in superioribus mansionibus Palatij habitare . . .'; this well-known passage continues with Julius's insults against Alexander VI (E. Müntz, *Raphaël* (Paris, 1881), p. 317 n. 1, and op. cit. in n. 5, p. 132; although Müntz took, and usually has received, credit for producing this text it had been known long before; there is a précis published by L. G. de Bréquigny in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du roi*, ii (Paris, 1789), p. 562, whence it was introduced to the Raphael literature by J. D. Fiorillo, *Geschichte der Malerey*, i (Göttingen, 1798), p. 97). After this date Paris does not directly specify Julius's continued residence upstairs, but implies it several times, as for example on 12 January 1509 when, for the reception of Cardinal Santa Croce, Legate to Germany, in Consistory (i.e. 5 on the plan), 'Papa . . . in sede per scalas delatus est ad Concistorium' (MS. cit., fol. 267^r). A letter from Leonardo Grasso in Rome, 15 December 1512 (Sanuto, op. cit. in n. 9, xv, col. 411) makes it clear that Federico Gonzaga was then lodged in the suite on the second level, below Julius's room on the third. It should be noted, however, that at the height of summer Julius lived in the Villa Belvedere (i.e. *Diarium*, 1 August 1511: after an expedition to San Pietro in Vincoli, 'Papa . . . delatus est ad Palatium, et inde ad Belvedere, ubi solet hoc tempore pernoctare': Add. MS. 8442, fol. 123^r). Compare a report of the ambassadors of Orvieto, 6 August 1511: 'Mercordi po' vespero fumo ad Belvedere, dove sta quasi continuo Nostro Signore' (L. Fumi, 'Carteggio del comune di Orvieto degli anni 1511 e 1512', *Archivio della R. società romana di storia patria*, xiv (1891), p. 153).

11. Paris, *Diarium*, 26 December 1507 (Add. MS. 8441, fol. 177^r): Julius 'fecit cantari Vesperas in sua parva cappella superiori, quae erat antiqua Nicolai Pape V. dicata S. Laurentio, et per Suam Sanctitatem nuper restaurata . . .'. Paris generally refers to this as the 'Cappella quotidiana', but at Christmas 1511 invented an apparently new term: 'in sua parva ante Camerali Cappella' (Add. MS. 8442, fols. 156^r, 157^r), which rather neatly expresses its symmetry with the *Anticamera* proper. I should like to draw attention to a problem arising from a report of a new chapel: Marin Zorzi wrote from Rome, 8 September 1516, that he had spoken with the French

ambassador 'qual era andato a palazzo a certa capella feva il Papa per sua devotion' (Sanuto, op. cit. in n. 9, xxii, col. 567). 'Palazzo' in such a context means specifically the Vatican, and the only suggestion I have to offer is that Zorzi was mistaken, and that the chapel in question was the one begun in 1514, partly to Michelangelo's design, in Castel S. Angelo (J. S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (London, 1961), ii, pp. 1 ff.).

12. A. Taja, *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano* (Rome, 1750), p. 117: 'restando la porticella riquadrata di breccia nera, i cui portelli son di finissimi intagli antichi in legno di noce, e con gli specchi, e i fondi lavorati in bella tarsia con l'arme parimente, e col nome dello stesso Giulio II, che fu ne' suoi giorni il primiero ristoratore della seguente cappella . . .'

13. I have never been in this room, and I rely upon: G. Tesorone, *L'antico pavimento delle Logge di Raffaello in Vaticano* (Naples, 1891), pp. 22 ff. ('L'antico soffitto, uno stupendo soffitto di legno a cassettoni, con ornati rossi e di oro, su fondi di azzurro-scuro, e del quale non esiste ora che una sola metà. Vi sono bellissimi fregi a rilievo, sui quali si ripete il ramo di rovere carico di foglie, e nell'arme centrale vi è la nota quercia d'oro a quattro rami e sei radici in campo azzurro fra il tiregno e le chiavi: l'arme di Giulio II.');

E. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, ii (Munich, 1905), p. 8; Redig de Campos, loc. cit. in n. 2.

14. Letter of Stazio Gadio to Isabella d'Este, c. 20 December 1512, in A. Luzio, 'Federico Gonzaga ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II', *Archivio della R. società romana di storia patria*, ix (1886), p. 546 ('in camera sua qual è tutta fodrata di asse et soffitata si accese il focho nella soffitta et nelle asse dal canto verso il letto . . .').

15. Tesorone, op. cit. in n. 13, p. 23; he describes the Medici emblem of Ring and Feathers with the motto *Semper*, and the Leonine *impresa* of the Yoke with the motto *Suave*, and gives a coloured drawing, Pl. I. 4 (it should be noted that the reconstruction he proposes for the lost Loggia floor is in many details wrong: an accurate drawing, by Francesco la Vega, 1742, is in Bibl. Vat., MS. Vat. Lat. 13751, fol. 58). A new fireplace was placed 'su ala camera del Papa' during the first nine months of Leo's reign (an item on the account of Giuliano Leno, 1 December 1513, published by K. Frey, 'Zur Baugeschichte des St. Peter', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxi (1910), Beiheft, p. 22).

16. It is shown in an important and little-studied plan in Ferdinando Caroli, *De Vaticano Templo et Palatio* (c. 1620), MS. Vat. Lat. 10741, fol. 243a.

17. *Relazione* of Marco Dandolo, describing visit to Adrian VI, April 1523: 'sua anticamera, che è un camerino quadro a volta di bellissime pitture; dal quale insino in terra pendevano da ogni banda bellissimi arazzi nuovi, la maggior parte di seta . . . nella faccia da man manca un baldacchino di bellissimo soprariccio d'oro . . . sotto il quale era una bellissima cattedra di veluto cremisino ricamata d'oro e fornita di pomelli d'argento lavorati d'oro colle arme di papa Leone; e intorno intorno molti scabelli da sedere. Presso alla porta della camera di Sua Santità, v'era una tavoletta sopra tre piedi . . . per riporvi il paramento . . .' (E. Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*,

iii (Florence, 1858), p. 101). Michiel remarked that Raphael's tapestries 'furono giudicati la più bella cosa, che sia stata fatta in eo genere a nostri giorni, benchè fussino celebri li razzi di Papa Giulio de l'anticamera, li razzi del Marchese di Mantova . . .' etc. (E. A. Cicogna, 'Intorno la vita . . . di Marcantonio Michiel', *Memorie dell'I. R. istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, ix (1860), p. 405; the words italicized here are omitted by V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti* . . . (Vatican City, 1936), p. 103). The necessity for the seating described by Dandolo is exemplified by an occasion when Julius summoned the cardinals 'et in Anticamera sua tenuit consistoriolum' (Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, 27 December 1511, Add. MS. 8442, fol. 157^v).

18. Biagio da Cesena, *Diarium*, 12 April 1520, describing the reception of an embassy of Charles V by Leo X 'in anticamera sua in sede camerali, assistentibus quindecim, vel sexdecim circumstantibus Cardinalibus' (Bibl. Vat., MS. Chig. L. II. 22, fol. 33^r; B.M., Add. MS. 8445, fol. 15^r).

19. In the first surviving account-book of Serapica (Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale I, 1489, fol. 84^r), 1 November 1518: 'E più . . . a mf. Filippo Adimari duc. cinquanta doro larghi, per dar a qual fe el pavimento de la camera del broccato.'

20. For these functions, see Francesco Sestini, *Il Maestro di Camera* (ed. Rome, 1653), pp. 47 ff., and the passages from Burchard's *Liber notarum* cited in Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, pp. 13-14; the latter may be supplemented from the *Liber Caeremoniarum*, 1488, of Agostino Patrizi and Burchard (ed. cit. in n. 6, fols. lxix^v, and cxxxiv^v); 'S. D. N. Innocentius VIII pont. max. Ad reformationem Cubiculariorum et camerarium papagalli et paramenti palatii apostolici', in Patrizi-Burchard, *Miscellanea*, MS. Vat. Lat. 5633, fol. 89^r ff. (an important text which defines degrees of rank admitted to the two rooms, and which was copied c. 1517 by Paris de Grassis into his *Caeremoniarum opusculum*, MS. Vat. Lat. 5634/1, fols. 169^r ff.); Paris de Grassis, *Caeremonialium regularum supplementum et additiones* (1515), MS. Vat. Lat. 5634/2, fols. 4^v-9^r (in great detail). Although it is normal in this period to refer to these rooms as *Camera de' paramenti* and *Camera del papagallo*, it should be noted that: (i) either can also be termed *Aula*, or *Sala* (e.g., Paris, *Diarium*, 10 August 1513: 'Aula, sive Camera Papagalli inferior'), and (ii) that they can also be designated *prima* and *secunda camera paramenti* (e.g. by Patrizi-Burchard). There are a great many references to these rooms in normal or abnormal use in the *Diarium* of Paris. There were 'sale del paramento e del papagallo' provided in Palazzo San Marco while it served as the papal residence of Paul II (a payment, 23 July 1471, for the decoration of their ceilings is in A. Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi a Roma* (Milan, 1881), p. 31).

21. The fullest description of the furnishings is given in Paris de Grassis, *Caeremonialium regularum supplementum et additiones*, MS. Vat. Lat. 5634/2, fols. 5^v (instructions to sacristan for preparing papal *paramenta*) and 7^v (instructions to Master of Ceremonies for preparing furnishings: consistorial throne, benches for cardinals, 'Lectum: ubi papa parandus est', and 'sedes papae cameralis maior, aut minor'); in the *Diarium*, 26 May 1504, he describes Julius 'apud lectum paramenti . . . vestitus iturus ad Vesperas . . .' (Add. MS. 8440, fol. 2^r).

22. A fully detailed and illustrated manual for this lengthy operation is a beautiful MS. from the Heineman Collection, on loan (1969) to the Pierpont Morgan Library: *Praeparatio ad missam pontificalem*; the frontispiece, which shows Leo X enthroned during the robing ceremony, is dated 1520; an earlier description is in Patrizi-Burchard, *Liber caeremoniarum*, 1488, ed. cit. in n. 6, fol. cxxviii^r.

23. There exists, so far as I know, no direct evidence on the location or scale of the original staircase; that it could be adapted ceremonially is indicated by Paris de Grassis's record of the first time that Julius used the upper rooms for robing, 26 November 1507: 'Hodie Papa incepit facere Cameram Paramenti in superiori aula, ubi etiam est vestitus, cum hactenus sit solitus in inferiori parari, et per scalas in sede fuit delatus ad Cappellam' (Add. MS. 8441, fol. 169^v). But in the Eastern part of the palace before Julius's rebuilding there was no space for anything but a very cramped staircase; it is probable, I think, that there was one in each of the towers at the North and South ends of the medieval loggia on the East façade (for which see the next note) and that the southern one was used in 1507. A *lumaca* (spiral staircase) on the East side is mentioned by Paris in 1505 (under the date 9 November: Add. MS. 8440, fol. 282^v).

24. The literary sources on the earlier loggia are printed in F. Ehrle, S. J., and H. Egger, *Der vatikanische Palast in seiner Entwicklung bis zur Mitte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Vatican City, 1935), pp. 68–9, and Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 14; for visual evidence, a tentative reconstruction, and description of surviving fragments incorporated into Bramante's structure see D. Redig de Campos, 'Bramante e il Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano', *Rendiconti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, xliii (1971), pp. 283 ff. Trees and topiary in the *giardino segreto* are visible in the view of the old palace from the East in Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco in S. Agostino, San Gimignano (reproduced by Ackerman, op. cit. in n. 5, Fig. 42).

25. Such a courtyard is sketched in black chalk on UA287 (1508–9: see above, n. 5); it is obvious from the views of the southern end of the Logge, c. 1532, by Marten van Heemskerck (e.g. Redig de Campos, op. cit. in n. 6, Fig. 62), that the structure erected by Bramante and Raphael was a fragment of a larger scheme.

26. The several flights of this staircase are best understood from the plans in P. Letarouilly, *Les Bâtiments du Vatican*, ii (ed. London, 1963), Figs. 114, 116, 118.

27. In addition to the texts of Michiel and Albertini quoted by Redig de Campos, op. cit. in n. 6, pp. 100–1 (see also next note), the letter of Mario Equicola to Isabella d'Este, 23 March 1513: 'Fabrica [Leo] una scala per potesse condurre ad cavallo sino al lecto' (A. Luzio, 'Isabella d'Este ne' primordi del papato di Leone X', *Archivio storico lombardo*, xxxiii (1906), p. 457). The slope of the original *cordinata* (ramp) was about 1:3.5; the flights were rebuilt as steps, of awkward rhythm, under Pius VII (1800–23: Redig de Campos, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 101).

28. In MS. Corsini 2135 (receipts of Girolamo Francesco da Siena, *computista* of St. Peter's, 1508–9), fol. 7^{rv}, there are payments from 30 November to 3 December 1509 for *pilastr*i of the 'opera horti segreti'. G. I. Hoogewerff, 'Documenti . . . che riguardano Raffaello . . .', *Rendiconti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, xxi (1945–6), p. 265, has suggested that these documents refer to the northern end of the Belvedere; A. Bruschi, *Bramante architetto* (Bari, 1969), p. 933 (following Ackerman), relates them not unreasonably to the Logge. However, the total number of *pilastr*i then erected was sixteen, which is too many for the Logge (where, in any case, previous foundations were adapted for at least part of the lowest level); sixteen would be exactly right for the East side of the first (southern) court of the Belvedere, and I think it is probable that these documents should be added to the list in Ackerman, op. cit. in n. 5, pp. 152 ff.; there was, of course, a garden on this side of the palace as well. But even if these documents do not apply to the Logge, a project-date (see below, note 91) of 1509 at the latest is implied by the reference to the new staircase in June 1509 in Albertini, op. cit. in n. 5, fol. Yi^r: 'Sunt praeterea aulae & Camerae adornatae variis picturis ab excellentiss[imis] pictoribus concertantibus hoc anno instauratae. Praeterea [sc. sunt hoc anno instaurati?] faciles ascensus ad commoditatem aedium palatarum cottile opus ex laterculis & lapide Tyburtino: ut ad summitatem usque tecti facile possit equitari'; and I think that Bruschi (op. cit., p. 934) is right in taking the *deambulatorii* mentioned in another passage of Albertini's (quoted below, n. 84) as the Logge themselves. On the other hand Julius, on 12 January 1509, stood 'in logia superiori sua secreta' to watch a procession, so at that date the demolition of the previous loggia had not begun (Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, Add. MS. 8441, fol. 267^r).

29. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, 10 August 1513; 'preparari feci aulam, sive Cameram Papagalli inferiorem, ubi Pontifex parandus esset, propter structuras, et ruinas scalarum superiorum . . .' (MS. Vat. Lat. 5636, fol. 51^r). A payment of 27 April 1513 'per 2 ferate, messe a lavoro di palazzo sotto la schala di palazzo' almost certainly refers to the same project (Frey, op. cit. in n. 15, p. 20). In his description of the Conclave arrangements of 1513 (*Diarium*, 4 March), Paris refers to a *logia longa*, which has been taken to be the second level of Bramante's; but it is, rather, the portico of the Cortile del Maresciallo. According to Redig de Campos, the existence of a door of Julius II at the end of the passage that leads from the head of the *cordinata* to the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri (7 on the plan) implies that construction had reached the third level before Julius's death; but I think that this doorway could as well—in fact must—have been accessible from the previous staircase, and that its dating implications are restricted to the Sala. A passage in a letter from Bibbiena to Giulio de' Medici, 2 December 1511, suggests that part of the loggia, probably on the second level, may then have been usable: 'Essendo la S.ta di N. S. hoggi al tardi venuto nella loggia del secondo giardino secreto et conferendo con quella li R.mi Grimano et Cornaro et il secretario veneto . . .' (G. L. Moncallo, *Epistolario di Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena*, i (Florence, 1955), p. 380).

30. See the article, both amusing and scholarly in the highest degree, by H. Diener, 'Die "Camera Papagalli" im Palast des Papstes', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, xlix (1967), pp. 43 ff.

31. Patrizi-Burchard, *Liber Caeremoniarum*, 1488 (ed. cit. in n. 6, fol. xlvi^r): 'Secretum consistorium celebratur in aula aliqua palatii Apostolici remotioni: hodie Cameram Papagalli appellant'; cf. Burchard, *Liber notarum*, 1 December 1505 (quoted from Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 16): 'Papa . . . vocavit . . . de camera Papagalli sive consistorii . . . singulos cardinales'. On conclave-plans of 1549-50, 1555, and 1565, the lower Camera del Papagallo is marked as 'Locus Conclistorij Secreti', 'Aula Consistorij Secreti', 'Sala del Conclistoro secreto' (F. Ehrle, S.J., and H. Egger, *Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, V: *Die Conclavepläne* (Vatican City, 1933), Nos. I, III, VII).

32. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, 14 October 1504, the reception of the ambassadors of Rhodes, who 'se firmarunt in prima camera Paramenti, idest non Papagalli, sed in prima ubi Hostiarii faciunt custodiam, et ibi sedentes in principali banco, quod est apud ignem, expectarunt finem Consistorij, quo finito, vocavi eosdem qui intrarunt' (i.e. into the Camera del Papagallo: Add. MS. 8440, fol. 62^r; at this date the lower rooms were in use); compare the description of the lower room by Ferdinando Caroli, MS. cit. in n. 16 (c. 1620), fol. 436^r: 'Salla che sta avanti a quella del Conclistori che serve ordinariamente dove sta la guardia . . .'. The *ostiarii* had ancient rights and duties in the *Camera paramenti*, described in a document of 1409 quoted by F. Ehrle, S.J., *De historia palatii Avenionensis* (Rome, 1890), p. 116 n. For ceremonies of the presentation of ambassadors to the Curia see M. de Maulde-la-Clavière, *La Diplomatie au temps de Machiavel* (Paris, 1892), ii, p. 215. On the conclave-plan of 1585 (Ehrle-Egger, op. cit. in n. 31, No. IX) the lower Camera de' Paramenti is designated simply: *Sala delli Oratori*.

33. Burchard, *Liber notarum*, 27 April 1506 (Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 14): 'fuit secretum consistorium in aula Papagalli superiori.' During the later part of the pontificate of Julius a particular room—presumably this one—was customarily used for secret consistories, for example the one held on 8 October 1511 for the approval of the Bull confirming the League between the Church, Ferdinand of Aragon and Venice against the Bentivoglio of Bologna: 'Acta fuerunt hec Rome in palatio apostolico in sala, in qua secretum consistorium consuevit . . .'. (A. Theiner, *Codex diplomaticus dominii temporalis S. Sedis*, iii (Rome, 1862), p. 524). On the dispatch of the Legate to Perugia (Antonio del Monte), 8 October 1511, Paris was called 'in cameram Consistorij', and on 26 December 1511 the cardinals were summoned 'ad Cameram suam Consistorialem' for discussion on the gift of the Sword (*Diarium*, Add. MS. 8442, fols. 134^v, 156^v). In these cases, too, it seems safe to assume that it is the present Sala de' Palafrenieri that was meant since it is of a size to allow the use of the terms *camera* or *aula* alternatively. Less certain is the identity of the 'Aula Consistorij Secreti' in which the ambassadors of Parma were received on 27 October 1512 (MS. cit., fol. 249^r); this should most naturally be the same, but a doubt arises from the record of the reception of the Piacenza embassy, 26 July of the same year, for which Julius decided 'potius fieret secretum consistorium . . .' (it would normally have been public). 'Et cum multi [Prelati, etc.] vellent ingredi, Papa inhibuit propter debilitatem solarij Aulae, quod tremere videbatur, quinimo feci, quod omnes Prelati, et quicumque aderant, non essent in medio Aulae stantes, sed in extremitatibus circa parietes adhaerentes . . .'

(MS. cit., fol. 240^v ff.); this account particularly recalls Paris's remark in 1510 that the upper Aula Pontificum (i.e. the Sala di Costantino) had a 'solarium . . . ligneum quasi curvum, et debile . . .', and another in 1513 that it was 'vacillans, & male firma, & in periculo ruinae' (Add. MSS. 8442, fol. 31^v, 8443, fol. 18^r); there had been general fear of the collapse of that floor since the notorious occasion in 1500 when a good part of it fell, with the chimney and roof above, very nearly killing Alexander VI enthroned below (some of the accounts are reprinted in Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 17). And it should be noted that the Sala di Costantino was undoubtedly used for the reception of the embassy from Reggio, 3 September 1512, 'in Consistorio semipublico . . . in Aula Pontificum Consistoriali, et superiori . . .' (Add. MS. 8442, fol. 247^r). However, a semi-public Consistory is perhaps sufficiently distinct to make its occurrence in the 'Aula Consistorij Secreti' incorrect; and it is worth noting too that on 27 June 1513 Paris expected the collapse of all the upper *Aulae* (Add. MS. 8443, fol. 52^v), so that the fears expressed by Julius on 26 July 1512 could indeed have been caused by the floor of the Sala de' Palafrenieri. I have not yet found a text to contradict the assumption that after 1506 the Sala de' Palafrenieri was the normal location of the Secret Consistory.

34. See the text of Paris de Grassis quoted in n. 23, above; from this date his references to the two robing-rooms are to be read as applying to the third level unless he specifies otherwise. The sequence of events at Easter, 1508, will illustrate this point, and also the trials of a Master of Ceremonies: *Tenebrae*, Wednesday in Holy Week: 'Papa voluit parari in aula inferiori cum prius à multis mensibus citra in superiori paratus fuerat . . .'; Thursday: 'tandem hora 12 Papa paratus in aula superiori cum in inferiori sacristae omnia praeparaverunt, sed iussi superius paramenta portari et Cardinales ascendere . . .'; Good Friday: 'Papa voluit in inferiori aula paramenta parari . . .'; Saturday: 'Papa . . . venit in aulam inferiorem ubi accepit paramenta . . .'; Sunday: 'Omnes Cardinales et Prelati ac Oratores accesserunt ad superiorem aulam Paramenti ubi Papa vestiri debuit . . .' (Add. MS. 8441, fols. 195^r-203^v).

35. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, 21 February 1513: 'Tandem circa horam noctis decimam, quae est inter dies 20. et 21. Februarij S. D. N. Julius Papa ij mortuus est . . . in Aula Superiori apud aulam Pontificum, ubi solitus est habitare . . . Et postquam vestivimus cadaver de toto Pontificaliter iussi illud ad Aulam Paramenti deferri, quae omnibus commodior fuit.' The 'Aula Pontificum' in this account is the present Sala di Costantino, and hence the 'Aula Superior' must be the present Sala de' Palafrenieri (already interpreted so by Steinmann, op. cit. in n. 13, ii, p. 8).

36. The door on the West wall (well illustrated in J. Hess, *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien zu Renaissance und Barock* (Rome, 1967), ii, Pl. 36) leads to the 'stanze de' camerieri di Sua Santità' over the Public Consistory (Vasari, *Vite*, Florence, 1550, p. 875); in a plan of this part of the palace c. 1580, attributed to Ottaviano Mascarino (Accademia di San Luca G. 113) the corridor leading off from this door is designated 'Andito per andare a la cucina secreta' and the rooms over the Public Consistory are the apartment of the

Maestro di Camera; the hall itself is given its present name, 'Sala de li Svizzeri'. It may be convenient at this point to outline the history of the nomenclature of this room in the sixteenth century. Under Leo X and Adrian VI it continued to be called the 'aula paramenti' or 'camera paramenti in prima sala superiori' (Paris, *Diarium*, 1 November and 31 December 1517, Add. MS. 8444, fols. 41^v, 54^v, and Biagio da Cesena, *Diarium*, 30 August 1522, Add. MS. 8445, fol. 32^v). It is the 'Sala de' Lanzi', the furnishings of which are recorded in the account-books of Paul III in 1536 and 1538 (L. Dorez, *La Cour du Pape Paul III d'après les registres de la trésorerie secrète* (Paris, 1932), ii, pp. 19, 250; cf. Vasari's description, quoted below, n. 40); and it is called 'stanza . . . dove sta la guardia de svizzeri' in reports of the destruction threatened by Paul IV in 1558 (letter of the Bishop of Anglone, 10 August, quoted by Ancel, op. cit. in n. 8, p. 67, and the *Avviso da Roma*, 13 August, quoted by E. Rossi, 'Roma ignorata', *Roma*, vii (1929), p. 565); the same title is used by Caroli, c. 1620 (MS. cit. in n. 16, fols. 243a, 445^v). The only contradiction I know comes in a plan by Pirro Ligorio, 1560-1 (Ackerman, op. cit. in n. 5, Fig. 31), where it is called 'Sala de Palafrnenieri'; this plan is, however, inaccurate in almost all respects that matter in our context.

37. This fireplace is shown in the plan by Caroli, c. 1620, MS. cit. in n. 16, fol. 243a; it is described by Taja, op. cit. in n. 12, p. 113: 'un focolare di portasanta masiccio alla moda antica.'

38. G. Vasari, *Le Vite* . . . , ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1906), iv, pp. 362-3: ' . . . oltre che di grottesche e vari pavimenti egli tal palazzo abbellì assai, diede ancora disegno alle scale papali ed alle logge cominciate bene da Bramante . . . E fu cagione la bellezza di questo lavoro, che Raffaello ebbe carico di tutte le cose di pittura ed architettura che si facevano in palazzo . . . Egli fece fare a Gian Barile, in tutte le porte e palchi di legname, assai cose d'intaglio lavorate e finite con bella grazia.' It is worth noting that visitors soon after Raphael's death were at least as impressed by the lavishly carved and gilt ceilings as by his paintings; e.g. Francesco Novello, *Vita Leonis X.* (c. 1525), Bibl. Vat., MS. Barb. Lat. 2273, fol. 8^v: 'Augustum palatium pontificum in politorem formam magnificentissime eximia operis elegantia instauravit, ac egregiis picturis superbisque auratis laquearibus splendidissime exornavit: et auxit . . .'; Stephanus Ioanninensis, *In Mediceam Monarchiam pentateuchus* (Ancona, 1524), fol. cx^v: 'faustissima illa Vaticani laquearia quae in porticibus illis in excelsam illam aeminentiam vergentia conspiciuntur: opulentissimo nitore expolivit: quibus videre nihil augustius est' (he makes no mention of paintings); Andrea Fulvio, *Antiquitates urbis* (Rome, 1527), fol. xxvi: 'Leo X insignem porticum triplicem & Zetas [sc: Dietas] & picturam & lacunaria aurea omnia ab eminentissimis artificibus comparata adiunxit.'

39. The texts as carved are, respectively: BEATVS HOMO QVI AVDIT ME E QVI VIGILAT AD FORES MEA / QVOTIDIE ET OBSERVAT AD POSTES HOSTII MEI (Proverbs 8: 34), and LAVDATE NOMEN DOMINI LAVDATE SERVI DOMINVM / QVI STATIS IN DOMO DOMINI IN ATRIIS DOMVS DEI NOSTRI (Psalms 134: 1-2). For texts relating to the *Ostiarii* see above n. 32.

40. Vasari, *Vite*, ed. cit. in n. 38, vi, p. 554: 'Volendo poi papa Leone far dipignere la sala, dove sta la guardia de' Lanzi . . . Giovanni, oltre alle fregiature, che sono intorno a quella sala, di putti, leoni, armi papali e grottesche, fece per le faccie alcuni spartimenti di pietre mischiate finte di varie sorti, e simili all'incrostature antiche che usarono di fare i Romani alle loro terme, tempj ed altri luoghi, come si vede nella Ritonda e nel portico di San Piero.' This room was 'accanto' to the Sala de' Palafrnenieri, and there is no doubt of its identity. It is worth noticing that here—as again in the Stanza della Segnatura—Vasari gives the room a title that was out of use in 1568, but conforms to usage in the Vatican under Paul III (1534-49; see above, n. 36), when he had made his closest acquaintance with the palace. The lost frieze may be visualized on the basis of the splendid Leonine frieze in S. Maria in Domnica (the pope's former titular church, the restoration of which he continued until at least 1518); the treatment of the wall-surfaces, as described by Vasari, recalls the real marble panelling of Raphael's Chigi mausoleum. I know of no positive evidence for the date of the Leonine decoration of the Sala degli Svizzeri. In MS. Vat. Lat. 13751, *Disegni della prima e seconda loggia Vaticana*, by Francesco la Vega, 1745, there are, on fols. 25 and 45, very clear records of the lost shutters of this room and of the Sala de' Palafrnenieri respectively, all Leonine; the difference in design between them, when related to the changing style of the doors of the Stanze, suggests that those of the Sala degli Svizzeri are earlier, as I should judge its ceiling to be earlier too. This conclusion is consistent with the only document I have found which refers to structural alterations in this room, which is from the first year of Leo's pontificate; in an account submitted by Giuliano Leno, 1 December 1513, is this item: 'Uno finestrone rimurato inella sala prima del papa, lughu palmi 16, alto palmi 30, grosso palmi 3½ (Frey, op. cit. in n. 15, p. 25); in a *Ricordo* of 19 June 1514 (Frey, p. 26) it is specified that the 'sala prima del papa' is beneath the apartment of Cardinal Bibbiena, which was then under construction in the southern half of the Eastern tract of the palace, on the fourth level, and so it is clear that the sala in question was the Sala degli Svizzeri.

41. In the campaign of destruction initiated by Paul IV in that year, documented by Ancel, op. cit. in n. 8, pp. 65 ff.; it is to be identified with the 'sala della guardia de Zanti' mentioned, as due for demolition, in Vincenzo Buoncambi's letter of 13 August 1558.

42. J. Hess, 'Gli affreschi nella Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri al Palazzo Vaticano', *L'Illustrazione Vaticana* (1935), pp. 713 ff. (reprinted in op. cit. in n. 36, i, pp. 99 ff.), and M. V. Brugnoli, 'Un palazzo romano del tardo '500 e l'opera di Giovanni e Cherubino Alberti a Roma', *Bollettino d'Arte*, Ser. 4, xlv (1960), p. 244 n. 21. Hess stated that the room had been the *anticamera* of Julius II, which is not strictly correct (see above, p. 372), and he curiously misread the emblems on the ceiling so as to conclude that it was a contribution of the penultimate Medici pope, Pius IV (1559-65). The evidence of the imprese is confirmed beyond all doubt by a passage in Paolo Giovio's *Vita Leonis* (Florence, 1548), p. 105: 'conclavia quoque per quae aditus est ad intimum cubiculum, laquearibus auratis & iucundissimis signis albario opere depictis in luculentiorum formam redegerat . . .' The term *Conclavia*

(i.e. rooms closed to the public) is also used by Michiel to describe the Sala degli Svizzeri and Sala de' Palafrenieri (27 December 1519: he describes the inner wall of Raphael's Loggia 'contiguo alle camere, et conclavi concistoriali del Papa'—quoted from Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 104).

43. Add. MS. 8443, fol. 207^v. Under Leo X this room was generally so described (e.g. Paris, *Diarium*, 27 September 1513, 'In aula superiori Consistoriali fecerunt prandium') and this was the 'place of the [private] Consistory' in which John Clerk presented Henry VIII's *Assertio septem sacramentorum* to Leo (letter to Wolsey, 10 October 1521, with description of papal throne, baldacchino, cardinals' 'stolys', in B.M., Cotton MS. Vitellius B. IV, fol. 194^r); similarly, under Clement VII, Cardinal Cornaro was 'ordinatus in Presbiterum per Papam in camera Concistoriali, seu alia ante Capellam suam . . .' (Biagio da Cesena, *Diarium*, 1 April 1524, Add. MS. 8445, fol. 56^v); in 1532, however, this room and the Sala degli Svizzeri were together termed 'camerae suae Cubiculariae' (ibid., fol. 232^v), anticipating Vasari's title for the former: 'salotto . . . dove stavano i cubicularii' (*Vite*, ed. cit. in n. 38, vi, p. 555); in the accounts of Paul III, however, it is already, in 1536 and 1538, the 'saletta dove li parafrenieri fanno la guardia in Palazzo' and 'la sala de' . . . parafrenieri' (Dorez, op. cit. in n. 36, ii, pp. 54, 250), and similar titles are commonly used in later Cinquecento sources. For a new use for the room in the 1530s see below, n. 65. A payment of 1517 often, but wrongly, related to this room's decoration is discussed below, n. 140.

44. The formal acknowledgement of a loan (Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 52), 'Actum in palacio apostolico in sala ante Cameram pape . . .'. Hess, in *Studien*, cit. in n. 36, i, p. 415, suggested that this sala was made for Leo X out of two rooms of the suite of Julius II; this idea does not appear illogical structurally, when the walls on this level are compared with those below (cf. the plan in Letarouilly, op. cit. in n. 26, Fig. 200), where the 'anticamera' or 'Camera Audientiae' was a long narrow room separating the Camera del Papagallo from the Sala de' Pontefici (Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, pp. 13-16). But on the upper level, at least under Julius, the Sala de' Palafrenieri was already directly adjacent to the Sala di Costantino (see the report of his death quoted above, n. 35). Hess's suggestion would also appear to be contradicted by the fragments of thirteenth- and fifteenth-century friezes remaining above the ceiling (see below, n. 53). The present division by supporting piers was added by Pius VII in 1816 (Hess, p. 416).

45. On 8 December 1518 Antonio da Sangallo was commissioned to make a ceiling for S. Maria della Quercia in Viterbo 'de quella ricchezza che è quello de camera de Papa Leone in Palazzo di Papa in Roma, dove se fa concistorio . . .' (C. Pinzi, 'Memorie e documenti inediti sulla Basilica di Santa Maria della Quercia in Viterbo', *Archivio storico dell'Arte*, iii (1890), p. 322); the model was undoubtedly this one (H. van Dam van Isselt, 'I soffitti della Sala del Concistorio e della Sala Regia in Vaticano', *Rendiconti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, xxviii (1955-6), pp. 101 ff., discusses the document and the Viterbo ceiling, without realizing that the prototype still exists). The wording of the Viterbo contract may well imply that Antonio had constructed the ceiling of the Sala de' Palafrenieri (as he made, in 1518-19, the similar ceiling—now destroyed—of the Sala di

Costantino), but it remains probable that, as Vasari seems to say (see above, n. 38), Raphael made the design and Gian Barile the carvings. A payment to Antonio for the ceiling of the Sala di Costantino is dated 14 March 1519 (200 ducats 'per conto del palco della gran sala'); another of 10 September 1518 (300 ducats 'per el Palco') perhaps also applies, as does one to Penni, 25 December 1523 'pro pictura Palci Aule Consistorialis' (Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale I, 1490, fol. 9^r, 1489, fol. 67^r; Archivio segreto vaticano, Introitus et exitus 561, fol. 126^r; the Sala di Costantino was used for Public Consistories under Clement VII). I should like to add a brief reference to this important ceiling: 'le imprese del suave nel suffitto d'oro tutto' (c. 1585: R. Lanciani, 'Il Codice barberiniano XXX. 89', *Archivio della R. società romana di storia patria*, vi (1883), p. 459).

46. Vasari, *Vite*, ed. cit. in n. 38, p. 555 (continuing the description of the 'Sala, dove sta la guardia de' Lanzi', quoted above, n. 40): 'in un altro salotto accanto a questo, dove stavano i cubicularii, fece Raffaello da Urbino in certi tabernacoli alcuni Apostoli di chiaroscuro, grandi quanto il vivo e bellissimi; e Giovanni sopra le cornici di quell'opera ritrasse di naturale molti pappagalli di diversi colori, i quali allora aveva Sua Santità, e così anco babuini, gattiamoni, zibetti, ed altri bizzari animali . . .' (see also 1550 ed., *Vita di Raffaello*, p. 663).

47. For the destruction see Vasari, loc. cit. in previous note, Ancel, op. cit. in n. 8, and Rossi, op. cit. in n. 36. For the reconstruction under Pius IV see J. Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro* (London, 1969), p. 91, and in addition a payment in A. Bertolotti, *Artisti urbinati in Roma* (Urbino, 1881), p. 17, dated 3 May 1560.

48. On the painted architrave on the South side is the inscription: AVLA SANCTORVM APOSTOLORVM IN AMPLIOREM HANC FORMAM RESTITVTA AN MDLXXXII; this last phase of the work was done by Giovanni Alberti and Egnazio Danti (Brugnoli, op. cit. in n. 42, p. 230). A further restoration by Maratta for Clement XI is recorded by Taja, op. cit. in n. 12, p. 116.

49. D. Redig de Campos, 'Relazione dei laboratori di restauro', *Rendiconti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, xxvii (1951-4), p. 403, and C. L. Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner* (Vienna-Munich, 1967), p. 88, n. 395. Parts of the original Corinthian fluted pilaster-framing of the niches are now visible once more behind the gridiron of the *Saint Lawrence*. Three drawings for SS. John, Matthew, and Luke (Louvre 28954 and 4261, British Museum 1959-7-11-1) have been published (S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), ii, Figs. 396, 395; P. Pouncey and J. Gere, *Italian Drawings . . . in the British Museum: Raphael and his Circle* (London, 1962), pp. 52-3), of which the *Saint John* seems to me to be by Raphael himself. An apparently unrecorded study for the *Saint Lawrence* (probably by Penni) is in Vienna (Albertina ScR. 117).

50. H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent* (London, 1957), i, pp. 77 ff., with further bibliography.

51. For Torquemada and earlier sources see Jedin, loc. cit. in n. 50. Domenico Jacobazzi, *De Concilio* (ed. C. Jacobazzi, Rome, 1538), especially p. 32: '... Cardinales loco apostolorum successerunt' (the *De concilio* was begun not later than 1512). This doctrine is recalled in the papal address to newly created cardinals: 'successores Apostolorum circa thronum sedebitis' (Patrizi-Burchard, *Liber Caeremoniarum* (1488, ed. cit. in n. 6), fol. xl—see also ii').

52. See above, n. 46. According to Taja, op. cit. in n. 12, p. 115, the two parrots over the door to the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri are fragments of Giovanni's original decoration.

53. D. Redig de Campos, 'Di alcune tracce del Palazzo di Niccolò III nuovamente tornate alla luce', *Rendiconti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, xviii (1941-2), pp. 71 ff., and 'Les constructions d'Innocent III et de Nicolas III sur la colline Vaticane', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, lxxi (1959), pp. 369 ff.

54. Another case may be mentioned here, since we shall not meet it later, the Leonine decoration of the Sala di Costantino, begun by Raphael in, probably, 1519; here again one part of the decoration—the series of portraits of the *sainted* popes—repeats the previous one, which is specified most clearly in Sigismondo de Conti, *Le storie de' suoi tempi* (ed. Rome, 1883), ii, p. 269: 'tectum superioris aulae Pontificum (hoc enim nomen habet a Pontificibus in numerum Sanctorum relatis in eo depictis) ...'

55. Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, pp. 31 ff.; Redig de Campos, op. cit. in n. 6, pp. 46 ff.

56. 'Rafaello ... cominciò nella camera della segnatura ...'; 'Fu fatto levare per ordine di Papa Paulo un cammino che era nella camera del fuoco: et metterlo in quello della segniatura: dove erano le spalliere di legno in prospettiva, fatte di mano di fra Giovanni intagliatore per Papa Iulio: et avendo nell'una et nell'altra camera dipinto Raffaele da Urbino, bisognò rifare tutto il basamento alle storie della camera della segniatura' (*Vite* (1550), pp. 641, 939).

57. I would not mention this document, which has generally lapsed into an appropriate oblivion, if it had not recently been pressed into service again by J. Pope-Hennessy, *Raphael*, London, n.d. (1970?), p. 138. It is written in the form of a *Mandato camerale*, that is a credit-note addressed to Agostino Chigi, informing him on the authority of the treasurer Ferdinando Ponzetti that he should pay Raphael thirty ducats 'pro coloribus et alijs rebus necessarijs in depingendo cubacula signature palatij S.mi dnj nrj ...', from which Pope-Hennessy would draw the conclusion that 'the term Segnatura is applied to the whole suite of rooms'. If this were indeed the case the term would also have become meaningless; but it is not the case. I have examined this document and I am convinced that it is a forgery. There are a surprising number of these spurious *mandati*, and they are not all by the same hand; this one, however, is identical in all physical respects (including its rather good Ponzetti seal) with another in the same collection dated 1 June 1518 (100

ducats 'pro sua provisione ... per duos menses ... in operibus picture palatij ...') which is much more interesting because its author tried to be more specific; in doing so he made a number of mistakes: (i) Raphael was not paid by *provisione* (a technical term); (ii) Ponzetti is described as 'electus melphitanus', inappropriate after 21 December 1517 when he was consecrated; (iii) reference is made to a *cedula* by 'r. d. J. magistri domus Sanctitatis sue', probably meant to be Johannes de Ferrara; he, however, had been replaced late in 1515, and in any case was *Magister sacri palatii*, a very different post; the *Magister domus* throughout Leo's reign was Alessandro Neroni. The *mandato* of 3 January 1516 has a notarial reference to one Nicia; there was no notary of this name active in the period, so far as I can discover, and I suspect that the author was amusing himself (and perhaps discreetly warning Italian collectors) by taking to Rome the best-known of all Renaissance lawyers, the cuckold of Machiavelli's *Mandragola*. I should like to acknowledge that I have discussed these documents with Christoph Frommel, who has worked on others in the group; his negative opinion in this case is cited by H. von Einem, *Das Programm der Stanza della Segnatura im Vatikan* (Opladen, 1971), p. 17 n. 45 (with earlier bibliography). For the probable origin of the group, see D. Farabulini, *Saggio di nuovi studi su Raffaello d'Urbino* (Rome, 1875), p. 334 n.

58. 'In festo Sanctae Luciae ... Papa in camera ultima superiori nova idest in ea quae est picta Signatura S.tae me[moriae] Julij ij. consecravat R.mum D. Laurentium Puccium Cardinalem Sanctorum quatuor Coronatorum' (Add. MS. 8443, fols. 85^v-86^r; essentially the same text in MS. Vat. Lat. 5636, fol. 71^r).

59. It was published simultaneously by Müntz, op. cit. in n. 5, p. 132 (without comment), and J. Hergenroether, *Leonis X ... regesta* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1884), p. 361.

60. Paris de Grassis and, so far as I know, all other Masters of Ceremonies, invariably described rooms from the point of view of the visitor to the pope, that is to say in anti-clockwise sequence in the Vatican Palace. Thus, for a parallel to his meaning for the word *ultima* in this text, he calls the Sala Ducale (5 on the plan), the third of the Public Consistory Halls, 'ultima sala' (e.g. 18 August 1504, Add. MS. 8440, fol. 50^v). It would never occur to him to count rooms in chronological order of their decoration, like an historian—or like Vasari, who called the Stanza d'Eliodoro (13) 'la camera seconda, verso la sala grande' (12). Sellaio, writing to Michelangelo, 1 January 1518/19, also described the Stanza dell'Incendio as 'l'ultima stanza di palazzo' (quoted from Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 65).

61. Steinmann, op. cit. in n. 13, ii, pp. 99-110, did not mistake the room that Paris meant, but his interpretation was as follows: the Stanza dell'Incendio was initially to house the *Signatura*; Perugia's commission was transferred to Raphael when the *Signatura* was moved from the end room into the middle one; but in 1513 the *Signatura* was still convened in the end room because Raphael's was not finished. There is no evidence for the second step in the argument, and the third seems to do violence to the text. Broadly similar is the derivative argument of von Einem, op. cit. in n. 57, pp. 16 ff.; von

Einem is one of the few recent scholars to have remembered that Steinmann wrote about the Stanze, and so he too realized that Paris was describing the end room; but in following Steinmann's assertion that Julius moved his *Signatura* from there into the middle room he eventually left unexplained the plainly contrary evidence of Paris.

62. They are, in sequence: 17 December 1513: 'quia non videbatur conveniens ut [Papa] illum insigniret minoribus ordinibus in publico, suasimus, quod similiter in secreta Cappella sua paucis presentibus ordinaret, prout fecit, et etiam ibidem, postea legit psalmos cum orationibus paramentorum, et induit calciamenta, et venit ad locum, ubi in die S. tae Luciae consecravit illum, et ibi indutus de toto sicut tunc dixit missam . . .' (Add. MS. 8443, fol. 87^v). 21 December 1517: two cardinals were consecrated 'in Episcopos . . . in camera superiori, in qua olim etiam Cardinalem sanctorum quatuor consecraverat . . .' (Add. MS. 8444, fol. 51^v). 2 July 1519: 'Papa consecraverat cardinalem de Farnesio in Episcopum . . . in camera in qua solebat esse signatura PP. Julij . . .' (MS. Vat. Lat. 5636, fol. 285^v, poor text in Add. MS. 8444, fol. 163^v). It will be noticed that these uses of the room fall, as they must, outside the period of Raphael's occupation, approximately midsummer 1514 to midsummer 1517.

63. The most helpful source of information on this subject is still G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, xliii (1853), pp. 210 ff. For a more modern (but still incomplete) bibliography: I. Gordon, S. J., 'Normae supremi tribunalis signaturae apostolice', *Periodica de re morali canonica liturgica* (Rome, Pontificia universitas Gregoriana), lix (1970), pp. 75 ff., 112 ff., and also D. S. Chambers, 'The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, iii (1966), pp. 300, 307.

64. B. Katterbach, O.F.M., *Referendarii utriusque signaturae*, Vatican City (1931), p. xiv (who also, p. vii, makes a clear statement of the relation between the *Signatura* and the other curial tribunals); in conformity with this subdivision, Paris de Grassis distinguished between the 'Signatura Cardinalis Alexandrini' and the 'Signatura Papae', or 'Signatura Papalis' (*Diarium*, 17 March and 26 May 1506, Add. MS. 8440, fols. 347^r, 356^r).

65. Moroni, op. cit. in n. 63, xliii, p. 223; since his sources were inevitably no earlier than the seventeenth century there is an element of hypothesis in the assumption that requirements were essentially the same in the early sixteenth century (most scholars who have worked with materials relating to papal ceremonial would, I think, agree on the probability while acknowledging the possibility of change). I have been unable to discover where the *Signatura gratiae* was convened in the pontificates of Leo, Adrian, and Clement (the *Registri* do not, like Privy Council Registers, specify the location of meetings). In the case of Clement I suspect that it was in the Sala de' Palafrenieri, because his corpse was prepared for lying-in-state—a ritual previously performed in the hall outside the bedroom (cf. n. 35, above)—in his *Signatura* ('Obijt Clemens in camera magna superiori, et in alia camera ubi solet fieri Signatura extractis visceribus fuit lotus, et indutus, ac per scalas secretas, et secretiores portas [i.e. via the *anticamera*, 11], ad cameram

Papagalli inferiorem' (Giovanni Francesco Firmano, *Diarium*, 25 September 1534, Add. MS. 8447, fol. 9^v—this text was known to Steinmann, op. cit. in n. 13, ii, p. 110, but I think he was wrong to associate it with the Stanza dell'Incendio). Early in Paul III's reign the *Signatura* was quite certainly in the Sala de' Palafrenieri (Biagio da Cesena, *Diarium*, 17 February 1538: 'S.D.N. . . . exivit de thalamo suo penetrali (9) in Aulam ubi fit Signatura prope Cappellam suam parvam' (10); Add. MS. 8446, fol. 222^v). This makes sense since the requirements described by Moroni's sources approximate those of a consistory. The following payments, trivial in themselves, are helpful in being consistent with such requirements (and in confirming the common meaning of the word): 23 December 1524, 'per uno Busselo di polvera per mettere al calamaio della signatura . . .' (A.S.R., Camerale I, 1491, fol. 68^r); 25 June 1537, 'per uno tavolino . . . per uso della Signatura'; 15 October 1538 'per un tavolino . . . per sua Santità per la Signatura' (Dorez, op. cit. in n. 36, ii, pp. 132, 250).

66. Hence, when Paul III converted the middle room, in 1541, to be the Camera della Segnatura that Vasari knew, he had the fireplace of the Stanza dell'Incendio moved to the other side of the dividing wall so that it fed the same flue: 26 July 1541, 'A. M.ro Francesco Salviati pittore per suo pagamento del Re Pipino che ha depinto nella Camera inanti la Guardarobba di Palazzo dove stava il camino che N.S. se fece levare et metter in la camera della Tarsia, scudi 15' (A. Bertolotti, 'Speserie segrete e pubbliche di Papa Paolo III', *Atti e memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie dell'Emilia*, n.s. iii (1878), 1, p. 180); for commentary on the titles given to these rooms see below, nn. 96, 140. The fireplace was of a height to cause the destruction of the lowest, central part of the *Disputa*, later restored; the fireplace was moved back quite soon, and now nothing survives of Salviati's *Pepin* in the Stanza dell'Incendio but the titular inscription formerly over his head.

67. The exterior frame of the door was clearly erected in two stages, and from the inside it is obvious that the upper extension must have been made before Raphael painted the *Coronation of Charlemagne* (probably early in 1516). I think it is likely that the lower door-frame was Julius's and that the heightening was done, under Leo, in connection with the room's redecoration; but other solutions are possible. The present balcony along the West façade at this level was erected under Clement XI (1700–21), but it must have replaced one existing c. 1515 since at its southern end there is a door-frame identical on the exterior with that which leads into the Stanze; this door would have led via a corridor to the Julian door on the West side of the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri (see above, n. 36); I think it is probable that there was already (as there has been since early in the eighteenth century) a small staircase in the South-West corner of the block which would give direct access from the Sala Ducale (4) but the evidence is not clear, at least to me. An alternative route to the exterior door of the Stanze is by a short balcony that leads from a *ballatoio* around the South and West sides of the Torre Borgia and appears to be original; by this route the Stanze could be reached via the staircase in the Torre Borgia and the Borgia Apartments below.

68. There is still, so far as I know, no direct evidence to date this ceiling. Documents testify to Perugino's presence in Perugia on 27 May 1508 and in

Florence on 18 February 1509, but there is another gap between February and December 1509. F. Canuti, *Il Perugino*, Siena (1931), i, pp. 194 ff., favours the earlier date on the grounds that Perugino is likely to have begun when Sodoma did in the middle room; if a passage in Albertini's *Opusculum*, cit. in n. 5, fol. Yi^v ('Sunt praeterea aulae & Camerae adornatae variis picturis ab excellentissimis pictoribus concertantibus hoc anno instauratae') is taken to embrace Perugino, it may be argued with about equal success that this should mean 1508 (when Sodoma began) or 1509 ('hoc anno'). The earlier date can be supported by the evidence (discussed by Canuti) that Perugino's work was contemporaneous with Signorelli's; in the case of the latter artist the only possible gap in his documented career appears to be the second half of 1508.

69. John 20: 21–22; this identification also in Canuti, op. cit. in n. 68, p. 196.

70. The sources on this subject are extremely numerous; the commentaries of Gregory and Chrysostom quoted in Thomas Aquinas's *Catena aurea* are characteristic of an exegetical tradition. Perhaps I may refer the reader to J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons* . . . (London, 1972), pp. 68 ff., for a discussion of the text, but for a theologian at Julius's court interpreting it in the sense outlined here, see Giovanni Gozzadini, *De electione romani pontificis*, quoted by H. Jedin, 'Giovanni Gozzadini, ein Konziliarist am Hof Julius II.', *Kirche des Glaubens, Kirche der Geschichte* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1966), ii, p. 33.

71. For example, the Sala de' Pontefici, where the 'sedes Papae Consistorialis' was opposite the fireplace (a description in Paris, *Diarium*, Thursday after Easter 1510, Add. MS. 8442, fol. 32^r). On the other hand in the Camera del Papagallo on the second level the papal throne was placed against the wall at right angles to the fireplace (idem, 24 August 1505, Add. MS. 8440, fol. 230^r); with this kind of arrangement the throne of the *Signatura* could have been placed against the South wall (later painted with the *Fire in the Borgo*), but clearly not against the window in the North wall.

72. Isaiah 60: 1–2.

73. Matthew 4: 3–11; Canuti suggests that the saint is the Baptist, which is reasonable textually but not, I think, visually.

74. Moroni, op. cit. in n. 63, xliii, p. 213.

75. *Grazia* was proposed by J. Klaczko, *Rome et la renaissance: Jules II* (Paris, 1898), p. 189; Steinmann, op. cit. in n. 13, p. 99, suggested *Hope*, and Canuti, op. cit. in n. 68, p. 196, *Misericordia*. A few more exotic identifications have been suggested but they are, I believe, best forgotten.

76. See above, n. 28; the passage on the Sistine Chapel (ibid., fol. Xliii^v) reads: 'Capella PP. Syxti .iiij. in palatio apostolico perpulchra in qua sunt picturae novi & veteris testamenti cum pontificibus Sanctis, manu & arte mirabili nobilium pictorum concertantium videlicet. Petri de castro plebis . . .' (etc.).

77. The basis for this date is in part an interpretation of a passage in Raphael's letter to his uncle, 21 April 1508, which I should explain; he writes: 'averia caro sefosse possibile daverre una letera direcomandatione al gonfalonero difiorezza [Piero Soderini] dal .S. Prefetto [Francesco Maria della Rovere] . . . me faria grande utilo per linteresse de una certa stanza dalavorare la quale tocha a sua .S. de alocare . . .', which is, obviously, extremely ambiguous —above all in the identity of 'sua .S.'; it makes no sense to suggest, as does Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 19, that the *stanza* might be the enormous Sala dei Cinquecento in Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. On the other hand the possibility that Soderini might have acted as agent for Julius arises from the parallel between the latter's patronage in 1508–9 and Sixtus IV's in 1481–2, when the decoration of the Sistine Chapel could not have been achieved without the active co-operation of the Florentine government; and the fact that Raphael's letter was written, probably, only a few months before Perugino, Signorelli, and perhaps also Sodoma actually began work (above, n. 68), makes me think that the task to which Raphael aspired was also the one in the Vatican.

78. 'Die xiii. Octobris 1508 Ma.cus D. Sigismundus Chisius permisit quod magister Io: Ant. de Bazis de Vercellis pictor in urbe pinget in Cameris S.D. papae superioribus tantam operam quae extimabitur fact. per 50 ducatos de carlinis x per ducatum, quos praefatus Io. Ant. confessus fuit recipisse . . . ad bonum computum . . .' (G. Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi il Magnifico* (Rome, 1878), p. 82; a seriously abridged reading in Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 21). Fifty ducats is a small amount in relation to other Stanze payments.

79. This important detail is rarely noticed; I am fairly certain that I am not the first to notice it, but I cannot now trace the source to which an acknowledgement is due.

80. A candidate for the execution, on documentary grounds, is Johannes Ruysch (J. Shearman, 'Raphael's Unexecuted Projects for the Stanze', *Walter Friedlaender zum 90. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1965), p. 160 n. 12).

81. The first known payment is dated 13 January 1509, and is 'ad bonum computum picture camere de medio eiusdem Santitatis testudinate' (an essentially correct transcription of the whole document in Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 370). I should like to take this opportunity to correct a mistake in the article cit. in n. 80, p. 160 n. 13, which arose from inability to read my own notes and which has so far escaped castigation, except by my students; I argued that Raphael could not have arrived in Rome in the summer of 1508 as, before going to Rome, he did an appreciable amount of work on an altarpiece provided for in a will of 20 July 1508, but in terms that imply no contract at that date. The proper date for the will is 1506.

82. A brief outline of this argument is in J. Shearman, 'Raphael as Architect', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, cxvi (1968), p. 396; but it will be set out in more detail in a book on the Stanza della Segnatura.

83. D. Redig de Campos, *Raffaello nelle Stanze* (Milan, 1965), p. 18; I should like to thank Professor Redig de Campos for kindly giving me access to the

records of the recent campaign of restoration. A problem to notice is that the profiles of the external window-frames on North and South sides are quite different; it seems to me probable that those on the North are earlier, and that they may have been inserted by Alexander VI (without, however, altering the outline of the internal embrasure at that time).

84. The title comes from the first literary reference, in Albertini's *Opusculum* (cit. in n. 5, fol. Ziir): 'De Bibliotecis novae urbis . . . Est praeterea biblioteca nova secreta perpulchra (ut ita dicam) Pensilis Iulia: quam tua beatitudo construxit signisque planetarum & coelorum exornavit, additis aulis & cameris ornatiss[imis] atque de ambulatoriis auro, & picturis ac statu is exornatis non longe a capella syxtea.'

85. A documentary argument is set out in Shearman, op. cit. in n. 80, p. 160, but I would now express it differently. The crucial document remains the record, 9 March 1509, of payment to Lorenzo Lotto 'ad bonum computum laborerii picturarum faciendarum in Cameris superioribus papae prope librariam superiorem' (Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, pp. 20-21); the same treasurer had noted on 8 October 1508 that Sodoma had received 50 ducats for painting 'in Cameris S.D. papae superioribus', from which it follows that this treasurer understood that Sodoma and Lotto were at work in the same suite of rooms; and further it follows that one of these rooms was next to an upper library. Albertini refers to a new upper library in 1509 (previous note). On 20 January 1513 Bembo described this library in terms so specific, and in such a context, that it is clear that he had seen it complete (see below). In January 1513 only two rooms in the suite could conceivably be so described, the present Stanza della Segnatura or part of the Torre Borgia (an extremely unlikely alternative—see below, n. 140—but logically admissible); the Stanza d'Eliodoro was at that time very obviously incomplete, and the Stanza dell'Incendio, although it might have appeared complete for all we know, was, as we have seen, the *Signatura* of Julius. The passage in Bembo's letter reads as follows: 'Ptolemaeum quidem Philadelphum, Aegypti, atque Attalum Pergami regem laudamus; quod in comparandis ad eas bibliothecas celeberrimas, quas instituerunt, libris omnem operam adhibuerint: ita pulchrum semper maximis, & in summo imperio constitutis hominibus fuit, iuvisse studia litterarum, et ingenijs materiam suppeditavisse optimis se in artibus exercendi. Eam tu curam, & diligentiam eorum aemulatus, ad illam egregiam bibliothecam Vaticanam ab ijs, qui fuerunt ante te Pontificibus maximis comparatam, addis, adiungisque alteram, non illam quidem librorum numero; sed cum eorum, quibus est referta, probitate atque praestantia, tum loci commoditate, amoenitateque propter elegantiam marmorum & picturarum, speculasque bellissimas, quas habet; ad usum Pontificum multo etiam amabiliorem. Huic tu bibliothecae quod ornamentum, quam venustatem, quam etiam auctoritatem addere atque tribuere maiorem possis . . .' (*Epistolae familiares* (Venice, 1552), p. 188).

86. In the progressive solidification of this hypothesis the position of the unfortunate Hermann Grimm is remarkable, was unacknowledged by his contemporaries, and has more recently been forgotten. Already in *Das Leben Raphael's* (Berlin, 1872), pp. 206 ff., he made the explicit suggestion that the Stanza della Segnatura was a library, comparing its decoration with

that of other libraries (in most detail, with that of the Escorial), and noting its four-fold subject-division. A. Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo* (Leipzig, 1878), i, pp. 149, 156, basing himself on the pioneering work of J. D. Passavant (*Raffael von Urbino . . .*, i (Leipzig, 1839), p. 138: 'Zimmer . . . der Facultäten') came near to restating the proposition when he rightly stressed the recognition of the four personifications on the ceiling as Faculties, and compared the subject-matter of the wall-frescoes with the portrait-cycle of the *studio* of Federico da Montefeltro at Urbino (the heroes of his library). A. Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì* (Berlin-Stuttgart, 1886), p. 231 n. 3, quoting the payment to Lotto, 9 March 1509, cited above, n. 85, asked parenthetically after the words 'prope librariam superiorem': 'Wo lag diese?' His question was in effect answered by F. Wickhoff, 'Die Bibliothek Julius II.', *Jahrbuch der k. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xiv (1893), pp. 49 ff., who first brought together the documentary evidence and the iconographical indications. In the meantime J. von Schlosser, 'Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte aus den Schriftquellen des frühen Mittelalters', *Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften: phil.-hist. Classe*, cxxiii (Vienna, 1891), pp. 147 ff., had placed the iconographical proposition in the context of encyclopaedic decorative cycles in medieval libraries; and later, in 'Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xvii (1896), pp. 83 ff., combined this approach with Wickhoff's. Since that date the argument has not been advanced in any important respect, except for one practical suggestion by Georg Leyh (see below, n. 98).

87. A payment of 100 ducats 'Johanni pictori in camera Bibliothecae' (A. Zahn, 'Notizie artistiche dall'archivio segreto', *Archivio storico italiano*, Ser. III, i (1867), p. 181, and Frey, op. cit. in n. 15, p. 15; for an interpretation, Shearman, op. cit. in n. 80, p. 160.).

88. The term is used in the inventory of Cardinal Fieschi, 1524, printed by E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au temps de Jules II et de Léon X* (Paris, 1912), p. 397. Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, had described the library of Federico da Montefeltro as 'in tucte facultà universale . . . Theologi . . . Philosophi antichi . . . le storie tucte . . . Poeti . . . Legisti . . . Medici . . .' (and Arabic, Greek, Italian divisions: the whole text in Passavant, op. cit. in n. 86, i, p. 460); this description accords reasonably well with subdivisions of the *Index Bibliothecae Ill.mi Ducis Urbini* (MS. Vat. Lat. 3960, fols. 94 ff.): Theology, Philosophy, *Iuriste*, Cosmography, History, miscellaneous, Greek and Hebrew (for another description of the library of Federico see C. H. Clough, 'The Library of the Dukes of Urbino', *Librarium*, ix (1966), p. 102). For other examples, varying in detail but not in principle: the inventory of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici's books, 1456 (E. Piccolomini, 'Ricerche intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della libreria medicea privata', *Archivio storico italiano*, Ser. III, xxi (1875), pp. 106 ff.); a reconstruction of the *signature* of the books of Alfonso I of Naples (T. de Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei Re d'Aragona*, i (Milan, 1947), pp. 176 ff.); the *Canone bibliografico* of Nicolas V, sent to Cosimo de' Medici in 1463 (Piccolomini, p. 111—already adduced in this context by Wickhoff, op. cit. in n. 86, p. 53); the *Index* of Alfonso II of Naples, c. 1515 (De Marinis, op. cit. ii, pp. 193 ff., whose date—before 1458—must be corrected on the basis of the contents); and the inventories of

two ecclesiastical libraries, at the monastery at Bobbio, 1461 (D. M. Robathan, 'Libraries of the Italian Renaissance', in *The Mediaeval Library*, ed. J. W. Thompson (New York, 1957), p. 523), and of the church of the Incoronata at Lodi, 1518 (E. Motta, 'I libri della chiesa dell'Incoronata di Lodi nel 1518', *Il libro e la stampa*, i (1907), pp. 105 ff.). The inventory of the Vatican Library under Leo X, 1518 (MS. Vat. Lat. 3948) provides subject-classifications of this kind which correspond fairly neatly to the actual location of books in the presses.

89. O. Hartwig, in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, x (1893), pp. 140 ff.; G. Laschitzer, *ibid.* xiii (1896), pp. 272 ff.; and, more recently, G. Leyh, 'Die Camera della Segnatura—ein Bibliotheksraum?' *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger* (Munich, 1930), pp. 171 ff. A silent, symbolic testimony to the same approval is the decoration of the vault of the entrance-hall of the Pierpont Morgan Library (painted by H. Siddons Wombay, 1906), a close imitation of that of the Stanza della Segnatura in which the four faculties are *Religio, Philosophia, Ars, and Scientia*.

90. The counter-attack from which most others take their inspiration was by J. Klaczko, 'Dans la "Camera della Segnatura"', first published in *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 July 1894, and reprinted in *Rome et la Renaissance: Jules II* (Paris, 1898), pp. 207 ff.; the success of Klaczko's article is a lesson in the advocative efficacy of wit and charm in scholarship, but I think it is seldom read now; it is greatly to his credit that he was, it seems, the first to take the trouble to find out the true meaning of *Signatura*; for his principal arguments see the next note. His immediate (but less good-tempered) followers were P. Fabre, 'La Vaticane de Sixte IV', *Mélanges de l'École Française*, xv (1895), pp. 476 ff., and L. Dorez, 'La Bibliothèque privée du Pape Jules II', *Revue des bibliothèques*, vi (1896), p. 107. Steinmann, *op. cit.* in n. 13, ii, pp. 44 ff., 109 ff., was also in opposition, but independently; he thought that he had found another place for the library, on a still higher level where Julius had built a corridor up by the roof with bird-cages and so on for his leisure-hours. This conclusion was based upon two misconceptions, I think: the first that the *Bibliotheca Iulia* was in that sense private, and the second that Albertini's epithet *Pensilis* ought to imply something like a hanging garden; on the contrary—as Bembo makes clear (above, n. 85)—Julius's new library was put where it was for the greater convenience of popes in general (*ad usum Pontificum*), and the limited force of the adjective *Pensilis* may be judged from its use by Andrea Fulvio (*Antiquaria Urbis* (Rome, 1513), fol. 36^v): *Pensilibusque viis* for the corridors of the Belvedere, *Pensile . . . iter* for the corridor to Castel Sant'Angelo; Albertini and Fulvio meant to express nothing by the word except their mild surprise at not finding at ground-level something normally to be found there. Steinmann's arguments have been recently restated, but without any useful addition, by von Einem, *op. cit.* in n. 57, pp. 11 ff. I see no point in assembling a long list of authors who have opposed the library-hypothesis, but it would be misleading to imply that there have not been others to support it, among the more serious of whom have been H. Weizsäcker, 'Literarisches in Raphael's Gedankenwelt', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, lviii (1937), p. 59; O. Fischel, *Raphael*, London, 1948, pp. 72–3; W. Schöne, *Raphael*, Darmstadt (1958) p. 11; and Redig de Campos

consistently in several publications. One of the least justifiable positions seems to me the apparently neutral one of Pastor, *op. cit.* in n. 4, vi, pp. 582 ff., who thought that the room could have served both as a library and as a *Signatura*; the furnishings necessary for the two functions would indeed be hard to combine.

91. Two of Klaczko's are worth dealing with: (i) that the room in question was already termed *Camera signaturae* by Paris de Grassis in 1513; after Steinmann, in 1905, had shown that this text referred to the Stanza dell'Incendio, the repetition of this point by later (even present) authors has been inexcusable; (ii) that the *Bibliotheca Pensilis Iulia* described by Albertini appears, from the text itself (dated June 1509), to be complete, as is indeed the case; but after nearly a century historiography has at least advanced by the general acknowledgement of a rule, that evidence must be weighed by the standards of the context from which it is taken. To read a little more of Albertini's *Opusculum* is to find—to take three fairly adjacent examples—the following: fol. Xiii^v, in the Sistine Chapel 'superiorem partem testudineam pulcherrimis picturis & auro exornavit [sc. Julius] opus praeclarum Michael. Archangeli floren.' (completed 1512); fol. Yi^v, in the Vatican Palace 'laquearia pulcherrima auro & picturis exornata in ipsis aulis' (all these have, or had, Leonine emblems); and fol. Xi^r, S. Maria in Domnica 'quam nuper Reverendissimus Ioannes de Medicis Florentinus . . . collapsam in pristinam formam restituit' (restoration in fact continues until at least 1518). Obviously Albertini anticipates—as authors of other guide-books have done—the completion of enterprises, and to take his book as an accurate *terminus ante* for all he describes is quite unjustifiable. It is quite clear that he had no idea what Michelangelo was doing on the Sistine Ceiling—only that he was at work there—and thus, by analogy, his description of the *Bibliotheca Iulia* is not only no *terminus ante* but also no obstacle to Wickhoff's thesis on the grounds that its details do not conform to Raphael's decorations. I think it is better to read the text (above, n. 84) as a generalized, rhetorical vision of the proper appearance of libraries based upon humanistic experience, and particularly, perhaps, that of reading Vitruvius vi. 3 or Plutarch, *Lucullus* xlii, on the library of Lucullus, whence he might have taken the stress on the contiguity of logge; and from his own experience of real libraries, like that of the Vatican itself, he could have been led to expect celestial and terrestrial globes as furnishings (*signe planetarum & coelorum*: cf. Fabre, *op. cit.* in n. 90, pp. 21, 26, and E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1887), p. 152). At the same time it is as well to be precise about what Albertini did say; Pope-Hennessy, *op. cit.* in n. 57, p. 138, uses his account of the *Bibliotheca Iulia* as a disqualifying *terminus ante*, but also thinks it means that it 'had a ceiling with planetary symbols, and frescoed and gilded walls' (from which the critical reader will, I think, want to draw conclusions different from Pope-Hennessy's).

92. MS. Vat. Lat. 3966, fols. 111^r ff., *Inventarium librorum a Iannocto Robera ex custodia rerum secretarum Pape habitum* (a transcription in Dorez, *op. cit.* in n. 90, pp. 109 ff.). The list is divided about two-thirds of the way through, the second section being headed: *Inventarium librorum Iulii Pape ii R.mo Car.li [Luigi] de Aragonia de mandato Collegii consignatorum*, which suggests that the list was

drawn up during the *sede vacante* after Julius's death; and it cannot be complete since it does not include copies of all books dedicated to the pope (a conspicuous absentee is Albertini's *Opusculum*).

93. It seems very limited, for example, when compared with the library of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, then reintegrated in Rome, or with that of Cardinal Domenico Grimani (inventory in MS. Vat. Lat. 3960, fols. 1^r ff.), but each of those was exceptionally rich.

94. This date, which marks the approximate time when Raphael directed his own energies to the next stanza, must not be taken as too rigid a guillotine upon ancillary decoration of the Stanza della Segnatura; but the *basamento* is not in that category. The date 1511 inscribed over each window does not refer directly to the immediately superimposed frescoes, but rather to the decoration of the room as a whole (the further indication: PONTIFICAT. SVI. VIII, gives the latest possible date of 26 November 1511: Pastor, op. cit. in n. 4, vi, p. 590). On the other hand Grossino writes to Isabella d'Este, 12 July 1511, that Julius 'in palazzo fa depenzer due Camere a un Raffaello da Urbino . . .' which, if accurate, should indicate that Julius and Raphael had turned their attention to the Stanza d'Elodoro by that date (A. Luzio, 'Isabella d'Este di fronte a Giulio II', *Archivio storico lombardo*, xxxix (Ser. 4, xvii), 1912, p. 326 n. 1).

95. Vasari, *Vite* (1550), p. 647: Julius . . . 'per fargli le spalliere di prezzo, come era la pittura, fece venire da Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri . . . Fra Giovanni da Verona . . . il quale vi fece non solo le spalliere, che attorno vi erano, ma ancora uscì [doors] bellissimi et sederi lavorati in prospettive' (see also p. 939). Vasari not unnaturally assumed that the *basamento* was part of the Julian scheme, but two payments to 'fratre Iohanne de Verona che lavora di tarsie . . . , che lavora de intaglio' are dated 28 May and 26 June 1513 (A. Mercati, *Le spese private di Leone X nel maggio-agosto 1513* (Vatican City, 1928), pp. 101, 102), and the *uscì*, which survive, are Leonine too. These indications are consistent with the break (1512-15) in Fra Giovanni's work in the choir of San Benedetto a Porta Tufi, near Siena (1511-16: P. Lugano, O.S.B., *Fra Giovanni da Verona . . . e i suoi lavori alla Camera della Segnatura* (Rome, 1908), p. 4, who, however, did not question the date implied by Vasari for the *basamento*). The date of the doors is discussed further in n. 127.

96. In the payment to Salviati, 1541 (above, n. 66) the room is called the 'Camera della Tarsia', a title already used in the accounts of Paul III in 1537 (Dorez, op. cit. in n. 36, p. 110); and I think it is probable that a passage in the anonymous *Memoriale* of 1544 (part of a description of this part of the palace) also applies: 'E inn sala, che si dice dj Farnese, e i.o belisimo quadro [i.e. table], tutto storiato di figure e ucegli e anjmagli. E i.o belo frego è fatto di legniamj dj piu cholorj e in prospettjva' (C. Frey, *Il Codice Magliabechiano* (Berlin, 1892), p. 134). It was suggested by Klaczko, op. cit. in n. 75, p. 218, that the intarsie disappeared in the Sack of Rome, 1527, and this is stated as a fact by Fischel, op. cit. in n. 90, p. 72, but almost certainly they survived until the insertion of the fireplace from the Stanza dell'Incendio, 1541; Perino del Vaga's *basamento* was undoubtedly executed after that, some

time in the early 1540s (B. Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga* . . . (Florence, 1966), p. 49). It is probable that Vasari had never seen the intarsie. However the room retained its previous name; there is a document of 31 March 1551, a payment for a 'studio [i.e. desk] di legniam . . . nella tarsia stanza di N. Signore' (Bertolotti, op. cit. in n. 20, p. 339), and this room is marked as the 'sala della Tarsia' on a conclave-plan of 1565-6 (Ehrle-Egger, op. cit. in n. 31, No. VII).

97. Comparison between this fictive intarsia and the choir-stalls by Fra Giovanni at Monte Oliveto Maggiore, 1503-05 (an excellent reproduction in G. Kauffmann, *Die Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1970), Fig. 313) confirms strikingly the accuracy of the former as a copy of the Frate's lost work, while at the same time suggesting that he was only at liberty to invent within a fictive architectural framework designed by another artist with a stronger sense of classical style (perhaps Raphael).

98. For the housing of the books in the Vatican Library see Fabre, op. cit. in n. 90, p. 18, and J. W. Clark, 'The Vatican Library of Sixtus IV', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (1898-9), p. 43. Wickhoff, op. cit. in n. 86, p. 56, and more recently Fischel, op. cit. in n. 90, p. 72, visualized the books in the Segnatura in free-standing desks (presses) like those of the Laurenziana; but Leyh, op. cit. in n. 89, p. 176, had already suggested alternatively that they were on shelves against the wall; his reasoning was in part invalid, but I think nevertheless that he was right. It is generally believed that the wall-shelf system begins with the library of the Escorial (J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 266), but to the known partial exceptions to this rule, in the *Bibliotheca secreta* of Sixtus IV and at Urbino, I should like to add one unambiguous example, the library of the Varano (connected by marriage with the Della Rovere) at Camerino, as described in the inventory of 1502: 'una stantia dove stava la libreria suffictata con soe schaffe attorno da ponere libri et cassoni in torno da ponere libri doi fenestre et uscio' (R. Romani, 'Il palazzo dei Varano a Camerino', *Rassegna marchigiana*, vi (1927-8), p. 380). The papal library at Avignon already had shelves for books (documents of 1349 in Ehrle, op. cit. in n. 32, p. 63). A representation of such a system can be found in the anonymous *Portrait of a Librarian* in the private apartments of Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj in Rome (by the same hand, I think, as the *Lutenist* in the Musée Jacquemart-André, probably a Lucchese artist c. 1540-50).

99. Ashmolean Museum, Gibbs Volumes, IV, No. 62, 106×76.5 cm.; for the attribution and date (1710-15) see H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects* (London, 1954), pp. 589-90.

100. Most recently von Einem, op. cit. in n. 57, p. 19, who visualizes Julius enthroned with his back to the South window, which is improbable from several points of view. I have come across no text describing such an arrangement. The functional design of the similar floor in the Sistine Chapel is described by Shearman, op. cit. in n. 70, p. 22.

101. Redig de Campos, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 62.

102. Albertini, op. cit. in n. 5, fol. Ziir; Steinmann, op. cit. in n. 13, ii, p. 43.

103. The *Camera* and the library at Avignon occupied the third and fourth levels of the Tour du Pape (Tour des Anges): Ehrle, op. cit. in n. 32, pp. 127 ff., and Labande, op. cit. in n. 4, i, pp. 98 ff.

104. At this point, for example, Steinmann's interpretation becomes noticeably impressionistic (op. cit. in n. 13, ii, p. 115), and von Einem's (op. cit. in n. 57, p. 32) decidedly wilful: he finds that *Parnassus* holds its place logically in the now-fashionable Platonic *ascensus* culminating in the *Disputa*, whereas perhaps the one certain thing about the relationship between *Parnassus* and the *Disputa* is that they are on the same level.

105. E.g. Fulvio, op. cit. in n. 90 (1513), fol. 33^v ('Vaticanus apex, phoebo sacratus'); the importance of the view of Bramante's Belvedere-complex from the Stanza della Segnatura has been stressed by Ackerman, op. cit. in n. 5, p. 125; I would simply extend this to the villa of Innocent VIII, to which Julius was devoted. When Bembo (above, n. 85) said that Julius's library had 'speculas bellissimas' he might perhaps have meant windows (as Pliny in his description of the *porticus* of the Laurentinum villa, protected 'specularibus ac multo magis imminentibus tectis'—*Epistulae* ii. 17), and it is possible that stained-glass windows by Guglielmo da Marcillat were already in place (Vasari, *Vite* (1550), p. 676); but I think it is more probable that Bembo was talking of the view—for a contemporary example of this usage, from the same circle, cf. Petrus Valerianus's description, in a letter of 13 November 1512, of the Belvedere 'in speculam cui ab amoenitate pulchrae nomen inditum est' (M. Freher, *Germanicarum rerum scriptores*, ii (Frankfurt, 1602), p. 293).

106. E. H. Gombrich, 'Alberto Avogadro's Descriptions of the Badia of Fiesole and of the Villa of Careggi', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, v (1962), p. 219; Aurelio Brandolini, quoted by Redig de Campos, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 47 ('Nunc Phoebus est, Sixti munere, sacra domus').

107. R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (London, 1888), p. 112; Clark, op. cit. in n. 98 (1901), pp. 14 ff.

108. Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, Augustus xxix; Horace, *Epistolae* I. iii. 16–17; Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, vii. 58 (210), xxxiv. 7 (43).

109. See above, n. 85.

110. See above, n. 94.

111. A summary of the arguments for this dating of the ceiling, and of earlier approaches to the same conclusion, is in Shearman, op. cit. in n. 80, pp. 173–5; the parts attributable to Peruzzi include the corner triangles with grisaille figures against a blue ground; the pseudo-antique 'reliefs' in the broad arches over the North and South walls seem to be rightly attributed to Ripanda, the pairs of *putti* in the same place to one or more artists strongly influenced by Verrocchio.

112. This conclusion arises from collation of two texts from Vasari's *Vite* of Piero della Francesca and Raphael (1550 ed., pp. 361, 641). Vasari also said that there had been one or two frescoes by Piero della Francesca; he was much confused by their dates, which he believed the same as that of Bramantino's (documented by a payment of 4 December 1508: Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 21). Vasari's reference to Signorelli is confirmed by a statement, which Steinmann interpreted rightly, and which alone suggests the subjects, in Paolo Cortese, *De cardinalatu* (Castro Cortese, 1510), fol. clxxxviii^r: 'Iulius Secundus Lucae Cortonensi homini in pingendo frugi & naturam verecunde imitanti divorum Imagines pingere in cella Vaticana iubeat'; there is a gap in the documentation of Signorelli in Tuscany in the second half of 1508. Vasari's notice in the *Vita* of Piero indicates that the two frescoes by Piero were on the two window-walls, but one may doubt that he was well informed; it is more natural that the frescoes added in 1508 by Bramantino and Signorelli should have been on the window-walls, since the previous decorations there would have been more or less destroyed by the changes in fenestration carried out under Julius, similar to those in the Stanza della Segnatura.

113. Ehrle-Egger, op. cit. in n. 31, No. VII.

114. Marco Minio, Venetian ambassador in Rome, wrote on 11 March 1517 that he had had an audience with Leo 'in la camera di la audientia, dove erano molti cardinali e altri'; on 19 May 1517 that Cardinals Cornelio and Sauli 'erano in la camera di la audientia' waiting to introduce Cardinal Petrucci (this was the time of the plot against Leo); and on 25 June 1517 that he and the other ambassadors had been 'reduiti in la sala di l'audientia per udir lezer il processo contra li cardinali . . . [Leo] vene, e sentato in cao di tavola . . .' (Sanuto, op. cit. in n. 9, xxiv, cols. 102, 288, 419). On 6 March 1525 Isabella d'Este presented herself to Clement VII 'qual era a sedere, in la camera sua grande de la audientia . . .' (Luzio, op. cit. in n. 9 (1908), p. 363). Under Paul III there are payments of 1536 and 1538 for furnishings of the 'Camera della Audienza' (Dorez, op. cit. in n. 36, ii, pp. 19, 189). It should be noted that there exists the hazard of an alternative *udienza*, or *Audientia rotae*, a very large hall in the so-called palace of Innocent VIII behind the Benediction Loggia (H. Egger, 'Das päpstliche Kanzleigebäude im 15. Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* (1951), pp. 487 ff.), but I do not think that that can be meant in any of these cases; more real is the possibility, especially in the case of Isabella's reception, of a loose use of terms by which a room like the Sala de' Palafrenieri might be meant. The earliest reference to (apparently) the Stanza d'Elidoro is in the text of the formal protest of 28 September 1515, against Francis I's intention to sieze Milan, drawn up in 'camera nova versus Belvedere' (C. Guasti, 'I manoscritti Torrigiani', *Archivio storico italiano*, Ser. 3, xxvi (1877), p. 184; see also pp. 186, 364, 403, for other legal documents of 1517 that may indicate a similar use by Leo for this same room); at this date the Stanza dell'Incendio was not usable, and the Stanza della Segnatura seems to have been differently described by the same notary (see below, n. 137).

115. Frey, loc. cit. in n. 96; the description continues: 'e evj 1.0 belissimo quadro d'ebano chomeso chon molte belle parte', which is consistent with the

description of a table in the time of Leo X (previous note); but the ebony table described in 1544 was very probably a replacement, the gift of Bindo Altoviti in 1541 (documents in Bertolotti, op. cit. in n. 66, pp. 180, 185, 187, 190).

116. The arguments for this view, and for others in the following paragraphs, are set out in Shearman, op. cit. in n. 80, pp. 166 ff.

117. In the *Expulsion of Heliodorus* he saw 'papa Giulio che caccia l'avarizia della Chiesa' (*Vite*, ed. cit. in n. 38, iv, p. 345).

118. Aegidius of Viterbo, *Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis*, Rome, 1512.

119. See, for example, Paolo Cortese, *De cardinalatu* (dedicated to Julius) (Castro Cortese, 1510), fol. vi^v; but this is a generous list of legitimate circumstances, notably irrelevant to the author's main theme.

120. The woodcut is the frontispiece to the very rare pamphlet published in Rome by Giovanni Giacomo Penni, 27 July 1513: *Cronica delle magnifiche & honorate Pompe fatte in Roma per la Creatione & Inconorazione di Papa Leone X. Pont. Max.* (the text is the familiar one reprinted in F. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solenni possessi* . . ., Rome, 1802).

121. This revision of the conventional chronology was suggested independently (and for different, complementary reasons) by K. Oberhuber, 'Die Fresken der Stanza dell'Incendio im Werk Raffaels', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, lviii (1962), p. 35, and by myself, op. cit. in n. 80, pp. 173 ff.; subsequently there appeared a confirmation of our hypothesis (which was not in all respects new) in a sheet of studies datable to the summer of 1514, in the corner of which is a record of the ceiling of the Stanza d'Eliodoro with eight ribs (K. Oberhuber, 'Eine unbekannte Zeichnung Raffaels in den Uffizien', *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xii (1966), pp. 225 ff., fig. 13).

122. Steinmann, op. cit. in n. 13, ii, p. 124; and in detail by F. Hartt, 'Lignum vitae in medio paradisi: The Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistine Ceiling', *Art Bulletin*, xxxii (1950), p. 127. These and other authors, basing their interpretation on a quite different chronology, naturally drew very different conclusions.

123. Hercules is described as the antetype of Leo, in this sense, by Aegidius of Viterbo, *Historia viginti saeculorum* (addressed to Leo, begun 1513), Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS. Lat. 351, fols. 6^v, 36^r, 316^r; Hercules as *exemplum virtutis* is familiar in many commentaries, of which the most relevant is the *Herculis vita* of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, dated in the colophon 'Romae ex Vaticanis Pontificis Max. aedibus, mense Octobri MDXIII' (*Opera omnia*, Basle, 1580, i, p. 545). Other hieroglyphs are clearly identifiable as *Concordia* (or *dextrarum coniunctio*), *Applicatio* (a young man painting), and Chastity or Innocence (a girl with a unicorn); and Moses appears once more with, in Leo's case, however, the likely role of the gentle ruler (cf. Pietro Delphin, *Oratio ad Leonem X. Pont. Max.*, 13 March 1513, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS.

Plut. xlvii.17 (presentation copy), fol. 134^r: 'sicut de Moyse legitur, mitis-simus es super omnes homines qui morantur in terra'). These lower sections of the vault were painted at this point because the structure itself was an addition, arising from the removal of consoles at a higher level, like those that remain in the Stanza dell'Incendio; the structural modification is essentially similar to that which was made earlier in the Stanza della Segnatura (this point is discussed in more detail in Shearman, op. cit. in n. 82, p. 396).

124. For a list of these personifications, which must be approximately correct, see J. D. Passavant, *Raphael d'Urbino* (Paris, 1860), ii, p. 135; I have adapted my interpretation of them from one originally produced by a former student, Kirstine Brander.

125. One does not imagine, of course, that previously there was no enclosure of any kind; I think it is probable that the doorways were hung with 'portiere', of which a number are recorded in the *Inventarium omnium bonorum existentium in foraria S.mi D. Leonis* . . . (1518-21), A.S.R., Camerale I, 1557/1, fol. 15^r ('Portere' of Julius), 50^r ('Antiportae . . . in diversis portis palatii', no pope specified). Since the shutters in the Stanze (and formerly those in the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri and the Sala de' Palafrenieri) are all Leonine the question naturally arises as to how the windows were screened in the time of Julius. *Impannate* (waxed or oiled cloth or paper on wooden frames) may be taken for granted, but there were probably also woven curtains, like those recorded in the same inventory, fol. 20^r: 'Tappeta sex parva per fenestris.'

126. Neither the extent nor the novelty of the enclosure should be exaggerated. On the one hand the Stanze were already, in Julius's time, known as 'salae . . . suae occultae' (Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, 28 June 1510, Add. MS. 8442, fol. 47^v), and even in the approach to them there were, in theory, several degrees of hierarchical obstruction to be negotiated. The difference between theory and practice is, of course, considerable, and although it is ceremonial theory that concerns us the contrast of reality must not be overlooked. Thus a passage in Valeriano's *Simia* recalls that 'la turba importuna de' poeti . . . miseramente lo [Leo] affligono in ogni luogo, nei portici [logge], in letto, nelle intime stanze, in Belvedere . . .' (ed. D. Gnoli, in *La Roma di Leon X*, Milan, 1938, p. 133); and the impression gleaned from diplomatic sources is confirmed by an observation by P. Mattheus, *Encomion in Leonem X. Pont. Max.* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. H. 35 inf. (4), fols. 78 ff.): 'Pavimenta, aulae, thalami, camerae, pontificie domus omnis tota die Cardinalium Salutationibus patescunt.' On the other hand the informality suggested with irresistible charm by Francesco Vettori in a letter to Machiavelli, 23 November 1513, should be taken with salt since the impression was supposed to be so irresistible that Machiavelli would leave Florence for the papal court: 'La mattina, in questo tempo, mi lievo a 16 ore e, vestito, vo infino a Palazzo; non però ogni mattina, ma delle due o tre una. Quivi, qualche volta, parlo venti parole al Papa, dieci al Cardinale de' Medici, sei al magnifico Iuliano; e, se non posso parlare a lui, parlo a Piero Ardinghelli, poi a qualche imbasciatore che si truova per quelle camere; e intendo qual

cosetta, pure di poco momento. Fatto questo, me ne torno a casa . . .'
(A. Moretti, *Corrispondenza di Niccolò Machiavelli con Francesco Vettori dal 1513 al 1515* (Florence, 1948), pp. 21-2).

127. The primary evidence for this statement is in the passage from Vasari quoted above, n. 38. The door between the Stanza della Segnatura and the Stanza d'Eliodoro, at least, is to be dated after 27 September 1514, since it shows the *Archipoeta* (*Architutto*) Baraballo hoist on Leo's elephant, *Annone*, a heartless but clearly unforgettable event of that date (Sanuto, op. cit. in n. 9, xix, col. 74; a solemn description in Pastor, op. cit. in n. 4, viii, pp. 154 ff., a much funnier one in Gnoli, op. cit. in n. 126, pp. 108 ff., or M. Winner, 'Raffael malt einen Elefanten', *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, xi (1964), pp. 87 ff.). Lugano, op. cit. in n. 95, p. 20, n. 4, refers to Gian Barile's doors a record of a *provisione*, or salary, to him, to run for seven years from 1 November 1514 (while arguing that it refers not to the Segnatura doors, but to the rest); this document seems to me to be wrongly invoked here; it is more likely that this is the same salary that is provided for in a *motu proprio* of 1 December 1514 'Dilecto filio Magistro Johanni Barilla senensi Modelli fabrice nostre Sancti Petri' (i.e. Raphael's model: A.S.R., Camerale I, 859B, fol. 12^r).

128. Claims for payment for the erection of this balcony, or *coridoro piccholo* (which bears Leo's name), and for piercing the door into the Stanza dell'Incendio and another (perhaps into the tower at the North end of the Loggia), are included in a statement presented by Giuliano Leno, December 1513 (Frey, op. cit. in n. 15, p. 23, and Ackerman, op. cit. in n. 5, pp. 52, 156). At some point there was also access from this balcony directly into the Torre Borgia (a doorway is now bricked up), but this was not necessarily the case originally.

129. This balcony bears Leonine emblems but it is not, so far as I know, documented; I once suggested that its design might be attributable to Raphael (op. cit. in n. 82, p. 402), but I now feel that Giuliano de Sangallo is more likely to be responsible; Giuliano was back in Rome and working for Leo upon a scheme for remodelling the Torre Borgia in 1513 (Ackerman, op. cit. in n. 5, p. 52). The location of the kitchen in the South-west corner of this level of the palace, and at this date, is not, I think, demonstrable; it is assured about 1580 by the inscription marking the passage leading off in this direction from the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri on Mascarino's plan (see above, n. 36): *Andito per andare a la cucina secreta*. In Caroli's plan, c. 1620 (above, n. 16) the room at the end of this passage, occupying the southern half of the West wing, is shown with what appears to be a very large oven. The door from this balcony into the Stanza dell'Incendio is now bricked up; the door-frame in the Stanza (under the left side of the *Fire in the Borgo*) is a late insertion in imitation of the other Leonine frames and doors in the room (this is clear both from the technique of the door and frame, and from the interruption of the original painted *basamento*).

130. Vasari, quoted above, n. 95.

131. He was telling the story of Baraballo and Annone, 'cuius triumphis memoriam lignarii caelatores quum tessellato opere lascivirent, in interioris pontificii cubiculi foribus scitissime inscriptam reliquerunt' (*Vita Leonis* (Florence, 1548), p. 103).

132. A collection of sources on this point in Shearman, op. cit. in n. 70, p. 13.

133. See below, n. 136.

134. H. W. Frey, 'Leo X.', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, viii (Kassel, 1960), cols. 619 ff.; he dates the acquisition to 1519.

135. Archivio segreto vaticano, Introitus et exitus 557, fol. 157^r, 30 September 1517: 1,000 ducats 'domino Corrado Trompa de Nolibergo pro uno horologio et certis instrumentis musicis per cum datis S.D.N. et auro, et argento laboratis . . .'.
136. *Diarium*, 26 December 1518: 'Hodie mihi papa pro mantia donavit pulcherimum clavicembalum sive monochordum optimum quod ipsemet in sua camera tenere solatus est valoribus centum ducati hoc autem ideo dixit se libenter servisse quia intellexit me multum in tali sono delectari prout in veritate delector' (MS. Vat. Lat. 5636, fol. 249^r). In many cases 'sua camera' should be understood as a specific term, indicating the papal bedroom; but it is unlikely to be so in this case.

137. 27 June 1520: 'in camera versus Belvedere ubi Sanctissimus D.N., tempore estivo, commoratur' (passes the time, not at work: Guasti, op. cit. in n. 114, p. 369).

138. Raffaello Brandolini, *De musica et poetica opusculum* (dedicated to Leo), Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 805, fols. 17^v-18^r.

139. These are the *usci* in Vasari's account, above n. 95; it should be noted, however, that there are also musical instruments on the 'inner' faces of the Leonine doors between the Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sala di Costantino.

140. On 1 July 1517 Raphael's *garzoni* were given a substantial tip while working in 'la stanza avanti la guardaroba' (A.S.R., Camerale I, 1489, fol. 24^v); this document has been referred to the Sala de' Palafrrenieri (e.g. by E. Müntz, *Raphaël* (Paris, 1881), p. 466 n. 1, and by Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 56), in which case it makes no sense whatever; the identity of the room as the Stanza dell'Incendio will be established in the following documents, but it may be noted that on 16 June 1517 Raphael said he had 'anchor che fare dui di ne la Camera del Papa', clearly the same (Golzio, p. 54). On 15 May 1518 'Ubaladini d'Antonio Ubaladini, pictor florentino' was paid 50 ducats 'per resto di pictura del organo di guardaroba' (an earlier payment for the same work, 8 September 1517, does not specify its location: A.S.R., Camerale I, 1489, fols. 52^r, 28^r); and on 3 July 1518 there is a payment of 88 ducats to 'M.o angelo fa legniamme . . . per manufactura di dui armarij di cipresso stanno in guardaroba et . . . per tante tavole comprate per dicti armarij' (ibid., fol.

57r). This *guardaroba* may be visualized from a description of the death of Adrian VI (1523); the body was taken to Saint Peter's, 'Et paulo post ut pecuniam, ac caeteras res in Iudicem (sicuti mortuo Pontifice mos est) referrent sancta Sanctorum sunt ingressi, quod erat secretius cubiculum in Turri, cui à conditore Alexandro vj. Borgiae nomen est, in quo Adrianus pecuniam, et quicquid preciosi ad eum deferebatur adservabat, et quasi illuc nemini mortalium (Judeorum more) ingredi liceret nisi Pontifici Maximo, hoc est sibi, sic locum appelabat. . . . Cum igitur Sancta sanctorum patuissent, sperabant homines veluti de Caci spelunca fabulantur Poetae, ingentem gazam, et congestas apparituras rapinas: sed longe aliter evenit. Duas namque Tiaras, nonnullos calices, et vascula quaedam argentea, ne magni quidem pretij inventa sunt. Verum multum librorum impressorum nullius momenti inerant volumina. Praeterea erat eodem in loco scrinium multis forulis distinctum, ex his quae Neapoli advehentur (quae studiola nuncupantur) obsignatum, et cum claves non adferrentur, Camerarius claustra refringi iussit, in quo plurimae diversorum epistolae, nonnullae gemmae, et duodecim anuli, qui Leonis X. mi fuerant . . . et duo aureorum millia reposita fuerant.' (Anon. MS. cit. in n. 6, fols. 86r ff.) In 1541 the Stanza dell'Incendio was still referred to as 'la Camera inanti la Guardarobba di Palazzo' (see above, n. 66), so that a number of payments for work done in the *guardaroba* under Clement VII and Paul III may be connected with the same; however in 1546 there is a reference to a *guardaroba nova* (Bertolotti, op. cit. in n. 66, p. 190). I think it is likely that two items on Giuliano Leno's account of 1 December 1513, refer to the conversion of this part of the Torre Borgia into the secret treasury: 'Per rovinare e tramezi e le volte degli anditi, che vano a la tore di Borges', and 'Per levare 3. porte in detto luogho di porfido et porle altrove' (Frey, op. cit. in n. 15, p. 23). And if that is so, then when Isabella d'Este was shown, on 26 October 1514, 'el palazzo, et el guardarobba del Papa et li regni et mitre et altre zoglie pontificale' she was presumably taken to the same place (letter from Gabbioneta, in Luzio, op. cit. in n. 27, p. 468). It is not clear how much of the Torre Borgia on this level was taken up by Leo's *Guardaroba*, but it should have been in the Northern part. There was probably always a staircase in the South-west part; in the South-east corner there is a now a chapel, accessible through another Leonine door in the centre of the West wall of the Stanza dell'Incendio (see the plan, p. 386), which is, however, so small that it is unlikely to be the *Guardaroba* converted.

141. Ehrle, op. cit. in n. 32, pp. 48, 111 ff.; Labande, op. cit. in n. 4, i, pp. 98 ff. In this case the *guardaroba* after which the tower was named provided storage for, probably, less precious objects; the secret treasury, more nearly equivalent to Leo's, was immediately above the papal chamber, next to the library, in the Tour du Pape (Tour des Anges). For Leo's interest in the palace at Avignon, see Labande, ii, pp. 81, 85-6.

142. Paolo Giovio, *Raphaelis Urbinae Vita* (c. 1527), reprinted in Golzio, op. cit. in n. 17, p. 192: 'In penitior quoque Leonis X triclino Totilae immanitatem, ac incensae urbis casus, atque pericula rapraesentavit . . .' (this is not uncharacteristic of his iconological limitations, but in its context the passage is unambiguous in the sense that matters here).

143. For example (from the *Foraria* inventory of 1518-21, above, n. 125, fol. 20r, an entry from 1518): 'Tapete [sc. pro tabula] unum magnum cum tribus rotis magnis, et alijs parvis in fundo viridi in Tinello secreto'. At Avignon the function of the *parvum tinellum* is perfectly clear from a document: 'in quo pontifex solebat comedere' (Ehrle, op. cit. in n. 32, p. 117). However a *tinellum* is not always (and not even usually) a dining-room; and during the pontificate of Paul III there were *Tinello secreto*, *tinello maggiore*, and *tinello minore* (Dorez, op. cit. in n. 36, ii, p. 176); he also had a *credenza secreta* (ibid., pp. 281, 300), and Leo had had one too (*Foraria* inventory, fols. 20r, 50r). A *credenza*, properly a serving-table, can by extension be the title of a serving-room and in rare cases of a dining-room. Clearly these problems are hard to resolve: and it is far from certain that the Stanza dell'Incendio is the *tinello secreto* of the documents, and that the room between this and the kitchen is the *credenza secreta*; what is not in doubt is that Leo had a room specifically reserved for dining, and Giovio (writing in this case very soon afterwards) makes it clear that this was the Stanza dell'Incendio.

144. In the room directly beneath the Stanza dell'Incendio, that is the Sala delle Arti Liberali in the Borgia Apartments, Julius had lunch after consecrating Burchard as bishop, 9 April 1504: 'Papa fecit prandium in camera consueta ante turrim in mensa quadra solus et post eum in mensa longa decem cardinales . . .' (*Liber notarum*, quoted from Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 21).

145. See above, n. 62, the reports of consecrations of bishops by Leo; it may be observed (if not explained) that while Julius had used the room below for his dining-room (see previous note), Pius III also used it for the consecration of a bishop (1 October 1503; Ehrle-Stevenson, op. cit. in n. 6, p. 21).

146. Pastor, op. cit. in n. 4, viii, p. 285, and recently von Einem, op. cit. in n. 57, p. 9.

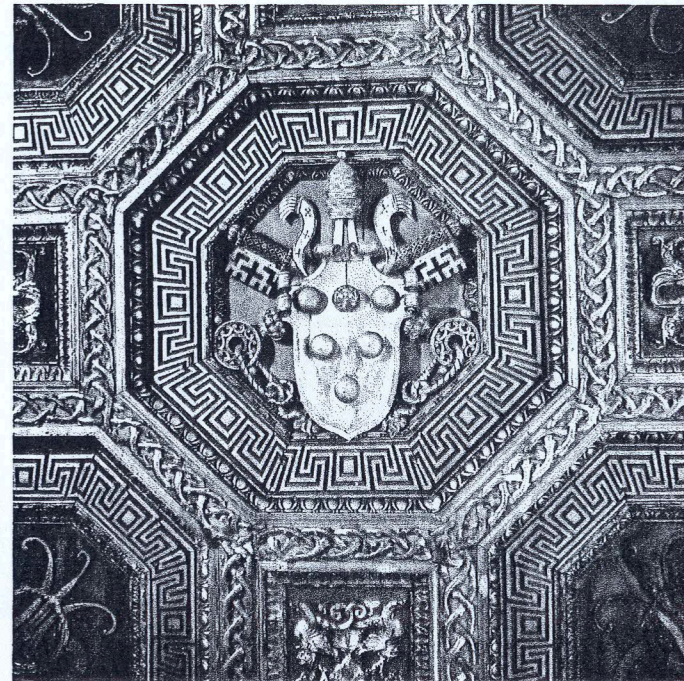
147. So, for example, in Julius II's Bull *Salvator Dominus*, 13 April 1512, summoning the Lateran Council; and in Cardinal Antonio del Monte's preface, 1521, to the official *Acta* of the Council (republished in J. Hardouin, *Acta conciliorum* . . ., ix (Paris, 1714), col. 1563).

148. The imagery of Leo's pontificate is very richly documented in contemporary sources, and so this point is capable of lengthy illustration; the following are selected examples: Aldus Manutius, *Supplicatio* to Leo, published as preface to *Platonis omnia opera* (ed. Marco Musurus), Venice, 1513: 'sicut paulo post mortem Patris tui [i.e. Lorenzo il magnifico] tanta incendia belli exorta sunt, sic te illius filio, creato Pontifice Max. brevi, tua opera, tuo unius studio penitus extinguuntur'; Leo's own letter to Sigismund King of Poland, 18 March 1513 (P. Bembo, *Epistolae Leonis Decimi* . . ., Lyon, 1538, p. 8); Raffaello Brandolini, *Oratio de laudibus Cosmi Medici* (1515, dedicated to Leo), Bibl. Laur., Plut. xlvi.2, fol. 22v ('Universa Cristianorum pax, & concordia successit. Imminuta vel extincta potius Italiae totius flamma . . .'); Filippo Donati, dedication to Leo, c. 1515, of Girolamo Donati's *De processione Spiritus Sancti* (MS. Vat. Lat. 4326, fol. 1v); Cristoforo Marcello, *Oratio ad Leonem X*, MS. Vat. Lat. 3646, fol. 5v.

149. For the Election Capitulations (*Capitula publica*) see Sanuto, op. cit. in n. 9, xvi, cols. 101 ff. Leo's preoccupation with the Crusade has now been thoroughly documented by K. M. Setton, 'Pope Leo X and the Turkish Peril', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxiii (1969), pp. 367 ff. Of the four achievements or ambitions mentioned in the text above, the one that may not be self-evident is *Concordia* in the *Coronation of Charlemagne*. The 'key' to the interpretation of this fresco is given by the group of musicians in the choir-gallery, one of whom carries a text, now fragmentary, which may be reconstructed as the familiar epigram *Harmonia est discordiae concors*. It was seriously believed (and stated in public) that Leo's training in musical discipline gave him a special aptitude for the attainment of *concordia* (for example by Marcello, MS. cit. in n. 148, fol. 16^v); the word crops up repeatedly in panegyrics and prayers of the period (with good reason) and the final agreement between the Pope and Francis I (adumbrated so clearly in the fresco) was generally known as the *Concordia-Bull* (c.g. Sanuto, xxiii, col. 394). This is not the place for an elaborate analysis of the iconography of the room; I should only like to indicate briefly the secondary meaning of the *Fire in the Borgo*. The 'key' in this case is the 'Aeneas-Anchises' group, a clear metaphor of *Pietas*, which was believed to be an attribute of Leo X, Leo IV (the 'hero' of the fresco), and the lion itself ('*tanta est pietas leonis*'). This *pietas* is shown principally to suffering humanity, but also to the basilica of Saint Peter; it was in fact required, in the Election Capitulations of 1513, that the new pope should continue the rebuilding of the church (symbol of the Church), and although under Leo there may have been less vigour than under Julius, there was notably more *pietas* towards the ancient monument and its relics. The façade of Saint Peter's that is shown in the fresco did already carry a rather surprising Medicean donation, marked by coats of arms: a set of windows built by Michelozzo for Cosimo (Vasari, *Vite*, ed. cit. in n. 38, ii, p. 443); and it is Cosimo's profile—as Johannes Wilde was the first to recognize—that Raphael gave to 'Anchises'; familial *pietas*, also a genuine emotion of Leo's, may thus close the circle of meaning.

150. Shearman, op. cit. in n. 70, pp. 18 ff.

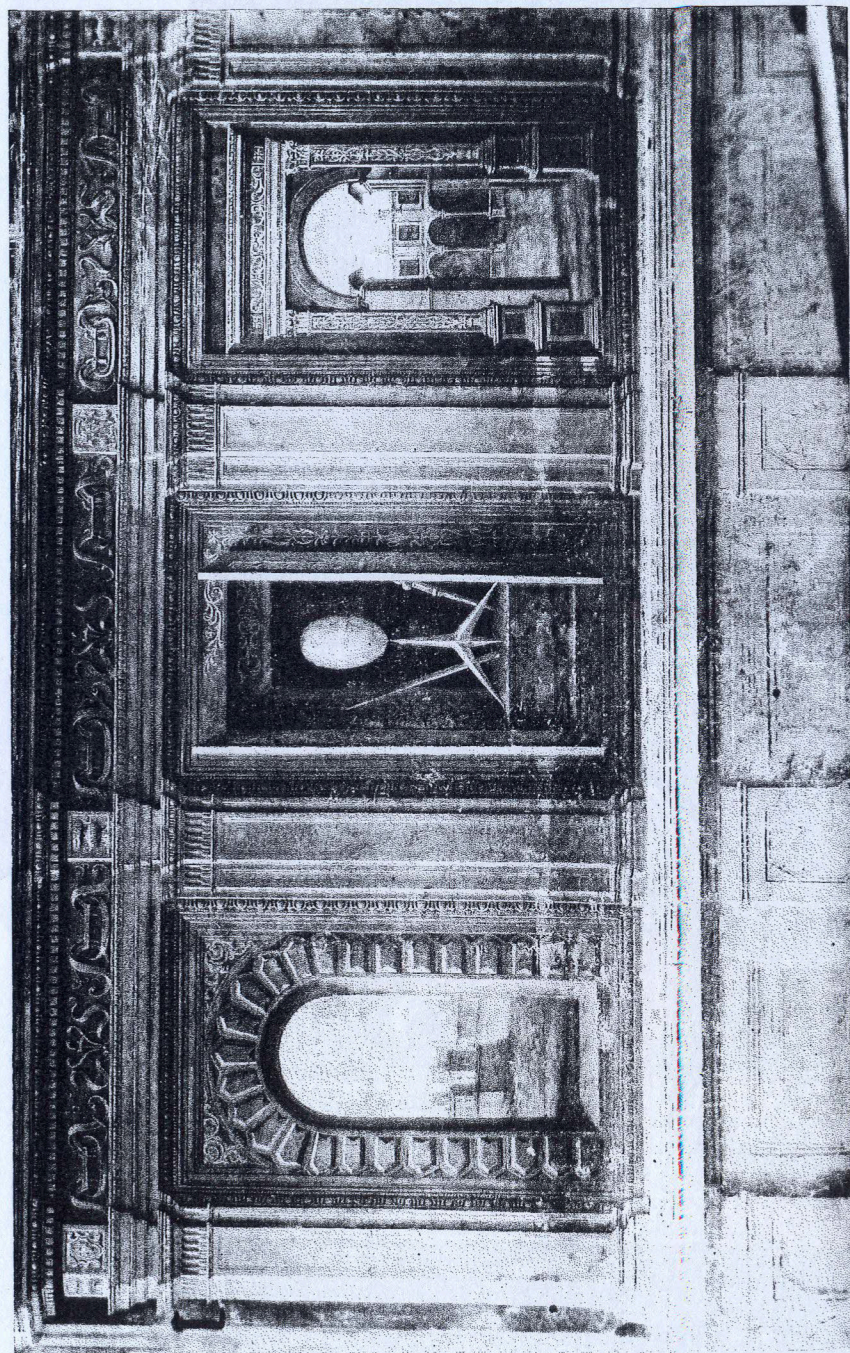
151. In the *Fire in the Borgo* the tower, in which Leo IV appears, bears his name not only to identify him but also to recall that he in fact built it; for this is the base of the campanile erected in 863 (*Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1955), ii, p. 119), the position of which is correct and was already known to Flavio Biondo (Ehrle-Egger, op. cit. in n. 24, p. 92). For the *triclinium* of Leo III see *Liber pontificalis*, ed. cit., ii, pp. 8, 109 (restoration of Leo IV); this text is recalled and discussed at length in Michelangelo Lualdi's *Memorie istoriche, e curiose del Tempio, e Palazzo Vaticano*, Bibl. Corsiniana, MS. 275, fols. 26^v ff., which is perhaps the earliest attempt at a comprehensive history of the palace (c. 1640).



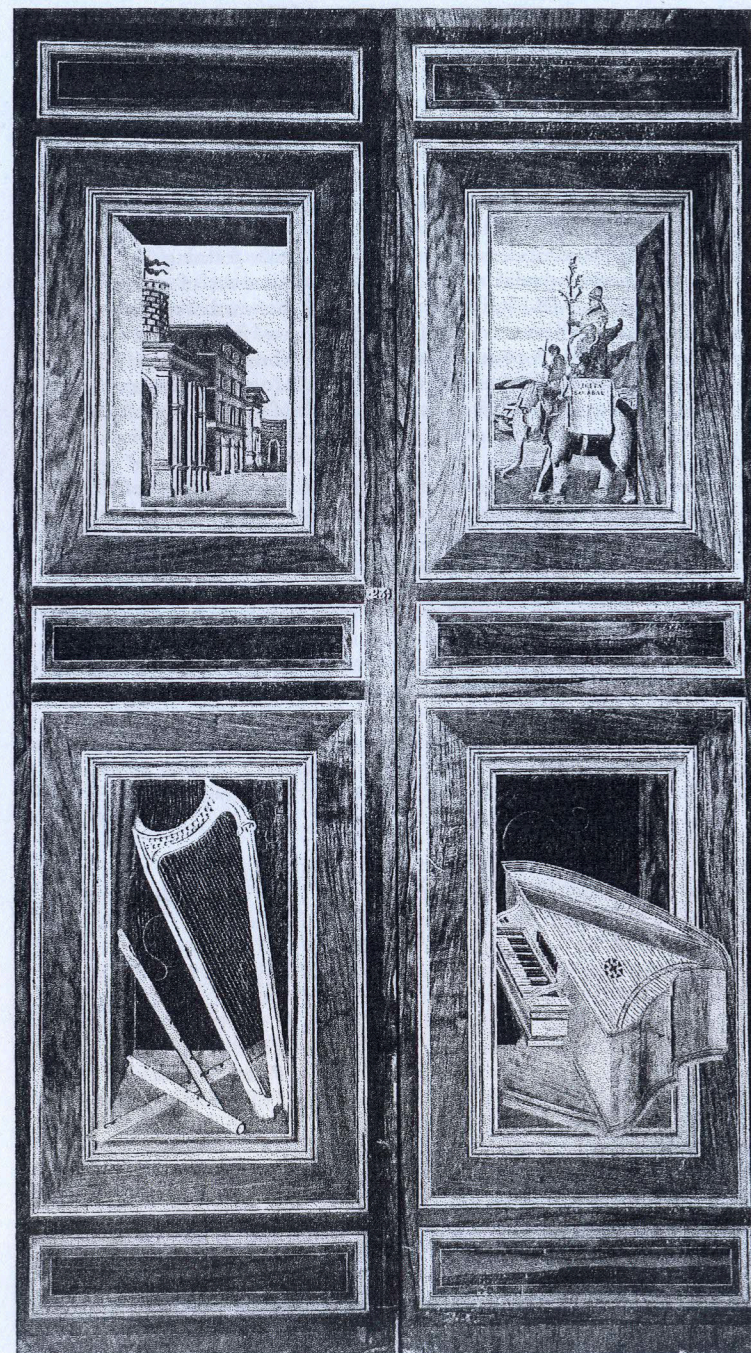
a. Raphael and Giovanni Barile, ceiling of the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri, Vatican Palace (detail); wood, gilt, and painted.



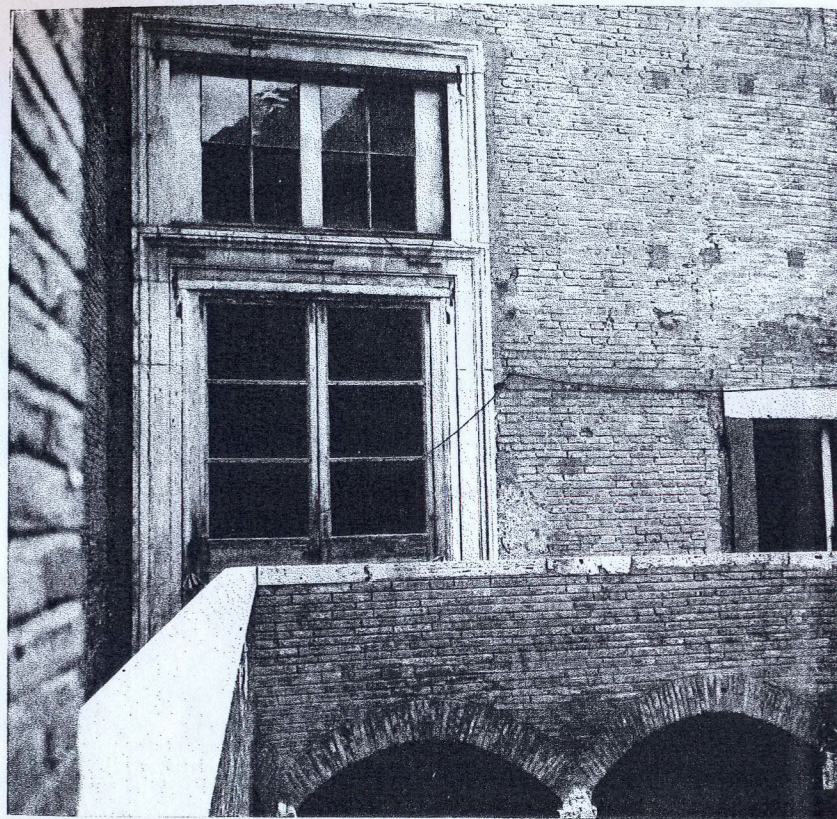
b. Raphael and Giovanni Barile, ceiling of the Sala vecchia degli Svizzeri, Vatican



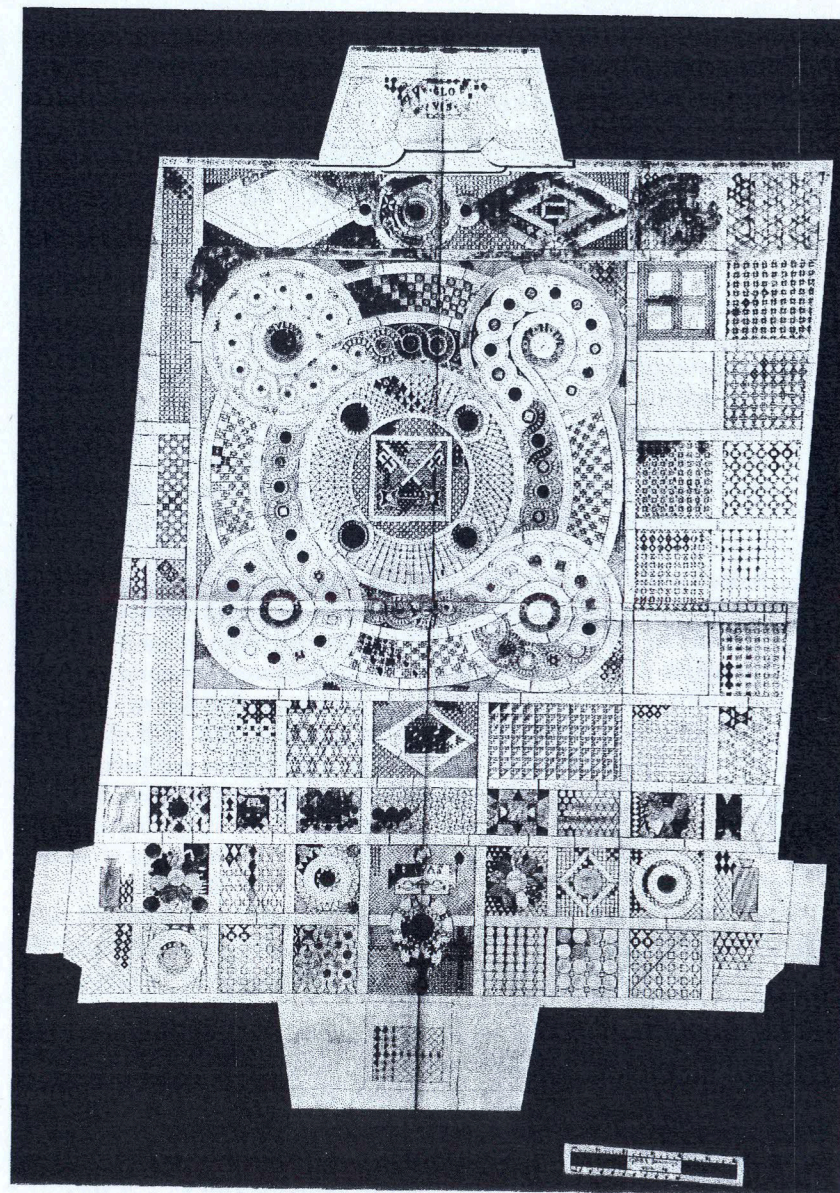
Workshop of Raphael, fictive intarsia basamento, Stanza della Segnatura; fresco (photo: Archivio fotografico, Gallerie e Musei Vaticani).



Fra Giovanni da Verona, lining of door of Stanza della Segnatura; intarsia (photo: Archivio fotografico, Gallerie e Musei Vaticani).



Exterior door to Stanza dell'Incendio, Vatican Palace.



John Talman, c. 1710-15, measured drawing of floor of Stanza della Segnatura; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (*photo*: Courtauld Institute).