

9. Saint Augustine, *De vera religione*, 3, 3, quoted in Maria Bettecini, ed. and trans., *Aurelio Agustino: Ordine, Musica, Bellezza* (Milan: Rusconi, 1992), 287–8. My translation.
10. The citations and paraphrases from humanist writings are taken from Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 2:696. Cited hereafter by page number in the text.

## 6 INGRID D. ROWLAND

THE INTELLECTUAL  
BACKGROUND OF THE  
SCHOOL OF ATHENS:  
TRACKING DIVINE WISDOM IN THE  
ROME OF JULIUS II

The spirit will not settle for images; it yearns to pursue reality. The picture of a fountain does not quench thirst; it only stimulates it, and, if anything, sets it on fire.

Egidio da Viterbo, "Sententiae ad mentem Platonis"

Raphael's *School of Athens* (Fig. 5) decorates one wall of a room in the Vatican Palace now known as the Stanza della Segnatura – the "signing room" – because for much of the sixteenth century it was used as the public audience hall in which the pope signed his bulls.<sup>1</sup> Pope Julius II probably intended the room to serve a somewhat more intimate purpose: Léon Dorez, Deoclecio Redig de Campos, and John Shearman have argued convincingly that it was designed to house the pope's private library of some 218 books.<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Morello has further shown that the room was actually known in Julius's time as the "upper library" (*biblioteca superiore*).<sup>3</sup> As these scholars all observe, there are few paintings more deeply involved with books and reading than the four frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura.

Thanks in large part to the efforts of his successor Leo X and the great Flemish humanist Erasmus, Julius II has come down to posterity with the reputation for aggressive action rather than deep thought.<sup>4</sup> The size of his personal library, substantial but not immense, has sometimes been adduced as evidence of his scant interest in bookish matters.<sup>5</sup> At the very least, the Stanza della Segnatura, with its painted exaltation of books and learning, should

be sufficient to refute such a conclusion. In fact, however, the private library housed in the papal suite functioned in tandem with another library, the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, the great Vatican Library, founded by Nicholas V in the mid-fifteenth century and substantially reorganized in 1475 by Pope Sixtus IV, together with his cardinal nephew Giuliano della Rovere, the future Julius II.<sup>6</sup> Since the time of Sixtus the Vatican Library's already impressive holdings had been housed in a suite located two floors beneath the Stanze.<sup>7</sup> Thus, from the beginning of Giuliano della Rovere's ascent within the hierarchy of the Church, the *Biblioteca Vaticana* had played a crucial role in his thinking about religion, about the papacy, and about himself. By the time the cardinal nephew had himself become pope, his new Stanza would serve as the stately housing for a personal collection that drew upon, and accurately represented, the Vatican Library as a whole.

The characterization of Julius as aggressive is perfectly fair; this he was, to an extreme degree.<sup>8</sup> However, the original purpose of the papal library was itself aggressively active: the institution's complete name, the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, shows that it was (and is) conceived as a means of spreading the Christian Gospel through the promotion of knowledge, intended, in the words of Sixtus himself, to function "for the enhancing of the Church militant, for the increase of the Catholic faith, and for the convenience and honor of the learned and studious."<sup>9</sup> To the popes of the fifteenth century, the collected wisdom of their forebears served to demonstrate the universal validity of Church doctrine, and doctrine could be significantly deepened by knowing the foundations on which it had been based. These foundations included the three wisdom traditions by which, in the eyes of the fifteenth-century popes, God had prepared humanity to understand the meaning of Christ when he appeared in Palestine during the first decades of the Roman Empire. The first of these wisdom traditions was that of the Old Testament, the second that of Greco-Roman antiquity. The third was a complex that the scholars of the fifteenth century termed *prisca theologia*. In effect, *prisca theologia* represented the ancient civilizations of which the Greeks and Romans themselves had been aware and to whom they themselves attributed powerful traditional wisdom: Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, and Etruscan.<sup>10</sup>

The Vatican Library's original collections thus included far more

than Bibles, the writings of the Church Fathers, and those of the Scholastic theologians. Works by ancient Greek and Roman authors stood alongside the "Egyptian" prophecies of Hermes Trismegistus and the biblical commentaries of the Jewish Neoplatonist Philo of Alexandria (first century A.D.).<sup>11</sup> We may gather something of Giuliano della Rovere's importance to this collection from the fresco that adorned the library's entrance wall from the time of his involvement with it.

In many respects Melozzo da Forlì's fresco for the entrance of the Vatican Library is a frontispiece, not for a single volume but for a whole collection of books. *Sixtus IV Organizes the Vatican Library*, 1475, painted in 1477 (Fig. 30), argues for the fundamental role of the Vatican Library in shaping the Sixtine papacy's presentation of its own place in the history of Rome.<sup>12</sup> The other custodians of the pope's future reputation are the papal nephews, whom Melozzo paints with penetrating eye as they assemble around their uncle.<sup>13</sup>

An elderly Pope Sixtus IV sits enthroned to the far right of the composition, flanked by one nephew in holy orders. He is the eighteen-year-old Raffaele Riario, who hovers at his uncle's right hand; in December 1477 he would be rewarded with a cardinal's hat. At the pontiff's red-shod feet, facing him, kneels the library's first *custos*, or librarian, Bartolomeo Sacchi, a humanist in the papal court, customarily known by his Latin sobriquet "Platina." The teal-robed scholar, just a hint of face at his cuff, points downward toward a fictive marble plaque, set beneath the dedication scene on which the pope's achievements are acclaimed in Platina's own Latin elegiacs. Behind the librarian, at the center of the fresco, glowers the pope's powerful cardinal nephew Giuliano della Rovere, at thirty-four a man in the prime of his maturity.<sup>14</sup> Two other nephews, clad in fur-lined velvet and wearing ponderous ornamental chains around their necks, stand off to the left. The stocky lantern-jawed man in red is Giovanni della Rovere, prefect of Rome and the brother of Cardinal Giuliano. The willowy blond is Girolamo Riario, Sixtus's main confidante on military matters. Their relative insignificance to the scene at hand is made evident by their own rather vacant stares into indeterminate space, and more explicitly so showing them both their capacious backs. The interactions among Pope Sixtus, Raffaele Riario, and Giuliano della Rovere, on the

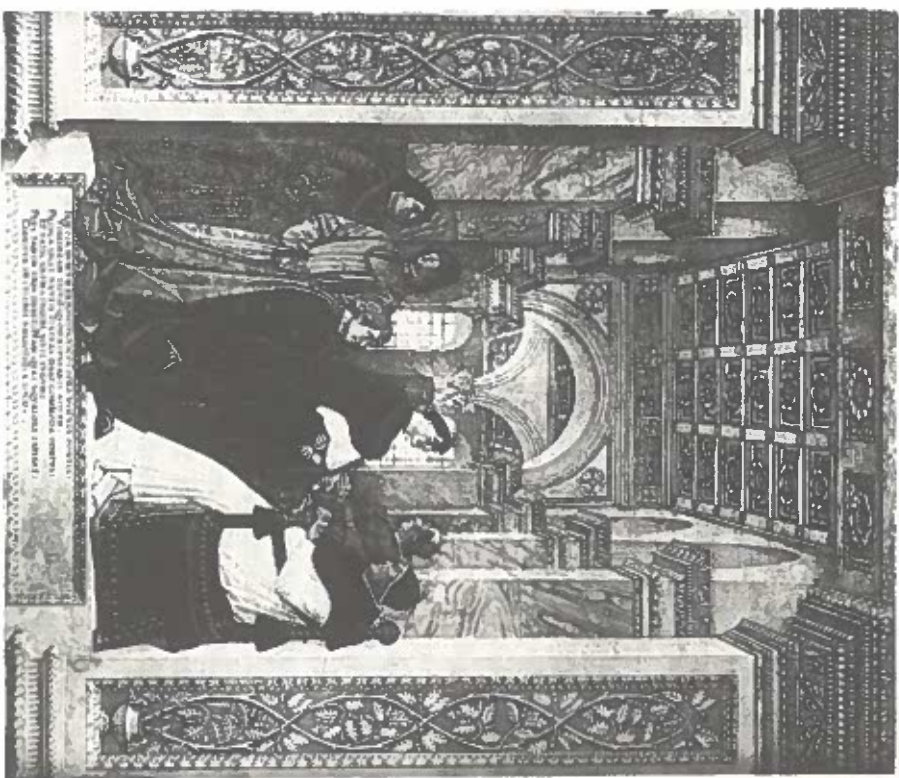


Figure 30. Melozzo da Forlì, *Sixtus IV Organizes the Vatican Library*. Vatican, Pinacoteca. (Photo: Vatican Museums.)

other hand, are anything but vacant. Inveterate rivals for their uncle's favor, Giuliano della Rovere and Raffaele Riario would become two of the most influential men of the Italian Renaissance — patrons, builders, and holders of the Vatican's purse strings. In Melozzo's fresco, still young men, they avoid each other's glances with studied nonchalance. The diminutive Riario plants himself close to the impassive pope, at his auspicious right hand; the uncle's physical bulk and the parallel profile make the clear implication that

this blue-clad, pallid nephew himself expects one day to be eminently *papabile*.<sup>15</sup> Raffaele Riario may stand at the pope's right hand, but the fresco's center has been occupied by the strapping frame of Cardinal della Rovere, resplendent in crimson and ermine. Through half-closed eyelids he scowls quite beyond his cousin in the direction of the pope; Riario looks back, blinkingly attentive. Cardinal Giuliano's stance itself is vaguely menacing; he seems to have stepped forward just a moment before, crowding his younger cousin back behind the papal throne. And yet the aggressiveness of his stance can hardly match the expression in Cardinal Giuliano's eyes, a gaze whose withering arrogance very nearly pins Raffaele Riario to the wall behind him. By moving just off-center, Cardinal Giuliano has revealed the capital and part of the shaft of a single Corinthian column, standing in odd isolation from the otherwise neatly bilateral symmetry of the fresco's architectural setting. The juxtaposition of human figure and column had become by 1477 an iconographic commonplace in art, just as "pillar of the Church" had long ago entered Vatican rhetoric: there is no doubt here who acts as the true support for the Vatican Library. As if to drive home the point, Melozzo has paired the cardinal with the kneeling figure of Platina, a graying, tall man who directs our attention to the fictive commemorative plaque below him with stately insistence. Melozzo's image has made it abundantly clear that the Apostolic Library of 1475 was no institution for the meek and bookish; conceived as an energetic, if promoting the Gospel, it was placed in the hands of an energetic, if not downright pugnacious, crew.<sup>16</sup> Within Rome itself, as Platina informs us in his elegiac caption to the fresco, the Biblioteca Apostolica comprised the crowning episode in Sixtus's grand scheme of urban planning, a scheme entirely conceived, in the ancient Roman tradition, to include "temples" (the humanists' Ciceronian term for churches), bridges, aqueducts, ports, and city walls, but none of these enterprises was more weighty than the library itself.<sup>17</sup> These are Platina's own words on the subject:

With churches and palace restored, and the streets, fora, city walls, bridges,  
Now that the Aqua Virgo at Trevi is back in repair,  
Now you may open our age-old port for the shippers'  
convenience,



And girdle the Vatican grounds, Sixtus, with a new wall.  
Still, Rome owes you more than this: where a library  
languished in squalor,  
Now it is visible in a setting befitting its fame.<sup>18</sup>

Platina's elegy reminds the fresco's viewers that the elderly pope, sitting in evident discomfort on his curule chair, has been a vigorous planner and builder in Rome itself. Paradoxically, however, in this image it is the world of ideas contained in the Vatican Library, just a suggestion of its brightly lit interior visible behind its "pillar," Cardinal Giuliano, that represents the pope's most active intervention in the restoration of Rome.

The running of the Vatican Library may have been charged to Platina, but Cardinal Giuliano seems to have had some conspicuous role in promoting the institution itself, a role that is clear mostly from Melozzo's fresco and a smaller fresco in the Ospedale di Santo Spirito, where again the Cardinal and the librarian stand in tandem to present the library to the pope.<sup>19</sup> Some thirty years later, the Stanza della Segnatura takes up this same task of promotion, aiming at the restricted circle of dignitaries who might visit the pontiff in his private apartments. Privacy, for Julius, was never much of a solitary state; the diaries of his masters of ceremonies detail the comings and goings of an endless parade of retainers, friends, and visitors.<sup>20</sup> For these people the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura provided a visual key to the way in which their pontiff interpreted his role as head of the Church. It was an epic role. He threw himself into it with all the ferocious impatience of his advanced age and his frail body, aware, as his contemporaries remarked, that he had limited time left in which to change the world as he saw fit.<sup>21</sup> Those who were slow to understand what Julius II had in mind were likely to be enlightened by blows of his cane.

On a basic level, the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura represent the four divisions into which several contemporary humanistic libraries organized their holdings: Theology, Philosophy, Letters (or Poetry), and Jurisprudence.<sup>22</sup> In the Stanza della Segnatura, these divisions are labeled as such by Latin inscriptions on the ceiling above each wall. Within the four-part scheme, the *School of Athens* stands for Philosophy, a subject that in both the ancient and the Renaissance world included the wide variety of technical and scien-

tific learning known as "natural philosophy." Hence the ceiling inscription specifies Philosophy as *causarum cognitio*: the "knowledge of things," rendered in a Latin phrase whose lofty pedigree goes back to Cicero and Virgil.<sup>23</sup> The personified Philosophy (Fig. 11) holds two volumes representing the two great divisions of her subject: "Moral" and "Natural."

Raphael's painting presents certain immediately recognizable figures from classical antiquity: statues of Apollo, god of music (Fig. 13), and Minerva, goddess of wisdom (Fig. 14), as well as the portraits of famous philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle (Fig. 24), and Socrates (Fig. 18). In the Rome of Julius II, however, these familiar figures often appear in art and literature with added meanings that are highly specific to the papacy and its aspirations; they are marshaled, in other words, in particular combinations in connection with particular ideas. They retain their conventional meanings: Minerva still denotes wisdom, Socrates is still the restless questioner, but the precise significance of wisdom or restless inquiry reflects the pope's own careful attention to the imagery of his reign.

Julius has left a relatively scant personal record. He hated public speaking and never sat still long enough to write a journal.<sup>24</sup> However, Rome was full of people willing to speak for him and about him. A particularly useful source for a deeper understanding of the specifically Julian ideas animating the *School of Athens* is provided by the orators of the papal court, whose task of presenting the pope's programs in words meshed with the work of artists like Raphael and the papal architect Donato Bramante, who performed the same service through the visual imagery.<sup>25</sup> The orators themselves were a diverse group, linked by a few shared characteristics: a reputation in their own day as outstanding speakers, the conviction that papal Rome promised the Christian fulfillment of all that had been good about classical antiquity, and a strong dose of personal ambition, which took fire in the presence of this furiously active pope.<sup>26</sup> Aside from these generic similarities, however, the three orators with whom we shall be concerned could hardly have been more different: Battista Casali, Egidio Antonini da Viterbo, and Tommaso ("Pedra") Inghirami.<sup>27</sup>

Battista Casali (1473–1525) was a professor from the age of twenty-three at the Studium Urbis, the university of Rome, a rumped, long-haired academic with an academic's tendency to

rebel against such restrictions on his self-expression as appropriate clothing or protocol. Despite his eccentricities, he made fairly regular public appearances under Popes Julius II and Leo X.<sup>28</sup>

Little more physically prepossessing was the powerful Egidio Antonini da Viterbo (1469–1532), prior general of the Augustinian Order, at eight thousand members (including the young Martin Luther) the largest monastic order of its day. Dressed in his black Augustinian robes, with his long black beard and tousled black hair, Egidio looked slightly sinister until he began to speak.<sup>29</sup> Then, eyes flashing and hands waving, he sent his listeners on strange journeys of the imagination, to the center of the sun, off to the New World or Madagascar, or into the structure of the human soul. When he followed his stylish Latin with an Italian translation, he could sway crowds of hearers from every walk of life.<sup>30</sup> In the Rome of Julius II, he had no equal as an orator, and Julius knew it as well as anyone. The pope, notorious for dozing through any speech longer than a quarter of an hour, could listen to Egidio da Viterbo for two hours at a stretch, never missing a word.<sup>31</sup>

As fastidiously neat as Battista Casali and Egidio da Viterbo were unkempt, Tommaso Inghirami (1470–1516) was the impeccably mannered, impeccably dressed librarian of the Vatican from 1508 to 1516. His contemporaries called him “Fedra” or “Fedro,” after his bravura performance at the age of sixteen in a production of Seneca’s *Hippolytus*, staged at the palace of Cardinal Raffaele Riario: as Queen Phaedra, the young man had extemporized in Latin, brilliantly and imperturbably, while a stage set collapsed behind him. In later life, the pretty youth had grown enormously fat. The obesity accentuated his wall eyes and effeminate manners, but even so, in scripted dramas as in life, Fedra remained Rome’s greatest actor, and an orator equaled only by Egidio da Viterbo for dramatic eloquence.<sup>32</sup>

The image of a School of Athens first appears in an oration delivered by Battista Casali on 1 January 1508, shortly before Raphael was charged with frescoing the Stanza della Segnatura. Within the context set by Casali’s oration, a complex of ideas developed by Egidio da Viterbo during the Julian papacy suggests what specific meanings might be attached to various figures in Raphael’s *School of Athens*. Busy Egidio, however, could never have spared the time to consult with Raphael about developing a

coherent artistic celebration of literature with which Raphael himself had no direct contact. The most likely person to have performed such an intermediary function, for a variety of reasons to be discussed subsequently, is none other than Fedra, librarian of the great Vatican collection from which the Stanza della Segnatura drew its inspiration.<sup>33</sup>

Battista Casali’s oration of 1 January 1508 was delivered in the Sistine Chapel *coram papa*, that is, in the presence of Julius himself, to celebrate the Feast of the Circumcision. Christian males in early sixteenth-century Rome did not undergo circumcision; hence, most of Casali’s homily sought to raise the practice from a specific initiation rite for Jewish males to a metaphor for the sense of self-limitation and self-sacrifice that marked the Christian concept of humility. At the very end of his oration, however, Casali says the following:

Once . . . the beauty [of Athens] inspired a contest between the gods, there, where humanity, learning, religion, first-fruits, jurisprudence and laws are thought to have arisen and been distributed to every land, where the Athenaeum and so many other gymnasias were to be found, where so many princes of learning trained her youth and schooled them in virtue, fortitude, temperance, and justice – all of this collapsed in the whirlwind of the Mohammedan war machine.

But . . . just as [your uncle, Sixtus IV], as it were, laid the foundations of learning, you set the cornice upon it. There is the pontifical library which he erected, in which he has, as it were, brought over Athens herself, gathering what books he could from the shipwreck he established a very image of the Academy. You, now, Julius II, Supreme Pontiff, have founded a new Athens when you summon up that prostrated world of letters as if raising it from the dead, and you command that, amid threats of suspended work, that Athens, her stadia, her theaters, her Athenaeum, be restored.

To be sure, your other projects are magnificent indeed and splendid, yet I do not see how, without [letters] to celebrate them, they would not remain voiceless and mute. Yet this Athenaeum you have restored shall never grow silent. Every day it will sing your praises in a hundred tongues, and when those other projects

are ruins, so long as these texts are read, they shall rise again day after day, and forever the memory of them shall be renewed.

This is why, Blessed Father, you achieve what your soldiers shall never conquer by arms, shackling your adversaries with bonds of learning, learning with which, as with a sponge, you will erase all the errors of the world and circumcise the ancient roots of evil at their base with a sickle of adamant.<sup>34</sup>

To Casali, then, the Vatican Library and the learning contained within it are the single most effective Crusade that Julius might mount. As in Melozzo's fresco, the library is a powerfully aggressive institution, an active stimulus, conceivably *the* active stimulus, to the cultural ferment of Julian Rome.

Not too long after Casali's peroration, Ignatius of Loyola would put precisely this idea of learned Crusade into action, with his legions of globe-trotting, brilliant Jesuits. Under Julius, the crusade of enlightenment occurred through other channels, art and architecture conspicuous among them. John O'Malley, who first published the text of Casali's sermon in 1977, pointed out as well its clear bearing on the decorative program for the Stanza della Segnatura.<sup>35</sup>

Casali's sermon gives vivid voice to the Vatican Library's ideological importance in the Rome of Julius II. To learn the exact reasons for which Julius valued its ancient texts, however, we must turn to another of his preachers, probably the most important preacher of them all. Egidio Antonini da Viterbo (Giles of Viterbo), was elected prior general of the Augustinian Hermits in 1507 with the enthusiastic support of the pope.<sup>36</sup> He had already held the post of vicar general for about a year, appointed by Julius II at the death of the previous prior general, Mariano da Genazzano. The pope's hand-picked choice to lead the largest monastic order in the Christian world might have been expected to wield an unusual degree of influence, but the association between Julius II and Egidio went especially deep. A committed proponent of Church reform, Egidio seems at the same time to have supported Julius in his domineering designs for the papacy. Pope and prelate colluded on such disparate projects as Julius's military campaigns of 1510–11 and the convening of the Fifth Lateran Council. Whenever resistance mounted to his belligerent plans, Julius exploited Egidio's famous eloquence to garner popular

support. Without regard for Egidio's health, spiritual or physical, or the prelate's myriad other commitments, the pope dispatched his busy Augustinian spokesman to preach wherever trouble seemed to be brewing: in elliptical public sermons, Egidio warned the French to leave Italy in 1509, urged the Romans to support the Ferrara Salt War in 1510, consoled Siennese businessmen in 1511, spurred on the assembled churchmen of the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512.<sup>37</sup>

The Stanza della Segnatura and its imagery were clearly forged in the same crucible as Egidio da Viterbo's public preaching during these years.<sup>38</sup> The apparent thematic interdependence of frescoed apartment and sacred oratory stems from their shared inspiration by Julius in person. Egidio's sermons were ostentatiously complex, yet they moved large groups of people to action in support of the pope. Raphael's iconography is similarly complex, and yet similarly moving on the most basic level. These shared qualities stem on the one hand from the ardent complexity of the pope's own intelligence, on the other, from the simple, relentless push of his conviction. Whereas Raphael must have worked out the details of his fresco's iconography with the collaboration of a literary scholar (here to be identified as Fedra Inghirami), there is no doubt that the emphases, the layers of meaning, and the straightforward enthusiasm animating the *School of Athens* derive ultimately from the pope. Paolo Giovio, the only contemporary to remark directly on the program of the Stanze, said, indeed, that the first two rooms were executed "to the specifications of Julius II."<sup>39</sup>

Shortly after his appointment as vicar general to the Augustinians in 1506, Egidio da Viterbo began an endeavor to modernize the standard theological guide to the doctrine of the Church, a dull but exhaustive four-part handbook called the *Sentences* (*Sententiae*), composed by Peter Lombard, later bishop of Paris, in the mid- twelfth century (1148–52).<sup>40</sup> The format of Lombard's text, a series of questions and answers, at least reflects the fervid intellectual atmosphere of twelfth-century Paris in its passion to organize. Its concerns range from the mysteries of the Trinity to the practicalities of remarriage. The closely marshaled arguments, organized as a series of points and objections, are fortified by references not only to the Church Fathers but also to the sage of the hour, Aristotle, newly recovered from long oblivion. If Lombard himself was a workhorse, not a genius, and the



*Sententiae* no more than a convenient encyclopedia, still it eventually engendered a host of commentaries by more insightful souls. In fact, commenting on Lombard's four books quickly became a standard exercise by which aspiring theologians, in Paris and elsewhere, established their claims to university degrees. (Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus, and Aegidius Romanus are just three among the multitude.)<sup>41</sup> Commentaries on the *Sentences* continued well into the humanist era; the most immediate predecessor to Egidio da Viterbo in this arena had been the curialist Paolo Cortesi in 1504.<sup>42</sup>

In his own recasting of Lombard's work, which he called "Sententiae ad mentem Platonis" (The *Sentences* according to the mind of Plato), Egidio da Viterbo took an entirely new approach to this age-old game. His self-appointed task was a daunting one: to reconcile Lombard's quintessentially Scholastic text with the Neoplatonism of Marsilio Ficino, under whose spell Egidio himself had fallen at the turn of the century. Thus his chosen sage is Plato, not Aristotle (hence the title "ad mentem Platonis"), and along with the Church Fathers Egidio intends to cite the wise heads of classical antiquity. Most characteristic of the age, perhaps, is Egidio's conviction that God is beautiful and that an adequate theology must be beautiful as well, in language, in image, and in effect.<sup>43</sup> On an artistic plane, the *School of Athens* performs a nearly identical function, underlining the ways in which Christian theology may have been anticipated in ancient philosophy and making this point with the utmost grace in the world. Its parallels to the "Sententiae ad mentem Platonis" are, as we shall see, remarkable, and they were noted already by Nelson Minnich and Heinrich Pfeiffer some twenty years ago.<sup>44</sup>

This is not to say that Raphael painted the *School of Athens* with a copy of Egidio's "Sententiae" in hand. The text was never completed and therefore circulated only in manuscript. Significantly, however, most of the passages that bear on Raphael's painting appear in the initial sections of the book (the first fifty or so of the Vatican copy's 279 folios), which seem to be among the earliest in order of composition.

A more obvious disparity between text and fresco is posed by the fact that the "Sententiae" were composed in Latin, a language with which Raphael had no great familiarity. On the other hand, the artist had almost certainly heard Egidio preach, and even when

he preached in Latin, that earnest prelate would frequently translate his sermon into Italian *vulgare* in order to be understood by every member of his audience.<sup>45</sup> It is clear that the Augustinian prelate's true impact on Julian Rome depended to a great, and now irrecoverable, extent on his verbal encounters with her citizens. He was an avid correspondent, an impassioned conversationalist, a zealous enforcer of reform, and, as all these characteristics imply, an inveterate talker. The "Sententiae ad mentem Platonis" record ideas that must have found forceful spoken expression more often than we know; only a few can be traced now from surviving documents. Raphael, therefore, would have been familiar with the general direction of Egidio's thought. The scholar with whom Raphael must have collaborated in working out the details of the *School of Athens* would have been conversant in a much closer sense with many of the ideas expounded in the "Sententiae" and probably with the text itself; this is particularly true of the collaborator proposed here, Fedra Inghirami.

Despite the fact that it has been filtered through a patron, Julius II, an artist, Raphael, and an unidentified but learned third party (possibly Fedra), the influence of Egidio da Viterbo emerges in two particularly important ways in the *School of Athens*. He, of all his contemporaries, best explains precisely why the ancient philosophers are so important to the early sixteenth-century papacy, and he does so in a rhetorical style that makes striking use of visual imagery. These also happen to be the qualities of Egidio da Viterbo's thought to suffer the most immediate eclipse. His eucumenical visions fell victim to the turmoil unleashed by the Lutheran reform; Luther began as an Augustinian, and the two may well have met in Rome in the winter of 1510. Egidio's remarkable visual sense was largely bound up in mnemonic techniques that went out of general use in the eighteenth century. Ironically, therefore, the great universalist of Julian Rome turned out to be uniquely the creature of a single generation. It was Raphael, who knew Egidio's ideas only at second hand, who was able to create of them a universal statement. And it is to Raphael that we now turn our attention.

Within the Stanza della Segnatura, the *School of Athens* acts in nearly every capacity as a pendant to the *Disputa* directly opposite; in effect the two frescoes portray a Triumph of Philosophy and a

Triumph of Theology. The cause for triumph is the same: each tradition has discovered, in its own terms, the Trinity of God. For Christian theology, the Trinity is fundamental. For ancient philosophy, the case must be argued retroactively, and its most eloquent advocate in Raphael's day was Egidio da Viterbo, whose fascination with the Trinity was obsessive.

Inspired by Egidio's arguments, the essential message of both paintings is this: the Trinity, revealed in the Incarnation of Christ, has offered humanity the gift of participation in God through the sacraments of the Church. Philosophy had pointed the way for the ancient Greeks and Romans, as the Hebrew prophets had done for the Jews. To prove this contention, the "Sententiae ad mentem Platonis" begins with a demonstration that theology and philosophy have set themselves the identical task: to know God:

The highest human good is to be found in that other life which is joined to God and sees the divine essence; but here we pursue the greatest good that can be granted humanity on earth: that we be joined to God as completely as possible, and this is most completely possible if we are joined in mind, in will, in contemplation, and in love.<sup>46</sup>

On a wall of a private suite in the pope's Apostolic Palace, there is no question about the means by which we mortals are intended to achieve that union "in mind, in will, and . . . in love;" the pope is as securely implicit as Christ's vicar on earth in Raphael's paintings as he is in Egidio da Viterbo's theology. The terrifying Cardinal Giuliano of Melozzo da Forlì's fresco was now pontiff in his own right, invested with all the power he had once only craved and eager to make that power clear to the members of his flock. From all accounts he was likely to stick an impatient nose into every corner of his great impending business as pope, especially artistic works in progress.

Remarkably, however, in the Stanza della Segnatura Julius evokes his own authority only by allusion. He is more concerned, particularly in his artistic commissions, to glorify the amplitude of the divine plan than he is to narrow his attention to his own role within the institutional Church. This faith in the attractive power of his universal vision was shrewd as well as visionary, for the pope's ability to inspire Church reform or, more simply, Christian

faith, greatly exceeded his resources for enforcing them. Julius induced his flock to accept Christian doctrine by unabashed appeal to their aesthetic sense. Thus, Egidio da Viterbo calls his "Sententiae" a "dinner for the spirit," while Raphael presents the details of ancient philosophy and modern theology in artful equilibrium.<sup>47</sup> The initial steps into this complicated world are surprisingly easy.

Saint Paul may have inveighed against the philosophers when he preached in Athens (Acts 17:16-34) and when he wrote his first letter to the Christians at Corinth, but this is not the view that guided Renaissance popes to gather the works of the ancient philosophers into the Vatican Library.<sup>48</sup> To the humanist world, ancient philosophy, by inquiring into matters higher than immediate human needs, had first sent the human mind in search of God. Philosophy prepared the Gentile world to understand the significance of the Messiah's arrival and resurrection, just as the Hebrew prophets had prepared the Jews. The Roman church was explicitly composed of both traditions, whose inseparable harmony has seldom been expressed more effectively than in an early Christian mosaic on the rear wall of the Church of Santa Sabina in Rome. Two stately women, representing "The Church of the Gentiles" and "The Church of the Jews," frame the fourth-century dedication plaque that stands between them, inseparable sisters. The Santa Sabina mosaic has been on view since the time of Saint Jerome; thus, Raphael and Egidio da Viterbo must have known it well when each of them gave new life to the idea it represents.

The Stanza della Segnatura suggests in particular that the resources of every ancient tradition must be brought to bear in order to clarify the knotty doctrine of the Trinity, whose full nature, incomprehensible to human minds, is perceptible only through imperfect representations, like philosophy, or theology — or Raphael's frescoes. In the compositional schemes of the *Disputa* and the *School of Athens*, Raphael has pointedly situated his clearest likeness of this transcendent Christian truth just beyond the actual picture plane: rays, packed with evanescent cherubim, stream down through the *Disputa* from a hidden light source above the painting to bathe the three hypostases: God the Father, the Resurrected Christ, and the Holy Spirit. Raphael's figural images of the Persons of the Trinity in this painting are not, in other words, his most godlike likenesses of God — the light from beyond the fresco transcends them, and its



source remains invisible. The painted Trinity, which we see in its hieratic glory, is only a simulacrum, as remote from trinitarian reality as the triple window that pierces the cupola of the invisible dome of the hall in the *School of Athens* to signify that same Trinity through the abstraction of number.

With marvelous economy, Raphael has embodied the all-important distinction between ancient philosophy's prefiguration of the Trinity and theology's realization of the Trinity of Christ. He does so by manipulating perspective: the *Disputa's* vanishing point occurs at the elevated Host (Fig. 4). The Eucharist, as a sacrament in which the faithful are believed to partake of Christ's body and blood, makes explicit contact between the divine and the human spheres. In Raphael's hands, this mediating symbol serves at the same time as a visual fulcrum for the painting's compositional system: Trinity and saints are ranged in orderly cloud banks above; humanity mills about in relative chaos below. The vanishing point of the *School of Athens*, by contrast, has been deliberately obscured among the robes and books of Plato and Aristotle, "the two great princes of Philosophy," as Egidio da Viterbo is wont to call them. Just as there is no secure visual anchor for the perspective system, so, too, the texts of Plato and Aristotle offer a glimpse into the mystery of the Trinity without secure physical participation in it.

The perspective structure of the *School of Athens* focuses, as we have seen, on the pairing of Plato and Aristotle, Plato a venerable graybeard, his former pupil Aristotle also well into his own authoritative maturity. Framed by a dome of which we catch only a hint of the pendentives, each of the two philosophers gestures with the right hand while holding a book in the left. Their stance and their gestures can be paralleled in Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae* as well as in ancient sculpture: these focal figures are pointedly orator-philosophers. Plato clutches a copy of his *Timaeus*; Aristotle his *Ethics*.<sup>49</sup> The books are clearly labeled in Italian: every literate person who entered the Stanza della Segnatura, even if literate only in *vulgare*, was meant to recognize who these philosophers are: "God does not manifest himself only to sages; indeed, He wants there to be no one who does not know him; at least, certainly, there are people who know him who are not sages."<sup>50</sup> The representative texts for the "two great princes of philosophy" have been carefully chosen. Both speak about human attempts to know divin-

ity. Furthermore, both philosophers agree, in defiance of the popular pagan pantheon, that divinity's ultimate expression is One. At the same time, the message is conveyed by gesture in Plato's up-raised finger:

Philosophy, which tracks down all things and examines them, judges that all number and multiplicity are absent from God, as Plato says, and his student Aristotle.

Humankind has as its purpose the understanding of divine things, as even Aristotle must confess in his *Ethics*. Therefore, if it is necessary to pursue that end, then it is necessary to come to understand God.<sup>51</sup>

This pairing of Plato and Aristotle is both unusual and timely. It, too, surely had drawn its inspiration in significant measure from Egidio da Viterbo. By nature a conciliator, Egidio strove his entire life to knit people, nations, and creeds together. He took special pains in his "Sententiae" to emphasize Aristotle's origins as a student in Plato's Academy, so that, with their "great princes" reconciled, Scholastic might agree with Neoplatonist and empiricist with idealist, Old World with New, that the search for God was a universal impulse and salvation accessible to all people of faith:

Now these princes of Philosophy can be reconciled, and however broadly there may be disagreement between them about creation, the Ideas, or the purpose of the Good, these points [of agreement] can be sought out and demonstrated . . . [then] they can be seen hardly to disagree between themselves at all . . .

These great Princes can be reconciled, if we postulate that things have a dual nature, one which is free from matter and one which is embedded in matter . . . Plato follows the former and Aristotle the latter, and because of this [in fact] these great leaders of Philosophy hardly dissent from one another. If we seem to be making this up, listen to the Philosophers themselves. For if we are speaking about humanity, which is, after all, the subject under discussion, Plato says the same thing; he says that human-kind is Soul in the *Alcibiades*; and in the *Timaeus*, that human-kind has two natures, and we know one of these [natures] by means of the senses, the other by means of reason. Also, in the same book he teaches that each part of us does not occur in

isolation; rather, each nature cares for the other nature. Aristotle, in the tenth book of his *Ethics*, calls humanity Understanding. Thus you may know that each Philosopher feels the same way, however much it seems to you that they are not saying the same thing.<sup>52</sup>

In Egidio's scrupulous lexicon, human happiness begins with intellectual knowledge (*cognitio*) about the world that God has created. He cites a line from Virgil (*Georgics* 2.490) to emphasize the timelessness of this fact: "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas" (Who knows the causes of things is happy). This same line has given rise to the painted motto *causarum cognitio* of the allegorical figure enthroned in a roundel on the ceiling above the *School of Athens*. *Cognitio*, intellectual knowledge, gives rise in turn to understanding, *intelligentia*, the transcendent form of intellectual knowledge, stemming from mastery of the kind of knowledge expressed by *causarum cognitio*. "No one doubts that nature is distant indeed from the Divine, just as a human knowledge [*scientia*] is a knowledge of causes produced by demonstration. Divine knowledge is the understanding [*intelligentia*] of causes."<sup>53</sup>

Both knowledge and *intelligentia* follow upon apprehension of God's traces (*vestigia*) in the phenomenal world: these traces are divine qualities, such as order, measure, and beauty, by which Creation reflects the nature of its Creator. Knowledge results from the collection, however haphazard, of information about order, measure, and beauty: most aspects of *vestigia* can indeed be expressed in terms of number. *Intelligentia* is the knowledgeable synthesis of the divine qualities gleaned by tracking *vestigia*.<sup>54</sup> It is something more rational, yet less complete, than wisdom, *sapientia*, which represents the next, higher, stage of enlightenment. Even Aristotle, the arch-empiricist, must acknowledge that his investigations of the phenomenal world point toward the Absolute. His *Ethics* acknowledge the need to investigate both the physical and the spiritual world, and to the exploration of the latter he devoted his *Metaphysics*. But unlike *intelligentia*, which is obtained by human industry and reason, the next step beyond, *sapientia*, can only be attained through an infusion of divine grace. The *School of Athens* is *intelligentia* embodied, the state where beauty and measure and intellectual knowledge declare the glory of their Creator and are

able to discern that part of this glory is divinity's trine nature. This insight is the triumphant achievement of philosophy. The next degree of penetration into the nature of the universe is one of personal relationship, expressed in Egidio's vocabulary as *sapientia*, but also as love, often with striking erotic overtones. Personal relationship with God, to Egidio's mind, required the divine grace of the Incarnation, the clear proof of the Trinity in the person of the resurrected Christ. It could also be approached through personal participation of the faithful in Church and sacraments. Love and *sapientia* are therefore the Triumph of Theology. In the Stanza della Segnatura, they can be found embodied in the resurrected Christ and elevated Host of the *Disputa*.

The theme of triumph is also embodied in Raphael's fictive architecture. Plato and Aristotle are framed by a series of three nesting, barrel-vaulted spaces, two of them corridors in a lofty building, the hindmost a freestanding triumphal arch. Ancient Roman generals who had been awarded a triumph would lead their procession through a series of such arches until they reached the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, overlooking the Forum. There they offered their spoils of war to the city and its tutelary deity.

Raphael's philosophical triumph is behaving somewhat differently. The members of the victory train are engaged in fervent discussion or rapt in contemplation, and rather than parading about the city, they have already arrived at their temple. The great hall owes its scale to such standing ruins as the Baths of Diocletian, from which, indeed, it seems to derive its spatial sense, and with good reason: baths were a frequent setting for learned gatherings in the Roman world, particularly the great imperial bath complexes, several of which survive to a spectacular extent in modern Rome. The pattern of coffering in the nearer pair of barrel vaults has been borrowed from another imposing ancient structure, the Basilica of Maxentius (or Constantine) in the Roman Forum. Thus the hall itself, although it shelters a preponderance of Greeks, makes rather specific visual reference to the strictly localized antiquity of Rome.

Was Raphael aware that he had put Greek philosophers inside a Roman building? Ten years later he was to be the first Renaissance artist to identify differences of style in archaeological material.<sup>55</sup> In 1509, however, he had barely arrived in Rome and had never seen, nor did he ever see, Greece. He would have had no firsthand idea

of an ancient building except those suggested by Roman ruins. But perhaps the question itself is not quite appropriate. Battista Casali's discourse of 1508 had stated quite explicitly that Rome was the new Athens of the Christian world; in the language of images, Raphael's great building makes the same point.

As for the structure's identity, it is not an ancient temple, for it lacks a cult statue. It cannot, therefore, be a temple to Philosophy, as many scholars have proposed. The deity honored by these massed philosophers is, rather, quite clearly the same God who animates the *Disputa* in so many different likenesses, from radiant light to elevated Host.

When Saint Paul preached to the Athenians (Acts 17:16-34), he called his listeners' attention to a shrine on the Areopagus dedicated "to the unknown god," the *agnōstos theos*. This, declared Paul, was the very God whom he preached. Like the *agnōstos theos*, the deity who infuses the *School of Athens* with grace is hidden from view, but Plato's gesture makes clear that this is not a God unknown. Yet, lacking an altar, neither can the great building be an image of the future Saint Peter's. Rather, Raphael's painted structure and Bramante's architectural project are both attempts to recapture the scale, the spatial feel, of ancient Rome. The identification "Liceo d'Atene," from which derives the English "School of Athens," serves perfectly well to characterize Raphael's building.<sup>56</sup> Its domed halls shelter knowledge, *causam cognitio*, while promoting the continued search for a more complete grasp of divine reality. It is a place of seeking rather than of worship.

Still, like the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the School of Athens does hold the spoils of a campaign, at least in the terms set by Egidio da Viterbo:

We must track the parts of the divine trace [*vestigium*] by which human hunting brings back the Trinity as its prize. With good cause he [Plato] calls the intellect Knowledge [*scientia*], and after this he puts knowledge by means of the first and supreme Cause, wherein resides the ultimate goal of all inquirers, and true philosophers, for in the *Timaeus* he had said, "knowing what it is, is the sweet prize of victory." Now this "it" is the nature of any individual matter, and the cause whereby all qualities inhere in individual matters.<sup>57</sup>

Under the spacious vaults of the School of Athens, Plato has recorded the "sweet prize of victory" in the book he holds close. At the same time, however, he points beyond the painting to remind his pupils that what he has recorded cannot ever really be expressed by human faculties.

Like triumphal arches and bath buildings, the School of Athens is filled with statues, only two of which can be easily identified. These two images, Apollo to the left and Minerva to the right, represent the two ancient deities who, to the mind of Egidio Antonini, embodied the principle of the Trinity before its ultimate revelation in Christ. Apollo is an image of Christ conceived as light, as beloved Son, while Minerva's unusual birth from the head of her father signals the eventual circumstances of the Incarnation.

In the sixth book of the *Republic* Plato puts the begetter, and father, and finally he puts the son, whom at one point he calls the Sun shining outward, and at another Minerva, broadly, inwardly wise; the third Person [of the Trinity, i.e., the Holy Spirit] he praises amply in his *Symposium*, calling it now Venus, now Love.

He [Plato] was in the habit of calling the twin gifts of the divine Child now Minerva, wisdom, now the Sun, light. The one child shines brilliant in herself; the other makes plain the way to the Highest Good by means of reason.

Minerva, the true child of God, whom intelligence alone had begotten, would be the one to transmit to mortals wisdom about things human and divine.

Minerva . . . who signifies intelligence [*intelligentia*], as Plato bears witness.

Minerva is the true child of God among all the immortals, whom God will have begotten as most like himself, as is said in the sixth book of the *Republic*.

In the sixth book of the *Republic*, Plato says that the Sun, the son of God, is not being, but above being . . . Thus the way of knowing ought to be above reason . . . because if reason is not equal to what is above reason, one should hurry toward the light of that alone which, when it leaves the Sun, manifests the Sun: the son, and the Good itself: the Sun's father. That light is the impouing of faith, and by this faith those divine matters want to



be known. In the sixth book of the *Republic* Plato devotes the most extensive discussion to this fact, about the Sun being the origin of all goodness, [which we obtain] of the Sun thanks to its begetting by the Father, which they call the Good.<sup>58</sup>

In between these descriptions of divine foreshadowing in the classical pantheon, Egidio makes a point of showing (21r) how the search for God resembles making statues. In essence, he delivers a discourse on images and likenesses, which, because it is transmitted by means of a written text, seems on the surface to be a purely verbal exposition. Raphael's fresco proves otherwise; through the painted image of two statues sculpted in the round, the artist says the same thing as Egidio's six folio pages. Below the statues are three plaques carved in bas-relief. In a sense, these simulacra are less "real" than the full-round images above them. The two panels beneath Apollo show respectively, a man striking another man, and a Triton fending a Nereid with lousy abandon as she perches on his fishy tail. Beneath Minerva sits Reason enthroned within the Zodiac. These scenes, too, find ready exegesis in the "Sententiae ad mentem Platonis": For . . . all things which exist under Heaven are, as it were, sunk beneath the waves of matter, and only the human soul emerges like a crag, or an island, and lifts its head out of the sea: and as the fourth book of the *Republic* tells us, it has three parts: lust, anger, and reason.<sup>59</sup>

Egidio later elaborates: lust is the forerunner of the love of God; anger, of fortitude in the service of God; reason, of wisdom, *sapientia*. The three plaques beneath the statues in the School of Athens thus represent images of the human soul and its capacities at the stage before they have been transformed by the infusion of divine grace; the contrast between the bas-relief plaques and the full-round sculptures parallels the contrast between the incompleteness of the human soul and the relative completeness of divinity (or, better, perfection, for Latin *perfectio* means "completion"). Apollo and Minerva are far closer to God than any human soul, for they foreshadow the peculiar conjunction, in Christ, of the divine and human natures. Neither statues nor plaques are colored, whereas the living edifice of the *Disputa*, its saints fully aware of the Christian mysteries, is living, breathing (albeit painted) flesh. Yet just as theological truth can only be stated in the approximations of language, Raphael's simulacra,

too, are always, explicitly, imitations of something infinitely more sublime.

Ranged beneath Apollo and Minerva on either side of the paintings are two knots of conversing philosophers: geometers and astronomers to the right (Fig. 16), Pythagoras and his disciples to the left (Fig. 27) identified by a slate with a musical diagram. Their arrangement underneath Apollo and Minerva shows that the statues serve still another symbolic function: Apollo, as god of music, governs hearing. Because wisdom in antiquity was expressed as insight, so Minerva, as goddess of wisdom, governs vision (as her Homeric epithet "gray-eyed Athena" might suggest). Now these two senses, sight and hearing, are those that Plato says first caused humanity to think about God: sight because it raised our eyes to the heavens, hearing because it supplied us with the first hints of the celestial harmonies generated by the music of the spheres. Again, Egidio da Viterbo may serve as a trusty guide to understanding the painting more fully.

As is written in [Plato's] *Phaedrus*, the senses teach us, and especially sight, which excels the other senses by far: looking inward, we tend to inspect something closely first by looking at it before we bring in the other senses; looking outward, we behold the heavens in our field of vision, which are older than we, and prior to us. This is why vision is called the divine sense, both in the *Phaedrus*, and in the sixth book of the *Republic*. Then, the next place in the order is held by hearing. In the same place it is written that there are two divine senses: vision and hearing, because each has its own kind of knowledge, one speculative knowledge, the other music, as we may read in the second book of the *Laws*.<sup>60</sup>

In many different senses, the left side of the *School of Athens* is devoted to music, from the geometric diagram on a tablet in the foreground to the explicitly labeled copy of Plato's *Timaeus*, work in which the music of the spheres is described in detail. The geometric diagram is an ingenious composite illustration of Pythagorean numerical and musical theory, creating a visual analogy between perfect musical harmonies and perfect numbers.<sup>61</sup> Scholars have unraveled the meaning of the diagram's components without being able to point to Raphael's immediate source for the image;

this is because in all likelihood its inventor is the artist himself.<sup>62</sup> A golden-haired youth (Fig. 1, no. 32) holds this diagram up for a mature man who writes intently in a book (no. 33); the youth, by so doing, effectively holds a label up to the figure of Pythagoras. Curiously, however, Giorgio Vasari, in his *Life of Raphael*, identifies the writing Pythagoras in the *School of Athens* as Saint Matthew. Though clearly incorrect, this observation by a fellow artist and well-schooled contemporary is revealing. The philosopher's pose is in fact standard for an Evangelist, and the Pythagorean pupil who holds out the slate closely resembles Saint Matthew's characteristic symbol, a dictating angel. Is Pythagoras, then, a sort of Saint Matthew to Greek philosophy? Certainly he may have borne witness to the Trinity; to Egidio da Viterbo's mind, he might have been the first philosopher to have done so.

The following aspects, which he has discovered in material things, have been identified by Plato, as a beginning, middle, and end [of inquiry]: the authority, form, and goodness which he has perceived in God. Pythagoras, having followed the same reasoning, put the beginning, middle, and end, like Plato, in us; whether he agreed with Plato in placing three kinds of causes in God I can hardly assert, as he has passed nothing on the matter down to posterity. Also in the Book of *Wisdom* the same causes are enumerated, though by different names, when it is said that all things are created in terms of number, weight, and measure. Even our father Saint Augustine, in Book 6 of *De trinitate*, records [them as] unity, appearance, and order.<sup>63</sup>

Around Pythagoras clusters an anachronistic group that includes, among the many Greeks, a turbaned, moustachioed figure clad in purple and bending forward with a courtly hand placed on his heart (no. 35). The robes are contemporary, based on those of Ottoman Turks, several of whom were to be found at the Apostolic Court. In any case, Ottomans were the only Muslims Raphael and his circle were ever likely to see. Islamic scholarship, therefore, figures in the *School of Athens* alongside classical learning as a valid source of knowledge. Like ancient wisdom, it cannot attain to complete Christian understanding of the Trinity, so this Islamic scholar is fitted in among the ancients. His presence is particularly striking in the face of the papacy's continuing rhetoric of Crusade in the early

sixteenth century and shows the radical extent to which the Rome of Julius II was willing to push its universal vision to include one and all.

This exotic foreigner is normally identified as Averroës, the Arabian commentator on Aristotle. The identification is apt, for Averroës had played a significant role in the development of humanist music theory.<sup>64</sup> Again, therefore, the two "great princes" of Philosophy must be reconciled, with Christian Rome's debt to each gratefully acknowledged.

Egidio da Viterbo has a fair amount to say about Averroës: Egidio's university days at Padua had plunged him into the middle of an academic controversy about the Arabian scholar. Temporarily, the mystic Egidio was repelled by the empirical bent of Averroist philosophy, yet he strives with all his might to incorporate Averroës's himself into the universal harmony of his "Sententiae ad mentem Platonis." He attributes the Arabian scholar's doctrinal error, significantly, to the fact that he had worked from faulty texts of Aristotle.<sup>65</sup> The Vatican Library, by establishing and preserving good texts of the ancients, might therefore be seen as a buffer against the Turk for purely philological reasons.

The identity of the other philosophers in this group has been much disputed, beginning with Giovan Pietro Bellori in 1695. Had Raphael's paramount concern been accurate identification of individuals, all of them at least vaguely Pythagorean, they would have been labeled — by their books, like Plato and Aristotle, or by their physiognomy, like Socrates, or by their actions, like Heraclitus and Diogenes, of whom more subsequently. Whether the marvelous old man who copies the words of Pythagoras (no. 34) is Empedocles, or Zeno, or Archytas of Tarentum, he communicates the urgency of the true scholar at work with utter clarity. Squinting, with drawn mouth, bald head, and gnarled hands, he could not be physically more unlike the handsome young students gathered in the fresco's right foreground, yet their excitement at learning is the same excitement as his, ageless and timeless. In a sense the philosopher requires no more specific identification than his enthusiasm: he could be, and should be, Archytas, Empedocles, Zeno, but also Lamblichus, Plotinus, and Boethius. Raphael could be generic or encyclopedic in creating his population of Pythagoreans; for compositional reasons, his specificity seems to stop with a dozen philoso-

phers or so, in order to keep the possible multitude under some control.

The group clustered under Minerva focuses, like the Pythagoras group, on another slate with a diagram (Fig. 9). The faculty of sight is embodied in a geometric proof offered by Euclid, whose balding head actually belonged in life to Raphael's mentor Donato Bramante (Fig. 1, no. 23). As architect of Saint Peter's, Bramante was busily engaged in exploring geometric principles through the design of buildings and in learned conversations. In addition to identifying Bramante as Euclid, both Vasari and Bellori report that a portrait of Zoroaster is to be found among the group of the geometer's companions. Bellori specifies that the figure with his back turned, wearing the radiate crown of a late Roman emperor, is "Zoroastre Re de' Batriani" (no. 21) and that the figure holding a starry globe is a representative of the Chaldeans, "authors of Astronomy" (no. 22). Zoroaster and the Chaldeans represent, of course, the insights of *prisca theologia*, the compendious wisdom tradition anterior to that of Greece and Rome.<sup>66</sup>

Euclid, Zoroaster, Ptolemy, all tracked divinity in the regular patterns of geometry and the stars. Cleverly, Raphael has placed himself (no. 19) among the champions of sight, his own endeavors thereby elevated to the same plane; he, too, has measured the traces of divinity and sought God in the beautiful. Next to Raphael, again on the testimony of Vasari and Bellori, stands Giovanni Bazzi (no. 20), a painter from the Siense hinterland who was universally known by his nickname "Il Sodoma," given him for his habit of living among young boys — "and he willingly answered to it," Vasari declares.<sup>67</sup> Sodoma's colorful, eccentric character is indelibly recorded by his self-portrait in the cloister of Monteoliveto Maggiore, where he is long-haired, white-gloved, strangely dressed, surrounded by some of his exotic animals, a fey smile playing about his mouth — the most interesting subject by far in the entire painted cloister. By the time he was guiding Raphael through the intricacies of papal Rome, the wild man had settled into comfortable married life with his wife and a growing brigade of children. There is more of the sobersided family man in Raphael's portrait than there is of the outrageous youth — but the two artists do stand, after all, within the eternal halls of Athens on a wall of the pope's apartments.

As a geometer, Pythagoras himself could easily have figured in this group of philosophers. For that matter, he had also been an enlightened mystic, to whom Egidio attributed glimmerings of trinitarian thought; in some respects, therefore, he is a more likely candidate than Aristotle for placement at Plato's side. He serves especially well, of course, where he is, pinpointing the dichotomy between sight and hearing, but, like Averroës, he saved Raphael's composition from any pretense at Scholastic rigidity in the placement of its figures.

Three, perhaps four other philosophers are conspicuous among the throng. Off to the left, on the landing occupied as well by Plato and Aristotle, snub-nosed Socrates (no. 49), dressed in an olive drab gown, holds forth for a crowd of listeners. A languid blond with pastel armor listens while he effects a careful contrapposto, his vanity as palpable as his attractiveness. This may be the lovely Alcibiades (no. 45), characterized simultaneously as the rake of Plato's *Symposium* and the brilliant general of Thucydides' *History*. The stout little man behind him (no. 46) is usually taken to be another general who sat at Socrates' feet, Xenophon, the plucky hero of the *Anabasis* and author of *Memorabilia* about Socrates. As with the musicians and geometers, the roster of personages who should appear around Socrates outnumber the places reasonably available: we might want to find, to name a few, Aristophanes, Glaucon, Ademantus, Cephalus, Speusippus, Critias, Protagoras.

Sprawled across the steps in an attitude as spontaneous as that of Alcibiades is studied, only a swatch of blue to cover his aging modesty, Diogenes (no. 28) buries his nose in a book, ostentatiously oblivious to his fellows. His importance to Raphael's scheme rests on his colorful character, but also on his uncompromising devotion to the pursuit of philosophy, in which he found, a monastic before his time, all wealth and happiness.

Equally antisocial is glum Heraclitus (no. 29), leaning his elbow on a marble block and staring at his suede boots. An afterthought, he was added in 1511 or so and presents a simultaneous portrait of Michelangelo's face and Michelangelo's artistic style. The painter of the Sistine Chapel ceiling appears in part because he keeps company with so many others of his profession: Leonardo, Sodoma, Bramante, and Raphael — in effect all the creators of the visual lexicon for Julian Rome. By temperament, the melancholy



Florentine was well suited to play the part of Heraclitus, both of them congenially despondent at human folly.

To the left a chubby Epicurus crowned in the ivy that signified participation in a drinking party but engrossed in a book (no. 37), may also be identified with a fair degree of probability, his back turned to the Pythagoreans and Socrates, and indeed to the rest of the school. Like Diogenes and Heraclitus, he, too, is lost in his own world of contemplation; unlike them, he sees no conflict between philosophy and indulging his senses. His physical features bear a striking resemblance to those of Tommaso ("Fedra") Inghirami.

The ancient (and Islamic) world, under Raphael's brush, presents as multifarious a group of intellectuals as any university faculty then or now. It is testimony to his gifts as an artist that his chattering multitude pursues its headlong investigations with so stately an air. Julius's vision has employed a studied elegance as an essential aspect of its power. This ordered elegance was designed to reflect the supernal order which God has imparted to Creation. It was also designed according to a set of quite earthly contemporary rules of artistic composition, common to text and image alike. Because the elegance of the *School of Athens* is so explicitly literary as well as artistic, we must scan Julian Rome to find a person whose familiarity with ancient literature has a sensitivity to visual imagery as great as that of Egidio da Viterbo, a person sufficiently familiar with the pope's ideological intentions (and Egidio's theology) to represent these accurately in discussions with the pope's artist, a person whose awareness of the rules for classical composition in both the literary and artistic sense was both acute and elegant, and, finally, a person who could have spent the time necessary to help create (and repeatedly revise) the intricate iconographies of the Stanza della Segnatura. In fact, as I have already anticipated, there are few members of the Apostolic Court who better fit this description than the librarian of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fedra Inghirami.<sup>68</sup>

It was Fedra, indeed, who would be charged with delivering the funeral oration for Julius II, at the dying pope's request. Together with Egidio da Viterbo, he had been busy for years with the public promotion of Julius's image in oratory. However, Fedra had also continued to maintain his interest in theater, managing his own

dramatic company and taking on the roles, on various occasions, of writer, actor, director, and producer.<sup>69</sup> In other words, Inghirami could block living actors on a stage or in a piazza much as Raphael could assemble human figures within a two-dimensional composition, and he was as familiar as the artist with manipulating the classical repertory of images, personifications, and historical characters in order to tell a story while achieving a visual effect. Two of his extant works of scholarship have to do with the development of style: a treatise on rhetoric, and a commentary on the *Ars poetica* of Horace; in both, Inghirami resorts to powerful visual images in order to make his points.<sup>70</sup> A chief spokesman of the pope, with a well-trained eye, Fedra was confirmed in 1510 as prefect of the Vatican Library, that institution with which the *School of Athens* seems to be so intimately connected on every level.<sup>71</sup> Like Egidio da Viterbo, he was one of the few scholars in Rome who actually knew Greek – for whom, in other words, the School of Athens was an idea with which he could empathize completely.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, Fedra's love for books (and their contents) was effervescent. When Raphael painted the humanist's portrait (Florence, Pitti) (Fig. 31) sometime during the time when he was working on the Stanza della Segnatura, he posed him with one hand caressing a manuscript and an upturned gaze that in other Raphael paintings signifies heavenly rapture. The restrained elegance of Raphael's painted Fedra is striking, for what survives of Inghirami's writing and oratory is certainly elegant, but it is anything but restrained.

Like Egidio da Viterbo and Battista Casali, Fedra saw the revival of ancient learning as part of a more general religious renewal. His little unpublished commentary on the *Ars poetica* of Horace declares that "every reserve, every supply of things to say comes from philosophy, which is the mother of all things well done and well said, without which we can define and evaluate nothing, nor speak with feeling and breadth about a variety of lofty subjects, like religion, death, piety, charity and especially the virtues and vices, and the soul's perturbations."<sup>73</sup> Fedra's own version of "things to say," *copia dicendi*, emerges in full dramatic force in his funeral oration for the pope: "Good God! What a mind the man had, what sense, what skill in ruling and administering the empire! What supreme, unbreakable strength!"<sup>74</sup>

In the end, every aspect of the *School of Athens* points back to



Figure 31. Raphael, Portrait of Tommaso Inghirami. Pitti Palace, Florence.  
(Photo: Alinari/Art Resource.)

Julius himself, whose intellectual powers show in the profundity of the art and architecture he commissioned, works whose progress he dogged as he dogged every other aspect of his papacy. The grand scale of Julius's aspirations ensured many incomplete projects, but we still have the Sistine ceiling, Michelangelo's *Moses*, the crossing of Saint Peter's — and the two finest of the Stanze Vaticane. In every aspect of his patronage, the pope's brand of muscular Christianity involved the intellect as well. And the focal point of that intellectuality, for over thirty years, had been the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Symbolic of the preservation of classical culture, it lies implicit in all the bookish frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura, but most pointedly in the *School of Athens*. It is the collective memory of the ancient wisdom, enshrined in painted plaster as an offering to God: "Every day this Athenaeum will wing your praises in a hundred tongues, and when all those other works have perished, so long as they can be read about, they shall rise again day after day, and their memory shall be renewed."

## NOTES

1. The Stanza was already so designated in 1513 by the papal master of ceremonies Paris de Grassis, who first served under Julius II; see Dorez, 1896, 97–124.
2. Redig de Campos, 1950, 5; Shearman, 1972, esp. 13–17. For the holdings of Julius's private library, see Dorez, 1896, 99–109. For a comparison between the traditional faculties of a university and the Stanza della Segnatura's decorative program, see Pfeiffer, 1975, 154–9.
3. Morello, "La biblioteca di Giulio II," in Morello, 1986, 51–3.
4. The custom of contemporary popes to pay respectful homage to their predecessors (especially marked in the selection of their names by Popes John Paul I and II) has few precedents in the Renaissance, where the rivalry among cardinals was expressed with less reserve. Julius II had been an outspoken adversary of his predecessor Alexander VI Borgia, and the unsavory reputation of the Borgia family was encouraged to grow, without limits, during the papacy of Julius. Leo X and his two secretaries, Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleto, belonged to a generation for which the political concerns of Julius and his generational contemporaries posed an unnecessary distraction from their own overriding (and strikingly selfish) interest in personal cultural development. It is Bembo and Sadoleto who created the myth of a Golden Age of arts and letters under Leo X and who

- had to do so specifically at the expense of Julius II. Erasmus's vicious posthumous caricature of him, *Julius Excluded from Heaven*, did the rest.
5. So, for example, Eugène Müntz, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Amsterdam: Van Heusden, 1970; reprint of Paris: E. Leroux, 1886), 5; Ludwig Freyherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (London: K. Paul, French, & Trübner, 1950), 457n. The contention is elegantly refuted by Dorez, 1896, 98–9. See also Jones and Penny, 1983, 49–50.
  6. The foundation of the library has been definitively traced to Nicholas by the present prefect, P. Leonard Boyle, "The Vatican Library," in Grafon, 1993, xi–xv; cf. Boyle, "Sixtus IV and the Vatican Library," in *Rome: Tradition, Innovation and Revival* (Victoria, Canada: University of Victoria, 1991), 65–73. See also Jeanne Bignami Odier and José Ruyschaert, *La Bibliothèque vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973). The library of Nicholas V already numbered 1,143 books; Boyle, "Sixtus IV," 69.
  7. Toby Yuen, "The Bibliotheca Graeca: Castagno, Alberti, and Ancient Sources," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970), 725–36.
  8. See Christine Shaw, *Julius II: the Warrior Pope* (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 1993). The historian's documentary approach is less successful in dealing with Julius's patronage of the arts (194–207), than with his political activity.
  9. The translation of the bull *Ad decorum* of 1475 is by Boyle, "The Vatican Library," xiii ("Ad decorum militantis ecclesiae, fidei catholice augmentum, eruditorum quoque ac litterarum studiis insistentium virorum commodum et honorem"), as in n. 6.
  10. For *prisca theologia* in general, see Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Anthony Grafon, "The Ancient City Restored: Archaeology, Ecclesiastical History, and Egyptology," in Grafon, 1993, 87–124. For Etruscan studies in particular, see John O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 31; Walter E. Stephens, "The Etruscans and the Ancient Theology in Annius of Viterbo," in Paolo Brezzi, ed., *Umansimo a Roma nel Quattrocento* (New York and Rome: Barnard College [Columbia University] and Istituto di Studi Romani, 1984), 309–22.
  11. Maria Bertòla, *I due primi registri di Prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codices Vaticani Latini 3964, 3966* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1942), shows Philo and Hermes in circulation from the time of Platina. Inventories to the library can be found in Eugène Müntz and Paul Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Amsterdam: Van Heusden, 1970; reprint of Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1887).
  12. Melozzo's fresco "frontispiece" is now detached and displayed in the

- Pinacoteca Vaticana. Payments are recorded for the artist beginning on 15 January 1477; Boyle, "Sixtus IV," 67 (as in n. 6).
13. Lee, 1978, 114–16.
  14. Another cardinal nephew, Pietro Riario, by all accounts the favorite of Sixtus, had died shortly before the inauguration of the Vatican Library. Indeed, Riario nearly won the conclave of 1513. For years he held the important office of chancellor of the Apostolic Chamber, from which he disbursed ecclesiastical salaries and awarded contracts and leases with the Reverenda Camera Apostolica.
  16. Egmont Lee's description of Platina is colorful, mentioning "his rashness and irascibility, combined with a lack of judgment which seems to border on the insane." 1978, 111–12.
  17. For Sixtus IV as an urban planner, see Lee, 1978, 123–50. Lee's description, 1978, 117, is particularly apt: "The bull of June 15, 1475 by which Sixtus ordered the foundation of the library stated simply that it was intended to serve 'ad decorum militantis ecclesiae' as well as the world of scholarship and the dissemination of knowledge. But in a larger context, the evidence which can reasonably be assumed to reflect the pope's intentions leaves no doubt that the Vatican must be viewed as part of the series of public works in Rome which were meant to proclaim — *Ubi et Obe* — the wealth, the power, and the universal concern of the papacy. The library ranks high on a list of accomplishments by which Sixtus wished to be remembered."
  18. *Templa, domum expositis, vicos, fora, moenia, pontes  
Virginem trivii quod reparatis aqua  
Prisca licet nauis status dare commoda portus  
Et vaticannum cingere, Sixte, iugum.  
Plus tamen urbs debet; nam quae squalore latebat  
Centur in celebri Bibliotheca loco.*

Translation provided by author. Text from the fictive inscription at the bottom of Melozzo's painting.

19. The significance of these frescoes to Giuliano della Rovere's relationship with the Vatican Library is taken up by Lee, 1978, 114–16.
20. See the bibliography in Morello, 1986, 70.
21. O'Malley, 1979, 11–12.
22. Frequently this division is associated with the division of university faculties in the early sixteenth century. Dorez, 1896, 101–2, points out that university faculties maintained chairs in medicine rather than poetry and identifies the organization of the Stanza della Segnatura with the literary interests of humanism, beginning, significantly, with the system installed by Tommaso di Sarzana, the future Nicholas V (and therefore founder of



- the Vatican Library), for the Dominican Library of San Marco endowed by Cosimo de' Medici.
23. The phrase *causarum cognitio* and its various Virgilian and Ciceronian permutations probably originate in a Latin paraphrase of a Greek philosophical commonplace, the distinction between wisdom and knowledge. The various sources are assembled by Künzle, 1964, 534. "Causarum . . . cognitio" appears in Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 5-7, and Cicero, the first translator of much Greek philosophical literature into Latin, may well have been the first to coin the phrase. However, in certain contexts, early sixteenth-century humanists clearly stress the connection with blessedness associated with Virgil's phrase "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas" (*Georgics* 2.490).
  24. His speeches in Vatican Library, Ott. Lat. 2413, 25r, are extraordinarily short (half a page) and self-conscious.
  25. O'Malley, 1979, 63-5, makes the analogy between artistic and verbal epideictic rhetoric.
  26. In addition to O'Malley, 1979, see John W. O'Malley, *Preaching for the Popes* (Leiden: Brill, 1974).
  27. This same trio is treated with great sensitivity by d'Ascia, 1991, 173-201.
  28. O'Malley, 1979, 114-15.
  29. An invective by the Neapolitan poet Girolamo Borgia, entitled "Egidio Cardinali Canino," provides a riveting physical and moral description of a black-clad, unkempt Egidio in action. Vatican Library, Barb. Lat. 3231, 342r; cf. Barb. Lat. 1903, 68r.
  30. See the remarks of Jacopo Sadoleto to Pietro Bembo, *Acta Concilii Lateranensis IV* (Rome: Mazzocchi, 1521). Aii verso (the introduction to the transcript of Egidio's opening address to the Fifth Lateran Council): "Nec vero quicquid interfuit illo dicente inter doctos homines: et idiotas: non senex ab adolescente, vir a muliere: princeps ab infimo homine potuit dignosci: sed omnes pariter vidimus praecipites ferri impetu animos audientium: quocumque eos oratori impellere libuisset: tanta vis orationis: tantum flumen leucissimorum verborum: pondus optimarum sententiarum ex eo ferebatur" (In his sacred orations, his eloquence invariably has turned the minds of men toward divine and wonderful things just as he decides; it restrains those who are overexcited and lights up the languid, or, better, inflames them toward the desire for Virtue, Justice, and Temperance, toward the love of Almighty God and devotion to holy religion).
  31. O'Malley, 1979, 27.
  32. This was the assessment of his friend Paolo Cortesi, *De Cardinalatu* (in Castro Cortesio: Symeon Nicolaus Nardus, 1510), 221r. For Fedra, see d'Ascia, 1991, 188-96; Redig de Campos, 1956-7, 171-9. Symeon Nicolaus Nardus was the printer of Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu*, which came out

- posthumously. Nardi and his press were brought from Siena to the Cortesi villa near San Gimignano (Castel Cortesi) by Cortesi's brother to print up what Paolo had completed of the work.
33. Morello, 1986, 76, no. 83, also suggests that Fedra Inghirami and Egidio da Viterbo were the direct sources of the intellectual inspiration for the *Sanza della Segnatura*.
  34. The Latin text of the oration, "Oratio Habita ad Iulium Secundum Pontificem Maximum in Circumcisione," Milan, MS Ambrosianus, G 33, inf. Part II, fols. 12r-17v, is published by John O'Malley, 1977, 271-87, at 279-87. The passages quoted are from 286-7. In paragraph two, the "shipwreck" refers to the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. In the third paragraph, third sentence "a hundred tongues" is my translation of the phrase "centum linguis," which can mean either "in a hundred tongues" or "with a hundred tongues." In the same sentence, the debt of the final sentiment to the Horatian "exegi monumentum, aere perennius," *Carmina* 3.30.1, would have been clear to all of Casali's listeners.
  35. O'Malley, 1977, 275, esp. 279: O'Malley . . . points out that Casali's oration, whatever its relationship to Raphael's painting, eloquently conveys the sense of hope and purpose embodied in the Vatican Library's collection of Greek books.
  36. An excellent précis of Egidio Antonini's career and significance can be found in John O'Malley, "Giles of Viterbo: A Reformer's Thought on Renaissance Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 20 (1967), 1-11. See also O'Malley's *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform*.
  37. See the collected articles in John O'Malley, *Rome and the Renaissance* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981); Ingrid D. Rowland, "Egidio da Viterbo's Defense of Pope Julius II, 1509 and 1511," in Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, eds., *De ore domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1989), 235-60; Amos, Green, and Kienzle, "A Summer Outing in 1510: Religion and Economics in the Papal War with Ferrara," *Vivator* 18 (1987), 347-59.
  38. The similarity between Egidio da Viterbo's preaching and the artistic projects of Julius II is also noted by Morello, 1986, 76, no. 84.
  39. "Ad praescriptum Iulii pontificis," quoted in Redig de Campos, 1965, 5.
  40. George Sarton gives an acid view of Peter Lombard's achievement in his *Introduction to the History of Science* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1927), 1:383: "The mediocrity of the latter; it clearly reveals Abelard's and Gratian's influence. Although Abelard enjoyed exposing contradictions and difficulties, Peter was essentially conservative and conciliatory and utterly devoid of originality; hence his success."

41. Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi* (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1947), provides a list, with accompanying biographies and listings of manuscripts, for every known commentator on the *Sententiae*. He also includes a biography of Lombard himself (1:1-3).
42. Paolo Cortesi, *In Quatuor Libros Sententiarum argutae Romanoque eloquio disputationes* (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1504).
43. Paolo Cortesi had pioneered the aesthetic approach in his commentary on Lombard's *Sentences* of 1504 (see n. 42), as is evident from the title "argutae Romanoque eloquio" as well as the contents of the four prefaces addressed to Julius II, one for each book of the *Sentences*.
44. Pfeiffer, 1975; Pfeiffer, "Die Predigt des Egidio da Viterbo über das goldene Zeitalter und die Stanza della Segnatura," *Festschrift Luitpold Dussler 28 Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972), 237-54, where he acknowledges Nelson Minnich's role in formulating the idea (248, n. 1).
45. The papal master of ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, found this habit unseemly; besides, Egidio was notoriously long-winded. See John O'Malley, "Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age under Julius II: Text of a Discourse of Gilles of Viterbo, 1507," *Traditio* 25 (1969), 269.
46. Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 6325, 1r (the opening sentence of the "Sententiae"): "Quoniam summum hominis bonum in alta vita est, ubi Deo iungimur, et divinam cernit essentiam: Hic autem summum bonum assequimur, quod in terris dari homini potest; Deo iungimur quam maxime fieri potest, potest autem quam maxime si mente ac voluntate contemplatione atque amore iungimur."
47. Vat. Lat. 6325, 1r: "Paranda est mensa animo" (A table must be set for the soul).
48. See James Hankins, "The Popes and Humanism," in Grafon, 1993, 47-86.
49. Julius II kept a copy of the *Ethics*, in the Latin translation of Ioannes Argropoulos, as part of his private library; this book is identifiable as Vat. Lat. 2098.
50. Vat. Lat. 6325, 29r: "non solis sesapientibus aprit Deus, in[im]o neminem esse vult, qui eum esse non norit, aut certe illi etiam norunt qui sapientes non sunt." Chief among these "non sapientes" are "aniculi" - "little old ladies."
51. Vat. Lat. 6325, 18r: "Adde quod Philosophia, quae omnia vestigat, atque examinat, omnem a Deo numerum, multitudinemque abesse diudicavit, ut Plato, ut discipulus Arist[ot]ele[s]; 24v: "humanum autem genus finem habet intelligentiam divinorum, ut etiam Arist[ot]ele[s] in *Ethicis* faetur, quare si necesse finem aliquo pacto assequi, itaque Deum aliquo pacto intelligere est necesse."
52. Vat. Lat. 6325, 40r: "Possent tamen principes Philosophiae conciliari, et

quamquam laici ubi de creatione, de ideis, de finibus bonorum disputabunt, quaerenda ac demonstranda haec sit . . . neque omnino inter se pugnari existimandi sunt, qui ut non omnino idem dicere, ita non omnino diversa sentire putari volunt."

See also 55r-v: "Conciliari magni hi Principes possunt, duplices si ponamus essentias rerum; materia, ac corpore liberas et in materia facientes; participatas, ac participantes; illas Plato, has Aristoteles sequitur; atque ideo inter se magnos hos Philosophiae duces minime dissentire, ac ne confingere haec ipsi videantur, ipsi audiendi Philosophi sunt. Nam ut de homine, de quo nunc agitur, loquamur, idem Plato, qui animam in Alchiade facit hominem, in Timeo postea, duplicem vocat hominem, alterum quem sensu, alterum quem ratione cognoscimus: eodem quoque libro praecepit ut homo totus non parti alteri vacet, sed utramque curet. Quin et Aristoteles decimo *Ethicorum* libro intellectum verum vocat hominem: Ut scias utrumque Philosophum eadem sentire, quamvis alter non eadem dicere voluisse videas."

53. Vat. Lat. 6325, 113r: "Iam procul a divina esse natura nemo dubitat, ut scientia humana est cognitio causarum quem demonstratio pepertit; divina est quidem causarum intelligentia." See also Pfeiffer, 1975, 154.

54. The word means "footprint" in Latin; *vestigatio* originates as a verb used to describe a hunter's tracking.

55. In his letter to Pope Leo X of circa 1519; see Ingrid D. Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders," *Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), 86-112.

56. Gaspare Celio, not, as we used to think, Bellori, was the first to identify the subject as "Liceo d'Arene" in 1638. Oberhuber, 1983, 54. My thanks to Marcia Hall for this reference.

57. Vat. Lat. 6325, 39r: "vestigii nobis vestigandae sunt partes, per quae divinae Trinitatis praedam venatio reportet humana"; 32r: "cum causam scientiam vocat intellectum postea ponit cognitionem per causam supremam, et primam, ubi quies ultima quaerentium, ac vere philosophantium est; nam in Timeo [138] dixerat; quid id sit nosse, dulce victoriae praemium est; id enim est qui est res, et causa cur omnia insit rebus."

58. Vat. Lat. 6325, 20v-22v. See esp. 22v: "Hinc 6. de republica Plato et genitorem, et patrem, et demique ponit filium quem nunc Solem extra fulgentem, nunc Minervam intus latissime sapientem vocat: Tertiam vero personam symposium amplissime commendat, ac nunc Venerem illam, nunc amorem vocat."

See also 186r: "Quare ob gemina divinae prolis munera. Nunc Minerva ac sapientia, nunc Sol, et lux vocari consuevit, ut altero quidem in se ipsa fulgeat, altero viam, ac summum bonum ratione utentibus manifestet." At 189v-190r Egidio explains Apollo and Minerva's opposition in

the *liad* by the fact that she represents ascetic religious observance, while Apollo, as light, sides with love. This comment alone should be sufficient to show the remarkable degree of Egidio's syncretism.

See also 104v: "Minerva, quae intelligentiam Platone teste significat." Egidio then goes on to find trinitarian significance in her epithet "Tritogeneia" (103r).

Ibid., 20v: "Minerva, id est vera Dei proles, quam intelligentia sola genuisset, esset mortalibus sapientiam, et humanarum divinarum rerum traditura . . . Minervam et veram Dei prolem esse in divinis, quam Deus genuerit sibi simillimam, ut 6. de rep. dicitur."

Ibid., 20v–21r: At sexto de republ[ical] Dei filium Solem non esse essentiam dicit Plat[on]o, sed supra essentiam . . . ita et cognoscendi modus esse debet supra rationem . . . quod si rationem superant rei non par est, ad lumen solius illius confugiendum est, quod cum a Sole egrediatur Solem filium, et patrem Solis bonum ipsum ostendit: lumen utem id infusa est fides, fide itaque haec divina cognosci volunt, qui quidem sententiam de Sole, solisque cognitione ex generatione filii a Patre, quod bonum vocat, ut totius boni originem in libro eodem de republ[ical] sexto Plato quam latissime disseruit."

59. Vat. Lat. 6325, 75v: "Nam cum omnia, quae sub coelo, sicut in materiae fluctibus meta sit, anima sola humana quasi vel scopulus, vel insula prominat, et caput effert è pelago: ac . . . tres habet partes ex 4. de republ[ical] cupiditatem, iram, rationem."

60. Vat. Lat. 6325, 76v: "sicut in Phaedro [27] scribitur, sensus nos docet, ac praecipue visus, qui sensus alios longe antecellit, tum in hoc ordine, cum omnia inspicere prius, quam alios apprehendere sensibus consuevimus, tum etiam in ordine externo, cum coelestia obtutu videmus, quae aliis omnibus antiquiora, prioraque sunt. Quia propter visus, divinus sensus dicitur, et in Phaedro, et in 6. de republ[ical]. Deinde secundum in eo ordine locum auditus obtinet: eodem namque loco scribitur divinos sensus duos esse, obtutum, atque auditum, tum quod uterque scientiam habet propriam, alter spectatricem, alter musicen, ut 2. legum legeret est [2. legum, 6]."

61. Briefly, the lower section of the diagram makes an analogy between two sets of Pythagorean perfect numbers: the number 10 and the *tetraktys*, that is, the four integers (or monads) 1, 2, 3, 4, whose sum is 10. The upper diagram, labeled in Greek, employs the graphic form traditional for earlier manuscript treatises on music, whether antique or medieval. It shows the musical *tetraktys* formed by the numerical series 6, 8, 9, 12. These intervals describe the harmonic relationships among the elements of the disjunct scale reputedly invented by Pythagoras: 9:8, *epogdōn* (so labeled in Greek at the top of the diagram) is the interval between the two fourths

(*diatessenon*, respectively 6:8 and 9:12, again labeled in Greek) of this scale's central, and disjunct, tetrachords. See Emil Naumann, "Erklärung der Musiktafel in Raffaels 'Schule von Athen,'" *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 14 (1879), 1–14; Hermann Hettner, *Italienische Studien. Zur Geschichte der Renaissance* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1879), 190–212; Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1949), esp. 109–10; Rudolf Haase, *Geschichte des Harmonikalen Pythagoreismus* (Vienna: Lafite, 1969), 73–4 (with exhaustive bibliography); Ann E. Moyer, *Musica scientia: Musical Scholarship in the Italian Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 14–18. More generally, see also Palisca, 1975.

62. Raphael has clearly invented his diagram with the help of a humanist learned in musical theory, although not necessarily a humanist with a deep grounding in Greek: the terms used in the diagrams can be found, for example, in the commentary composed by Macrobius on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (2.1.8), a source readily available in a plethora of manuscripts at the Apostolic Court, many of them illustrated with diagrams based on the pseudo-Boethian *De musica*. The idea of a composite diagram seems to be entirely new, yet another reflection of the fundamental unity that thinkers of Julian Rome sought to identify in every aspect of thought, art, and the cosmos. A close analogy to Raphael's image may be found in a drawing made within Raphael's ambit by the humanist Angelo Colocci, showing a Pythagorean cube, a die, a knucklebone, and the plan of a forum, all serving to illustrate a passage of Vitruvius (6. praef.) in which Pythagorean numerology is applied to literary composition; see Ingrid D. Rowland, "Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders" (cited in n. 55), fig. 12.

63. Vat. Lat. 6325, 40r: "Hae partes a Platone distinctae sunt, ex principio, medio, fine, quae in rebus inventi, ex auctoritate idea bonitate, quae suspexit in Deo. Pythagoras eandem sectatus rationem, principium, medium, finemque ut Plato posuit in nobis, itaque convenit cum Plato [one] in Deo an tra Platonis genera causarum collocari, cum nihil posteritati mandari, haud equidem affirmaverim. In Sapientiae quoque libro eadem nominibus diversis numerantur: cum facta dicantur omnia, in numero, in pondere, in mensura. Divus etiam Pater Augustinus [libro] de Trinitate 6 unitatem, speciem, ordinemque commemorat." This preponderance of three provides further proof to Egidio of the Trinity's presence everywhere in the human soul. Immediately after the passage just quoted, he attempts by means of convoluted arguments to bring Aristotle into the trinitarian fold as well (40r–v).

64. Palisca, 1975, 397.

65. Vat. Lat. 6325, 81v: "quamquam doctissimus vir extitit, et plane erudi-



- tissimus, graeca tamen non vidit, nisi quae in barbaram transierant linguam, quo cum ex multis, tum ex eo convincitur, in primis quod Aristotelis scripta, in quibus unice studium collocaret, manca, mutilata, mendosissima habuit" (However learned a man, and clearly highly erudite, he nonetheless had never seen the Greek [text of Aristotle], except what had been translated into the barbarian tongue, and one can be convinced of this for the following reason among many, namely that he had the writings of Aristotle, upon which he concentrated all his attention, in fragmentary, mutilated and error-ridden versions).
66. Egidio da Viterbo refers to Plato's mention of Zoroaster in the "First Alcibiades," Vat. Lat. 6325, 51v, 186r.
  67. In his *Life of Sodoma*, in Vasari-Milanesi, 1568, 6:380. The sobriquet also appears on Sieneese legal documents: see Archivio di Stato di Siena, Estimo del Contado 150.
  68. A detailed argument for Fedra's participation in formulating the program for the Stanze is made by Künzle, 1964, 511, 532-49. The likeness that gives rise to the article's title, however, is almost certainly that of Pope Leo X.
  69. Redig de Campos, 1956-7, 174, n. 5.
  70. O'Malley, 1979, 64; d'Ascia, 1991, 196.
  71. Redig de Campos, 1956-7, 175, n. 14, suggests that Fedra may first have served as librarian for Julius's private collection, in which case the association with the Stanza della Segnatura would be all the more convincing.
  72. Inghirami maintained close contact with a leading Hellenist, Scipione Forteguerra (Scipio Carteromachus). Künzle, 1964, 544.
  73. Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 2742, 84v-85r: "sententiarum omnis ubertas et quasi silva dicendi a phylosophia proficiscitur, quae mater est omnium benefactorum benedictorumque, sine qua nec quicquam possumus iudicare, nec copiose lateque de variis magnisque rebus dicere, quomodo enim de religione de morte de pietate de charitate praecipue de virtutibus ac vitiis de animi perturbationibus." Fedra's language is highly allusive, with notable parallels to the usage of Egidio da Viterbo. The meaning of *silva* in this passage is more or less that of "raw material."
  74. Funeral oration for Julius II, from Pierluigi Galletti, ed., *Thomae Phaedri Inghirami Volaterrani Orationes duae* (Rome: Generoso Salomone, 1777), 96: "Bone Deus! quod illius ingenium fuit, quae prudentia, quae regendi, administrandique imperii peritia? quod excelsi, infractique animi robur?"