By the sixteenth century the legacy of classical antiquity was readily accessible all over Italy. Drawn copies and plaster casts after the Antique were integral parts of workshop equipment from the mid-fifteenth century. Ancient cameos, coins and most importantly sculptures inevitably attracted the interest of collectors and antiquarians, as well as artists who evolved their own versions inspired by these works. Roman art was initially mediated to Raphael primarily by Perugino’s and Pintoricchio’s drawings after the Antique, and his interest was later stimulated further by Florentine humanists. In common with his contemporaries, Raphael first treated classical compositions as motifs, and became deeply concerned with classical antiquity only after he had settled in Rome in 1508. His interest comprised the widest possible range of antiquities, and his approach was permeated by the archaeological attitude of his Roman mentor, Donato Bramante.

In 1515 Leo X appointed Raphael the Prefect of all building stones and marble excavated in and around Rome (praefectus marmorum et lapidum omnium). The position was created by the demand for acquiring building material for the new Saint Peter’s, and provided the painter with the opportunity to study all newly excavated stone or marble with ancient inscriptions. Vasari notes that Raphael kept designers all over Italy and even in Greece, implying that they searched and recorded antiquities for the benefit of his art. Raphael’s commitment and enthusiasm for a deeper understanding of antiquity far exceeded the average interest of his contemporaries, and culminated in the project of 1516 to draw up the complete reconstruction of ancient Rome.

Ever since his early years Raphael had often filled his works with antique quotations, but his first opportunity to paint a mythological subject came only in 1511, with the decoration of the villa of Agostino Chigi, now known as the Farnesina, after its subsequent owner. The Sienese banker was one of the wealthiest and most influential persons in Italy, as well as Raphael’s most important Roman client after the papal court. Raphael is first recorded as working for Chigi in a payment of 10 November, 1510, according to which the painter designed two large bronze tondi (tondorum de brongiurum). If these are identical with the two tondi (today in Abbazia di Chiaravalle, Milan) destined to decorate
the sides of the arch above the altar of the Chigi chapel in Santa Maria della Pace, they indicate that Raphael began painting there in the same year. Concurrently with the work in his patron’s burial chapel, Raphael joined the Venetian painter Sebastiano del Piombo (1485/86–1547), who arrived in Rome in August 1511, to execute frescoes in Chigi’s villa.

Raphael’s *Triumph of Galatea* was frescoed directly beside Sebastiano’s *Polyphemus* in the riverside loggia of the palatial villa [fig. 65]. The building, located outside the city walls across the Tiber, was designed by Baldassare Peruzzi in an extravagant *all’antica* style on the model of the ancient *villa suburbana*. As the two frescoes are not mentioned by the Roman humanist Blosio Palladio in his Latin poem praising the *suburbanum*, printed on 27 January, 1512, they must have been created after the pamphlet was written. The close stylistic connection between the *Galatea* and the *Three Virtues* in the Stanza della Segnatura, the frescoes of the Stanza di Eliodoro, especially *The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple*, as well as the *Sibyls* of the Chigi chapel, indicates that it was probably painted around 1512.

Following the method employed in his earlier works, Raphael incorporated several modern and antique motifs in the fresco. The pose of *Galatea* was inspired, like that of the Virgin in the *Esterházy Madonna* [fig. 41], by Leonardo’s drawings for *Leda* [fig. 55], also influenced by ancient prototypes. In common with *The Massacre of the Innocents*, Raphael borrowed details from engravings executed in the circle of Mantegna, but extensively used motifs of Roman sarcophagi and statues, among them the *Belvedere Torso*. The *Galatea* was, however, the first work by Raphael to be based on a classical literary source. The scene was inspired by the verses of *La Giostra*, a compendium of myths written by the Florentine humanist Angelo Poliziano.

A few years later, Raphael returned with his assistants to decorate the entrance loggia of the Farnesina. Due to a lack of documentary evidence, the start of the commission is unknown. The earliest related source, dated 1 January, 1519, notes that the scaffolding had been dismantled and the vault fresco unveiled. For some unknown reason, the nine lunettes and eight wall-spaces were never realized.

The surviving drawings for the frescoes suggest that decorating the loggia must have taken several years. Raphael’s earliest sheets from around 1514–15 were made in preparation of the frescoes in the spandrels and triangles of the east wall, and the first triangle of
the southern wall. Work was then suspended and recommenced only in late 1517, when the two multi-figured ceiling frescoes, and the spandrels and triangles of the south and west walls, were redesigned and prepared for painting.\textsuperscript{18} As the fable of Cupid and Psyche was chosen to reflect the relationship and marriage between Agostino Chigi and his former Venetian mistress Francesca Ordeaschi, the loggia decoration must have been completed by the time the wedding ceremony was held, that is 28 August, 1519.\textsuperscript{19}

Raphael transformed the room into an antique arbour, in which a festoon of leaves, fruits and flowers, following the divisions of the architecture, imitates a wedding marquee. Across the arbour the two large ceiling frescoes appear as stretched simulated canvases. Similarly to \textit{Galatea}, the allegorical frescoes of the Loggia di Psyche illustrate a popular myth. The secret love of Cupid and Psyche was narrated in Apuleius’s \textit{The Golden Ass}, whose Italian editions were widely distributed in the sixteenth-century and thus also accessible for Raphael.\textsuperscript{20} Although the fable involves both the terrestrial and the celestial spheres, Raphael and his assistants only painted celestial scenes. The loggia ceiling is occupied by \textit{The Council of the Gods} and \textit{The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche} [fig. 66], while the fourteen spandrels and ten triangles depict minor episodes involving only one or two characters.\textsuperscript{21}

The Loggia di Psyche was not the first instance for Raphael and his assistants to design a whole decorative scheme in an antique style. Soon before, in the summer of 1516, they had completed the painting of the
bathroom (Stufetta) of Cardinal Bernardo Bibbiena’s apartment in the Vatican Palace [fig. 67].

22 This narrow and dark room, little more than eight feet square, constituted the earliest example of developed grotesque work in the Renaissance. Raphael aimed to recreate antique Roman illusionistic frescoes, on the evidence of remains in the recently discovered chambers of the Domus Aurea.

23 The stuccoed and frescoed ornaments of Nero’s former palace, a diverting ensemble of bizarre animals, still-life and geometrical motifs, small-scale mythological episodes and landscapes, were adopted for the Stufetta decoration.

24 Raphael undoubtedly provided sketches for his assistants, but the ornamental fields were conceived and executed by Giovanni da Udine (1487–1564), a new member of the workshop who specialised in still-life, while the young Giulio Romano (1499?–1546) was responsible for the eight small Ovidian erotic scenes.

25 While the walls and ceiling of the Stufetta were mainly covered by ornaments, the frescoes of the Loggia di Psyche, particularly inspired by antique monumental sculpture, provided Raphael with the opportunity to depict female nudes in the most varied views. The male nude was a primary subject for Renaissance artists, but apart from the works of Sandro Botticelli (1444/5–1510) and Giorgione (?1477/8–1510), representation of the female nude was uncommon. As a response to Michelangelo’s Battle of Cascina [fig. 12], Raphael included women in the Loggia frescoes in his mature and independent all’antica style, creating the illusion of antique art with such perfection that it is difficult to distinguish the figures derived directly from the Antique from the painter’s own inventions.

26 No other issue regarding Raphael’s late works provoked a more intense scholarly
Raphael
Study for Venus and Psyche
c. 1518
Red chalk, over stylus
265 × 197 mm
Paris, Musée du Louvre, 3875
debate than the attribution of the drawings and frescoes of the Loggia di Psyche. According to Vasari, all the cartoons and many of the figures were painted by Raphael himself, while his assistants, primarily Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni (c. 1496–1528), participated in the execution of the narrative scenes, and Giovanni da Udine was responsible for the decorative frames.27

The related drawings, including copies as well as studies by assistants, show that Raphael's assistants played a decisive role not only in executing the frescoes, but also in the early phase of their preparation. Only one small initial sketch (concetto) may be ascribed without any doubt to Raphael [fig. 68], while most of the red chalk studies have given rise to much controversy, and have been attributed variously to Raphael, Giulio or Penni [fig. 69].28

The Budapest Venus has been associated with the frescoes of the Loggia di Psyche and was considered a figure study for one of the unrealized lunettes [fig. 64].29 In fact, the classical nude, clearly evoking the posture of Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles, preserved in Roman marbles such as the later excavated Capitoline Venus, may be related to the Loggia only by virtue of its subject. The preparatory drawings for the Loggia, more than two dozen of them, were almost exclusively drawn in red chalk; none was executed in metalpoint.30 During his Florentine years Raphael preferred to draw in pen, in his Roman period he mainly used chalk, and between 1514 and 1518 red chalk was clearly his preferred medium.31 Since Raphael characteristically alternated his drawing media, technique in itself is never a sufficient basis for dating his sheets. Furthermore, he was one of the last sixteenth-century Italian draughtsmen to use metalpoint extensively. The metalpoint of lead, silver, copper or gold was the most favoured medium until the end of the fifteenth century, when it was replaced by pen.32

Only a small number of sixteenth-century metalpoint drawings have survived, but the stylus remained an everyday tool, employed mostly in the training of apprentices, as well as in making mechanical copies and transferring compositions from cartoons.33 As paper had to be prepared before metalpoint could be applied, in order to ease the drawing process, Raphael frequently used the stylus to draw preparatory sketches on unprepared paper, and then elaborated the indented lines in pen or chalk.34 With the blind stylus technique the artist not only saved time but could also sketch rapidly and with much more freedom. This practice came into general use primarily following the Florentine model of Leonardo, Michelangelo and Fra Bartolommeo.35

In contrast, the Budapest drawing adopts the traditional method of metalpoint, and was executed on prepared ground [fig. 70]. However, it is difficult to establish whether the thin, slightly oxidised brown-toned lines were drawn exclusively in metalpoint, presumably of silver, or were slightly retouched later in lighter-toned brown ink [fig. 71].36 The solid, clear contours and parallel, regular hatching of the Budapest drawing are rather distinct in character from Raphael's late drawings. Closest in style is the silverpoint study today in the Cleveland Museum of Art, supposedly drawn after the same female model as the Budapest sheet [fig. 72].37 The connection of the Cleveland drawing to Raphael's two Roman Madonnas, the Madonna di Loreto (Chantilly, Musée Condé) and the Madonna
72

Raphael

Sheet of Studies

c. 1511–14
Silverpoint, on pink ground
119 × 153 mm
Cleveland, Museum of Art, CMA 78.37

73

Raphael

Venus

c. 1511–12
Metalpoint, on two conjoined sheets of pale pink prepared paper
238 × 100 mm
London, British Museum, 1895,0915,629
della Sedia (Florence, Galleria Palatina), indicate that it was executed earlier than the Farnesina frescoes, probably between 1511 and 1514. A further comparable metalpoint drawing, today in the British Museum, London [fig. 73], also suggests an earlier dating for the Budapest and Cleveland sheets.

The London drawing, depicting Venus in a classical pose similar to that of the Budapest sheet, was engraved in the same direction by Marcantonio Raimondi. As the print’s counterpart represents the Apollo statue painted on the left in the background of the School of Athens, the London drawing must have been created around 1511–12, the time when the Stanza della Segnatura was completed.

The dating of the Budapest drawing is further complicated by the fact that in the course of his career, Raphael often returned to his earlier inventions, and Marcantonio’s engravings were sometimes created years after their models were drawn. The Budapest Venus reappears in an almost identical form in one of the last engravings by Marcantonio.
Roman Master
The Judgement of Paris
2nd century AD
Marble
Rome, Villa Medici

and Raphael, *The Judgement of Paris* [fig. 74]. Although Vasari mentions the print as one of Marcantonio’s first Roman works, its highly sophisticated technique indicates that the engraving must have been created later, around 1517–18, simultaneously with the ceiling frescoes of the Psyche Loggia.44

The composition of *The Judgement of Paris* was primarily adapted from two ancient sarcophagi [fig. 75].45 The reliefs (today in the Villa Medici and the Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome) were included in private collections at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and were well-known and frequently copied in Raphael’s workshop.46 Revealing an inventive handling of an antique source, Raphael altered the ancient figures in the spirit of his Roman, mature classical style, and endowed the composition with distinct sculptural and pictorial values. To enhance the pictorial effect of the print, Marcantonio scored the plate with a rough pumice-like stone before he began engraving, which resulted in a surface with rich tonality.47
Raphael had already designed a composition for *The Judgement of Paris* for the Stanza della Segnatura, which was executed by his workshop around 1512–13 as a small grisaille in the window embrasure beneath the *Parnassus*. Raphael’s original invention is preserved in a contemporary copy after his drawing, today lost [fig. 76]. The pen drawing in the Louvre, Paris, shows little similarity with the fresco and is much closer to Marcantonio’s engraving, therefore probably marks an early stage of its preparation. The figures of Paris and Venus correspond almost exactly with the engraving, while Juno’s pose reflects Marcantonio’s early Roman engraving, the *Lucretia* from around 1511–12, and Eve in *The Fall* frescoed on the vault of the Stanza della Segnatura. It seems plausible that Raphael’s first invention for the engraving of *The Judgement of Paris* dates from around
After Raphael
The Judgment of Paris
c. 1511–12
Pen and brown ink, over stylus
and black chalk, 194 × 264 mm
Paris, Musée du Louvre, 4300

1512, when the Stanza della Segnatura was completed, but was realized only around 1517–18, during the execution of the Loggia
di Psyche frescoes.

The Budapest Venus was not intended by Raphael in preparation for a print. According to Vasari, The Judgment of Paris was engraved after Raphael’s design, but no detailed drawing of the whole composition survived.

Similarly to the working method he applied for major commissions after 1514, Raphael may have delegated the creation of preparatory drawings for prints to his assistants. The modello for The Judgment of Paris was probably drawn by Raphael’s collaborators on the basis of the painter’s sketches, utilizing his earlier Budapest Venus, drawn in the first half of the 1510s.
1. For the relationship between Renaissance and Antiquity, see Athens 2003–4.
2. For the impact of the plaquettes of the Medici Collection on sixteenth-century painting, see Dacos 1989.
3. For Raphael’s archaeological activity, see Nesselrath 1986.
7. For Agostino Chigi, see Rowland 1984 and 1986.
8. The two bronze tondi were previously associated with those by the Roman goldsmith Cesarino Rossetti, see Shearman 2003, pp. 143–46.
10. For Sebastiano’s frescoes in the Villa Farnesina, see Finocchi Gherli 2010; for the supposition that Sebastiano may have completed a first version of the Galatea, see Angelini 1986, pp. 97–98 and 105.
17. The delay of the work is also suggested by Vasari’s anecdote about Fornarina, Raphael’s mistress, see Vasari (ed. Milanesi), vol. 4, p. 366.
18. For the dating of the drawings and frescoes in detail, see Oberhuber 1986b; for an early sketch by Giulio Romano, see Davidson 1987.
19. Peruzzi’s frescoes in the Sala delle Prospettive and Sodoma’s in the Sala di Rossana had been completed by this time, see Hayum 1966, p. 215, note 11.
22. Pietro Bembo mentions the works on the Stufetta in his letters to Cardinal Bibbiena of 19 April, 25 May, and 20 June, 1516; the last letter serves as terminus ante quem for the completion of the frescoes, see Shearman 2003, pp. 240–45.
24. For the antique sources of the Stufetta, see Becatti 1969, pp. 541–48.
25. For the Stufetta most recently, see Nesselrath 2013.
29. In the sixteenth century, the Budapest drawing was generally regarded as preparatory study for Sodoma’s fresco of the Marriage of Alexander and Roxanne, decorating the Sala di Rossana of the Villa Farnesina. For this composition a concetto (Haarlem, Teylers Museum, A63) and a detailed red chalk study (Vienna, Albertina, 17634) have survived, attributed variously to Raphael, Giulio Romano or Giovanni Francesco Penni; for the drawings, see Joannides 2000, p. 24, cf. Achim Gnann in Gnann and Plomp 2012–13, nos. 44 and 45.
32. For Raphael’s metalpoint drawings, see Ames-Lewis 1981, pp. 35–46; for his pen drawings, see ibid., pp. 46–51.
33. For drawn studies, indispensable in the training of apprentices, Cennino Cennini has already proposed the use of tavolletta (Cennini, Cap. 5, 6). It may not be excluded, however, that prepared wood panels were more broadly used, even by leading masters of workshops until the seventeenth century, see Wetering 1991.
34. See in detail, Monbeig-Goguel 1987.
36. The light lines, that appeared to be silverpoint, visible in the infrared reflectograph were surprisingly not confirmed by the X-ray fluorescence analysis, which could detect traces neither of tin, iron, nor silver. We would like to thank Oliver Hahn (Bundesanstalt für Materialforschung und -prüfung Arbeitsgruppe 'Kunst- und Kulturgutanalyse') for performing the examination.
37 Joannides 1983, no. 285; for the hypothesis that the Budapest drawing, together with Raphael’s other works dating after 1514, represents the painter’s Roman mistress, called Fornarina, see Brown and Oberhuber 1978.

38 Joannides 1983, no. 273; for the two panels, see Meyer zur Capellen 2005, nos. 51 and 57.


40 Bartsch XIV.234.311; Rome 1985, p. 243, no. II.7.


42 See chapter 3, note 38.


44 Bartsch XIV.197.245; for the dating of the print to around 1515–16, see Oberhuber 1984–85, p. 339; Michael Mason in Geneva 1984, no. 59; Massari and Prosperi Valenti Rodinò 1989, no. 7; for the print’s later dating to around 1517–20, see Lawrence Nees in Cambridge 1974, no. 19; Shoemaker 1981, no. 43.

45 Loewy 1896 and Lehmann 1979, no. 90.

46 For the Roman sarcophagi, see Bober and Rubinstein 1986, nos. 119 and 120; Bober 1957, pp. 68–69; for the antique sources of the print, see Becatti 1969, pp. 515–16.


48 Bianchi 1968, p. 663, fig. 23.

49 Cordellier and Py 1991a, no. 219.

50 Bartsch XIV.155.192; Rome 1985, p. 232, no. II.1; Shoemaker 1981, no. 20.

51 For Raphael’s preparatory drawings for prints, see chapter 3, note 74.

52 For a further drawing associated with the print, see Tietze-Conrat 1953.

53 For the issue that Giulio Romano’s first drawings executed in the Raphael workshop may have been modelli for prints (disegni di stampe), see Cox-Rearick 1999, p. 29 and no. 1.

54 For the view that the composition of The Judgement of Paris was not by Raphael himself but by his assistants, see Jones and Penny 1983, p. 179.
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