

the Stanza della Segnatura he was more nearly exclusively so occupied than he would permit himself to be at any later time in his career. He had not as yet evolved the shop system which soon after was to enable him to diversify his efforts in proportion as, by means of assistants, he multiplied his hands. The few easel works contemporary with the Stanza della Segnatura were wholly his own doing: they include the *Madonna di Casa Alba* (Washington, National Gallery, c. 1509) and the large-scale altarpiece called the *Madonna di Foligno* (Rome, Vatican Museum), probably executed during 1511.

Later in 1511 or early in 1512 Raphael proceeded to the decoration of the Stanza adjoining the Segnatura on the east, since called, after the main fresco he painted there, the Stanza d'Eliodoro; this decoration was complete by mid 1514. The programme given Raphael was in a significant respect unlike that for the Segnatura, where his subject matter was not actions or events but situations symbolizing an idea — a kind of theme that was intrinsically suited to the mentality and forms of an idealizing classical style. In the Stanza d'Eliodoro he was asked instead to illustrate historical narratives, all of which conveyed how in various times and circumstances divine intervention had secured the safety of a threatened Church. When the decoration was conceived in the second half of 1511, the Papacy was in politically uncomfortable straits, and the programme appears simultaneously to intend prayer, affirmation, and prophecy.³¹ It is characteristic for the state of mind that Julius could inspire that, in the actual frescoes, it is the sense of affirmation that Raphael has caused to emerge most strongly — a temper surely reinforced as the situation of the Papacy very rapidly improved. Raphael has far exceeded the nominal requirement that he paint efficient narratives: he has taken the given subject as occasion for a content of dramatic triumph. The potential for this had of course to be in the programme, but to

exploit it was a matter purely of artistic choice. The dramatic animation that pervades the Stanza d'Eliodoro is a meeting of potential in the subject matter with Raphael's inclination and potential of development. The inclination may have been stimulated by Raphael's deepening awareness of the dramatic value of Michelangelo's contemporary painting, even though that was expressed in such concentrated, sculptural terms. In the Stanza d'Eliodoro, on the wide dimensions of his picture-maker's stage, Raphael proceeded to create his counterpart of Michelangelo's grand pathos, but in terms of history made near and present to us rather than, as in Michelangelo, heroically remote.

The four frescoes in the Stanza d'Eliodoro (the *Mass of Bolsena*, early 1512; the *Expulsion of Heliodorus*, second half of 1512; the *Repulse of Attila*, in progress in 1513; and the *Liberation of Peter*, of 1513 or early 1514) in general explore a region of classical style different from that attained in the Segnatura and which, in intensification of expressive content and elaboration of form, must be considered a development beyond it. The level of dramatic life Raphael seeks here requires that, before it, he should have found the sparkling and pervasive animation he instilled in the *School of Athens*. But there, and in the other tableaux of the Segnatura, this animation was infused into an ideal content, and a form consonant with it, that were basically stable; in the dramatic scenes of the new room it is the idea of activity that comes first, while the concept of stability and the mechanisms that insure it follow. The will to achieve a final and embracing harmony is no different than in the Segnatura, but to achieve it in these circumstances needs more complex means. In the Eliodoro frescoes the devices used to control and counterbalance action tend in themselves to be conceived of active elements, even in the architecture; in each of these scenes, harmony is achieved by

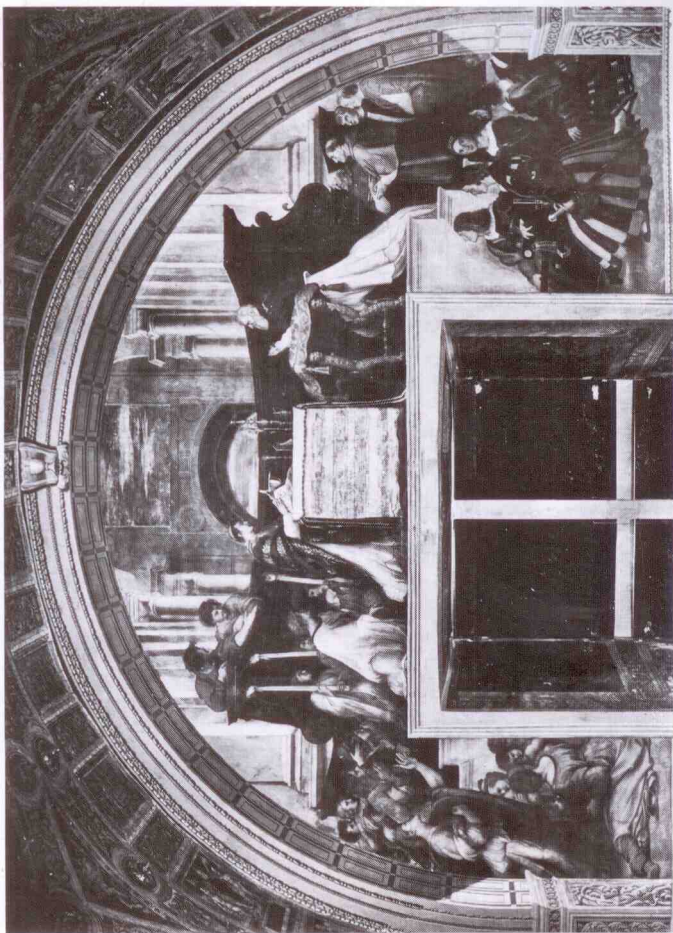
the manipulation of substances and forces more highly charged than in the Segnatura. The temper of harmony so made is, of necessity, not the same as that of the frescoes of the earlier Stanza. It is rich with energies and resilientities that the Segnatura does not know: it is of a more complex, and also of a more distinct articulateness, and it is instilled with higher power.

Almost as much as in the Segnatura room there is, among the frescoes of the Stanza d'Eliodoro, a development from one to the other of the articulateness and diversity with which Raphael explores their shared proposition of a dramatic style. This is despite the fact of the contemporaneous invention, probably still within 1511, of the elementary ideas of

design for all four frescoes. As the time for the actual painting of each wall approached, the initial design for it was recast to suit the new resource that intervening experience in the fresco just before had brought to Raphael. This is not different, though it is less obvious in degree, from what we have observed occurring in the Stanza della Segnatura, where the elementary designs of the whole were also probably set down at inception. In the new room each fresco is conceived with a different power and kind of dramatic urgency, and in each Raphael invents new devices to express this urgency and, at the same time, discipline it into harmony.

The first fresco to be executed, the *Mass of Bolsena* [16],³² is still visibly related to the mode

16. Raphael: Mass of Bolsena, early 1512.
Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro



of the preceding Stanza, but in it Raphael has incorporated the new problems presented by a development of the classical style into a dramatic mode, and has worked out the basic elements of their solution. In the left half of the fresco he has described the past historical event at Bolsena, and on the right, taking what might have been either a requirement of the patron or the sanction of tradition, he has represented Pope Julius and some members of his court as if they were part actors and part spectators of the past event. The past history is made to seem dramatically active, but at the same time its actors are distanced from us by idealization; while the contemporary persons, whom he describes with a strong effect of physical and psychological actuality, are made contrastingly still. It is as if past and present should exchange the measure of activity we ordinarily associate with each, and even as they contrast thus be somewhat reconciled. The mobile forms on the left find not only contrast but equally a complement and counterpoise in the passive ones on the right. The principle of contrapposto, which earlier had been mainly used to make complementary contrasts within the unity of single human forms, has now been applied to the conception of the whole design, and it is a vastly bolder and more generalizing application of the idea. In the *Mass of Bolsena* the element of design that contains this grand-scale counterpoise is the architecture: its forms share the higher energy that inspires the composition. Lighting has a new degree of complication and more contrast, adding its vibration to the sense of drama, while the colour takes on darker and more masculine strength. All these animating powers of form, concerted with the drama of the content, are resolved in a harmony – a synthesis of equal and interpenetrated forces of expansive energy and of authoritative control – that is as certain as that in the *School of Athens* but more intensely charged.

Between the *Mass of Bolsena* and the succeeding *Expulsion of Heliodorus* there is a sharp distinction in the levels of dramatic urgency Raphael has chosen to express. In the *Expulsion* [17] the impulse to power of dramatic content is so strong that for the first time in Raphael's painting the effect of force dominates that of grace. The mode he finds for the *Expulsion* is of drastic, swiftly consummated action. Most of the wider stage picture field affords is given to the action: the required group of Papal figurants is set well to one side. The scene is the Temple of Jerusalem, deep within which the priest Onias prays for deliverance from the Roman Heliodorus who has come to despoil the Temple's treasury. At the left, spectators recoil in wonder, while militant angels, answering Onias's prayer, fall on Heliodorus at the right and drive him to the ground. The arrangement of the elements of the drama is of a sophistication without precedent in the history of painting: on the fulcrum of Onias's small, distant person two grand groups are set in contrast and counterpoise quite near to us, of the spectators and the miracle they watch. To understand the drama we must move, as an almost vertiginous perspective recession takes us, deep into the Temple to Onias: the space defined by the perspective architecture, almost more than other elements of feeling and of form, has been made dynamic: no longer just a sounding board for the figures, the architecture becomes an agent of the drama with them.

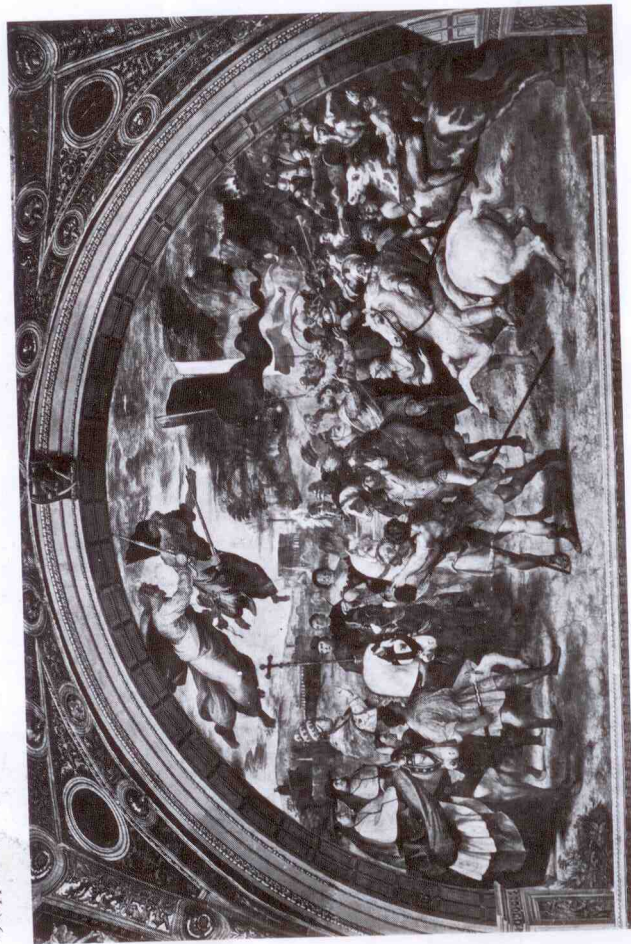
The *Repulse of Attila* on the opposite large wall [18] must already have been in execution at the time Pope Julius died in January 1513. His successor, Leo X, appears in it twice: once in his original role of Cardinal in the Papal suite, and again (in consequence of his election to the Papacy in March) in the place Julius was meant initially to fill. For the first time so far in the Stanza Raphael's tendency to depend on helpers in the painting of these large works –



17. Raphael: Expulsion of Heliodorus, second half of 1512. Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro

18 (below). Raphael: Repulse of Attila, in progress in 1513. Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro

19 (opposite). Raphael: Liberation of St. Peter, 1513/14. Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro



already partly visible in the *Expulsion* - has increased to the point of a diminishing effect.³³ The articulation of the idea of design is none the less altogether clear, and it is a probe towards means of expression in dramatic form that exceed those found for the *Expulsion*. The subject is like a magnifying of the climax of the preceding fresco. An army charges at the Pope, but breaks against his rampart-like solidity and simultaneously is turned back by the counter-action from the heavens, like an aerial attack, of St. Peter and St Paul. The setting is an unassertive landscape; there is no frame of architecture or any features in the landscape to help control the forces acting in it. The chief of these forces, the Hunnish charge, is so strongly conceived that it cannot be expressed within

the scheme of roughly equal part and counter-part used in the *Mass of Bolsena* or the *Expulsion*. It moves beyond the principle of centralized design which until now had governed Raphael's compositional thought, and instead posits the idea that a design may be conceived to begin with as an asymmetrical relation of dynamic parts, on which a machinery to make equilibrium is only subsequently imposed. The equilibrium is none the less definitive: this system of design in the *Attila* is a significant new invention, extending the boundaries of classical style but not violating them.

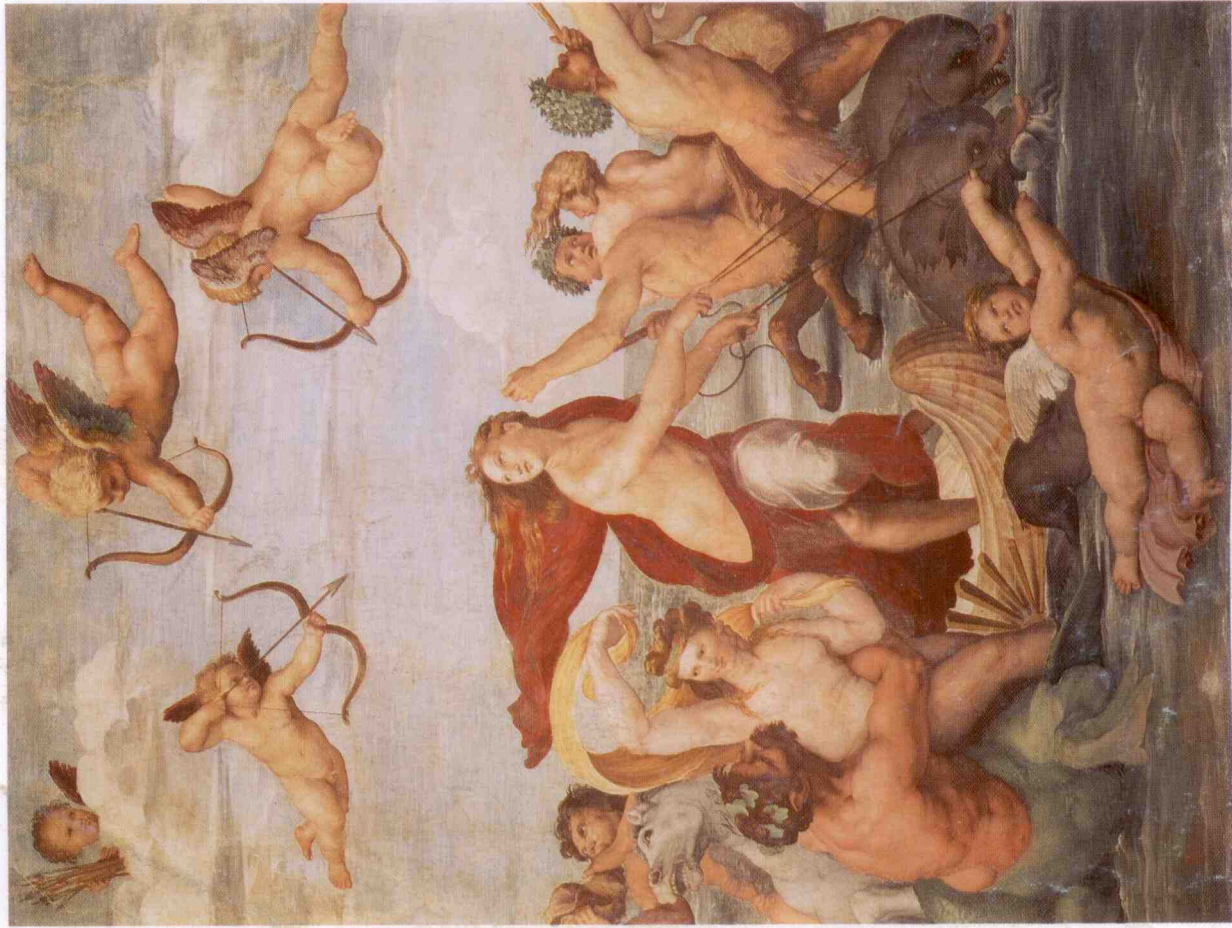
It was not caution about further probing in this same direction but a concern to investigate a quite opposite machinery of dramatic expression that determined the mode of the



Liberation of St. Peter [19]. The theme here is relatively simple, and Raphael not only accepts this simplicity but magnifies it into an agency of prime dramatic force. Contrary to the *Attila*, the order - established *ab initio* by the austere, heavy prison architecture - affirms centrality and symmetry with strongest emphasis. The sparse figures in this setting move less than the story would permit, almost consonant in stillness with the architecture. The time is night, and the angel who bends to free the sleeping Peter emits an aureole of brilliant light. Contrasting with the dark, the stillness, and the severity of setting, the light alone makes an equivalent in dramatic value of the narrative and formal action that the preceding frescoes so elaborately set forth. Though not quite so

obviously as in the *Attila*, this mode of expression is also an invention for the classical style. Where in the *Attila* it is the idea of activity that is given new development and an incipient new form of expression, in the *Liberation* it is the contrary expressive potential of a static system and extreme restraint that has been stressed. The modes of both the *Attila* and the *Liberation* offer possibilities of yet further development, but in the very fact of the divergence of the avenues of exploration they offer there is the material of a creative conflict. And in the will to test these new propositions towards a level of yet higher expressive power, inevitable in the dynamism of Raphael's development, there is the risk of violation of classical principle, so far secure.³⁴

The span in which the Stanza d'Eliodoro was made completes the maturing in Raphael of the classical style that began with the painting of the Stanza della Segnatura. The fluency and assurance of his accomplishment of the Eliodoro years, and the effect it makes not of an unproblematic but of an unlaboured art, inevitably wedding suavity to grandeur, do not occur in the same measure earlier or afterwards in his career. The virtues of this phase are in two other fresco works outside the Eliodoro room, in the *Galatea* in the Villa Farnesina and the *Sibyls* of the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria della Pace (both c. 1513).³⁵ The *Galatea* [20], as classical in subject matter as parts of the Segnatura decoration earlier had been, displays a growth in power of its content beyond the level of the Segnatura and a grander and more various repertory of form: the scene conveys a sense of the physical splendour of the antique world such as only Michelangelo hitherto had known how to represent. Its design is the lucid elaboration of a contrapposto, poised finally in an equilibrium which seems almost miraculously to assure that this instant of a golden time must be enduring. The *Sibyls* of S. Maria della Pace, not over-religious in their tone, were painted for the same patron, the Siennese banker Agostino Chigi. They also refer to the style of the Segnatura and exceed it, in this case reconsidering the *Three Virtues of the Lamb*, but finding a variety of movement and a charged grace that bring them closer to the stature of their counterparts in Michelangelo, and nearer to the temper of the Eliodoro room. Probably in 1513, about contemporary with the *Galatea*, Raphael conceived a Christian analogue of style for it in an altar painting for the church of S. Sisto in Piacenza,³⁶ the *Sistine Madonna* (Dresden, Gallery) [21]. With a sense for the drama of relation between the audience and the picture that was in the previous great altar, the *Madonna di Foligno*, Raphael has



20. Raphael: Galatea, c. 1513. Rome, Villa Farnesina



21. Raphael: Sistine Madonna, 1513(?). Dresden, Gallery

devised means to convey that the ideal, utterly invented image he has painted is an illusion, seen in the heavens as if through a window in the wall. The design of this altar is based on principles like those in the *Galatea* fresco, but they have been much moderated in kind and effect. Appropriately, there is a differently grave content and contained form in the religious subject matter. More even than the *Galatea*, the Virgin of this altar resolves the action of a moment into an eternal poise, so that gravity and time seem to be suspended in the heavens with her. The *Madonna dell'Impegnata* (Florence, Pitti, c. 1513)³⁷ is somewhat different from the almost hieratic *Sistine Madonna* in the mode of relation to the spectator which it achieves. More a private than a formal public image of devotion, it intends an idea of domestic nearness. It is less ideal than

the *Sistina*, described more tangibly in a situation, as well as a design, that strongly convey the effect of mobility and life. The temper of design – some of its motifs, too – is close to the contemporary Chigi *Sibyls*. Yet another vein we have observed in Raphael's monumental style, that of the austere Eliodoro *Liberation*, appears in a large altar painting of this time, the *St Cecilia* (Bologna, Pinacoteca, c. 1514), almost as famous as the *Sistina*. In a setting that consists of landscape only, the design of the *St Cecilia* altar makes an effect like an architecture: the figures seem an analogue for the dense columnar substance of an antique temple, discrete from the surrounding landscape yet suffused by its light and air. This pictorial structure stands in relation to the *Sistine Madonna* like a demonstration of a higher value placed on pure geometry. The *Madonna dell'Impannata* has a similar subsequent critique, the *Madonna della Sedia* (1514–15) [22], of which the pattern deduced from the picture's tondo form is a phenomenally legible *gestalt*. However, this is meant still less than in the *St Cecilia* altar to work only as a formal and abstract idea. The geometry of a design, with its instant clarity and force, serves to convey, with unprecedented efficiency, the sensuous presence and the beauty of the forms of which it is the armature; and it illustrates their human meaning as, also more efficiently than ever in Raphael's art before, form and content coincide. The *Madonna della Sedia* is the consummation in brief of the wisdom of art Raphael had gained to date, and at the same time it is the affirmation of a new clarity of purpose. It is the threshold of the next phase of his development of style.³⁸

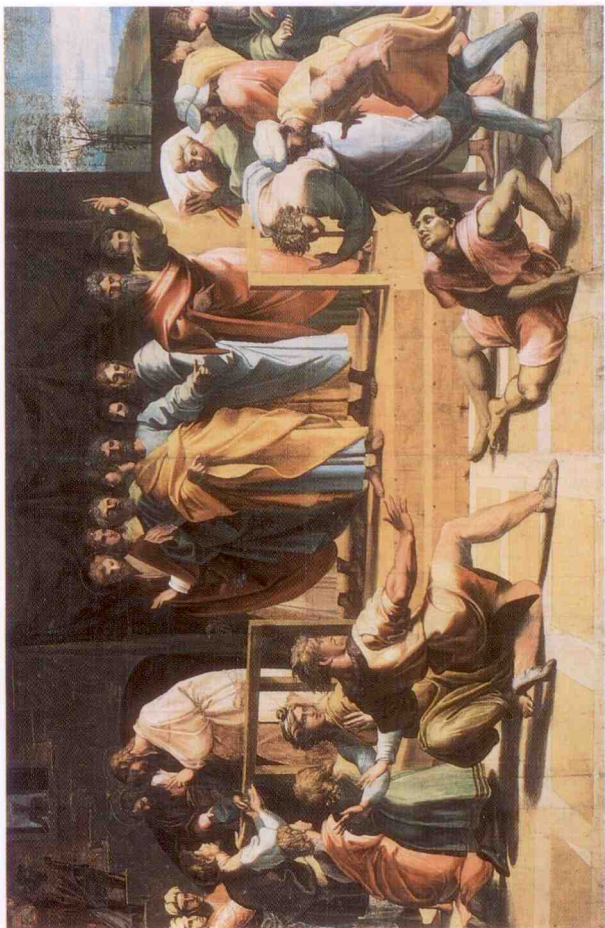
The beginning of what was to be the last half-decade of Raphael's life marked a new expansion of his professional career. His role as a decorator was heavily increased, in the Vatican especially, and commissions for easel

paintings multiplied beyond the possibility of fulfilling them. More and more Raphael found it necessary to pass on the execution of his ideas to assistants in his enlarged shop. In April 1514 he had taken on a whole new sphere of activity beyond his role of painter and decorator when he was named architect of St Peter's in succession to Bramante; in August 1515 he added the responsibility (originally consequent upon his functions at St Peter's) of the superintendency of antique monuments of Rome. In this connexion, he came to occupy himself in a 'discrettione, et pittura di Roma antiqua'.³⁹ After 1514 Raphael was a figure of larger scope and scale than before; he had become the great *régisseur* of arts in Rome, of a stature in Pope Leo's court like that of his ministers. The contrast between Raphael and Michelangelo of a public-versus-a-private personality became still more overt. Michelangelo's departure from Rome in 1516 was not a retreat, but it left Raphael in almost undisputed domination there.

The character of Raphael's new role was surely one among the motives of change in his art that became manifest towards 1515, so marked as to convince us that it represents the beginning of a new stage in the development of Raphael's style. The change is almost as pronounced as that which, eight years before, appeared in his initial work in Rome. It is expressed almost simultaneously in two major enterprises with which this late phase began: the first two frescoes in the decoration of a further Stanza, called the Stanza dell'Incendio (adjoining the Stanza della Segnatura on the side opposite the Stanza d'Eliodoro), and a set of cartoons for tapestries illustrating the Acts of the Apostles Peter and Paul, to be woven for the lower walls of the Sistine Chapel (the surviving original tapestries are in the Vatican Museum; the seven surviving cartoons out of ten are in the Victoria and Albert Museum,



22. Raphael: Madonna della Sedia, 1514–15. Florence, Pitti



23 (above). Raphael: Death of Ananias (tapestry cartoon), 1515. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

24 (opposite). Raphael: Paul at Lystra (tapestry cartoon), 1515. London, Victoria and Albert Museum



London [23 and 24]. The *Stanza dell'Incendio* may have been undertaken slightly earlier than the *Tapestry Cartoons*. A letter from Raphael in July 1514 states he had begun 'un'altra stantia per S. Sta. a dipignere'.⁴⁰ Documents indicate with considerable probability that the making of the cartoons was mainly during 1515; they are more than ordinarily homogeneous in style. In the *Stanza*, the main fresco, the *Fire in the Borgo* [25], may be earlier in initial invention than the *Battle of Ostia* on the adjoining wall, and prior to the *Tapestry Cartoons* in this respect as well, but its actual painting seems mostly subsequent to the cartoons. The invention of the *Battle*, however, is clearly concurrent with that of the cartoons. Most of the cartoons display Raphael's own hand in their execution; and at the very apex of its power; in the *Stanza dell'Incendio* he had a considerable share in the execution of the *Fire*, but did not participate again in actual

painting in this room, nor indeed in any of his later decorations. The *Fire* marks the shift in Raphael's career as a decorator to an entirely cerebral role.⁴¹

The evidence, internal and external, of the close relation in time between the beginning phase of the *Incendio* and the *Tapestry Cartoons* is ample, yet the results in each significantly diverge. In part, the divergence is the consequence of obvious external causes: of unlike picture-shapes given into the designer's hand and of differences in quality of given theme. But these were then taken as matter with which to exploit a further, much more important difference: between alternative ways, found by Raphael in the preceding *Stanza*, to articulate what was essentially a common ambition that he entertained for both new projects. The ambition was not just to increase the efficacy of dramatic expression found for the *Eliodoro* room, but to change its tenor,

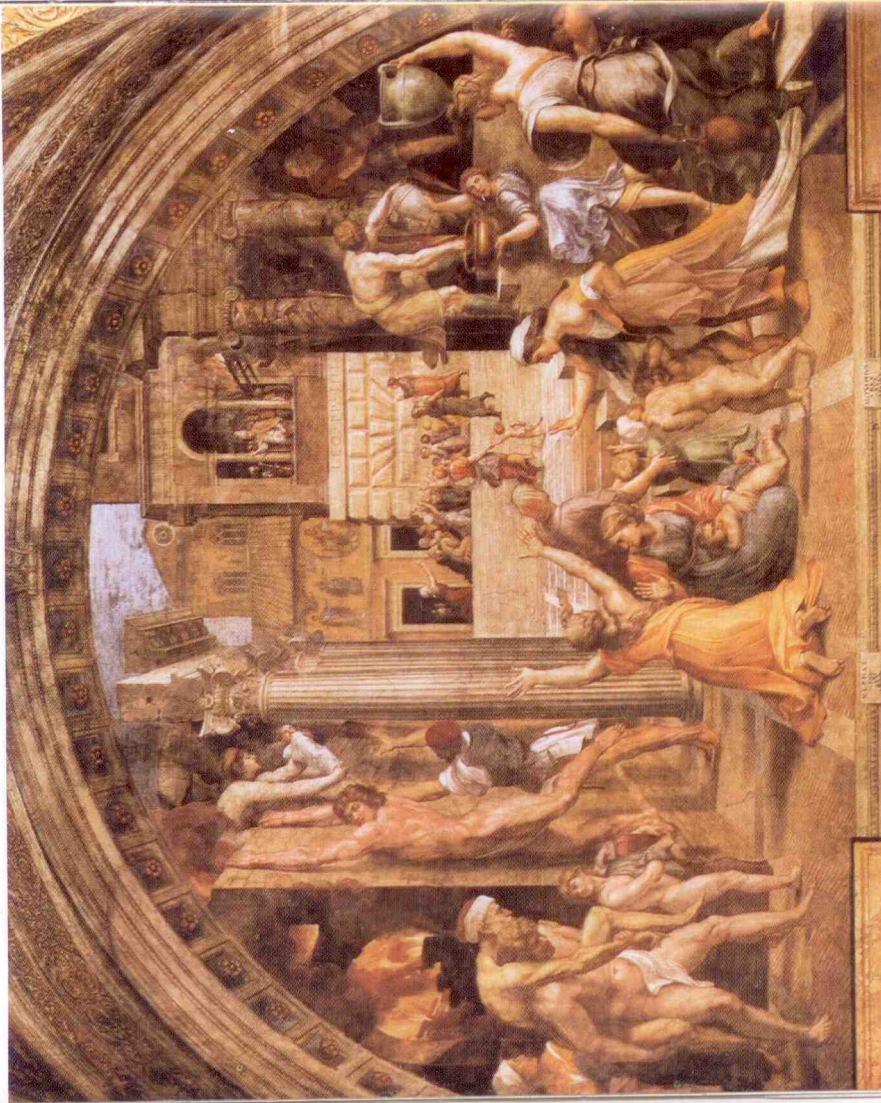
making its communication at the same time more arbitrary – more styled and rhetorical – and more acute. In the Tapestry Cartoons the mode Raphael chose to accomplish this is based on that which he had conceived for the *Liberation of St Peter* in the Stanza d'Eliodoro – the basis of the *St Cecilia* altar also, and in a looser sense even of the *Sistine Madonna*; in the *Fire* and the *Battle* his springboard is the different mode of the *Atrilia* fresco and of its antecedent, the *Expulsion*. In the cartoons Raphael finds, by comparison with the precedents to which they relate, a concentration, severity, and monumental force of statement that not only exceed prior quantity but, in their new dimension, take on meaning of a higher kind. The action he performs upon the preceding mode is like a distilling of the essence of its classicism, moving from its threshold to a still higher plane: the classicism Raphael propounds in the cartoons seems, by a long reach, to be more nearly absolute.⁴²

The cartoons of course presented a different formal problem to begin with from that posed by the walls of the Stanze. They were somewhat less in size than the Stanze lunettes and regular in shape; no less important, they were meant for translation into a medium rather unsuited to description of extensive space. These considerations helped determine that the matter which the rectangular frames of the cartoons contain consist in the main of figures, large in proportion to the whole. But it is a matter of aesthetic choice that space in the cartoons should become, in the degree that it is, incidental, no more than a by-product of the ordering of substance. Perspective, though still a convenience, is not aesthetically relevant. An idea conceived at the beginning of the High Renaissance by Leonardo and pressed farther by Raphael in his first Stanza has here been completely evolved. Michelangelo, approaching pictorial problems inversely, from a sculptor's point of view, had already come to the

same end. The pictorial substance of the cartoons thus tends to approximate classical relief: it suggests the effects of the Sistine Ceiling below which the woven tapestries were to be hung, and the relation – not just in this respect – is surely pertinent. This relief-like matter is organized in designs of extreme geometric clarity, of which the generalizing character is stressed. The whole cartoon becomes a lucid integer of massive form, legible to the spectator with exceptional force and immediacy.

As is necessary to a classical style, this character of form is one with a development in the character of content. The nature of design in the cartoons is both the cause and consequence of Raphael's conception of dramatic meaning in them. Emotions among the protagonists seem to take on the stature not just of the typical but of archetypes: the visible signs of states of spirit acquire the effect of symbols. Form and the dramatic narrative converge in their conception and functioning: much more explicitly than in the Stanze, the points of emphasis in the design and the strong points of dramatic content have been made to coincide. The cartoons make drama of another order than that of the scenes of the Stanza d'Eliodoro and of a differently impressive eloquence; Raphael has here fused the devices of a high rhetorical style with those of drama. And as always in Raphael's classicism, ethical and aesthetic values are indissoluble from each other, and meant to be. The austere nobility of the protagonists in the cartoons makes them, to the cultural disposition of this time, ultimate exemplars of a humanity inhabited by the powers of Christian spirit, but of a supreme classical discipline in their expression.

We know from historical hindsight that this is the ultimate level of classicism in pictorial form that the High Renaissance had it in its nature and power to achieve: Raphael has ascended here to the plateau Michelangelo



25. Raphael: Fire in the Borgo, c. 1515. Vatican, Stanza dell'Incendio

attained four years before. But at that same time Michelangelo had also tested ideas of form and expression that strained the limits of classicism and, indeed, exceeded them, and in Raphael's career the *Incendio* frescoes are a parallel phenomenon, though far from so extreme or daring in their reach as Michelangelo's divergences from classical style had been. The *Incendio* frescoes move, beyond their own antecedents within Raphael's style, in an opposite direction from the purifying and restrictiveness of the cartoons. In the *Fire* and the *Battle of Ostia* Raphael magnifies what had been in the *Expulsion* and *Atrilia* an effect of complex activity; he makes both form and illustration seem more multiple and diverse and, at the same time, strikingly emphatic. What is an economical and a noble — rhetoric in the cartoons becomes, in the *Fire* and the *Battle*, a gesticulative, almost operatic speech, in places a rhetoric *faussée*. What Raphael wished when he conceived these frescoes may have been more than the language of a classical style can be asked to bear. His will in them to urgent, active meaning is intense but unaccompanied by any lessening of will to classicizing discipline: the powers of animation and control, which in the drama of the Stanza d'Elidoro were made to fuse, work now as if in contest with each other. Emphases, disruptive of the sense of unity, enforce discipline of form and impose stiffness upon feeling. It is as if the seams between components of the whole synthetic structure of images in classical style should become apparent, as they had not been before; the classical image begins, as it were, to fracture under the pressures of Raphael's urgencies. The *Fire* and the *Battle* (or what we can discern in the latter despite its unevenness of execution — by the young Giulio, mainly) are, however, not yet unclassical. What has happened in them may be described as a faulting of their classical style, by analogy with the cracking and shifting under pressure of a

geological or architectural structure, by which its look may be much altered and its security impaired, though the structure is not changed in basic character and function or destroyed.

The direction is the opposite of that in the cartoons but, as in them, Raphael probes in his designs for the first two *Incendio* frescoes towards a new dimension and, in some respects, a new kind of expression for his classical style: these are the more daring, open-ended probes. The temper of experiment in them persists in the third fresco of the Stanza dell'Incendio, the *Coronation of Charlemagne*, not invented until 1516.⁴³ The least dramatically potential subject in the room, Raphael in compensation made it the most daring manipulation of a design in space since the inception of the classical style. The fresco on the fourth wall, the *Oath of Leo* (early 1517), is debased in execution and, it also seems, in Penni's working up — perhaps more accurately, down — of the idea we presume Raphael conceived for it. In any case, it is a retreat from a posture — perhaps untenable with this subject matter — of experiment and a linking with the mode of the Tapestry Cartoons, accepting a stilled architectonic scheme.

Both modes, the austere and exalted classicism of the cartoons and the stressful, complicating classicism of the *Incendio*'s experimental style, have a continuing place in the painting of Raphael's last five years. Theme and function tend to determine which one shall be used, but they are not mutually exclusive. The works of 1515 are more highly characterized in their identity of style than those that follow; they are climactic probings of their distinct directions. In general, a mode resembling that of the Tapestry Cartoons persists in Raphael's later architectural decorations, but in them the resemblance is more often outward than essential. These decorations engage Raphael intellectually and aesthetically; however — perhaps only accidentally — their themes, antique or

Christian, do not demand strong emotional commitment. In comparison to the cartoons, in which there is such compelling feeling, the later decorative works seem grand but only partially inhabited persistences of the cartoons' *summa* of classical style. The easel paintings seem to summon more intensity from Raphael, even when they are in the devotional genre. Their variations of mode range widely, from near-approximation of the finest moments of the cartoons to straining, complicated mechanisms like that in the *Fire in the Borgo*; and the last altarpiece on a grand scale, the *Transfiguration* [30], forcibly conjoins episodes of both modes within one frame. In Raphael's own exercises in his more complex mode the sense of stress we have remarked is usually perceptible enough, and it may result in the effect I termed a faulting of the character of classicism. In the hands of his assistants, to whom Raphael in these years had to entrust most of his ideas for execution, these stresses may take on still more divisive effect, more damaging to the unity that must pertain to an image in an authentically classical style: this is the case when Giulio Romano intervenes. Or on the other hand, as when Giovanni Francesco Penni is Raphael's executant, the master's measure of emphasis may not be matched, weakness and incoherence being substituted instead. That result no less compromises the classicism of style that Raphael's own late painted statements convince us was still integral in him despite the strains his creativity put upon it.

Of the five decorative schemes that Raphael designed either concurrently with the Tapestry Cartoons and Stanza dell'Incendio or later, three are on ancient pagan themes, but he did not require this justification to give all his later decorations, whether their subjects were Christian or antique, a strong cast of ancient classic style — in instances assertively archaeologically as it had not been in Raphael's art before. The

tendency was almost inevitable, given his assimilation to the highest Roman cultural milieu, but beyond this it proceeded from the antiquarian functions he had taken on in consequence of his new role as architect. That role of itself, however, may have influenced how he conceived his later decoration. Regardless of their kind of subject matter, the later schemes share two important formal ideas, which seem to reflect a sense for the relation between decoration and the architecture that comes from deeper understanding of the latter. One of these ideas is to deduce, with an exceptional new directness of reference, the geometric mode of the decorative scheme from the geometry of the given architecture: the late schemes have a hitherto unknown measure of lucidity not only in their larger form but in their rigorously consequential subdivision. This effect is of a more abstract logic; the second idea, as if in counterbalance, promotes naturalism, deducing motives or, on occasion, whole systems of illusion from the actual architecture.

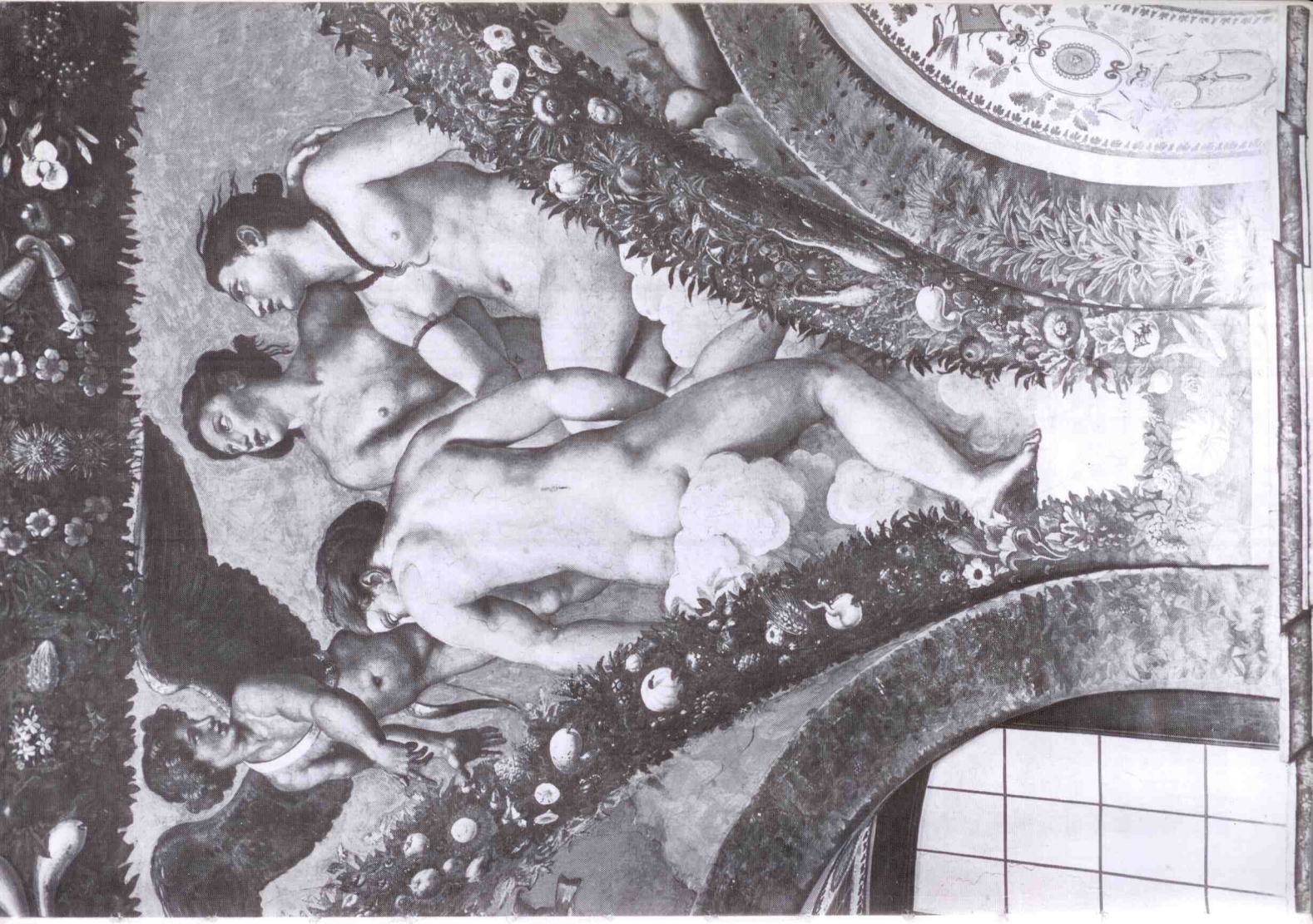
The first in time of these commandingly efficient conjunctions between geometry and illusion was in Raphael's design for the mosaic dome of the chapel for Raphael's already familiar patron, Agostino Chigi, in S. Maria del Popolo, designed in 1515 (dated by the executant, Luigi de Pace, 1516).⁴⁴ Perhaps because it is contemporary in invention with the Tapestry Cartoons, the Chigi dome is the most stringently classical of the late decorative schemes in its effects both of form and of content. A scanned geometrical perfection, the form that the illusion takes affirms its separateness: it portrays an ideally distinct world, a heaven we may contemplate but not enter. Its classicism is the antithesis of the deduction, baroque in tendency, that Correggio would not long after make from it. Though Christian in essential subject, the Chigi dome has an antique accent even in the handling of its theme; Raphael's

next decoration, in the apartment of Cardinal Bibbiena in the Vatican (first half of 1516), created an entirely antique-humanist environment for a dignitary of the Church. Two spaces, a smallish loggia, the Loggetta, and an adjoining bathing room, the Stufetta, are completely painted in a re-creation of the antique grotesque style: this is the first complete decoration *alla grottesca* since antiquity. It is the immediate forerunner of the greater Logge, and by way of this more public, influential offspring is the ancestor of the important tradition of grotesque decoration in the sixteenth century. The architecture of the Loggetta may have been of Raphael's design, or he may only have remodelled it; in any case there could not be a more eloquent example of consonance in geometric sense between the architecture and the painting of grotesquerie upon it. And strictly observing the archaeological intention, it is with material and devices imitated from antique painting that restrained play with illusionism has been made.⁴⁵ A decoration of the first half of the succeeding year, the Sala dei Palafrenieri (or dei Chiaroscuri) in the Vatican (now replaced by an only roughly analogous scheme, of the mid century and later), used some of the same elements as the Loggetta, but with a deliberately different stress upon illusionist effect.

From late in 1517 to the end of 1518 Raphael's best assistants – Giulio, Penni, and Giovanni da Udine in particular – laboured at the execution of their master's ideas for the grandest of his late decorative enterprises, the Loggia di Psiche in the (then) suburban villa of Agostino Chigi, known now as the Farnesina [26]. The decoration depicts – on the vault only of the large garden loggia – the episodes of the history of Psyche that took place in the heavens; it is possible it also may have been intended that at some time tapestries (more probably than paintings) should illustrate the earthly episodes of Psyche's story on the walls.⁴⁶ Making the closest possible deduction of his scheme

out of the given architecture, Raphael has used paint to transform the loggia's vault into an arbour, open through its foliate architecture to the illusion of a sky. To hide the interior from the imaginary sun he has stretched two fictive *tende* across the arbour's roof; these show, in non-perspective view, as if they were on tapestries, the crowning scenes of Psyche's story, her reception into Olympus and her marriage. In the spandrels below, framed in foliage, we see preceding episodes enacted by figures in a perspective that makes plausible, though not insistent, continuity with the viewer's space; we accept that these scenes take place in a heaven just beyond the arbour, impinging on it. The lesser spaces between the spandrels seem genuinely to open upwards: foreshortened *amoretti*, birds and mythic beasts fly in a reach that seemingly extends high into the sky. The scheme achieves illusion, and defines it in both visual and structural terms with entire plausibility. But when it is accurately observed, the structure is made up of massive and planar elements (in the by now accustomed mode that suggests classical relief) much more than of perspective devices and of space; what Raphael has projected as illusion is still, in the fully classical sense, a discrete, ideal realm, appropriate to its Olympian nature. On this Olympus it was meant to re-create a splendour of existence like that Raphael had so eloquently embodied in his *Galatea* in the adjoining room, but with still more august and archaeologically more evocative presences. The heavier hands of his executants have not realized Raphael's ambition well enough, but more than their execution allows his idea, that idea lifts what they have done towards it.

26. Raphael:
Three Graces, 1517-18.
Rome, Villa Farnesina,
Loggia di Psiche



the Loggetta of Cardinal Bibbiena two years before, but also remarkably develops it. The grotesques are not so visibly imitative of their ancient sources, and they are of a richer texture of design, disciplined yet ingeniously various. Their logic is no less apparent than their fantasy, and one important function that they serve is to continue, with progressively finer differentiation, the process of articulation that begins in the body of the architecture. Here, the close-textured grotesque ornament does not merely conform to the actual structure but adheres to it: the decorative surface has been made to be like a living skin upon the body of the architecture, mobile and porous, giving respiration to the underlying form.

The elaboration of the grotesquerie would have been the responsibility of Giovanni da Udine, but it must be assumed that Giovanni acted here, as in the Loggetta, as Raphael's instrument. The Bible illustrations (recently carefully restored) were also given into the charge of an assistant, who, Vasari tells us (IV, 362), was Giulio Romano, and he in turn had help not only in execution but possibly in the development of Raphael's designs from his associates: from Penni and, in time, from at least the best among the new recruits, Perino del Vaga and Polidoro. Raphael supplied exact designs for the earliest in order among the scenes, but then seems to have allowed increasing liberty to his helpers to elaborate *invenzioni*; he would have given them; the effect of originality the later illustrations have is not always Raphael's.⁴⁷ The content of the decoration is of course in part that of its biblical subject matter, but the context *all'antica* into which it has been set is so rich that the Christian meaning takes on an overcast from it. Religious meaning, as such, carries no great weight in the ensemble: the first sense of the whole is that which emerges from its decorative form. And this conveys the idea of reason made evident in order and enriched with fan-

tasy and learning; and it bespeaks opulence and suave delight. It is the expression of a sophistication difficult to surpass, the product of a late stage in the evolution of a classical style.⁴⁸ Before Raphael died he had gone farther, but in a direction unlike this, turning his attention to the problem of the last and largest state room in the suite of Stanze, the Sala di Costantino. But there the action of his pupils on what Raphael left moved into a different sphere of style, and the posthumous result was not his.

The decorative works remained Raphael's most demanding occupation in the later years, asking more than any of his other genres from his remarkable intelligence of form even if they got nothing, or almost nothing, from his painter's hand. It was an opposite pole of his activity, his *portraiture* - private in purpose and in scale and the least problematically demanding - that contrarily involved him in most cases to the point of entire personal execution. On this account, the portraits may serve as a gauge to estimate the intervention of his hand, less frequent and more difficult to judge, in the later easel paintings of religious themes. The portraits serve also as an indicator of his ideas on an issue which in all the later figurative works becomes increasingly acute: the sharper evocation of reality. The desire to achieve it in the easel paintings by descriptive means is like the motive which, in the decorations, led Raphael towards illusionism; but no more than it does Raphael's descriptive realizing trespass beyond classical values of style.

Five, perhaps six among the not much larger number of late portraits that survive seem substantially autograph. The earliest of them is the famous *Baldassare Castiglione* (Paris, Louvre, second half of 1515),⁴⁹ the most lucid of Raphael's portraits in the state of mind that it depicts as well as in character of form, comparable in this respect with the Tapestry Cartoons. The portrait image requires, more



27. Raphael:
Bay from the Loggia, 1518-19. Vatican

Not only these executants but further reinforcements were required for the last major work of decoration executed by the shop in Raphael's lifetime, the Loggia (on the main storey of the Vatican apartments overlooking the Cortile di S. Damaso; 1518-first half of 1519). The loggia of thirteen vaulted bays, built on Bramante's design but under Raphael's supervision, is decorated in a style that combines grotesquerie *all'antica*, illustrations of Bible themes (in all but the last bay, from the Old Testament), and minor devices of illusion [27]. To the vocabulary of grotesquerie that the shop had developed earlier Giovanni da Udine, Raphael's deputy in this field, has now added stucco work, re-inventing a technique lost since antiquity. The decoration evidently depends on the mode conceived for

than a historical narration does, a sense of the actuality its subject has, and to achieve it Raphael has employed, among other means, an almost illusive effect of light, unusual for him in its sheer optical sensibility, and so alive it vibrates. It has been suggested that a Venetian influence (as from the Romanized Venetian Sebastiano del Piombo) may account for this, but the more accurate explanation may be a renewed acquaintance with the great exemplar of portraiture in the High Renaissance classical style, the *Mona Lisa*. We recall that Leonardo was in Rome from 1513 well into 1516, quite possibly with the *Gioconda* in his baggage. The *Castiglione* is a reshaping, into the vocabulary and with the resources of the highest classical style, of this great precedent from the style's first phase.

Two further members of the humanist circle of which Raphael had become a part, Andrea Navagero and Agostino Beazzano, are the subjects of a double portrait (not so certainly from Raphael's own hand; Rome, Doria, first half of 1516), unusual in Rome in this respect alone,⁵⁰ it is more marked than the *Castiglione* by an intention to make its sitters appear physically and psychologically near. Slightly later, a still more complicated portrait subject, of three figures, *Leo X with the Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi Rossi* (Florence, Pitti, second half of 1517 to 1518) [28], presses this ambition to a danger point. Descriptive detail is insistent and sought out by forcing contrasts in the light; the effect of plastically realized presence is emphatic, almost harsh. These forms have been captured as if they were still-life: to animate them and to press the point of their connexion with us as if in reality they are assembled in a design that makes movement, built on a diagonal perspective that trespasses the picture space. The measure of actuality to which this portrait aspires is not easily reconcilable with a classical aesthetic, and to maintain the sense of clas-

sicism Raphael has had to force its means of discipline. The result – taut, urgent, and in stress – has the character of what I earlier described as faulted classicism.

That the manner of the *Leo X* posed a dilemma must have been quickly realized. Raphael did not surrender the essential ambition for his portraiture that he entertained there, but he turned instead to a less literal means for achieving it. His latest portrait, again a double one, of himself with a friend (called *Raphael and his Fencing Master*, Paris, Louvre, 1518-19) abjures the *Leo's* labouring of descriptive detail and moderates its forcing and immobilizing light, but it makes the action of diagonal perspective much more energetic: this image fluently attains its object of conveying that the persons in it are illusions, again of discretely idealized beings such as the *Castiglione* had been, but of more immediate vitality. The latest portrait reaffirms values that belong to classical style and implies a new course on which they could evolve, similar in principle to that of contemporary Venice. Raphael did not live to give it consequence.⁵¹

Of more complex kind, the later altars and devotional pictures are more indicative than the portraits of the range of problems Raphael chose to deal with in his last half-decade as well as of the powers with which he addressed them. As in his decorator's role, in the late easel works it is Raphael's ideas that signify, but in a good number of these paintings eloquence, or even an added dimension of meaning, has been given the ideas because, at least in some degree, Raphael has set them down himself – perhaps only once entirely; otherwise the large share in execution that he left to his helpers makes these works, in terms of artistic personality if not of their ideas, uneven compounds. The picture that seems wholly Raphael's is a relatively small devotional one, the *Madonna della Tenda* (Munich, Pinakothek), as luminous and subtle in its quality of



28. Raphael: Leo X with the Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi Rossi, 1517-18. Florence, Pitti

out of Raphael's own current ideas. A companion work intended for the King himself, a *St Michael* (the patron saint of French kings; Paris, Louvre, also dated 1518), partakes of the character of both devotional and dramatic subject, and the mode Raphael has devised for it resolves the force of design of the *Spasimo* into the ornamental order of the *Holy Family* for the Queen. The *Michael* recreates a height of classicism that compares with the best among Raphael's inventions in the Tapestry Cartoons. Like them, this seems also to be in essential parts from Raphael's own hand.⁵² It is informative for the direction in which Raphael had been aiming since about 1515 that he has used his hand to elaborate the picture's grandeur of substance with an overcast of fineness, almost precious, and made the tenor of its drama a little more self-consciously theatrical.⁵³

All the problems that the late works of Raphael present are visible in their acutest form in his great altarpiece of the *Transfiguration* (Rome, Vatican Museum) [39], also meant for a French destination, the cathedral of Narbonne. The painting was ordered by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici late in 1516 or early in 1517, at the same time as a competing altar, a *Resurrection of Lazarus* (now London, National Gallery) [44], from Raphael's rival on the Roman scene, Sebastiano del Piombo. The rival not just on the basis of his own considerable merits but because he was taken to be the deputy of the absent Michelangelo. Raphael's picture was the later to be started, after mid 1518. It was still in his studio, probably not quite finished, at the time of his death, when it was exposed at the head of his bier. That the entire responsibility for the design of the *Transfiguration* is Raphael's has never been in doubt, and recent cleaning has revealed that he had by far the major part in execution.⁵⁴ The picture is at once the most commanding and the most difficult of the later Raphael's conceptions,

surface as the *Castiglione* or the *Madonna della Sedia*, but much more opulent. The *Madonna della Tenda* is, indeed, an updating of the *Sedia* in terms of Raphael's since-revised ambitions, seeking a physical and psychological situation that is of higher stress and more insistent as presence and communication.

The force that inhabits this ambition and the efficacy of the aesthetic devices Raphael invents to achieve it are such that they cannot be too much diminished even when much of the actual execution is an assistant's. The full-scale altarpiece called the *Spasimo di Sicilia* (*Christ fallen beneath the Cross*, Madrid, Prado, c. 1516) [29] was painted with the considerable aid of Penni, whose intervention helps to give the work its look of a *machine*; but this surface impression is deceptive. The design is of remarkable efficiency, generating strong powers, ordering them precisely to the needs of the dramatic action, and finally tying form and meaning together, in the head of the fallen Christ (of Raphael's own execution), as if in a charged knot. For a large devotional work destined for the Queen of France (but now called after her husband), *The Holy Family of Francis I* (Paris, Louvre, dated 1518), Raphael employed the more sophisticated helping hand of Giulio Romano. The design Raphael invented for this painting is distinct in its ornamental effect from the *Spasimo*, but it is actually more involved, stressing complexities of shape; the theme, too, is conceived with what might be called an ornamental complication of psychology. On this matter given him by Raphael the extensive parts of its surface that are Giulio's grow so organically that epidermis and idea cannot be separated. Even qualities we recognize to be the results of a temperament distinct from Raphael's seem to have developed by extension or extrapolation

29. Raphael: *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*, c. 1516. Madrid, Prado



with strong elements in it that work counter to a sense of unity. These exist not only in the design that Raphael chose to organize his subject matter but, even prior to design, in the subject matter itself. It could well have been Raphael's own thought to compound the scene of the Transfiguration with the story of the Possessed Boy that is described just following in the Bible text (Mark ix: 14 ff.; Matthew xvii: 14 ff.), painting in the picture's lower zone what the text in fact says was happening on the plain while Christ was on the mountain: not yet the healing of the boy but the impotence of Christ's Apostles to perform the healing in His absence. It may be that, considering Sebastiano's richly elaborated *Lazarus* that was his competition, Raphael found the Transfiguration subject in itself too limiting and sought the added episode so he might have the opportunity for complex drama and strong sensation.⁵⁵ Not only this, but he took the themes he thus combined as matter to build an effect of grand contrast between events of quite diverse kind depicted not only as if they took place at the same time but in the confine of a single picture space.

In this space the miraculous event of the Transfiguration is relatively removed from us, while the earthly scene of the possessed youth is made on the contrary intensely near. The figures of the lower scene are painted in a searching and contrasting light and sharply drawn to force their look of actuality; their emotions are urgent, pointed, and diverse, and the pattern that their actions make is in accord. Above, the Transfiguration has a seeming calm of content and an almost abstract purity of form that make essential contrast to the scene below; but the calm is in fact a suspension of great forces in a moment of absolute equilibrium. The two zones are made to connect by quite obvious formal means, yet their confrontation is no less

apparent. It is as if Raphael had willed to make one whole new construct from the two possibilities of dramatic style he had explored in recent years: one the exalted, purely disciplined mode of the Tapestry Cartoons, the other the more active and complicating mode of the Incendio frescoes. What Raphael has conceived in the *Transfiguration* no longer works as a genuinely synthetic image but as one in which disparities have been forced to coexist: this forced unity has been made by an overriding utmost power of dramatic idea, supported by brilliantly contrived devices of form. No work could demonstrate more clearly Raphael's continuing assertion of basic classical principles and, at the same time, the strain and alteration of such principles by new intentions. The *Transfiguration* shows, with almost schematic explicitness, the fault that has opened in the structure of classical style.

We can only unprofitably speculate how Raphael would himself have resolved the problem of the next step beyond the style of the *Transfiguration*. The decision was made not by him but by his heirs, and Raphael's personal decision need not necessarily have been the same as theirs. Our last certain evidence for Raphael's dramatic style is the *Transfiguration*. What occurs in it is no necessary index of the destiny of style of all the aspects of Raphael's wide artistic practice. As we have seen, an unfaulked classicism coexists, in this contemporary late decorations, with this dramatic faulted one; and in the portraits there is, for reasons inherent in the genre, no such grave stress laid on classical effects as there has been here. However, in the late phase it is only in the dramatic style, as of the *Transfiguration*, that Raphael confronts not a part only but the whole range of problems with which his art could be involved, of urgency and variety of human expressiveness and of complexity of form. As the non-dramatic works are not, this is the whole test of what the classical style had



30. Raphael: *Transfiguration*, 1517-20. Rome, *Vatican Museum*

come to be in Raphael; it is the significant representative symptom of his latest art. The *Transfiguration* is pregnant with post-classical style, but it remains itself the last and extreme statement of Raphael's classical ambition.

THE SCHOOL IN FLORENCE

Fra Bartolommeo

Baccio della Porta, Fra Bartolommeo, the protagonist of High Renaissance painting style in Florence in the decade after Leonardo's departure, had come initially to a Cinquecento classicism by way of Leonardo's example. It was sought early in Baccio's career, in Leonardo's own early and relatively tentative essays in the new style that he had left in Florence after a long-previous departure, in 1482. Baccio, born in 1472, had been a pupil of Cosimo Rosselli and then became in some way a dependent or auxiliary of the Ghirlandaio shop;⁵⁶ it is a manner partly like Rosselli's but more like Ghirlandaio's orderly and meticulous realism that Baccio shows in his *Annunciation* of 1497 in Volterra Cathedral. But probably earlier than this, in paintings of less noticeable destination, Baccio had begun to investigate alternative ways among contemporary styles, first (as in a tondo *Holy Family* of the Borghese Gallery, c. 1495?) taking some of the very hesitant, conditioned Leonardism of Lorenzo di Credi into his style, then searching Leonardo's own example. In Baccio's *Madonna and Child with St John* (New York, Metropolitan Museum) Leonardo's *Benois Madonna*, no more recent but less baffling than his great unfinished *Adoration*, is the disruptive and adulterating agent of the picture's basis of Ghirlandaisque style. Baccio quite rapidly converted his interest in Leonardo's art into an adequate comprehension of it: imitating neither Leonardo's exact vocabulary nor his complexities, Baccio applied what he had come

to understand of Leonardesque principle to the style in which he had been educated. As Baccio took it, Leonardesque principle served to temper Late Quattrocento realism and infuse it with spiritual life, and to compel its static order into a connected harmony. Baccio formulated this basis for a Cinquecento classical style in his (the upper) part of a *Last Judgement* fresco for S. Maria Nuova (Florence, Museo di S. Marco, 1499-1500), evidently far less dis-connective from Quattrocento style than Leonardo's own inventions of long-prior date had been but of a distinct novelty none the less - not more bound to a Late Quattrocento context than the work of Raphael about the same time after his beginning.

In 1500, overtaken by a Savonarolan inspiration, Baccio joined the Dominican order, becoming Fra Bartolommeo. For three or four years afterwards he did not paint. What he had given shape to in the *Last Judgement* had been before Leonardo's return to Florence; when in 1503 or 1504 the Frate began to paint again, it was with knowledge of a different body of Leonardesque material from the works, more than two decades old, he had known before. The effects of Leonardo's more recent vocabulary began to penetrate Bartolommeo's style, but even now not wholly altering those qualities in it that recall the Quattrocento (*Vision of St Bernard*, Florence, Accademia, 1504-7; *Noli Me Tangere*, Paris, Louvre, c. 1506). It seems relevant that during a visit of some months to Venice (April-November 1508, engaged by the Dominican establishment there) it was the old Bellini's art, more than Giorgione's, that seems to have commanded Bartolommeo's attention. The evidence of his looking at Bellini is in two at least of the three important altar paintings he produced in Florence during 1509, in which Venetian and Leonardesque modes of light work somewhat in contest. That they could not quite be reconciled must quickly have become

clear, the one revealing itself in colour, the other consuming and neutralizing it; the native mode prevailed. The most Bellini-struck of these three altars, the *Madonna with Six Saints* (Florence, S. Marco), is also in other respects the most retrospective in its style (perhaps from the intervention in its execution of the Frate's partner, Albertinelli). There are traces of Bellini in the *God the Father with the Magdalene and St Catherine of Siena* (Lucca, Pinacoteca, dated), but they have been incorporated into a vocabulary which makes an effect never earlier apparent in Bartolommeo's art, of a modernity without a residue of archaism in it. The basis of structure of this altar relates, by iconographic as well as formal necessity, to the Quattrocento tradition (and so, almost inescapably, do all the altar paintings of the High Renaissance); on this basis, to which Bartolommeo was more bound than the greater modern inventors, he finally, in 1509, imposed the suavities and sophistications of their modern style. In all three altar works of 1509, but most of all in the one that seems to be the most advanced, the *Madonna with St Stephen and St John the Baptist* (Lucca, Cathedral, dated), there are indications that, beyond his earlier concern with Leonardo, Bartolommeo has carefully considered the most recent (and in that moment most Leonardesque) Florentine accomplishments of Raphael; a major instrument in the entire modernizing of Bartolommeo's style may have been the influential, even though unfinished, *Madonna del Baldacchino*.⁵⁷

It was thus only in the year following Leonardo's final abandoning of Florence and Raphael's departure for Rome that Bartolommeo, become *caposcuola* by default, came to possess a style that was a valid surrogate for theirs. Far more limited than they in spiritual as well as intellectual resource, it may have been fortunate for the Frate that the main patronage in Florence - the one in any case to which his vocation should have best disposed

him - was for devotional altarpieces rather than for more flexible or dramatically complicating forms. He applied his late-won modernity to altar painting, making a Cinquecento classicism of structure for his works in this grand genre which, though deduced to begin with from Raphael's *Madonna del Baldacchino*, clarified and transcended that example. The more profound intelligence and the more pregnant meaning in these altarpieces is in their structure; not altogether from the limitations of iconography, what illustrates human meaning in them tends towards the conventional, and their harmony may verge on blandness. But the way in which their formal structure is manipulated endows them with expressive sense and rhetorical value; it is by the working in these altars of the elements of form that the spectator may be moved to feel nobility and a high pathos. The human population of the picture are less actors than acted upon by the aesthetic structure: grandeur of form may be a substitute - or stand - for a dimension of content that the figures lack.

The great altarpieces of this mature style work (almost like Leonardo's *St Anne* pictures or Raphael's Florentine *Madonnas en série*, consequent exploitations of a connected structural and expressive idea. In the idea of structure there is a core of a geometry as obvious and as strict as in an altar of the Ghirlandaio school, but the kind of geometry is that of the modern classical style. In 1511 the *Marriage of St Catherine* (Paris, Louvre, dated) sets the structural theme (which the latest of the altars of 1509, in Lucca Cathedral, initially adumbrated), an ordering of forms upon the picture surface and into its space that in the whole approximates a sphere [31]. A setting of architecture supports and stabilizes this order and lends it monumental scale, but the architecture is not primary or even necessary to the construction. In an advanced classical sense (like that Raphael realized in his