

## HARMONY ATTAINED

*Tuscany and Rome, early sixteenth century*

We left Italian art at the time of Botticelli, that is, at the end of the fifteenth century, which the Italians by an awkward trick of language called the *Quattrocento*, that is to say, the 'four hundreds'. The beginning of the sixteenth century, the *Cinquecento*, is the most famous period of Italian art, one of the greatest periods of all time. This was the time of Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, of Raphael and Titian, of Correggio and Giorgione, of Dürer and Holbein in the North, and of many other famous masters. One may well ask why it was that all these great masters were born in the same period, but such questions are more easily asked than answered. One cannot explain the existence of genius. It is better to enjoy it. What we have to say, therefore, can never be a full explanation of the great period which is called the High Renaissance, but we can try to see what the conditions were which made this sudden efflorescence of genius possible.

We have seen the beginning of these conditions far back in the period of Giotto. His fame was so great that the Commune of Florence was proud of him and anxious to have the bell-tower of their cathedral designed by that widely renowned master. This pride of the cities, which vied with each other in securing the services of the greatest artists to beautify their buildings and to create works of lasting fame, was a great incentive to the masters to outdo each other – an incentive which did not exist to the same extent in the feudal countries of the North, where cities had much less independence and local pride. Then came the period of the great discoveries, when Italian artists turned to mathematics to study the laws of perspective, and to anatomy to study the build of the human body. Through these discoveries, the artist's horizon widened. He was no longer a craftsman among craftsmen, ready to carry out commissions for shoes, or cupboards, or paintings, as the case might be. He was a master in his own right, who could not achieve fame and glory without exploring the mysteries of nature and probing into the secret laws of the universe. It was natural that the leading artists who had these ambitions felt aggrieved by their social status. This was still the same as it had been at the time of ancient Greece, when snobs might have accepted a poet who worked with

his brain, but never an artist who worked with his hands. Here was another challenge for the artists to meet, another spur which urged them on towards yet greater achievements that would compel the surrounding world to accept them, not only as respectable heads of prosperous workshops, but as men of unique and precious gifts. It was a difficult struggle, which was not immediately successful. Social snobbery and prejudice are strong forces, and there were many who would gladly have invited to their tables a scholar who spoke Latin, and knew the right turn of phrase for every occasion, but would have hesitated to extend a similar privilege to a painter or a sculptor. It was again the love of fame on the part of the patrons which helped the artists to break down such prejudices. There were many small courts in Italy which were badly in need of honour and prestige. To erect magnificent buildings, to commission splendid tombs, to order great cycles of frescoes, or to dedicate a painting for the high altar of a famous church, was considered a sure way of perpetuating one's name and securing a worthy monument to one's earthly existence. As there were many centres competing for the services of the most renowned masters, the masters in turn could dictate their terms. In earlier times it was the prince who bestowed his favours on the artist. Now it almost came to pass that the roles were reversed, and that the artist granted a favour to a rich prince or potentate by accepting a commission from him. Thus it came about that the artists could frequently choose the kind of commission which they liked, and that they no longer needed to accommodate their works to the whims and fancies of their employers. Whether or not this new power was an unmixed blessing for art in the long run is difficult to decide. But at first, at any rate, it had the effect of a liberation which released a tremendous amount of pent-up energy. At last, the artist was free.

In no sphere was the effect of this change so marked as in architecture. Since the time of Brunelleschi, *page 224*, the architect had to have some of the knowledge of a classical scholar. He had to know the rules of the ancient 'orders', of the right proportions and measurements of the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian columns and entablatures. He had to measure ancient ruins, and pore over the manuscripts of classical writers like Vitruvius, who had codified the conventions of the Greek and Roman architects, and whose works contained many difficult and obscure passages, which challenged the ingenuity of Renaissance scholars. In no other field was the conflict between the requirements of the patrons and the ideals of the artists more apparent than in this field of architecture. What these learned masters really longed to do was to build temples and triumphal arches – what they were asked to do was to build city palaces and churches. We have seen how a compromise was reached in this

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Caradosso  
*Foundation medal for  
 the new St Peter's,  
 showing Bramante's  
 scheme for a huge dome,*  
 1506

Bronze, diameter 5.6 cm,  
 2¼ in; British Museum,  
 London



fundamental conflict by masters such as Alberti, *page 250, figure 163*, who wedded the ancient 'orders' to the modern city palace. But the true aspiration of the Renaissance architect was still to design a building irrespective of its use; simply for the beauty of its proportions, the spaciousness of its interior and the imposing grandeur of its ensemble. They craved for a perfect symmetry and regularity such as they could not achieve while concentrating on the practical requirements of an ordinary building. It was a memorable moment when one of them found a mighty patron willing to sacrifice tradition and expediency for the sake of the fame he would acquire by erecting a stately structure that would outshine the seven wonders of the world. Only in this way can we understand the decision of Pope Julius II in 1506 to pull down the venerable Basilica of St Peter, which stood at the place where, according to tradition, St Peter lay buried, and to have it built anew in a manner which defied the age-old traditions of church-building and the usages of divine service. The man to whom he entrusted this task was Donato Bramante (1444–1514), an ardent champion of the new style. One of the few of his buildings which have survived intact shows how far Bramante had gone in absorbing the ideas and standards of classical architecture without becoming a slavish imitator,



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Donato Bramante,  
*The Tempietto, church  
 of S. Pietro in  
 Montorio, Rome, 1502*

A chapel of the High  
 Renaissance

*figure 187.* It is a chapel, or 'Tempietto' (little temple) as he called it, which should have been surrounded by a cloister in the same style. It takes the form of a small pavilion, a round building on steps, crowned by a cupola and encircled by a colonnade of the Doric order. The balustrade on top of the cornice adds a light and graceful touch to the whole building, and the small structure of the actual chapel and the decorative colonnade are held in a harmony as perfect as that in any temple of classical antiquity.

To this master, then, the Pope had given the task of designing the new church of St Peter, and it was understood that this should become a true marvel of Christendom. Bramante was determined to disregard the Western tradition of a thousand years, according to which a church of this kind should be an oblong hall with the worshippers looking eastwards towards the main altar, where Mass is read.

In his craving for that regularity and harmony that alone could be worthy of the place, he designed a square church with chapels symmetrically arranged round a gigantic cross-shaped hall. This hall was to be crowned by a huge dome resting on colossal arches, which we know from the foundation medal, *figure 186*. Bramante hoped, it was said, to combine the effect of the largest ancient building, the Colosseum, *page 118, figure 73*, whose towering ruins still impressed the visitor to Rome, with that of the Pantheon, *page 120, figure 75*. For one brief moment, admiration for the art of the ancients and ambition to create something unheard of overruled considerations of expediency and time-honoured traditions. But Bramante's plan for St Peter's was not destined to be carried out. The enormous building swallowed up so much money that, in trying to raise sufficient funds, the Pope precipitated the crisis which led to the Reformation. It was the practice of selling indulgences against contributions for the building of the new church that led Luther in Germany to his first public protest. Even within the Catholic Church, opposition to Bramante's plan increased, and over the years the idea of an all-round symmetrical church was abandoned. St Peter's, as we know it today, has little in common with the original plan, except its gigantic dimensions.

The spirit of bold enterprise which made Bramante's plan for St Peter's possible is characteristic of the period of the High Renaissance, the period around 1500 which produced so many of the world's greatest artists. To these men nothing seemed impossible, and that may be the reason why they did sometimes achieve the apparently impossible. Once more, it was Florence which gave birth to some of the leading minds of that great epoch. Since the days of Giotto round about 1300, and of Masaccio in the early 1400s, Florentine artists had cultivated their tradition with special pride, and their excellence was recognized by all people of taste. We shall see that nearly all the greatest artists grew out of such a firmly established tradition, and that is why we should not forget the humbler masters in whose workshops they learned the elements of their craft.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), the oldest of these famous masters, was born in a Tuscan village. He was apprenticed to a leading Florentine workshop, that of the painter and sculptor Andrea del Verrocchio (1435–88). Verrocchio's fame was very great, so great indeed that the city of Venice commissioned from him the monument to Bartolommeo



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Andrea del  
Verrocchio  
*Bartolomeo Colleoni*,  
1479  
Bronze, height (horse and  
rider) 395 cm, 135 $\frac{1}{4}$  in;  
Campo di SS. Giovanni e  
Paolo, Venice



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Detail of figure 188

Colleoni, one of their generals, to whom they owed gratitude for a number of charities he had founded rather than for any particular deed of military prowess. The equestrian statue which Verrocchio made, *figures 188-9*, shows that he was a worthy heir to the tradition of Donatello. He minutely studied the anatomy of the horse, and we see how clearly he observed the muscles of Colleoni's face and neck. But most admirable of all is the posture of the horseman, who seems to be riding ahead of his troops with an expression of bold defiance. Later times have made us so familiar with these riders of bronze that have come to people our towns and cities, representing more or less worthy emperors, kings, princes and generals, that it may take us some time to realize the greatness and simplicity of Verrocchio's work — in the clear outline which his group presents from nearly all aspects, and the concentrated

energy which seems to animate the man in armour and his mount.

In a workshop capable of producing such masterpieces, the young Leonardo could certainly learn many things. He would be introduced into the technical secrets of foundry-work and other metalwork, he would learn to prepare pictures and statues carefully by making studies from the nude and from draped models. He would learn to study plants and curious animals for inclusion in his pictures, and he would receive a thorough grounding in the optics of perspective and in the use of colours. In the case of any other gifted boy, this training would have been sufficient to make a respectable artist, and many good painters and sculptors did in fact emerge from Verrocchio's prosperous workshop. But Leonardo was more than a gifted boy. He was a genius whose powerful mind will always remain an object of wonder and admiration to ordinary mortals. We know something of the range and productivity of Leonardo's mind because his pupils and admirers carefully preserved for us his sketches and notebooks, thousands of pages covered with writings and drawings, with excerpts from books Leonardo read, and drafts for books he intended to write. The more one reads of these papers, the less can one understand how one human being could have excelled in all these different fields of research and made important contributions to nearly all of them. Perhaps one of the reasons is that Leonardo was a Florentine artist and not a trained scholar. He thought that the artist's business was to explore the visible

world just as his predecessors had done, only more thoroughly and with greater intensity and accuracy. He was not interested in the bookish knowledge of the scholars. Like Shakespeare, he probably had 'little Latin and less Greek'. At a time when the learned men at the universities relied on the authority of the admired ancient writers, Leonardo, the painter, would never accept what he read without checking it with his own eyes. Whenever he came across a problem, he did not rely on authorities but tried an experiment to solve it. There was nothing in nature which did not arouse his curiosity and challenge his ingenuity. He explored the secrets of the human body by dissecting more than thirty corpses, *figure 190*. He was one of the first to probe into the mysteries of the growth of the child in the womb; he investigated the laws of waves and currents; he spent years in observing and analysing the flight of insects and birds, which was to help him to devise a flying machine which he was sure would one day become a reality. The forms of rocks and clouds, the effect of the atmosphere on the colour of distant objects, the laws governing the growth of trees and plants, the harmony of sounds, all these were the objects of his ceaseless research, which was to be the foundation of his art.

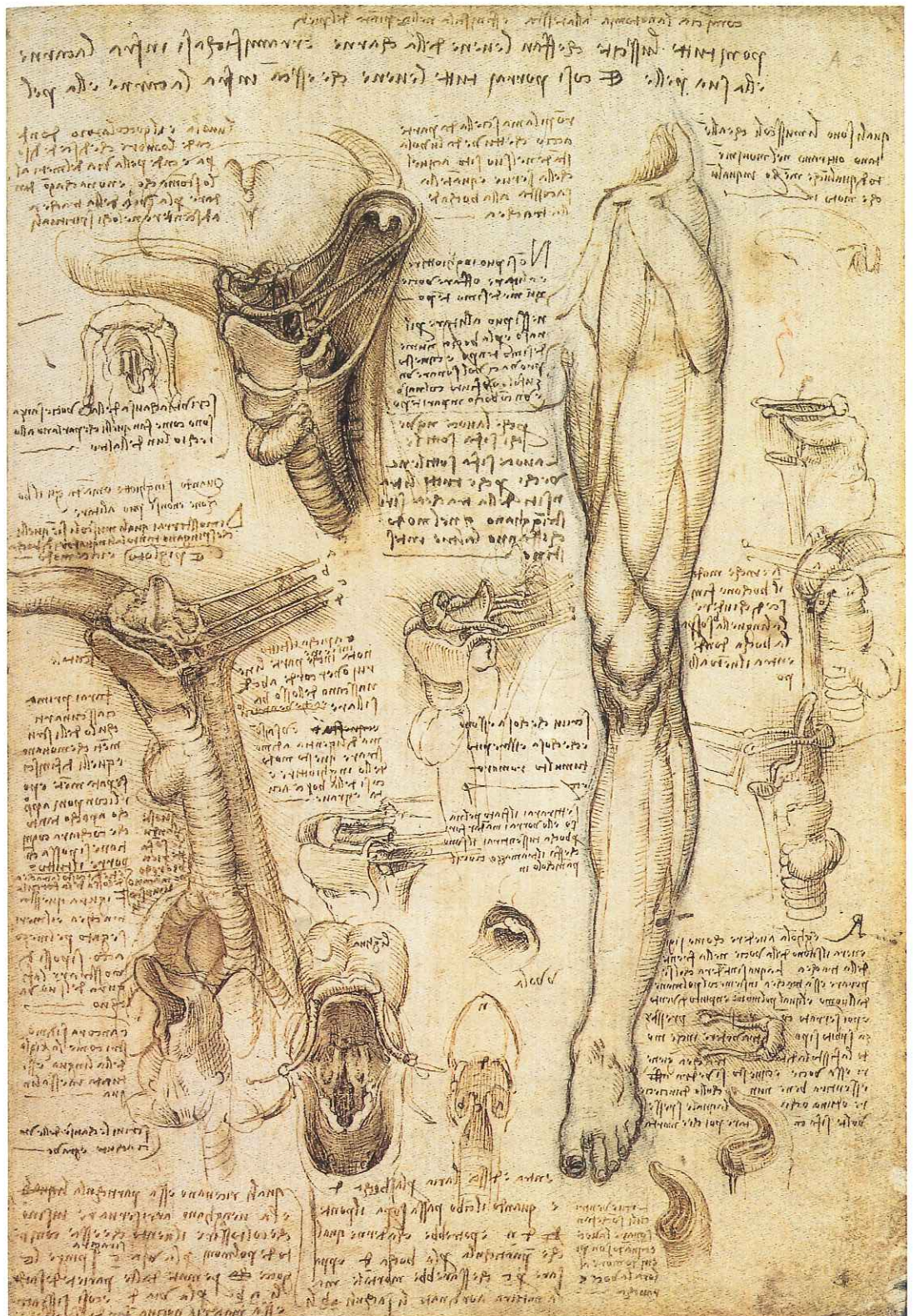
His contemporaries looked upon Leonardo as a strange and rather uncanny being. Princes and generals wanted to use this astonishing wizard as a military engineer for the building of fortifications and canals, of novel weapons and devices. In time of peace, he would entertain them with mechanical toys of his own invention, and with the designing of new effects for stage performances and pageantries. He was admired as a great artist, and sought after as a splendid musician, but, for all that, few people can have had an inkling of the importance of his ideas or the extent of his knowledge. The reason is that Leonardo never published his writings, and that very few can even have known of their existence. He was left-handed, and had taken to writing from right to left so that his notes can only be read in a mirror. It is possible that he was afraid of divulging his discoveries for fear that his opinions would be found heretical. Thus we find in his writings the five words 'The sun does not move', which shows that Leonardo anticipated the theories of Copernicus which were later to bring Galileo into trouble. But it is also possible that he undertook his researches and experiments simply because of his insatiable curiosity, and that, once he had solved a problem for himself, he was apt to lose interest because there were so many other mysteries still to be explored.

Most of all, it is likely that Leonardo himself had no ambition to be considered a scientist. All this exploration of nature was to him first and foremost a means of gaining knowledge of the visible world, such as he would need for his art. He thought that by placing it on scientific foundations he could transform his beloved art of painting from a humble

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Leonardo da Vinci  
*Anatomical studies*  
*(larynx and leg)*, 1510  
 Pen, brown ink and wash  
 over black chalk on paper,  
 26 × 19.6 cm, 11 × 7 in;  
 Royal Library, Windsor  
 Castle





craft into an honoured and gentlemanly pursuit. To us, this preoccupation with the social rank of artists may be difficult to understand, but we have seen what importance it had for the men of the period. Perhaps if we remember Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* and the roles he assigns to Snug the joiner, Bottom the weaver and Snout the tinker, we can understand the background of this struggle. Aristotle had codified the snobbishness of classical antiquity in distinguishing between certain arts that were compatible with a 'liberal education' (the so-called Liberal Arts such as grammar, logic, rhetoric, or geometry) and pursuits that involved working with the hands, which were 'manual' and therefore 'menial', and thus below the dignity of a gentleman. It was the ambition of such men as Leonardo to show that painting was a Liberal Art, and that the manual labour involved in it was no more essential than was the labour of writing in poetry. It is possible that this view often affected Leonardo's relationships with his patrons. Perhaps he did not want to be considered the owner of a shop where anyone could commission a picture. At any rate, we know that Leonardo often failed to carry out his commissions. He would start on a painting and leave it unfinished, despite the urgent requests of the patron. Moreover, he obviously insisted that it was he himself who had to decide when a work of his was considered finished, and he refused to let it go out of his hands unless he was satisfied with it. It is not surprising, therefore, that few of Leonardo's works were ever completed, and that his contemporaries regretted the way in which this outstanding genius seemed to fritter away his time, moving restlessly from Florence to Milan, from Milan to Florence, and to the service of the notorious adventurer Cesare Borgia, then to Rome, and finally to the court of King Francis I in France, where he died in the year 1519, more admired than understood.

By a singular misfortune, the few works which Leonardo did complete in his mature years have come down to us in a very bad state of preservation. Thus when we look at what remains of Leonardo's famous wall-painting of 'The Last Supper', *figures 191-2*, we must try to imagine how it may have appeared to the monks for whom it was painted. The painting covers one wall of an oblong hall that was used as a refectory by the monks of the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan. One must visualize what it was like when the painting was uncovered, and when, side by side with the long tables of the monks, there appeared the table of Christ and his apostles. Never before had the sacred episode appeared so close and so lifelike. It was as if another hall had been added to theirs, in which the Last Supper had assumed tangible form. How clear the light fell on to the table, and how it added roundness and solidity to the figures. Perhaps the monks were first struck by the truth to nature with



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*The refectory of the  
 monastery of Sta Maria  
 delle Grazie, Milan,  
 with Leonardo da  
 Vinci's 'Last Supper'  
 on the end wall*

which all details were portrayed, the dishes on the tablecloth, and the folds of the draperies. Then, as now, works of art were often judged by laymen according to their degree of lifelikeness. But that can only have been the first reaction. Once they had sufficiently admired this extraordinary illusion of reality, the monks would turn to the way in which Leonardo had presented the biblical story. There was nothing in this work that resembled older representations of the same theme. In these traditional versions, the apostles were seen sitting quietly at the table in a row – only Judas being segregated from the rest – while Christ was calmly dispensing the Sacrament. The new picture was very different from any of these paintings. There was drama in it, and excitement. Leonardo, like Giotto before him, had gone back to the text of the Scriptures, and had striven to visualize what it must have been like when Christ said, “Verily I say unto

you, that one of you shall betray me", and they were exceeding sorrowful and began every one of them to say unto him "Lord, is it I?" (Matthew xxvi. 21-2). The gospel of St John adds that 'Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved. Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, that he should ask who it should be of whom he spake' (John xiii. 23-4). It is this questioning and beckoning that bring movement into the scene. Christ has just spoken the tragic words, and those on His side shrink back in terror as they hear the revelation. Some seem to protest their love and innocence, others gravely to dispute whom the Lord may have meant, others again seem to look to Him for an explanation of what He has said. St Peter, most impetuous of all, rushes towards St John, who sits to the right of Jesus. As he whispers something into St John's ear, he inadvertently pushes Judas forward. Judas is not segregated from the rest, and yet he seems isolated. He alone does not gesticulate and question. He bends forward and looks up in suspicion or anger, a dramatic contrast to the figure of Christ sitting calm and resigned amidst this surging turmoil. One wonders how long it took the first spectators to realize the consummate art by which all this dramatic movement was controlled. Despite the excitement which Christ's words have caused, there is nothing chaotic in the picture. The twelve apostles seem to fall quite naturally into four groups of three, linked to each other by gestures and movements. There is so much order in this variety, and so much variety in this order, that one can never quite exhaust the harmonious interplay of movement and answering movement. Perhaps we can only fully appreciate Leonardo's achievement in this composition if we think back to the problem we discussed in the description of Pollaiuolo's 'St Sebastian', page 263, figure 171. We remember how the artists of that generation had struggled to combine the demands of realism with those of design. We remember how rigid and artificial Pollaiuolo's solution of this problem looked to us. Leonardo, who was only a little younger than Pollaiuolo, had solved it with apparent ease. If one forgets for a moment what the scene represents, one can still enjoy the beautiful pattern formed by the figures. The composition seems to have the effortless balance and harmony which it had in Gothic paintings, and which artists like Rogier van der Weyden and Botticelli, each in his own way, had tried to recapture for art. But Leonardo did not find it necessary to sacrifice correctness of drawing, or accuracy of observation, to the demands of a satisfying outline. If one forgets the beauty of the composition, one suddenly feels confronted with a piece of reality as convincing and striking as any we saw in the works of Masaccio or Donatello. And even this achievement hardly touches upon the true greatness of the work. For, beyond such technical matters as composition

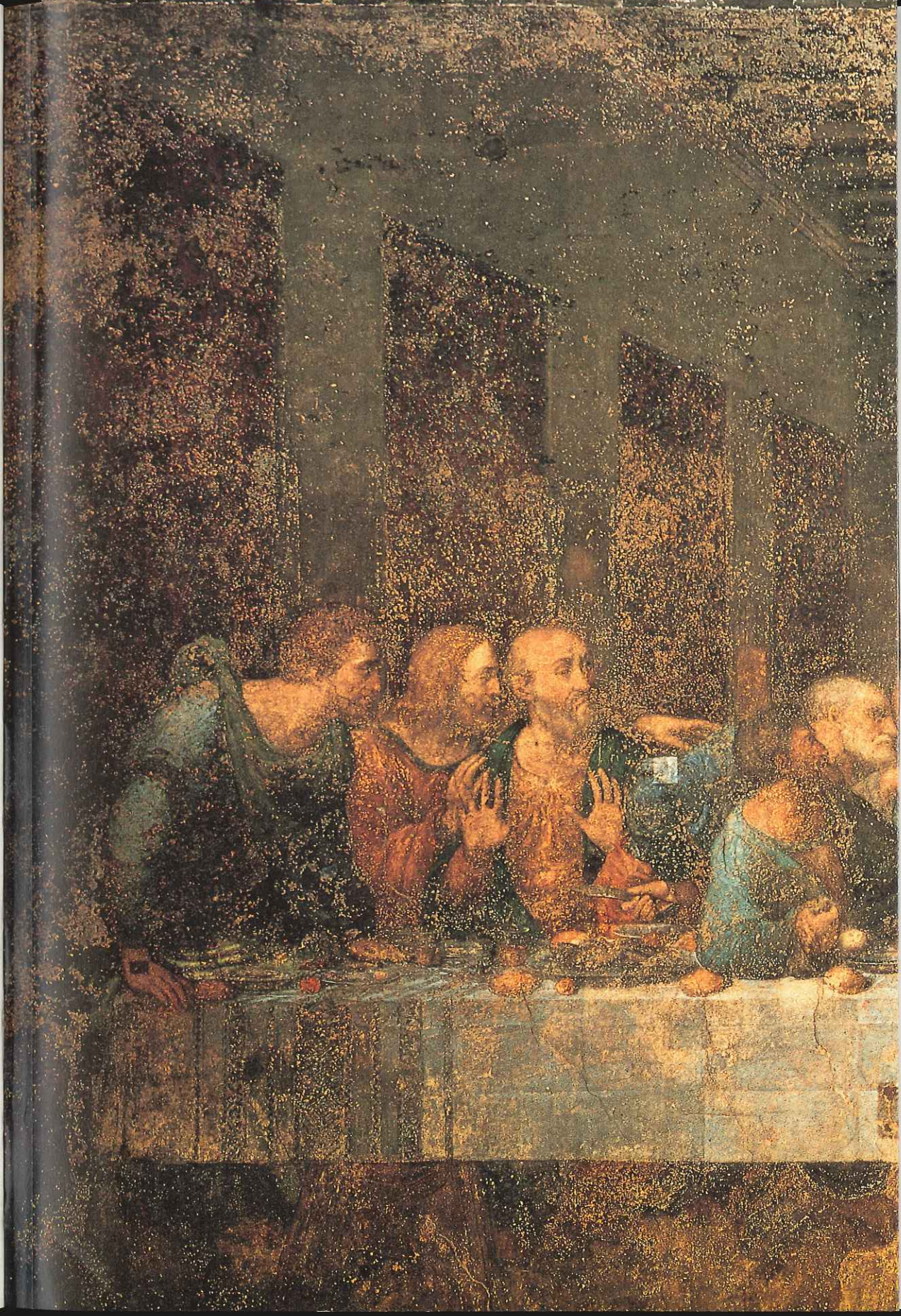
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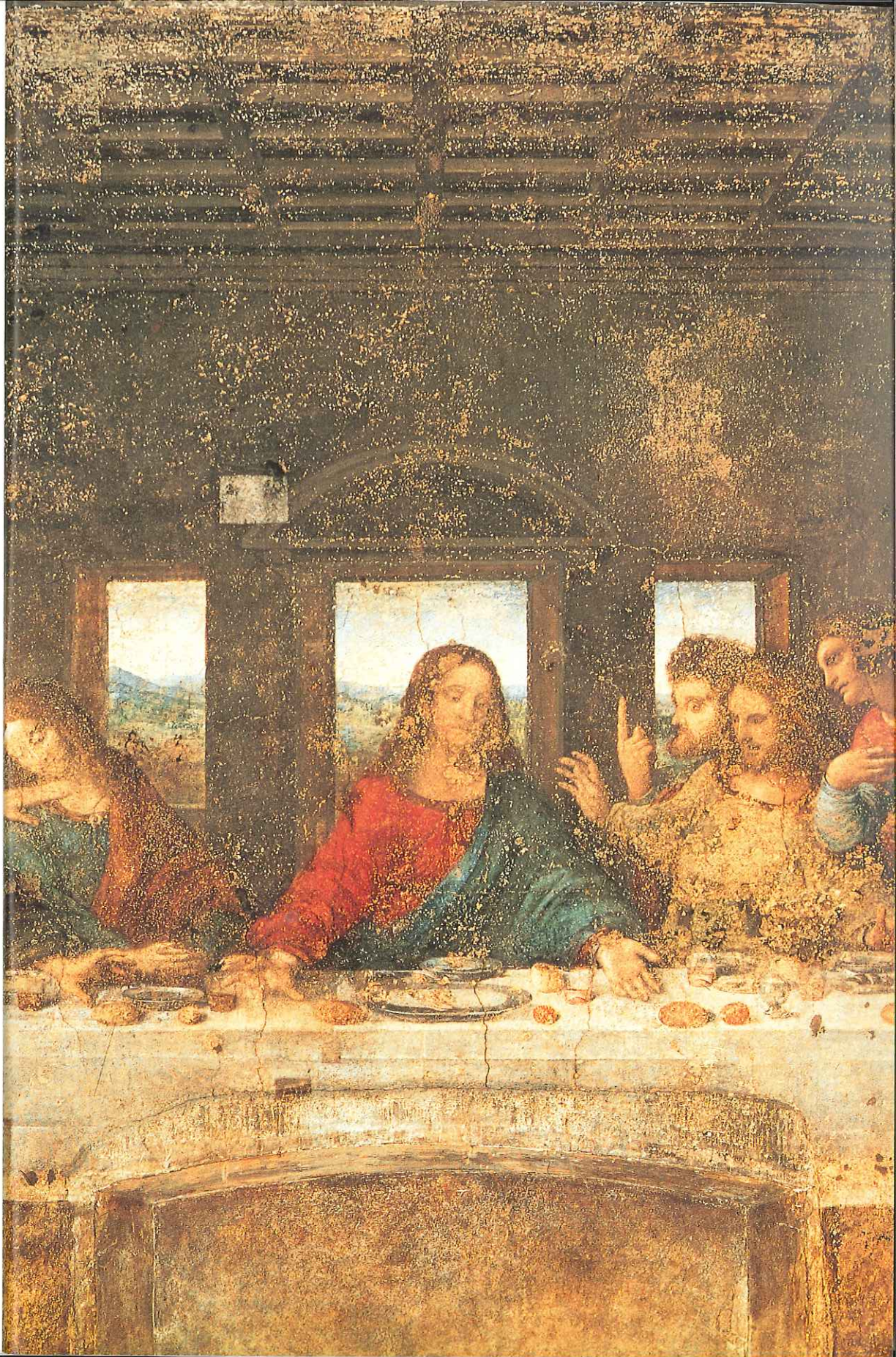
Leonardo da Vinci  
*The Last Supper*,  
 1495-8

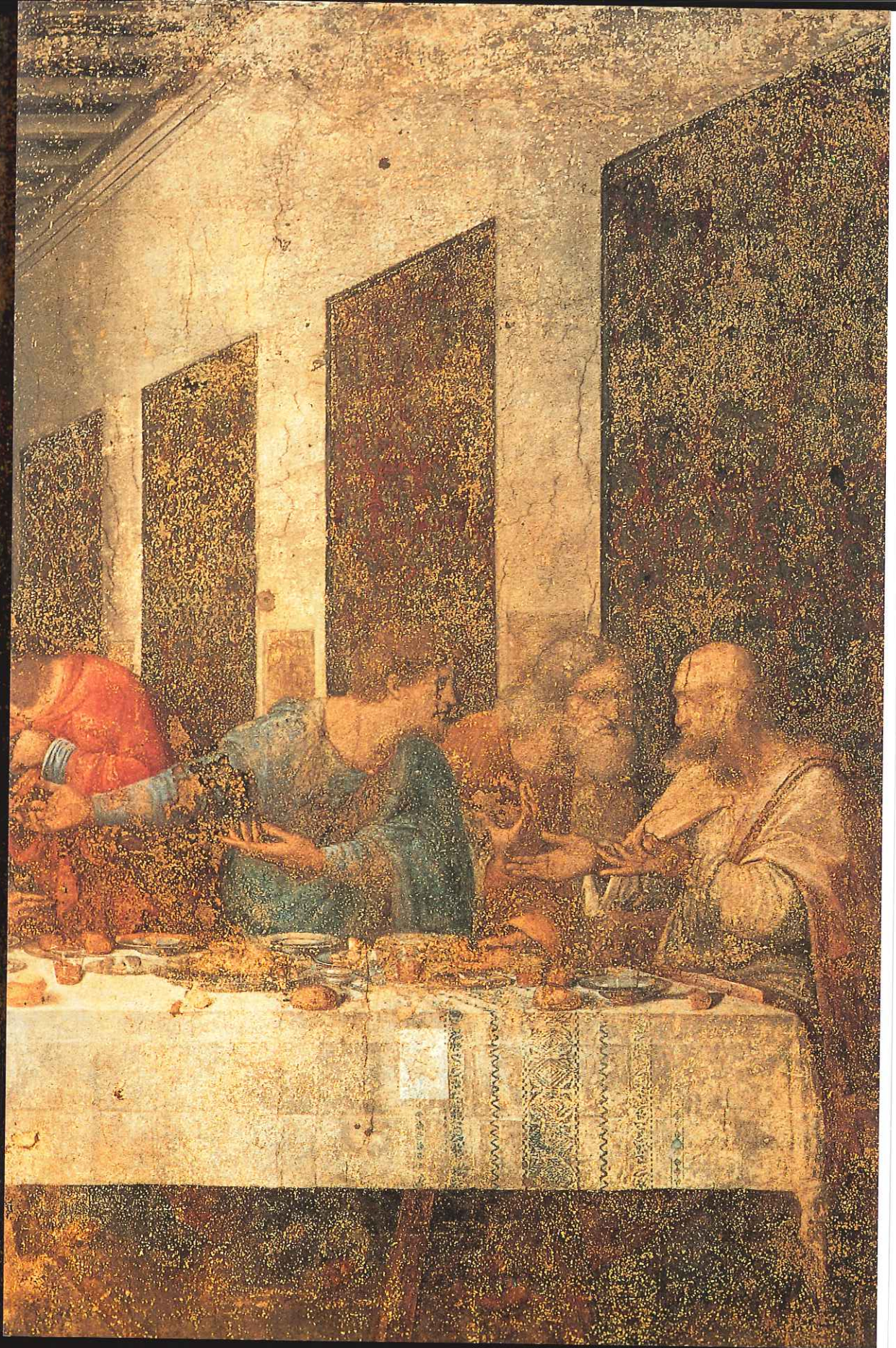
Tempera on plaster, 460 x  
 880 cm, 181 x 346% in;  
 refectory of the monastery  
 of Sta Maria delle Grazie,  
 Milan

Leonardo da Vinci

1495-1510  
The Last Supper  
San Sisto, Pavia







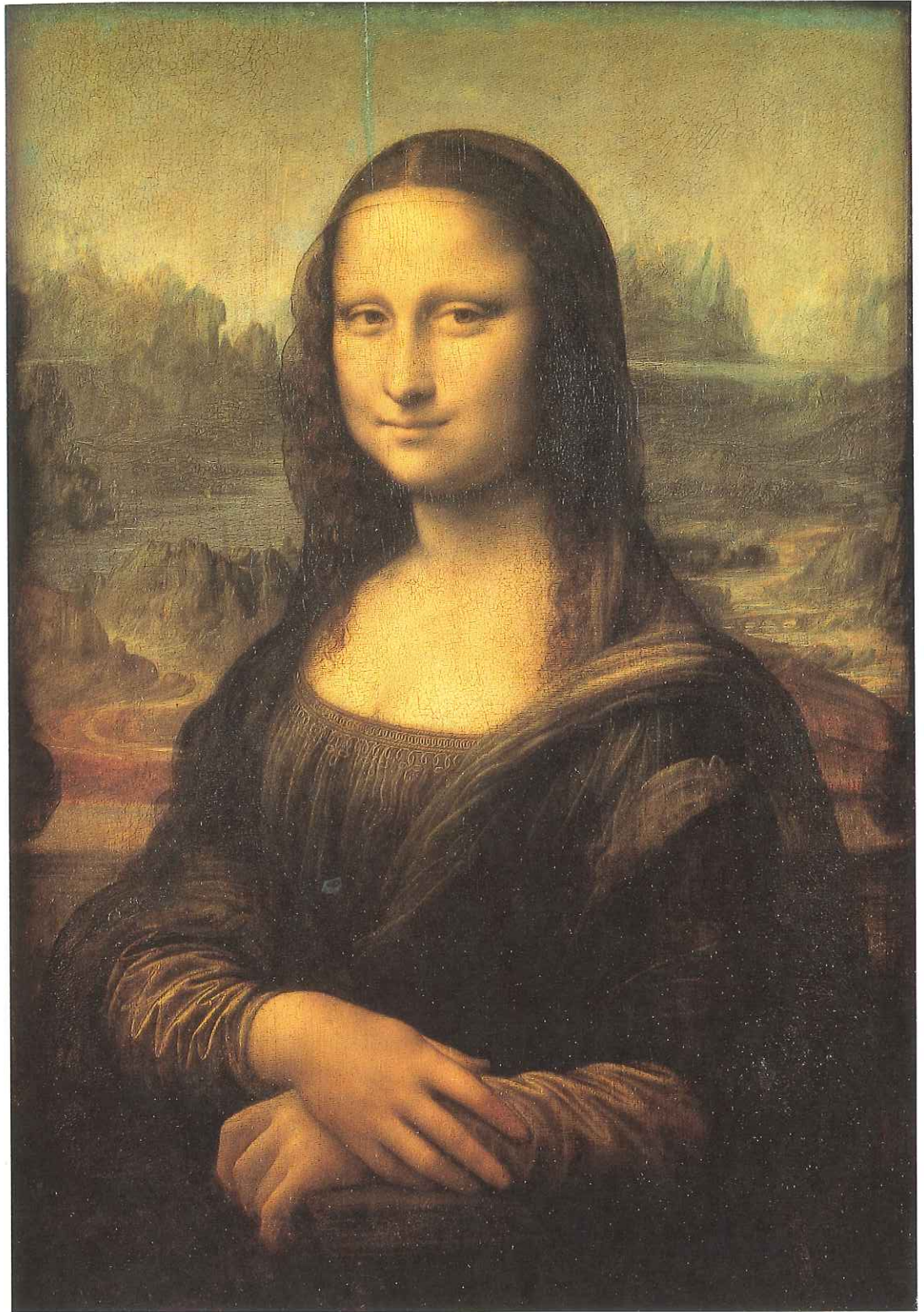
and draughtsmanship, we must admire Leonardo's deep insight into the behaviour and reactions of men, and the power of imagination which enabled him to put the scene before our eyes. An eye-witness tells us that he often saw Leonardo at work on 'The Last Supper'. He would get on to the scaffolding and stand there for whole days with folded arms just looking critically at what he had done before painting another stroke. It is the result of this thought that he has bequeathed to us, and, even in its ruined state, 'The Last Supper' remains one of the great miracles wrought by human genius.

There is another work of Leonardo's which is perhaps even more famous than 'The Last Supper'. It is the portrait of a Florentine lady whose name was Lisa, 'Mona Lisa', *figure 193*. A fame as great as that of Leonardo's 'Mona Lisa' is not an unmixed blessing for a work of art. We become so used to seeing it on picture postcards, and even advertisements, that we find it difficult to see it with fresh eyes as the painting by a real man portraying a real woman of flesh and blood. But it is worth while to forget what we know, or believe we know, about the picture, and to look at it as if we were the first people ever to set eyes on it. What strikes us first is the amazing degree to which Lisa looks alive. She really seems to look at us and to have a mind of her own. Like a living being, she seems to change before our eyes and to look a little different every time we come back to her. Even in photographs of the picture we experience this strange effect, but in front of the original in the Louvre it is almost uncanny. Sometimes she seems to mock at us, and then again we seem to catch something like sadness in her smile. All this sounds rather mysterious, and so it is; that is so often the effect of a great work of art. Nevertheless, Leonardo certainly knew how he achieved this effect, and by what means. That great observer of nature knew more about the way we use our eyes than anybody who had ever lived before him. He had clearly seen a problem which the conquest of nature had posed to artists – a problem no less intricate than the one of combining correct drawing with a harmonious composition. The great works of the Italian Quattrocento masters who followed the lead given by Masaccio have one thing in common: their figures look somewhat hard and harsh, almost wooden. The strange thing is that it clearly is not lack of patience or lack of knowledge that is responsible for this effect. No one could be more patient in his imitation of nature than Van Eyck, *page 241, figure 158*; no one could know more about correct drawing and perspective than Mantegna, *page 258, figure 169*. And yet, for all the grandeur and impressiveness of their representations of nature, their figures look more like statues than living beings. The reason may be that the more conscientiously we copy a figure line by line and detail by detail, the less

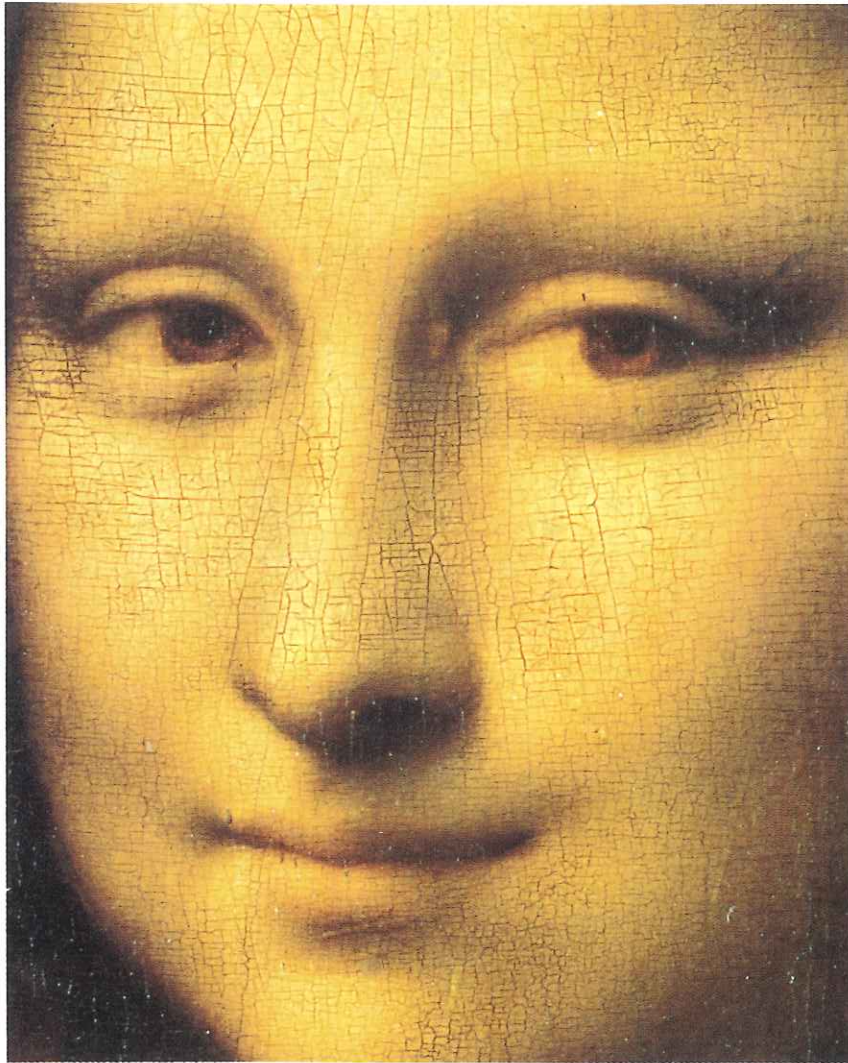
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Leonardo da Vinci  
*Mona Lisa*, c. 1502Oil on wood, 77 × 53 cm,  
30 × 20¾ in; Louvre, Paris





Leonardo da Vinci  
Mona Lisa, c. 1502  
Oil on wood, 77 x 53 cm,  
Musée du Louvre, Paris



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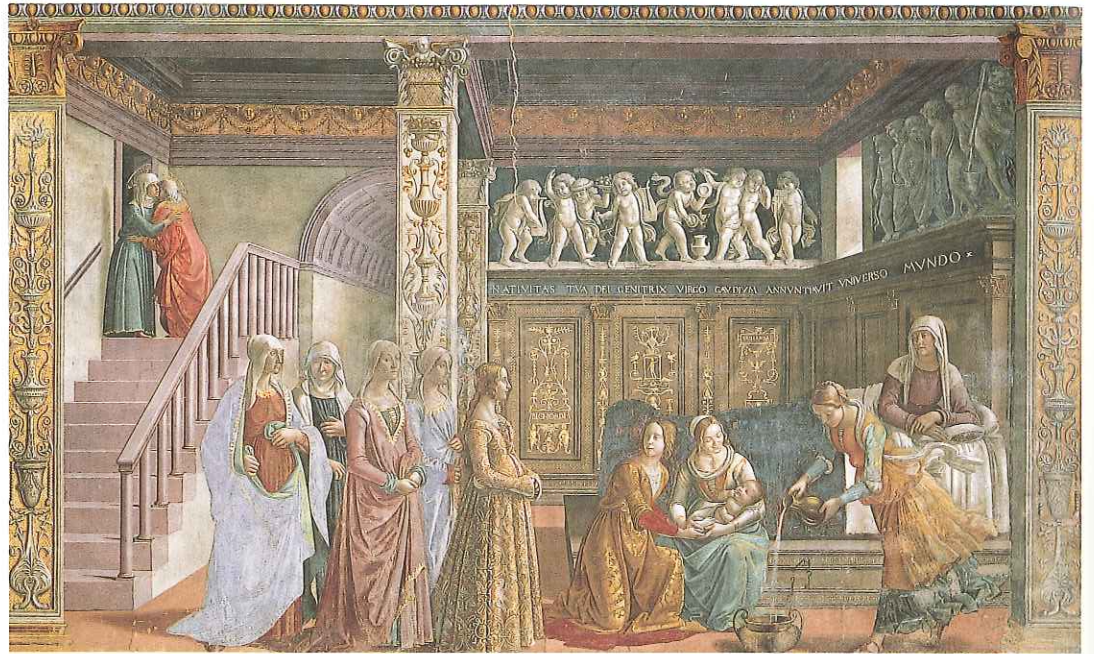
Detail of figure 193

we can imagine that it ever really moved and breathed. It looks as if the painter had suddenly cast a spell over it, and forced it to stand stock-still for evermore, like the people in 'The Sleeping Beauty'. Artists had tried various ways out of this difficulty. Botticelli, for instance, *page 265, figure 172*, had tried to emphasize in his pictures the waving hair and the fluttering garments of his figures, to make them look less rigid in outline. But only Leonardo found the true solution to the problem. The painter must leave the beholder something to guess. If the outlines are not quite so firmly drawn, if the form is left a little vague, as though disappearing into a shadow, this impression of dryness and stiffness will be avoided. This is

Leonardo's famous invention which the Italians call '*sfumato*' – the blurred outline and mellowed colours that allow one form to merge with another and always leave something to our imagination.

If we now return to the 'Mona Lisa', *figure 194*, we may understand something of its mysterious effect. We see that Leonardo has used the means of his '*sfumato*' with the utmost deliberation. Everyone who has ever tried to draw or scribble a face knows that what we call its expression rests mainly in two features: the corners of the mouth, and the corners of the eyes. Now it is precisely these parts which Leonardo has left deliberately indistinct, by letting them merge into a soft shadow. That is why we are never quite certain in what mood Mona Lisa is really looking at us. Her expression always seems just to elude us. It is not only vagueness, of course, which produces this effect. There is much more behind it. Leonardo has done a very daring thing, which perhaps only a painter of his consummate mastery could risk. If we look carefully at the picture, we see that the two sides do not quite match. This is most obvious in the fantastic dream landscape in the background. The horizon on the left side seems to lie much lower than the one on the right. Consequently, when we focus on the left side of the picture, the woman looks somehow taller or more erect than if we focus on the right side. And her face, too, seems to change with this change of position, because, even here, the two sides do not quite match. But with all these sophisticated tricks, Leonardo might have produced a clever piece of jugglery rather than a great work of art, had he not known exactly how far he could go, and had he not counterbalanced his daring deviation from nature by an almost miraculous rendering of the living flesh. Look at the way in which he modelled the hand, or the sleeves with their minute folds. Leonardo could be as painstaking as any of his forerunners in the patient observation of nature. Only he was no longer merely the faithful servant of nature. Long ago, in the distant past, people had looked at portraits with awe, because they had thought that in preserving the likeness the artist could somehow preserve the soul of the person he portrayed. Now the great scientist, Leonardo, had made some of the dreams and fears of these first image-makers come true. He knew the spell which would infuse life into the colours spread by his magic brush.

The second great Florentine whose work makes Italian art of the *Cinquecento* so famous was Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564). Michelangelo was twenty-three years younger than Leonardo and survived him by forty-five years. In his long lifetime he witnessed a complete change in the position of the artist. To some degree it was he himself who brought about this change. In his youth Michelangelo was trained like any other craftsman. As a boy of thirteen he was apprenticed for three years to



the busy workshop of one of the leading masters of late *Quattrocento* Florence, the painter Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449–94). Ghirlandaio was one of those masters whose works we enjoy rather for the way in which they mirror the colourful life of the period than for the greatness of their genius. He knew how to tell the sacred story pleasantly, as if it had just happened among the rich Florentine citizens of the Medici circle who were his patrons. *Figure 195* represents the birth of the Virgin Mary, and we see the relatives of her mother, St Anne, coming to visit and congratulate her. We look into a fashionable apartment of the late fifteenth century, and witness the formal visit of well-to-do ladies of society. Ghirlandaio proved that he knew how to arrange his groups effectively and how to give pleasure to the eye. He showed that he shared the taste of his contemporaries for the themes of ancient art, for he took care to depict a relief of dancing children, in the classical manner, in the background of the room.

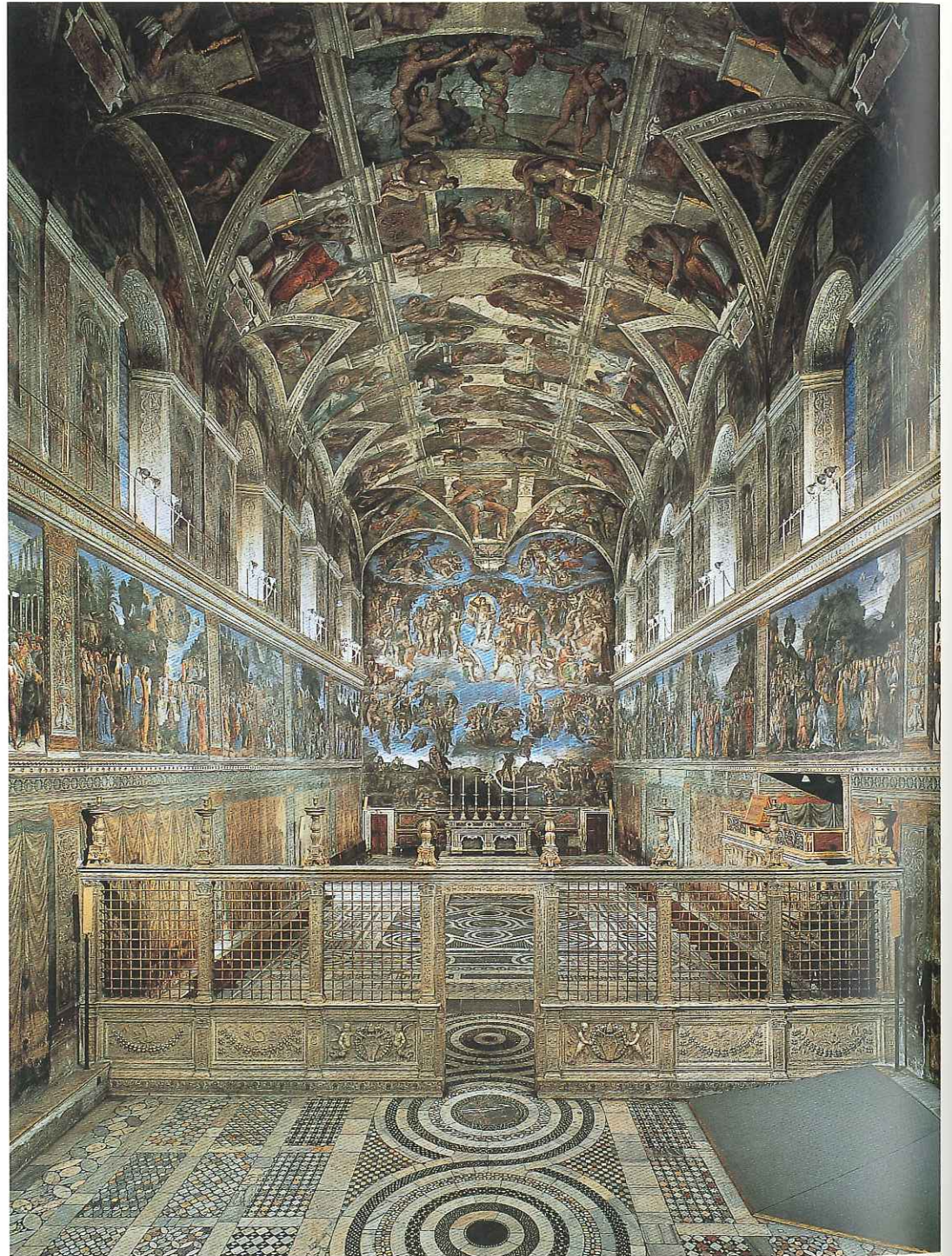
In his workshop the young Michelangelo could certainly learn all the technical tricks of the trade, a solid technique in painting frescos, and a thorough grounding in draughtsmanship. But, as far as we know, Michelangelo did not enjoy his days in this successful painter's firm. His ideas about art were different. Instead of acquiring the facile manner of Ghirlandaio, he went out to study the work of the great masters of the past, of Giotto, Masaccio, Donatello, and of the Greek and Roman

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Domenico  
Ghirlandaio  
*Birth of the Virgin*,  
1491

Fresco; church of Sta  
Maria Novella, Florence

sculptors whose works he could see in the Medici collection. He tried to penetrate into the secrets of the ancient sculptors, who knew how to represent the beautiful human body in motion, with all its muscles and sinews. Like Leonardo, he was not content with learning the laws of anatomy secondhand, as it were, from antique sculpture. He made his own research into human anatomy, dissected bodies, and drew from models, till the human figure did not seem to hold any secrets for him. But, unlike Leonardo, for whom man was only one of the many fascinating riddles of nature, Michelangelo strove with an incredible singleness of purpose to master this one problem, but to master it fully. His power of concentration and his retentive memory must have been so outstanding that soon there was no posture and no movement which he found difficult to draw. In fact, difficulties only seemed to attract him. Attitudes and angles which many a great *Quattrocento* artist might have hesitated to introduce into his pictures, for fear of failing to represent them convincingly, only stimulated his artistic ambition, and soon it was rumoured that this young artist not only equalled the renowned masters of classical antiquity but actually surpassed them. The time was to come when young artists spent several years at art schools studying anatomy, the nude, perspective, and all the tricks of draughtsmanship. And today many an unambitious commercial artist may have acquired facility in drawing human figures from all angles. Thus it may not be easy for us to grasp the tremendous admiration which Michelangelo's sheer skill and knowledge aroused in his day. By the time he was thirty, he was generally acknowledged to be one of the outstanding masters of the age, equal in his way to the genius of Leonardo. The city of Florence honoured him by commissioning him and Leonardo each to paint an episode from Florentine history on a wall of their council chamber. It was a dramatic moment in the history of art when these two giants competed for the palm, and all Florence watched with excitement the progress of their preparations. Unfortunately, the works were never completed. In 1506 Leonardo returned to Milan and Michelangelo received a call which kindled his enthusiasm even more. Pope Julius II wanted his presence in Rome to erect a tomb for him that should be worthy of the overlord of Christendom. We have heard of the ambitious plans of this great-minded but ruthless ruler of the Church, and it is not difficult to imagine how fascinated Michelangelo must have been to work for a man who possessed the means and the will to carry out the boldest plans. With the Pope's permission, he immediately travelled to the famous marble quarries at Carrara, there to select the blocks from which to carve a gigantic mausoleum. The young artist was overwhelmed by the sight of all these marble rocks, which seemed to be waiting for his chisel to turn



them into statues such as the world had never seen. He stayed more than six months at the quarries, buying, selecting and rejecting, his mind seething with images. He wanted to release the figures from the stones in which they were slumbering. But when he returned and started to work he soon discovered that the Pope's enthusiasm for the great enterprise had markedly cooled. We know, today, that one of the main reasons for the Pope's embarrassment was that his plan for a tomb had come into conflict with that plan of his which was even dearer to his heart: the plan for a new St Peter's. For the tomb had originally been destined to stand in the old building, and if that was to be pulled down, where was the mausoleum to be housed? Michelangelo, in his boundless disappointment, suspected different reasons. He smelt intrigue, and even feared that his rivals, above all Bramante, the architect of the new St Peter's, wanted to poison him. In a fit of fear and fury he left Rome for Florence, and wrote a rude letter to the Pope saying that if he wanted him, he could come and look for him.

What was so remarkable in this incident was that the Pope did not lose his temper, but started formal negotiations with the head of the city of Florence to persuade the young sculptor to return. All concerned seemed to agree that the movements and plans of this young artist were as important as any delicate matter of State. The Florentines even feared that the Pope might turn against them if they continued to give him shelter. The head of the city of Florence therefore persuaded Michelangelo to return to the service of Julius II, and gave him a letter of recommendation in which he said that his art was unequalled throughout Italy, perhaps even throughout the world, and that if only he met with kindness 'he would achieve things which would amaze the whole world'. For once a diplomatic note had uttered the truth. When Michelangelo returned to Rome, the Pope made him accept another commission. There was a chapel in the Vatican which had been built by Pope Sixtus IV, and was therefore called the Sistine Chapel, *figure 196*. The walls of this chapel had been decorated by the most famous painters of the former generation, by Botticelli, Ghirlandaio and others. But the vault was still blank. The Pope suggested that Michelangelo should paint it. Michelangelo did all he could to evade this commission. He said that he was not really a painter, but a sculptor. He was convinced that this thankless commission had been palmed off on him through the intrigues of his enemies. When the Pope remained firm, he started to work out a modest scheme of twelve apostles in niches, and to engage assistants from Florence to help him with the painting. But suddenly he shut himself up in the chapel, let no one come near him, and started to work alone on a plan which has indeed continued to 'amaze the whole world' from the moment it was revealed.

196

*Sistine Chapel, Vatican*  
General view of the  
interior, before cleaning

It is very difficult for any ordinary mortal to imagine how it could be possible for one human being to achieve what Michelangelo achieved in four years of lonely work on the scaffolding of the papal chapel, *figure 198*. The mere physical exertion of painting this huge fresco on the ceiling of the chapel, of preparing and sketching the scenes in detail and transferring them to the wall, is fantastic enough. Michelangelo had to lie on his back and paint looking upwards. In fact, he became so used to this cramped position that even when he received a letter during this period he had to hold it over his head and bend backwards to read it. But the physical performance of one man covering this vast space unaided is as nothing compared to the intellectual and artistic achievement. The wealth of ever-new inventions, the unflinching mastery of execution in every detail, and, above all, the grandeur of the visions which Michelangelo revealed to those who came after him, have given mankind a quite new idea of the power of genius.

One often sees illustrations of details of this gigantic work, and one can never look at them enough. But the impression given by the whole, when one steps into the chapel, is still very different from the sum of all the photographs one may ever see. The chapel resembles a very large and high assembly hall, with a shallow vault. High up on the walls, we see a row of paintings of the stories of Moses and of Christ in the traditional manner of Michelangelo's forerunners. But, as we look upwards, we seem to look into a different world. It is a world of more than human dimensions. In the vaultings that rise between the five windows on either side of the chapel, Michelangelo placed gigantic images of the Old Testament prophets who spoke to the Jews of the coming Messiah, alternating with images of Sibyls, who, according to an old tradition, predicted the coming of Christ to the pagans. He painted them as mighty men and women, sitting deep in thought, reading, writing, arguing, or as though they were listening to an inner voice. Between these rows of over life-size figures, on the ceiling proper, he painted the story of the Creation and of Noah. But, as though this immense task had not satisfied his urge for creating ever-new images, he filled the framework between these pictures with an overwhelming host of figures, some of them like statues, others like living youths of supernatural beauty, holding festoons and medallions with yet more stories. And even this is only the centrepiece. Beyond that, in the vaultings and directly below them, he painted an endless succession of men and women in infinite variation – the ancestors of Christ as they are enumerated in the Bible.

When we see all this wealth of figures in a photographic reproduction, we may suspect that the whole ceiling may look crowded and unbalanced. It is one of the great surprises, when one comes into the Sistine Chapel,

197

Michelangelo  
*Detail of the Sistine  
Chapel ceiling*

198 FOLD-OUT

Michelangelo  
*Sistine Chapel ceiling,*  
1508–12  
Fresco, 13.7 × 39 m, 45 ×  
138 ft; Vatican

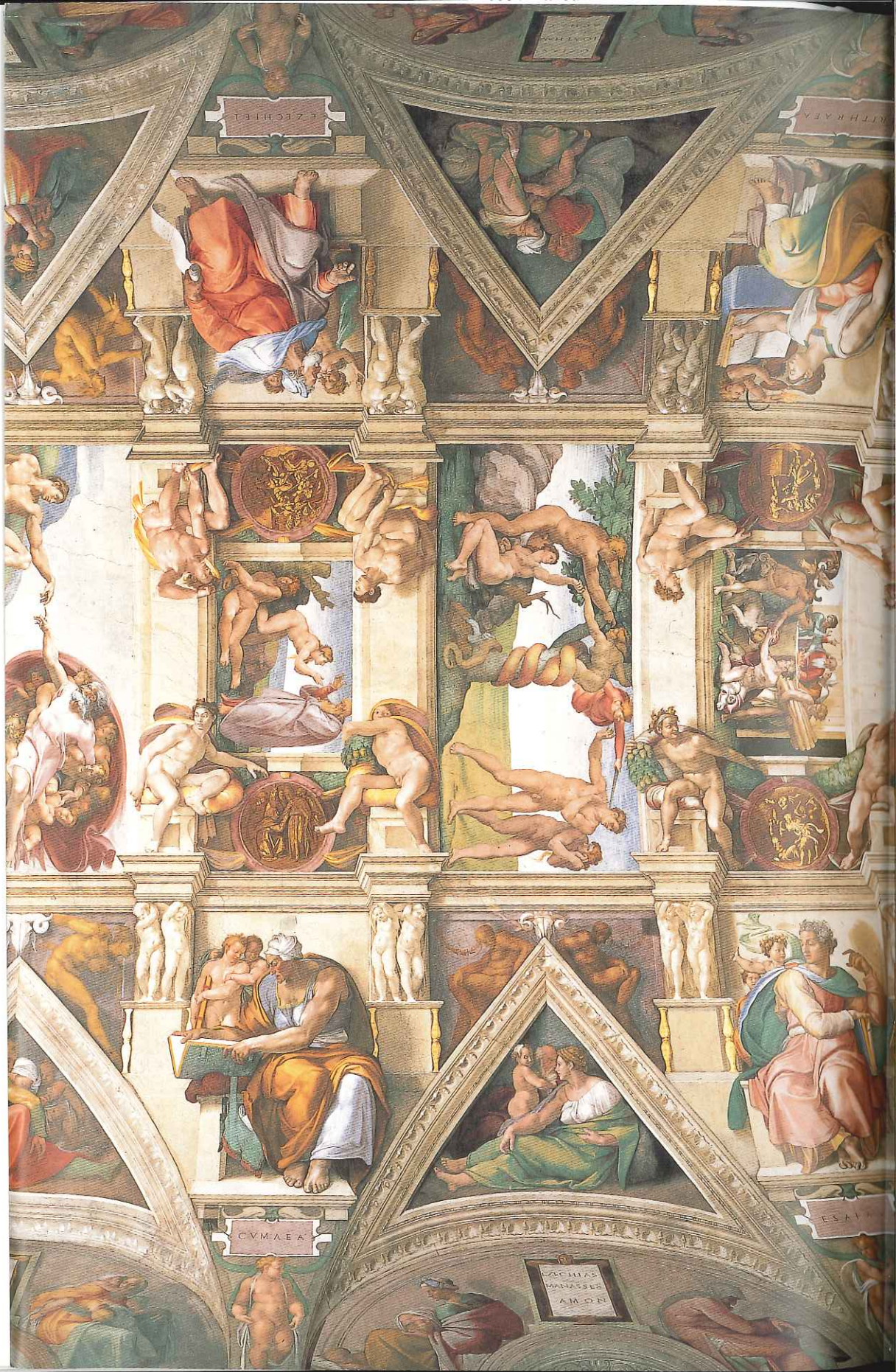




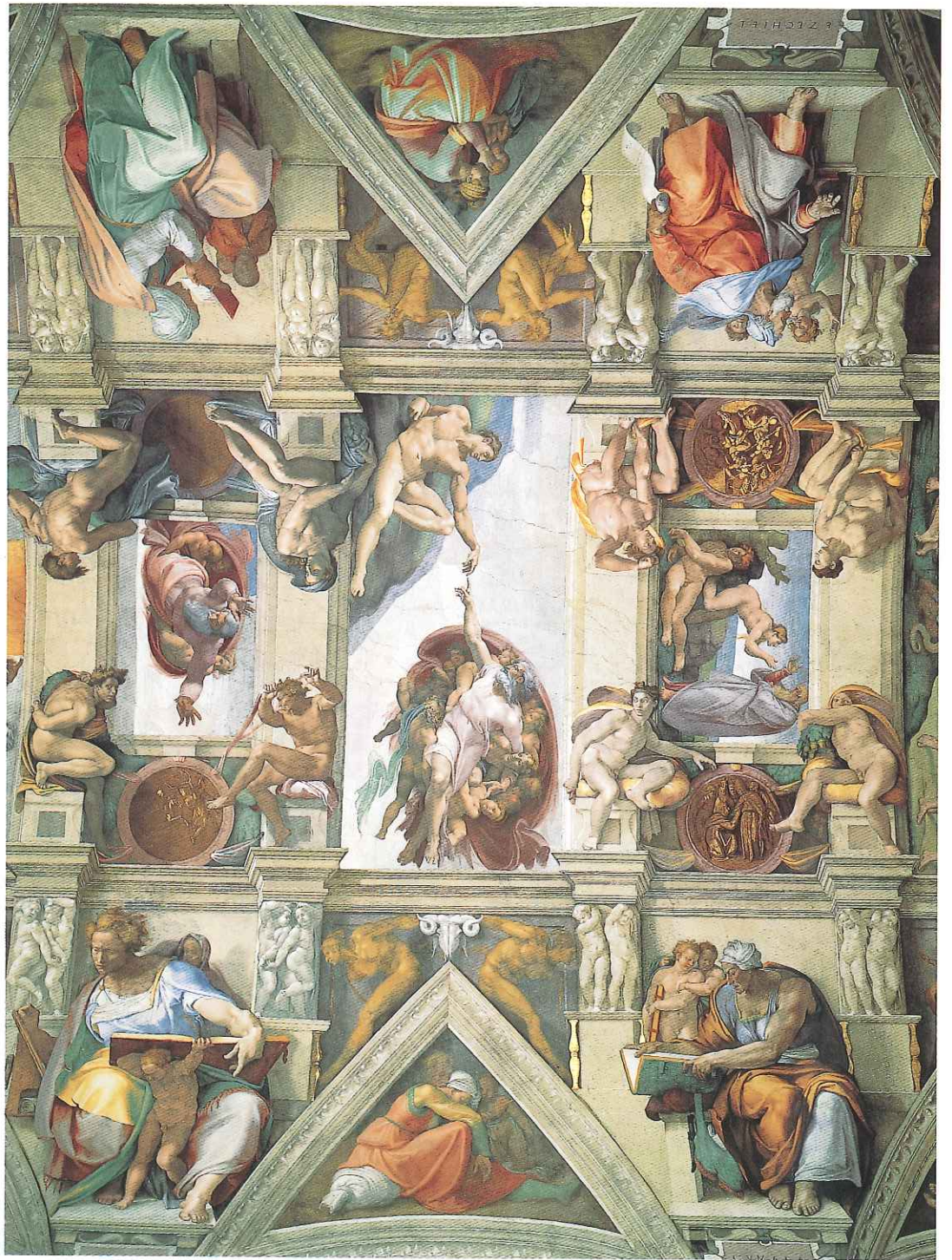
PERICLUS

DANIEL

ASA  
AZARHAT  
ICRAM







to find how simple and harmonious the ceiling looks if we regard it merely as a piece of superb decoration, and how clear the whole arrangement. Since it was cleaned of its many layers of candle-soot and dust in the 1980s the colours have been revealed as strong and luminous, a necessity if the ceiling was to be visible in a chapel with so few and narrow windows. (This is a point rarely considered by those who have admired these paintings in the strong electric light that is now thrown on to the ceiling.)

*Figure 197* shows one sector of the work, vaulting across the ceiling, that exemplifies the way in which Michelangelo distributed the figures flanking the scenes of the Creation. On the one side there is the prophet Daniel holding a huge volume which he supports on his knees with the help of a little boy, and turning aside to take a note of what he has read. Next to him is the Cumaean Sibyl peering into her book. On the opposite side there is the 'Persian' Sibyl, an old woman in Oriental costume, holding a book close to her eyes – equally engrossed in her researches into the sacred texts – and the Old Testament prophet Ezekiel, turning violently as if in argument. The marble seats on which they sit are adorned with statues of playing children, and above them, one on each side, are two of the nudes gaily about to tie the medallion to the ceiling. In the triangular spandrels he represented ancestors of Christ as they are mentioned in the Bible, surmounted by more contorted bodies. The astonishing nude figures display all Michelangelo's mastery in drawing the human body in any position and from any angle. They are young athletes with wonderful muscles, twisting and turning in every conceivable direction, but always contriving to remain graceful. There are no fewer than twenty of them on the ceiling, each one more masterly than the last, and there is little doubt that many of the ideas which were to have come to life out of the marbles of Carrara now crowded upon Michelangelo's mind when he painted the Sistine ceiling. One can feel how he enjoyed his stupendous mastery and how his disappointment and his wrath at being prevented from continuing to work in the material he preferred spurred him on even more to show his enemies, real or suspected, that, if they forced him to paint – well, he would show them!

We know how minutely Michelangelo studied every detail, and how carefully he prepared each figure in his drawings. *Figure 199* shows a leaf from his sketch-book on which he studied the forms of a model for one of the Sibyls. We see the interplay of muscles as no one had observed and portrayed it since the Greek masters. But, if he proved himself an unsurpassed virtuoso in these famous 'nudes', he proved to be infinitely more than that in the illustrations of biblical themes which form the centre of the composition. There we see the Lord calling forth, with powerful

199

Michelangelo  
*Study for the Libyan  
Sibyl on the Sistine  
Chapel ceiling, c. 1510*

Red chalk on buff paper,  
28.9 x 21.4 cm, 11½ x 8½  
in; Metropolitan Museum  
of Art, New York

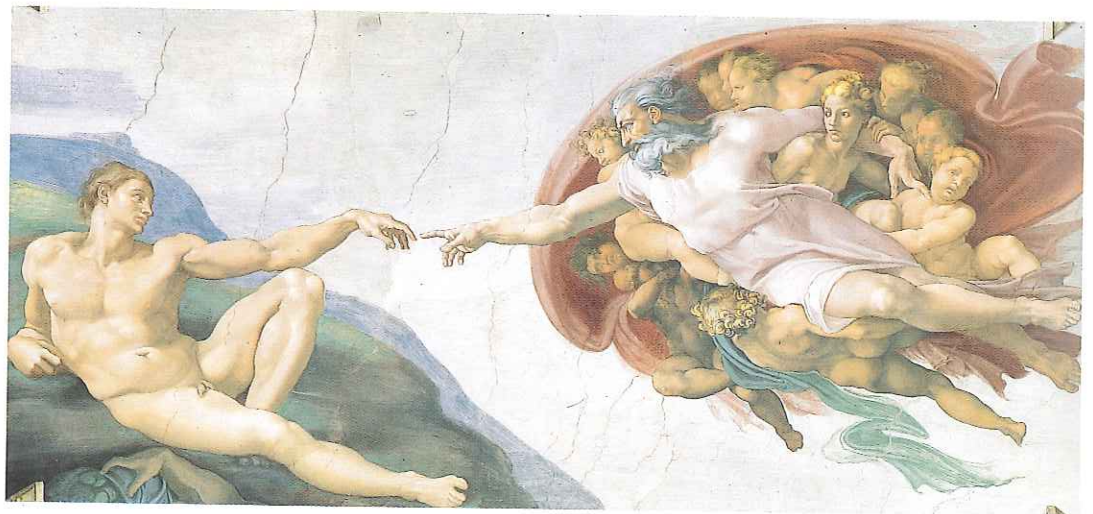


gestures, the plants, the heavenly bodies, animal life, and man. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the picture of God the Father – as it has lived in the minds of generation after generation, not only of artists but of humble people, who perhaps have never heard the name of Michelangelo – was shaped and moulded through the direct and indirect influence of these great visions in which Michelangelo illustrated the act of creation. Perhaps the most famous and most striking of them is the creation of Adam on one of the large fields, *figure 200*. Artists before Michelangelo had already painted Adam lying on the ground and being called to life by a mere touch of the hand of God, but none of them had even come near to expressing the greatness of the mystery of creation with such simplicity and force. There is nothing in the picture to divert attention from the main subject. Adam is lying on the ground in all the vigour and beauty that befit the first man; from the other side God the Father is approaching, carried and supported by His angels, wrapped in a wide and majestic mantle blown out by the wind like a sail, and suggesting the ease and speed with which He floats through the void. As He stretches out His hand, not even touching Adam's finger, we almost see the first man waking, as from a profound sleep, and gazing into the fatherly face of his Maker. It is one of the greatest miracles in art how Michelangelo has contrived thus to make the touch of the Divine hand the centre and focus of the picture, and how he has made us see the idea of omnipotence by the ease and power of this gesture of creation.

Michelangelo had hardly finished his great work on the Sistine ceiling, in 1512, when he eagerly returned to his marble blocks to go on with the tomb of Julius II. He had intended to adorn it with a number of statues of prisoners, such as he had seen on Roman monuments – although it is

200

Michelangelo  
*The creation of Adam*  
 Detail of figure 198





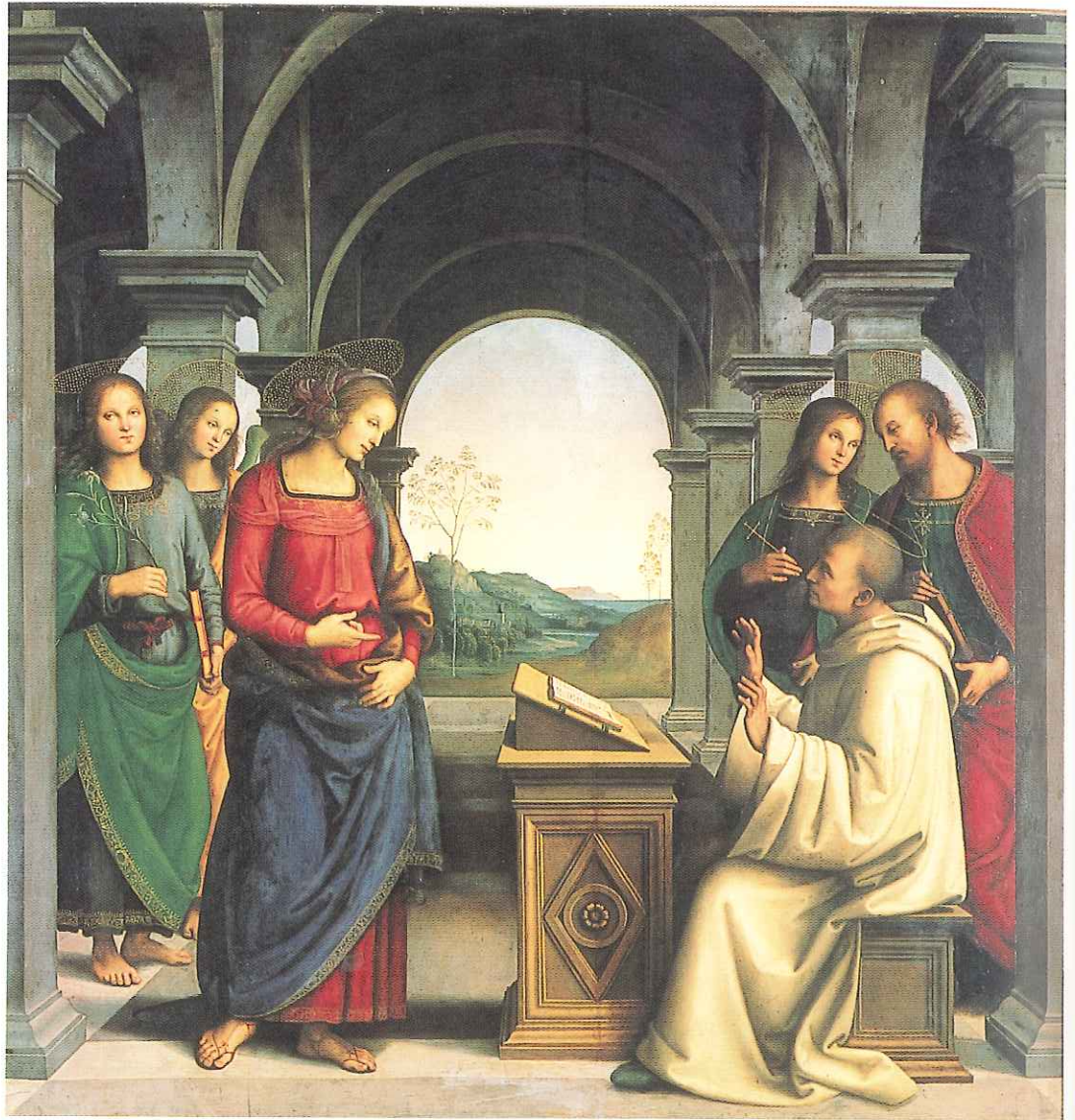
201  
 Michelangelo  
*The dying slave*, c. 1513  
 Marble, height 229 cm,  
 90½ in; Louvre, Paris

likely he planned to give to these figures a symbolic meaning. One of these is the 'Dying slave', *figure 201*.

If anyone had thought that after the tremendous exertion in the chapel Michelangelo's imagination had run dry, he was soon proved wrong. For when he returned to his beloved material, his powers seemed greater than ever. While in the 'Adam' Michelangelo had depicted the moment when life entered the beautiful body of a vigorous youth, he now, in the 'Dying slave', chose the moment when life was just fading, and the body was giving way to the laws of dead matter. There is unspeakable beauty in this last moment of final relaxation and release from the struggle of life – this gesture of lassitude and resignation. It is difficult to think of this work as being a statue of cold and lifeless stone, as we stand before it in the Louvre. It seems to move before our eyes, and yet to remain at rest. This is probably the effect Michelangelo aimed at. It is one of the secrets of his art that has been admired ever since, that, however much he lets the bodies of his figures twist and turn in violent movement, their outline always remains firm, simple and restful. The reason for this is that, from the very beginning, Michelangelo always tried to conceive his figures as lying hidden in the block of marble on which he was working; the task he set himself as a sculptor was merely to remove the stone which covered them. Thus the simple shape of a block was always reflected in the outline of the statues, and held it together in one lucid design, however much movement there was in the figure.

If Michelangelo had been famous when Julius II called him to Rome, his fame after the completion of these works was something no artist had ever enjoyed before. But this tremendous fame began to be something like a curse to him: for he was never allowed to complete the dream of his youth – the tomb of Julius II. When Julius died, another pope required the services of the most famous artist of his time, and each successive pope seemed more eager than his predecessor to have his name linked with that of Michelangelo. Yet, while princes and popes were outbidding each other to secure the services of the ageing master, he seemed to retire more and more into himself and to become more exacting in his standards. The poems he wrote show that he was troubled by doubts as to whether his art had been sinful, while his





letters make it clear that the higher he rose in the esteem of the world, the more bitter and difficult he became. He was not only admired, but feared for his temper, and he spared neither high nor low. There is no doubt he was very conscious of his social position, which was so different from anything he remembered from the days of his youth. Indeed, when he was seventy-seven, he once rebuffed a compatriot for having addressed a letter to 'the Sculptor Michelangelo'. 'Tell him', he wrote, 'not to address

202

Perugino  
*The Virgin appearing to  
 St Bernard*, c. 1490–4

Altar-painting; oil on  
 wood, 173 × 170 cm, 68¼  
 × 67 in; Alte Pinakothek,  
 Munich

his letters to the sculptor Michelangelo, for here I am known only as Michelangelo Buonarroti ... I have never been a painter or sculptor, in the sense of having kept a shop ... although I have served the popes; but this I did under compulsion.'

How sincere he was in this feeling of proud independence is best shown by the fact that he refused payment for his last great work, which occupied him in his old age: the completion of the work of his one-time enemy Bramante – the crowning cupola of St Peter's. This work on the principal church of Christendom the aged master regarded as a service to the greater glory of God, which should not be sullied by worldly profit. As it rises over the city of Rome, supported, it seems, by a ring of twin columns and soaring up with its clean majestic outline, it serves as a fitting monument to the spirit of this singular artist whom his contemporaries called 'divine'.

At the time when Michelangelo and Leonardo were competing with each other in Florence in 1504, a young painter arrived there from the small city of Urbino, in the province of Umbria. He was Raffaello Santi, whom we know as Raphael (1483–1520), who had shown great promise in the workshop of the leader of the 'Umbrian' school, Perugino (1446–1523). Like Michelangelo's master, Ghirlandajo, and Leonardo's master, Verrocchio, Raphael's teacher, Perugino, belonged to the generation of highly successful artists who needed a large staff of skilled apprentices to help them carry out the many commissions they received. Perugino was one of those masters whose sweet and devout manner in painting altar-pieces commanded general respect. The problems with which earlier *Quattrocento* artists had wrestled with such zeal no longer presented much difficulty to him. Some of his most successful works, at any rate, show that he knew how to achieve a sense of depth without upsetting the balance of the design, and he had learned to handle Leonardo's '*sfumato*' so as to avoid giving his figures a harsh and rigid appearance. *Figure 202* is an altar-painting dedicated to St Bernard. The saint looks up from his book to see the Holy Virgin standing in front of him. The arrangement could hardly be simpler – and yet there is nothing stiff or forced in this almost symmetrical lay-out. The figures are distributed to form a harmonious composition, and each of them moves with calm and ease. It is quite true that Perugino achieved this beautiful harmony at the expense of something else. He sacrificed the faithful portrayal of nature which the great masters of the *Quattrocento* had striven for with such passionate devotion. If we look at Perugino's angels, we see that they all follow, more or less, the same type. It is a type of beauty which Perugino invented and applied in his pictures in ever-new variations. When we see too much of his work, we may

tire of his devices, but then his paintings were not meant to be seen, side by side, in picture galleries. Taken singly, some of his best works give us a glimpse into a world more serene and more harmonious than our own.

It was in this atmosphere that the young Raphael grew up, and he had soon mastered and absorbed the manner of his teacher. When he arrived in Florence he was confronted with a stirring challenge. Leonardo and Michelangelo, the one his senior by thirty-one years, the other by eight years, were setting up new standards in art of which nobody had ever dreamed. Other young artists might have become discouraged by the reputations of these giants. Not so Raphael. He was determined to learn. He must have known that he was at a disadvantage in some respects. He had neither the immense range of knowledge of Leonardo, nor the power of Michelangelo. But while these two geniuses were difficult to get on with, unpredictable and elusive to ordinary mortals, Raphael was of a sweetness of temper which would commend him to influential patrons. Moreover he could work, and work he would until he had caught up with the older masters.

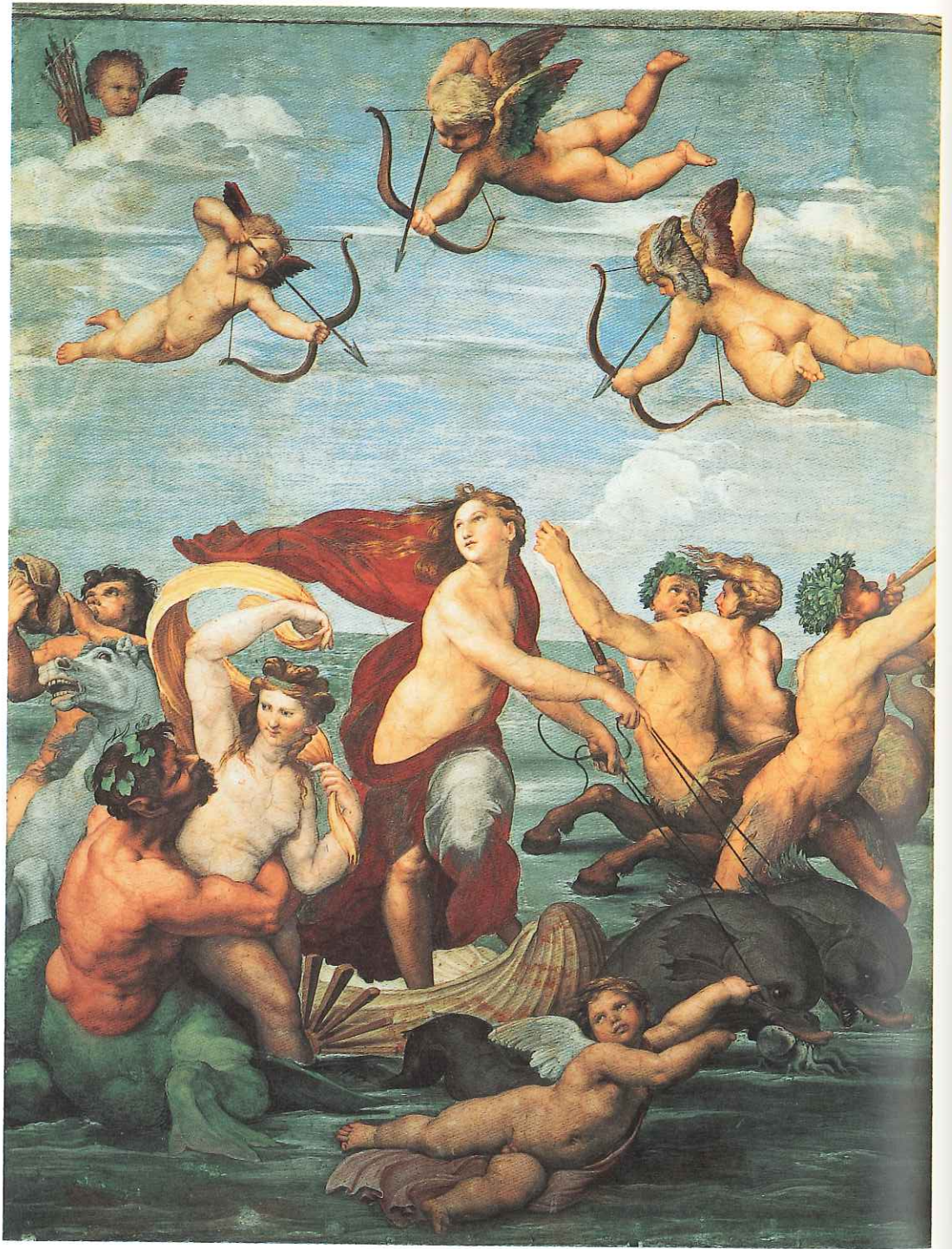
Raphael's greatest paintings seem so effortless that one does not usually connect them with the idea of hard and relentless work. To many he is simply the painter of sweet Madonnas which have become so well known as hardly to be appreciated as paintings any more. For Raphael's vision of the Holy Virgin has been adopted by subsequent generations in the same way as Michelangelo's conception of God the Father. We see cheap reproductions of these works in humble dwellings, and we are apt to conclude that paintings with such a general appeal must surely be a little 'obvious'. In fact, their apparent simplicity is the fruit of deep thought, careful planning and immense artistic wisdom, *pages 34-5, figures 17-18*. A painting like Raphael's 'Madonna del Granduca', *figure 203*, is truly 'classical' in the sense that it has served countless generations as a standard of perfection in the same way as the works of Pheidias and Praxiteles. It needs no explanation. In this respect it is indeed 'obvious'. But, if we compare it with the countless representations of the same theme which preceded it, we feel that they have all been groping for the very simplicity that Raphael has attained. We can see what Raphael did owe to the calm beauty of Perugino's types, but what a difference there is between the rather empty regularity of the master and the fullness of life in the pupil! The way the Virgin's face is modelled and recedes into the shade, the way Raphael makes us feel the volume of the body wrapped in the freely flowing mantle, the firm and tender way in which she holds and supports the Christ Child – all this contributes to the effect of perfect poise. We feel that to change

203

Raphael  
*Madonna del  
Granduca, c. 1505*

Oil on wood, 84 × 55 cm,  
33 × 21½ in; Palazzo Pitti,  
Florence





the group ever so slightly would upset the whole harmony. Yet there is nothing strained or sophisticated in the composition. It looks as if it could not be otherwise, and as if it had so existed from the beginning of time.

After some years in Florence, Raphael went to Rome. He arrived there probably in 1508, at the time when Michelangelo was just starting work on the Sistine ceiling. Julius II soon found work for this young and amiable artist also. He asked him to decorate the walls of various rooms in the Vatican which have come to be known by the name of the Stanze (rooms). Raphael proved his mastery of perfect design and balanced composition in a series of frescoes on the walls and ceilings of these rooms. To appreciate the full beauty of these works, one must spend some time in the rooms and feel the harmony and diversity of the whole scheme in which movement answers to movement, and form to form. Removed from their setting and reduced in size they tend to look frigid, for the individual figures, which stand before us life-size when we face the frescoes, are too readily absorbed by the groups. Conversely, when taken out of their context as illustrations of 'detail', these figures lose one of their principal functions – that of forming part of the graceful melody of the whole design.

This applies less to a smaller fresco, *figure 204*, which Raphael painted in the villa (now called the Farnesina) of a rich banker, Agostino Chigi. As subject he chose a verse from a poem by the Florentine Angelo Poliziano which had also helped to inspire Botticelli's 'Birth of Venus'. These lines describe how the clumsy giant Polyphemus sings a love song to the fair sea-nymph Galatea and how she rides across the waves in a chariot drawn by two dolphins, laughing at his uncouth song, while the gay company of other sea-gods and nymphs is milling round her. Raphael's fresco shows Galatea with her gay companions; the picture of the giant was to appear elsewhere in the hall. However long one looks at this lovely and cheerful picture, one will always discover new beauties in its rich and intricate composition. Every figure seems to correspond to some other figure, every movement to answer a counter-movement. We have observed this method in Pollaiuolo's showpiece, *page 263, figure 171*. But how rigid and dull his solution looks in comparison with Raphael's! To start with the small boys with Cupid's bows and arrows who aim at the heart of the nymph: not only do those to right and left echo each other's movements, but the boy swimming beside the chariot corresponds to the one flying at the top of the picture. It is the same with the group of sea-gods which seems to be 'wheeling' round the nymph. There are two on the margins, who blow on their sea-shells, and two pairs in front and behind, who

204  
Raphael  
*The nymph Galatea*,  
c. 1512–14  
Fresco, 295 × 225 cm,  
116 × 88½ in; Villa  
Farnesina, Rome

are making love to each other. But what is more admirable is that all these diverse movements are somehow reflected and taken up in the figure of Galatea herself. Her chariot had been driving from left to right with her veil blowing backwards, but, hearing the strange love song, she turns round and smiles, and all the lines in the picture, from the love-gods' arrows to the reins she holds, converge on her beautiful face in the very centre of the picture. By these artistic means Raphael has achieved constant movement throughout the picture, without letting it become restless or unbalanced. It is for this supreme mastery of arranging his figures, this consummate skill in composition, that artists have admired Raphael ever since. Just as Michelangelo was found to have reached the highest peak in the mastery of the human body, Raphael was seen to have accomplished what the older generation had striven so hard to achieve: the perfect and harmonious composition of freely moving figures.

There was another quality in Raphael's work that was admired by his contemporaries and by subsequent generations – the sheer beauty of his figures. When he had finished the 'Galatea', Raphael was asked by a courtier where in all the world he had found a model of such beauty. He replied that he did not copy any specific model but rather followed 'a certain idea' he had formed in his mind. To some extent, then, Raphael, like his teacher Perugino, had abandoned the faithful portrayal of nature which had been the ambition of so many *Quattrocento* artists. He deliberately used an imagined type of regular beauty. If we look back to the time of Praxiteles, page 102, figure 62, we remember how what we call an 'ideal' beauty grew out of a slow approximation of schematic forms to nature. Now the process was reversed. Artists tried to modify nature according to the idea of beauty they had formed when looking at classical statues – they 'idealized' the model. It was a tendency not without its dangers, for, if the artist deliberately 'improves on' nature, his work may easily look mannered or insipid. But if we look once more at Raphael's work, we see that he, at any rate, could idealize without any loss of vitality and sincerity in the result. There is nothing schematic or calculated in Galatea's loveliness. She is an inmate of a brighter world of love and beauty – the world of the classics as it appeared to its admirers in sixteenth-century Italy.

It was for this achievement that Raphael has remained famous throughout the centuries. Perhaps those who connect his name only with beautiful Madonnas and idealized figures from the classical world may even be surprised to see Raphael's portrait of his great







patron Pope Leo X of the Medici family, in the company of two cardinals, *figure 206*. There is nothing idealized in the slightly puffed head of the near-sighted Pope, who has just examined an old manuscript (somewhat similar in style and period to the Queen Mary's Psalter, *page 211, figure 140*). The velvets and damasks in their various rich tones add to the atmosphere of pomp and power, but one can well imagine that these men are not at ease. These were troubled times, for we remember that at the very period when this portrait was painted Luther had attacked the Pope for the way he raised money for the new St Peter's. It so happens that it was Raphael himself whom Leo X had put in charge of this building enterprise after Bramante had died in 1514, and thus he had also become an architect, designing churches, villas and palaces and studying the ruins of ancient Rome. Unlike his great rival Michelangelo, though, he got on well with people and could keep a busy workshop going. Thanks to his sociable qualities the scholars and dignitaries of the papal court made him their companion. There was even talk of his being made a cardinal when he died on his thirty-seventh birthday, almost as young as Mozart, having crammed into his brief life an astonishing diversity of artistic achievements. One of the most famous scholars of his age, Cardinal Bembo, wrote the epitaph for his tomb in the Pantheon of Rome:

*This is Raphael's tomb, while he lived he made Mother Nature  
Fear to be vanquished by him and, as he died, to die too.*

206

Raphael  
*Pope Leo X with two  
cardinals, 1518*

Oil on wood, 154 × 119  
cm, 60% × 46% in; Uffizi,  
Florence

*Members of Raphael's  
workshop plastering,  
painting and decorating  
the Loggie, c. 1518*  
Stucco relief; Loggie,  
Vatican

